

2026 Leaving Cert History Revision Plan and Case Study summaries

Movements for Political and Social Reform (NOTE: this is the DBQ question for 2026 and 2027, everyone sitting their LC in 2026 or 2027 studying the later modern course MUST study these three)

Theme	Required study
Politics and administration	The elections of 1885 and 1886; issues and outcomes Quizlet Podcast
Society and economy	Dublin 1913 – strike and lockout Quizlet Podcast
Culture, religion, and science	The GAA to 1891 Quizlet Podcast

Dictatorship and Democracy in Europe, 1920-45 (NOTE: you must study a minimum of 2 essay topics, max 3. Four essay options have been included, these may differ from what you have studied)

Theme	Required study	Must study	Should study	Could study
<u>Politics and administration</u>	Stalin's Show Trials Quizlet Podcast	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Communism in Russia – Lenin and Stalin Quizlet Podcast 1 Podcast 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fascist Italy Quizlet Nazi Germany Quizlet FP Podcast Youth and Education Podcast Rise of Fascism Podcast Weimar Germany Podcast Mussolini FP Podcast Mussolini Domestic Policy Podcast Rise of Fascism in Italy Podcast	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Third Republic and Vichy Fr Podcast Wartime alliances Key personalities
<u>Society and economy</u>	The Jarrow March, 1936 Quizlet Podcast	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Economic and social problems of the interwar years – Brit and Germany Quizlet 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Home Front Rationing Evacuees Quizlet	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Resistance Collaboration Anti-Semitism and the Holocaust Key personalities
<u>Culture, religion, and science</u>	The Nuremberg Rallies Quizlet Podcast	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nazi propaganda Quizlet 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Church-state relations Quizlet 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Anglo-American pop culture Podcast Technology of warfare Podcast Key personalities

The United States and the World, 1945-89

Theme	Required study	Must study	Should study	Could study
<u>Politics and administration</u>	Lyndon Johnson and Vietnam, 1963-68 Quizlet Podcast	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> US foreign policy, 1945-72: Berlin, Korea, Cuba Quizlet Podcast 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Presidency from Roosevelt to Reagan Quizlet Podcast Domestic factors in US foreign policy Quizlet Podcast 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> US political structure Quizlet Decline of Cold War Quizlet Podcast SALT Star Wars
<u>Society and economy</u>	The Montgomery Bus Boycott, 1956 Quizlet	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Civil rights movement Quizlet 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sources of the US economic boom Quizlet Podcast 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Urban poverty Drugs and crime Quizlet Podcast

	Podcast	Podcast	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Economic decline Quizlet Podcast 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Consumerism Key personalities
<u>Culture, religion, and science</u>	The Moon Landing, 1969 Quizlet Podcast	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Advances in military, space, information technology Quizlet Podcast 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hollywood, the American Dream Religion in modern American culture Key personalities

The Pursuit of Sovereignty and the Impact of Partition, 1912-49

<i>Theme</i>	<i>Required study</i>	<i>Must study</i>	<i>Should study</i>	<i>Could study</i>
<u>Politics and administration</u>	The Treaty Negotiations, October-December 1921 Quizlet	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Free State to Republic (CnaG, FF, FG in power) Anglo-Irish relations, 1923-49 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Third HR Bill, 1912-14 Impact of WWI 1916 Rising Rise of Sinn Féin, 1918 election War of Independence, partition, Civil War 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> NI – Unionist Party in power Key personalities
<u>Society and economy</u>	Belfast during WWII Quizlet	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Economic and social problems faced by NI Social and economic problems, 1923-45 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Impact of WWII, North and South 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Key personalities
<u>Culture, religion, and science</u>	The Eucharistic Congress, 1932 Quizlet	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Promotion of cultural identity; language, religion and education 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> State and culture in NI 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Key personalities

Politics and Society in Northern Ireland, 1949-1993

<i>Theme</i>	<i>Required study</i>	<i>Must study</i>	<i>Should study</i>	<i>Could study</i>
<u>Politics and administration</u>	The Sunningdale Agreement and Power-Sharing Executive, 1973-4 Quizlet Podcast	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fall of Stormont, direct rule, the Anglo-Irish Agreement 1985, Downing Street Quizlet Podcast 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Brookeborough to O’Neill Civil Rights Movement Podcast Provisional IRA Podcast 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Republic – responses to the Troubles Key personalities
<u>Society and economy</u>	The Coleraine University Controversy Quizlet Podcast	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Welfare State: education, health, and housing Quizlet Podcast 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Social and economic developments prior to 1969 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Impact of the Troubles – economy, society Quizlet Podcast
<u>Culture, religion, and science</u>	The Apprentice Boys of Derry Quizlet Podcast	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cultural responses to the Troubles Quizlet Podcast 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cultural identity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ecumenism Key personalities

Movements for Political and Social Reform

Case study: 1885 and 1886 Elections

Ireland c. 1870

- Under direct rule from Westminster since **Act of Union 1801** (can be seen as a reaction to the 1798 Rebellion)
- Just experienced the **Famine** (1845-50)
- Population **decline**
- Irish language **decline**
- Rural economy
- **Landlord system** – 4000 landlords, mostly Protestant
- Pasture farming, average farm less than 30 acres
- Little industry outside the N.E. Ulster
- 77% Catholic (40% Catholic in Ulster)
- 12% Church of Ireland/Anglican
- 9% Presbyterian
- Brit = **constitutional monarchy** – Queen Victoria until 1901
- Political power in the hands of **Westminster**->

House of Commons

650 members
103 from Ireland
No salary

House of Lords

Not elected -> hereditary
28 from Ireland
Power of veto NB for HR Movement

- For a bill to become a law it had to pass through **both** houses of parliament.
- 2 main political parties ->

Conservatives

Tories
Oppose radical change

Liberals

Whigs
Wanted gradual reform

- PM = head of government, sent **Lord Lieutenant/Viceroy** and **Chief Secretary** to rule Ireland
- **R.I.C.** = armed police force in Ireland
- Dublin also had the **Dublin Metropolitan Police** – unarmed
- Irish attitudes towards the Union ->

Nationalist

Against the Act of Union
Mostly Catholic

Constitutionalist: limited self-government, peaceful means e.g. Home Rule Party.

Physical Force: Completely separate Republic, violent means/uprising e.g. I.R.B./Fenians

Unionist

Supported the Act of Union
Mostly Protestant
Mostly located in Ulster

What was Home Rule?

The establishment in Ireland of an Irish parliament which would take care of domestic matters such as education and health, while Imperial matters would be controlled by Westminster e.g. war and trade.

Isaac Butt and the beginnings of the Home Rule Movement

- 1870 -> Butt set up The **Home Government Association**. This association was not a political party, it was a pressure group
- The H.G.A. made little progress:
 - lacked funds
 - opposed by the Catholic Church
 - programme meant little to the population at large
 - tension between members (uneasy coalition of unionists, nationalists, Catholics, Protestants..)
- 1873 -> the H.G.A. became the **Home Rule League** -> political party (often called the **Home Rule Party** or H.R. Party)
- Contested the 1874 General Election, first since **Secret Ballot Act**, won 59 seats

- Unsuccessful in Westminster -> HR members not united, Disraeli and Conservatives had an overall majority
- Irish H.R. M.P.s were frustrated so they became involved in **obstructionism**
- 1879 -> Butt died, **William Shaw** took over

Charles Stewart Parnell

- Born in **Avondale**, Co. Wicklow in 1846.
- Entered parliament as a HR MP for Co Meath in 1875.
- Came to prominence following his **defence of the Manchester Martyrs** (3 Irish nationalists who were hung for an attack on police in Manchester) and through his use of **obstructionism** (making long speeches to disrupt the business of the House of Commons).
- 1877 -> Parnell replaced Butt as leader of the **Home Rule Confederation of GB**.
- He was also involved in the **Land Question** (Irish ownership of Irish land) and became **president of the Land League** in 1879.
- 1880 -> Parnell replaced Shaw as **leader of the HR Party**.
- He was imprisoned in **Kilmainham Gaol** for criticising Gladstone's Second Land Act (1881) before being released after signing the Kilmainham Treaty in 1882.
- **'Why should Ireland be treated as a geographical fragment of England - Ireland is not a geographical fragment, but a nation'**, 1875.

Parnell and the Home Rule Movement

- 1880 election -> HR Party won **61 seats**.
- In 1882, Parnell established the **Irish National League**.

Aim -> Home Rule for Ireland.

This organisation was the electioneering machine behind the HR Party (also known as the **Irish Parliamentary Party, I.P.P.**)

Selected candidates for each constituency.

Set up 1,200 branches.

Raised £60,000 in funds.

- Parnell got the support of the clergy and introduced the **Party Pledge**
- 1884 **3rd Reform Bill** trebled the number of Irish voters (220,000 -> 700,000). Many of these new voters were small farmers.
- At Westminster, Parnell hoped to use **Independent Opposition** – this means the I.P.P. would remain independent of both Conservatives and Liberals but would offer to vote with whichever party promised Home Rule.
- However, this would only work if the 2 British parties were almost equal in size, which was not the case between 1880-85 because Gladstone and the Liberals had a large majority in the Commons and Parnell's support was of no use to either party.

1880-1885: The Liberals and Ireland

- Liberals and **Gladstone** in power.
- After 1882, when Parnell promised to co-operate, some reforms were introduced e.g. **The Arrears Act** (If a tenant had less than £30 in arrears (debt) owed to a landlord the debt was cancelled)
- However, the issue of coercion (force) always caused tension between the Liberals and Ireland.
- One important radical liberal leader, **Joseph Chamberlain (Liberal)**, came up with an idea of limited Home Rule called **The Central Board Scheme**.
- **Captain O'Shea** (an Irish MP) acted as a go-between Chamberlain and Parnell.
- Parnell saw the C.B.S. as a step towards Home Rule, but not as an end in itself.
- But O'Shea gave Chamberlain the impression that Parnell accepted it as a final solution.
- So, when Parnell came out against the idea Chamberlain felt **misled and betrayed** and so developed a hatred of the I.P.P. This proves important for the failure of the First H.R. Bill later in 1886.
- Gladstone's Government was defeated in the House of Commons on 9 June 1885, when HR MPs joined with the Conservative Opposition on a financial issue.
- Gladstone resigned and Conservative leader Lord **Salisbury** agreed to become PM until an election could be held in November.

1880-1885: The Conservatives in Ireland

- The Conservatives led by **Salisbury** initially saw Parnell and Home Rulers as trouble, but they soon found they had a lot in common.
Education -> church run schools
Land -> land purchase
- The Conservatives were very aware of the growing strength of the I.P.P. and so they made overtures of friendship to Parnell, especially when they took over as a caretaker government at the end of 1885.
- **Coercion Act was not renewed.**
- **Ashbourne Act** was passed which provided money to allow 25,000 tenants to buy their farms.

November 1885 Election

- Parnell told the Irish voters in Britain to vote **Conservative** in the '**Manifesto to the Irish Electors in Great Britain**' -> 'We feel bound to advise our countrymen to place no confidence in the Liberal... Party'.
- He did this because:
 - They seemed more **sympathetic** to Irish cause
 - They controlled the **House of Lords**
- Some historians believe this speech could have cost the Liberals over 20 seats.
- Election results, Nov. 1885

Liberals -> 335

Conservatives -> 249

I.P.P. -> 86

- This gave Parnell the **balance of power**, but it was **imperfect**. In a way, it robbed him of his bargaining position because it wasn't enough to make Salisbury PM but Gladstone needed the support of the I.P.P. to become PM
- Gladstone could not ignore the victory of Parnell's H.R. Party as the Liberals had not won a single seat in Ireland
- So, on Dec 17th 1885, Gladstone's son Herbert flew the '**Hawarden Kite**' – telling the press of his father's support for H.R. ('Hawarden Kite' -> name given to a news scoop when Herbert told the press about Gladstone's support of HR. Named after Gladstone's residence Hawarden Castle)
- A **Liberal/Home Rule Alliance** was formed and in Jan 1886 and continued up to 1918.
- Gladstone became PM in January 1886 with the promise of introducing Home Rule.
- The Conservatives could now position themselves as strong unionists and defenders of the unity of the British Empire.

The First Home Rule Bill

- Gladstone was committed to the **unity of the Empire** and believed that Ireland under HR would make most Irish people **loyal to the Crown**
- **8 April 1886-> First Home Rule Bill** introduced by Gladstone
- Proposed:

The establishment of a parliament in Ireland with control over **domestic issues**

Westminster would retain control over foreign affairs, customs and defence

Irish representation at Westminster would **cease** (v. harsh)

Ireland would pay 1/15 of Imperial costs (how?? With what money? Harsh)

- Parnell welcomed the Bill but wanted a reduction in the Irish contribution to the imperial budget

Opposition to Home Rule

- Unionists began a strong campaign to prevent the introduction of HR
- Their objections fell under 3 main headings:
 1. **Political**: believed their loyalty to Queen and Empire could only be protected by the existing Union.
 2. **Religious**: fear of '**Home Rule is Rome Rule**' and being a Protestant minority in a Catholic majority country.
 3. **Economic**: feared the economic prosperity of Belfast, Ireland's only industrialised area, would be undermined by the existence of HR.
- For hundreds of years, unionists had relied on the British Government to protect their interests in Ireland.
- They received powerful support from Conservative **Lord Randolph Churchill**:
'It may be that the dark cloud which is now impending over Ireland, will pass away without breaking. If it does I believe you and your descendants will be safe for a long time to come.'
- A week later, Churchill went to Belfast and declared that if HR were passed, '**Ulster will fight and Ulster will be right**'.
- William Johnston, an Ulster Unionist: *'If Home Rule were introduced the dictates of the Irish Parliament would be resisted by the people of Ulster at the point of a bayonet'*

- This alliance between the unionists and conservatives would last for the following century.
- At a public anti-Home Rule rally in Belfast in 1886, *The Times* reported 'the feeling in Belfast against Mr. Gladstone's scheme grows in intensity'.
- In May 1885, Irish unionists were united and founded an organisation in Dublin called the **Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union**. They printed pamphlets and posters: 'It [Home Rule] would paralyse trade... All who have anything to lose are opposed to Home Rule... Home Rule will be carried unless we all unite in great well-sustained effort to avert it'.
- Many members of the Liberal Party were not prepared to support Gladstone on the issue of HR, e.g. Joseph Chamberlain: 'This proposal is tantamount to separation. It would set up a temporary and unstable form of government'. Lord Hartington: 'The Parliament which would be restored would not be a Protestant [one], but would be a Roman Catholic Parliament'.
- Many British politicians opposed HR for reasons of national security e.g., the Spanish in 1601 and the French in 1798 had succeeded in landing armies in Ireland.
- Others also feared that Ireland could be an example for other peoples in the British Empire seeking greater autonomy for themselves.

Defeat of the First Home Rule Bill

- The bill was **defeated** by 30 votes. 93 members of Gladstone's own party voted against it
- Liberals who voted against it were known as **Liberal Unionists** (e.g. Joseph Chamberlain) and allied themselves with the Conservative Party
- The defeat of Gladstone's HR Bill was a major turning point in the political development of Ireland and GB
- The party was **split** between Gladstonian Liberals and Liberal Unionists and went into long-term decline over the next 20 years
- In contrast, the Conservatives under Salisbury were greatly **strengthened** and remained in power for most of 1886-1906 (bar 1892-95)
- Salisbury remained a strong opponent of HR: '**Ireland is not a nation; Ireland is two nations... I would never advise my countrymen to place confidence in the inhabitants of Ireland... because they are a deeply divided people**'

The General Election of 1886

- After the defeat of H.R., Queen Victoria dissolved Parliament and a general election was held in July 1886
- The July 1886 election results showed how **unpopular** HR was in Great Britain:

Conservatives -> 317

Liberals -> 191

I.P.P. -> 85

- In Ireland, the 1886 election was a mirror image of 1885.
- The election of 85 HR MPs made the **intentions of the Irish voters** clear.
- Despite the defeat of HR, **riots** broke out in Belfast throughout the summer of 1886 in protest of HR.
- The **Irish Unionist Party** was established in 1891 and allied itself with the Conservatives.

Parnell's Final Years

- Following the defeat of the First Home Rule Bill, Parnell was not despondent in lacking support.
- His I.P.P. was stronger than ever and he looked forward to the day when Gladstone might return.
- The **Piggott Forgeries** (forged letters showing Parnell supposedly supported those responsible for the Phoenix Park murders) failed to discredit him but his downfall was just around the corner.
- The fall of Parnell/ **the O'Shea divorce case**;
 - Capt. O'Shea filed for divorce, naming Parnell as co-respondent.
 - When the affair between Katherine and Parnell became public knowledge it caused a sensation.
- Gladstone declared that the Liberal-Home Rule alliance could not continue if Parnell remained leader of the IPP.
 - This caused a **split in the party** when they debated the issue in Committee Room 15 of the House of Commons in Dec. 1890.
 - They voted **45 to 27 against him**.
- Parnell died a year later at the age of 45. His funeral was attended by over 200,000 people.

Quotes

- 'Why should Ireland be treated as a geographical fragment of England - Ireland is not a geographical fragment, but a nation'- Parnell
- 'No man has the right to say his country "Thus far shalt thou go and no further"'- Parnell
- 'I would not have taken off my coat and gone to work had I not known that we were laying the foundations by this movement for the recovery of our legislative independence' - Parnell

Case Study: The Foundation and Early Years of the GAA (to 1891)

Background to the establishment of the G.A.A.

- The term 'culture' refers to the distinct **identity of a nation**. It includes food, customs, languages, dress, music, dance and sports.
 - The issue of culture was complex in Ireland as English culture was spreading in Ireland since the Plantations of the c16th -> **Anglicisation**.
 - At the end of the 19th century many argued this 'Anglicisation' case especially of traditional sports.
- The 19th century in England saw sport becoming organised, with many clubs and associations being set up, e.g. **Sheffield F.C** was founded in 1857, **the FA** was founded in 1863.
- The only athletics body in Ireland was the Irish Championship Athletics Club and this followed the rules of the English based Amateur Athletics Association.
- Of course, branches of English organisations were set up in Ireland;
- 1874 -> Irish Rugby Union** was founded.
1880 -> Irish Football Association.

What was cultural nationalism?

- **Cultural nationalism** was an attempt to show that there were real differences between England and Ireland.
 - Between 1884 and 1914, a number of powerful organisations emerged in Ireland with the aim of strengthening the country's cultural heritage.
 - New movements such as:
- The Gaelic League**
The GAA
The Irish Literary Revival
- were all a part of this.

Foundation of the GAA

- **Michael Cusack** believed that an Irish organization should control field games and athletics.
- At the time, athletics was controlled by British groups which **excluded** ordinary workers; '*labourers, tradesmen, artisan, and even policemen and soldiers*'; Cusack.
- Nov. 1st 1884: a meeting was held at **Hayes' Hotel, Thurles, Co. Tipperary** to found a new organisation.
- 7 attended. Including:

Michael Cusack -> wished to '*nationalise and democratise sport in Ireland*' and proposed '*the Irish people take the management of their games into their own hands*'.

Maurice Davin -> '*it is time a handbook was published with rules, etc. for all Irish games*'.

- Aim: to **preserve and revive traditional Irish sports** (athletics/football/handball/hurling)
- Davin was **President**.
- Invited:

C.S. Parnell (politics)

Michael Davitt (land)

Archbishop Croke of Cashel (Catholic Church)

to become patrons.

- Although Parnell was too busy to play any significant role in the GAA, his position as patron gave **respectability** to the new organization.
- Croke was an outspoken supporter of Parnell and his public letter accepting his role as patron illustrates **nationalist resentment at the growing English influence of Ireland**:

'We are daily importing from England not only her manufactured goods... but together with her fashions, her accent, her vicious literature, her music, her dances and her manifold mannerism, her games also her pastimes, to the utter discredit of our own grand national sports'

- From the outset, the GAA sought to promote Gaelic games and reduce the influence of English or 'foreign' games at the same time.

The Development of the GAA

- The organisers met again in January of 1885 in Cork.
- At this second meeting they decided to **set up branches** all over the county. They also drew up **rules** for football and hurling.
- In the early years, the GAA **expanded rapidly** and had over 600 clubs by the end of 1886.
- At the annual meeting in Thurles in November 1886, the association set up **county boards**.
- The GAA decided to organise clubs on a **parish** basis, with 1 club per parish. Catholic clergy were encouraged to get involved and inter-parish games were organised on Sundays.
- The GAA held the first All-Irelands in **1887**.

Limerick won the football final while Tipperary won the hurling.

- **1888: American Invasion Tour.**

The GAA sent a group to America to raise funds by putting on demonstrations in Irish centres.

Bad weather meant low ticket sales.

The GAA had to borrow £450 from Davitt to bring the party home.

17 stayed in America.

The I.R.B. and the G.A.A.

- The GAA was a **moderately** nationalist organisation.
- Nationalists in Ireland were divided between **constitutional nationalists** who supported the **Home Rule Party** and **republicans** loyal to the **I.R.B.**
- The I.R.B. saw it was a source of future recruits and as a training ground for its members. At least 2 of the original founders were from the I.R.B.
- So, the I.R.B. began to infiltrate the GAA and soon gained firm control of it. 2 men, **Patrick Hoctor** and **P.N. Fitzgerald** were responsible for this.
- Cusack was the first casualty of this I.R.B. takeover. In 1886 he was asked by the Central Council to resign and was replaced by I.R.B. member **J.B. O'Reilly**.
- At the 2nd Annual Convention in November 1886, a **new Central Council** was formed. All members, apart from Davin, were from the I.R.B. .
- This new Council made some important decisions;
 - players of **foreign sports were banned** from GAA (in place until 1897, reintroduced in 1901, in place until 1971).
 - R.I.C. was banned** from GAA (later included the British army).
- **Davin resigned** in protest.
- At the 3rd Convention in 1887 there was a lot of protest against the growing I.R.B. influence – 1000 attended.
 - Much shouting and arguing.
 - Fr. Scanlan walked out with 200.
 - An I.R.B. man, **Bennett**, was elected President.
- **Croke resigned** as patron the next day: *'their meeting here was disgraceful. It was packed to the throat with Fenian leaders and emissaries'*.
- Croke and Davin now proposed an **alternative association**.
- **Rival clubs** were set up and over 250 clubs left the GAA.
- Fr. Scanlan set one up and said; *'here's how the case stands. On the one side the Archbishop of Cashel and the priesthood of Ireland with the IPP and the constitutional agitation for Home Rule; on the other the men who... appeared at Thurles with a physical force policy, secret societies, Government emissaries and informers. Which will you follow?'* (Cries of 'we'll follow our priests')
- The I.R.B. now compromised.
- A new convention was held in Jan. 1888.
- **Davin was re-elected President** and the I.R.B. were reduced to a minority in the Central Council.

The impact of the Parnellite Split

- By the start of 1890 the GAA was in serious trouble.
- debt** of over £1000.

-American tour was a disaster.

-Davin resigned and the I.R.B. were quietly resuming control.

- The Parnellite split nearly finished it off totally. The Parnellite split refers to a division in the Home Rule Party after Parnell's role in the O'Shea divorce scandal became public.
- The GAA was strongly Parnellite -> 2,000 men carrying hurleys draped in black fabric formed a guard of honour at Parnell's funeral in 1891.
- The Parnellite split weakened the GAA and it went into rapid decline. Many anti-Parnellites, including the Catholic Church, left and clubs closed down.

1888 -> 1000 clubs

1891 -> 220 clubs

At the Annual Convention in 1892 only 6 counties were represented.

The GAA after 1891

- The GAA saw a revival after 1900 which coincided with the revival of the IRA and the growing influence of other forms of cultural nationalism, such as the Gaelic League and the Abbey Theatre.
- It began to focus more on sports e.g. dropped ban on RIC joined in 1893.
- New rule introduced; *'the Gaelic Athletic Association shall be a strictly non-political and non-sectarian association. No political questions of any kind shall be raised at any of its meetings, and no club shall take part, as a club, in any political movement.'*
- Despite this statement, many of those active in the struggle for Irish independence between 1916 and 1921 were involved in the GAA also.
- In 1913, they acquired the grounds at Jones' Road (later called Croke Park).
- 35,000 attended the All-Ireland Football final in 1913.

The Legacy of the GAA

1. The GAA was part of the cultural revival at the end of the 19th century.

- This promoted all things Irish and wanted to reduce English influence in all aspects of Irish life e.g. people should play Irish sports instead of English sports.
- Developed description of 'ideal Gael' in the 1907 *Gaelic Athletic Annual*: *'[He is] a matchless athlete, sober, pure in mind, speech and deed, self-possessed and self-reliant, self-respecting, loving his religion and his country with deep resistless love, earnest in thought and effective in action.'*

2. In the late 19th century, the GAA was infiltrated by the IRB/Fenians who used the GAA as a cover for training young men for a future rising.

- But, the involvement of the IRB in the GAA led to a split in the Association and they went into decline e.g. there were nearly 900 clubs in 1890 but only 118 clubs in 1893.
- The GAA was part of the separatist tradition. Some believed that the full revival of Gaelic culture could not be achieved without a fully independent country.
- The GAA took part in the centenary of the 1798 Rebellion and the funerals of prominent Fenians e.g. James Stephens.

3. According to T.W. Croke, the Archbishop of Cashel in 1884; *'ball-playing, hurling, football kicking...may now be said to be not only dead and buried, but in several localities to be entirely forgotten and unknown. And what have we got in their stead [place]? We have got such foreign and fantastic field sports as lawn-tennis, polo, croquet, cricket...'*

- Rule 27 forbade members of the GAA from playing and watching 'foreign' sports.

This ban was not lifted until 1971.

- The GAA also created written rules for Gaelic games for the first time e.g. the 1884 rules for Gaelic football stated *'there shall not be less than 15 or more than 21 players aside'*.

4. Clubs were established in most counties and contributed to a rise in local pride.

- The GAA created inter-parish and inter-county rivalries.
- By 1901, there were 411 GAA clubs.
- GAA clubs also became the focus of social activity. The club house often became the community centre for meetings, dances and concerts.
- All activity relating to the club was voluntary and amateur. These became important characteristics of the GAA.
- The structure of the GAA has also encouraged and promoted democracy in Ireland as all decisions come through its clubs, county boards and annual congress.

Case study: Dublin, 1913 – Strike and Lockout

Definition of Socialism

- Left-wing
- Developed by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.
- State ownership as means of protection. No private ownership.
- Means an end to distinctions between rich and poor. Generally appeals more to lower socio-economic individuals.
- Some socialists were willing to work within the existing political system e.g. in Britain; the Independent Labour Party.
- Some socialists were more radical -> communists.

Socialism in Ireland was slow to gain popularity. Why?

- Ireland was a rural society.
- Opposed by the Catholic Church.
- Home Rule party viewed it as a threat.
- Unionists opposed it.

Living and Working conditions in Dublin

- 1900: deep divisions between rich and poor.
- Sharp contrast between lives of skilled and unskilled workers.
- There was a vast oversupply of unskilled labour in Dublin -> employers could pay low wages and hire and fire at will.
- Workers were often employed on a casual day-by-day basis.
- Unlike north-east Ulster and Britain, very few women and children were employed in industry.
- Most unskilled workers lived in one-room tenements in slums.
- Conditions in the slums were unsanitary which meant death from diseases like TB was a constant threat.
- Death rates among infants and children were among the highest of any city in Europe.
- By late 1914, over 20,000 families lived like this.
- Unskilled workers were completely unorganised and unrepresented by trade unions.
- James Connolly and James Larkin worked to change this.

James Connolly

- Born in 1868 to Irish immigrants in Edinburgh.
- Joined the British Army in 1882 and was stationed in Dublin.
- Then worked as a carter for the city corporation.
- Believed in Irish nationalism and socialism.
- Returned to Dublin in 1896 as an organiser for the Dublin Socialist Society earning £1 a week.
- Connolly set up the Irish Socialist Republican Party (ISRP) in 1896 with the aim of achieving an independent republic run on socialist ideas -> the people would collectively own the land, factories, banks, etc.
- In 1910, he was made secretary of the Belfast branch of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union (ITGWU).
- 1911 -> organised a successful dockers' strike in Belfast and brought better conditions for female workers in linen mills.
- 1913 -> returned to Dublin.

James Larkin

- Born in Liverpool to Irish parents in 1876.
- Worked at sea and as a docker.
- 1907 -> sent to Belfast as a local leader of the National Union of Dock Labourers and soon organised a strike among dockers and transport workers.

- Here, he used a **sympathetic strike** -> workers not initially on strike would join those who were on strike out of sympathy to their cause/struggle.
- Belfast strike = moderate success and he was transferred to Dublin.
- 1900 -> out of 40,000 male manual workers in Dublin;

-Only **10,000 were skilled**

-**7,000 were dockers or carters**

-**23,000 were casual labourers.**

- Casual labourers were often hired on a **daily basis** and could be '**blacklisted**' if they attempted to organise others or improve their conditions.

Blacklisted = no employer would give him a job which means his family would face the workhouse or emigration.

- 1908: Larkin set up the **Irish Transport and General Workers' Union (ITGWU)**.
- Unlike most existing, British based unions, the ITGWU catered for **both skilled and unskilled** members.
- Both Connolly and Larkin supported the idea of **syndicalism** -> workers should organise themselves into huge unions and call general strikes that would lead to the **collapse of capitalism**.
- 1912; Larkin and Connolly founded the **Irish Labour Party**.
- Membership of the ITGWU rose from 4,000 in 1911 to over **10,000 by 1913**.
- In response to the growing threat posed by Larkin and the ITGWU, in 1911, the employers of Dublin formed the **Dublin Employers' Association**, led by **William Martin Murphy**.
- Murphy, was **Chairman of the Dublin United Tramway Company**, owner of **Clearys** department store and the **Imperial Hotel** in Dublin, and controlled the **Irish Independent**.
- He viewed Larkin as a dangerous revolutionary.
- July 1913 -> Murphy presided over a meeting of 300 Dublin employers who decided to force workers to sign the following: *'I agree to resign immediately my membership of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, and I further undertake that I will not join or in any way support the Union'*.

The Strike Begins

- Larkin called the workers of the **Dublin United Tramway Company**, of which Murphy was Chairman, to **strike on 26 August, 1913**.
- This date was the beginning of **Horse Show Week** in Dublin, one of the busiest days of the year.
- Shortly before 10am, **trams** were stopped.
- Around **700 of 1,700** tram workers joined the strike.
- In response, Murphy and other Dublin employers closed the doors of their businesses and **locked out their workers**.
- About **20,000 workers** and **300 employers** were involved.
- That evening, Larkin addressed a group of strikers outside Liberty Hall; *'It is not a strike, it is a lockout of the men, who have been tyrannically treated by a most unscrupulous scoundrel... Murphy is a coward... We are fighting for bread and butter...'*
- Murphy responded the following day; *'Mr Larkin's so called 'strike' today was the feeblest and most contemptible attempt that was ever made. I expected that when his strike came, if it came at all, it might last a day, but it was actually broken within half an hour of Larkin's 'orders' were issued'*.

31 August 1913

- 31 August 1913; Larkin addressed a **banned public meeting** in O'Connell Street.
- Disguised with a beard, Larkin spoke from an Imperial Hotel balcony before being **arrested**.
- Police baton charged the crowd which resulted in **two deaths** and hundreds of injuries.
- The *Irish News* described 'Mr. James Larkin's exploit [as]...a trivial, tawdry, undignified and stagey trick'.
- While also describing the police brutality as *'three or four hundred men armed with batons rushed from the signal from all sides into the street, knocking down young and old, men and women... I never saw a more careless act on a crowd of people'*.

The Dispute Continues

- Dublin was plunged into a state of great **unrest** following the events of 31 August.
- Larkin was **imprisoned** following his arrest. Appearing before an official government enquiry in October, he described the living conditions of workers and their families; *'Twenty-one thousand people multiplied by five, over 100,000 people, huddled together in the putrid slums of Dublin, five in a room in cubic space less than 1,000 feet'*.
- Workers received help from trade unions in England, and local sympathisers such as **Countess Markievicz**, who set up food kitchens to feed the starving workers and their families.

- Many of those involved in the cultural revolution also supported the workers, e.g. *'It remained for the twentieth century and the capital city of Ireland to see four hundred masters deciding openly upon starving one hundred thousand people...'*. George Russell
- The employers also found support: *'The tenement-house evil in Dublin is not to be laid at the doors of the employers... Employers had been driven to the conviction that they would have to make a stand if they did not wish to see their businesses ruined...'*. Arnold Wright.

The Proposal to Send Children to England

- As the dispute continued, supporters of Larkin in England offered to take starving Dublin children into their homes.
- This proposal was met with fierce **opposition** from the Catholic Church.
- While members of the Church, such as Archbishop Walsh of Dublin, were sympathetic to the plight of the workers, they were strongly opposed to Connolly and Larkin and their links to socialism.
- The Church was concerned that by sending children to England, they might lose their Catholic faith.

'The Dublin women now subjected to this cruel temptation to part with their helpless offspring are, in the majority of cases, Catholics. Have they abandoned their Faith? Surely not... I can only put it to them that they can be no longer held worthy of the name Catholic mothers, if they so far forget that duty as to send away their little children to be cared for in a strange land, without security [that] the poor children are to be handed over [to] Catholics'. Archbishop William J. Walsh.

'We realised that their children are about all the workers of Dublin have left to comfort them... Nobody wants to send the children away... But neither do we wish the children to starve...'. James Connolly.

- The issue of sending children to England was an extremely controversial one.
- At the time, **proselytism**, the attempt to convert people, especially children, was widespread.
- *The Irish News*, 23 October 1913: *'Early yesterday morning fifty little Dublin children were driven into the public baths at Tara Street, there to be washed before being consigned, like lambs to the slaughter, to an English address selected by an English woman of the Socialist-Suffragette variety named Mrs. Montefiore...'*
- The plan was dropped after violent scenes at the dockside and at railway stations, when groups of Catholic priests and their supporters prevented the departure of the children.

The Irish Citizen Army

- A Commission of Enquiry appointed by the British government failed to bring about a resolution when the employers ignored its recommendations.
- In November 1913, James Connolly set up a **workers' defence group** called the **Irish Citizen Army**.
- Their aim was to **protect workers** in clashes with the police.
- Their headquarters were in **Liberty Hall**.
- Members wore a uniform and had a flag with a **plough and stars**.

The End of the Dispute

- When British trade unions **failed to come out in sympathetic strike** with the Dublin workers, it was clear that the dispute could not last much longer.
- On 18 January 1914, Larkin and other ITGWU leaders held a secret meeting at which they decided to advise workers to **return to work**, without signing the employers' document, if possible.
- Over the next few weeks, workers drifted back to their jobs, mostly on the employers' terms.
- October 1914: Larkin **left Ireland for America**, where he remained until 1923.

The Consequences of the 1913 Strike and Lockout

- The workers **returned to work**.
- February 1914: *'And so we Irish workers must go down into Hell, bow our backs to the lash of the slave driver... and eat the dust of defeat and betrayal'*- Connolly.
- The horrific living conditions in the slums had been highlighted and led to attempts at **slum clearance**.
- Many employees **returned to the ITGWU**, and most employers chose to ignore this.
- The actions of the workers in 1913 reflected the climate of the time where various groups adopted **militant stances** to advance their causes, e.g. **The Home Rule Crisis**, 1912-14, and the **Suffragette movement**.

Connolly after the Lockout

- Following Larkin's departure to America in 1914, Connolly became acting **general secretary of the ITGWU** and editor of the revived *Workers' Republic*.
- He was strongly **opposed to the outbreak of WWI** and hated the prospect of workers fighting one another.

- He was increasingly convinced of the **need for rebellion** against British rule in Ireland.
- After some initial disagreements, the **Irish Citizen Army joined** with the Irish Volunteers during the **1916 Easter Rising**.
- Connolly served as **commander in the GPO** until he was severely wounded.
- He was **executed** on 12 May 1916.
- Connolly was an **advocate for social justice**.
- He played a major role in the development of the **Irish labour movement**.
- His most significant achievement was to **combine socialism and nationalism** in a single movement.

Larkin after the Lockout

- While in America, Larkin was engaged in trade union activities and was briefly imprisoned.
- From prison, he **denounced the Anglo-Irish Treaty**.
- Following his return to Ireland in 1923, Larkin struggled to regain control of the ITGWU, now under the leadership of **William O'Brien**.
- He was expelled from the union and founded a rival union called the **Workers' Union of Ireland** in 1924.
- He was also in conflict with the Irish Labour Party, partly due to its close links to the ITGWU.
- Larkin was elected to the Dáil as in **Independent Labour TD** in 1926-32 and 1937-38.
- He was strongly **opposed to the Wages Standstill Order and the Trade Union Act**, which sought to limit the powers of trade unions.
- Larkin **rejoined the Labour Party** in 1941 and was elected Labour TD in 1943-44.
- Larkin died in 1947.
- He was a leading voice in the Irish labour movement for forty years.

Dictatorship and Democracy: Case Study: Stalin's Show Trials, 1936-38

<p>Background</p> <p>Stalin</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1905; joined the Bolshevik Party • Led the Red Army in the Civil War • In 1922 he became General Secretary of the party • 1924 – Lenin died • 'Lenin's Testament' – <i>'I suggest the comrades think about a way of removing Staling from that post and appointing another man in his stead who in all other respects differs from Comrade Stalin'</i> • Believed in Communism in one country • Wanted to focus on industry • Stalin joined with Zinoviev and Kamenev to defeat Trotsky at the Party Congress of 1924 • In 1925 Stalin allied with Bukharin, against Zinoviev and Kamenev • Bukharin is defeated and Stalin became leader of the USSR in 1929 <p>What were the Show Trials?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Senior Communist Party leaders (Old Bolsheviks) were tried in public for control and propaganda purposes 	<p>Domestic policy</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Totalitarian State • Suppressed religious beliefs • Fostered a Cult of Stalin – Stalin was <i>'the most learned of men', 'the fountain of all wisdom'</i>. • Created youth clubs e.g. Young Pioneers • Revised history - 'education is a weapon' • Strict censorship • Repression was widespread. 'Death solves all problems. No man – no problem' • OGPU, later the NKVD, enforced Party policy • Gulags were set up • In 1933, first round of purges began - eliminate party members, party was reduced by 1/3 • 1936-38 => the show trials <p>Economic Policy</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collectivisation – individual farms taken over by the government and combined into large collective farms in which the land was jointly owned and work by the peasants • Industrialisation – focus on heavy industry, hard working conditions and reduced living standards, wreckers punished, absenteeism punished
<p>The Purges</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stalin's economic policies of forced industrialisation and collectivisation led to increased opposition to him in the Communist Party • Stalin was paranoid and wanted to <i>'destroy the men who might form an alternative government'</i> • Early purges -> wreckers and saboteurs in factories accused of destroying the Five Year Plans; kulaks imprisoned, killed or exiled for opposing collectivisation; ordinary Party members who questioned Stalin's policies purged • 1934 -> Kirov, Communist Party leader in Leningrad, was assassinated -> Stalin used this as an excuse to execute over 100, expel thousands from the Party, and arrest hundreds more including Zinoviev and Kamenev 	<p>The Great Purge</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Began with the first show trial, Trial of the 16 (see below) • 300,000 Party members convicted of being 'enemies of the people' between 1934 and 1938 • About 70% of the Central Committee (main administrative body) of the Party were executed during the Great Purge • Red Army Commander-in-chief, Tukhachevsky, an old enemy of Stalin's from the Civil War, and 35,000 officers (half the officer corps) were shot or jailed • Yagoda, head of the NKVD, was responsible for the interrogation and execution of all the accused at the First Show Trial. He was later tried and executed. Yezhov replaced Yagoda • 1937 -> NKVD purged • 1938 -> Yezhov was deposed and executed in early 1940
<p>The First Show Trial, the Trial of the 16</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • August 1936 • Zinoviev, Kamenev and 14 other leaders tried • Accused of the murder of Kirov, planning to kill Stalin, and conspiring with Nazi Germany • NKVD obtained forced confessions -> held in isolation, interrogated, sleep deprivation, beatings, threats made against family members, heating 	<p>The Second Show Trial, the Trial of the 17</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1937 • Lasted 8 days • Defendants = Radek, Pyatakov, and 15 others • Radek and Pyatakov = both supporters of Trotsky • Defendants described as members of the Anti-Soviet Trotskyite Centre

<p>turned up in summer, Kamenev was threatened that his son would be shot</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Zinoviev broke first and he was used to get a confession from Kamenev • <i>'From the start, the rigging of the [Zinoviev] trial was closely planned by Stalin in person... Stalin would shout that Zinoviev and Kamenev were to be given the works until they came crawling on their bellies with confessions in their teeth'</i>, R. Hingley • These confessions 'proved' that there was a conspiracy and that Stalin was right to prosecute the offenders • At the trial, three judges sat facing an audience of about 200 (ordinary workers and international observers) • Vyshinsky was the prosecutor for all three trials -> <i>'I demand that the mad dogs be shot – every single one of them!'</i> • There were no lawyers for the defence and no jury • Confessions = only evidence • Defendants were cross examined and made public statements admitting their guilt • Defendants were found guilty and shot the next morning 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'They were accused of conspiring with Germany and Japan to divide the USSR between those two powers. Pyatakov (who had been deputy commissar for heavy industry) was also accused of wrecking and sabotage; he was a convenient scapegoat for the shortcomings of the industrialisation programme', J. N. Westwood • 13 were executed • 4 sent to labour camps, including Radek • Radek was killed in the camp by the NKVD <p><u>The Third Show Trial 1938, the Trial of the 21</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • March 1938 • Bukharin, Rykov, Yagoda and 18 others tried • Sometimes called the Great Show Trial because Bukharin and Yagoda were members of Lenin's Politburo (body of senior party members which formulated policy) • Accused of: being members of the 'Anti-Soviet bloc of Rightists and Trotskyites', wrecking and sabotage to weaken the environment, attempting to assassinate Stalin • Some doctors in the group were accused of assisting in the murders of Party members • Bukharin denied he was guilty of individual charges but to save the lives of his wife and child he pleaded guilty to the charges in general terms • All of the accused, except for three minor officials, were executed
<p><u>Reaction to the Trials</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The trials indicated that there was a widespread conspiracy with links to foreign countries • International observers were invited to the trials, many believed the trials were legal and fair -> <i>'We consider the claim that the proceedings were unlawful to be totally unfounded'</i>, International Association of Lawyers • The <i>Economist</i> however, believed the trials were an attempt to hide the failings of Stalin's government from the people 	<p><u>Stalin's role</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Directed the Purges and the Show Trials • Directed actions within the Politburo against his enemies • Instructed Yagoda, then Yezhov, to torture some of the accused • He wrote some of the scripts that the defendants had to learn off • Signed many of the lists in the purges that authorised thousands of executions • His role was disguised from the people, the Purges were known as the Yezhovshchina, after Yezhov (head of the NKVD)
<p><u>Assessment</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stalin strengthened the totalitarian system that Lenin had created • Stalin eliminated the Old Bolsheviks in the Party • The Trials were used as propaganda; problems in the Soviet Union could be blamed on wreckers or foreign powers • These internal and external enemies were used to create unity in the Soviet Union and support for Stalin • Show Trials were used to increase the intensity of the purges • Show Trials created a vener of justice which allowed Western supporters of Stalin to argue that a real threat existed 	<p><u>Aftermath</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1953 -> Stalin died • Khrushchev set up a Commission to investigate the Purges -> <i>'Many Party, Soviet and economic activists who were branded in 1937-8 as enemies were actually never enemies, spies, wreckers etc., but were always honest Communists. Often, no longer able to bear barbaric tortures, they charged themselves with all kinds of grave and unlikely crimes'</i> (1956).

Case study: The Nuremberg Rallies

<p><u>Nazi propaganda</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Goebbels = Minister of Enlightenment and Propaganda 2. Ministry of Propaganda divided into sections -> Chamber of Archives, Press Chamber, Radio Chamber 3. 1933 -> large book burning 4. Goebbels created the German News Bureau 5. Daily press conferences held to tell editors what to print 6. People encouraged to buy a People's Radio 7. Loudspeakers placed in the streets 8. Film = powerful anti-Semitic tool, e.g. <i>The Eternal Jew</i> 9. Cult of the Leader promoted at all opportunities -> '<i>Ein Reich, Ein Volk, Ein Führer</i>' <p><u>What are rallies?</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Very important propaganda tool from early in the Nazi regime (1923, 1926, 1927, and 1929) 2. Large scale spectacles of Nazi pomp, strength, success, and superiority 3. Held in August/September 	<p><u>Why Nuremberg?</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Link to Germany's past 2. Nuremberg was an important medieval town at the junction of a number of significant trade routes 3. Seen as the unofficial capital of the Holy Roman Empire, some <i>Imperial Diets</i> held there 4. Birthplace to Albrecht Dürer 5. Centre of a strong tradition of popular poetry and song known as <i>Meisterlieder</i> 6. Strong Nazi base – anti-Semitic newspaper <i>Der Stürmer</i> was published there 7. Seven railway lines converged there 8. Hitler said it was '<i>the most German of German cities</i>'
<p><u>Early rallies</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. First was held in Munich in 1923 (theme = Germany Awake) 2. Second was held in Weimar in 1926 (Refounding Congress), it was delayed due to Hitler's imprisonment after the failed Munich Putsch (1924) 3. 1927 – rallies were moved to a permanent base in Nuremberg 4. 1927 rally (Day of Awakening) – torchlight procession, consecration of the flags, Hitler gave a speech 5. 1929 (Day of Composure) – much larger scale, all major buildings in Nuremberg used, bands played music from Wagner, human swastikas formed, Hitler delivered a 2-hour speech, firework display 	<p><u>1933 Rally – Congress of Victory</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. First Rally after Nazi seizure of power 2. 500,000 attended 3. Public buildings, factories, churches taken over to accommodate people 4. Grandstand built overnight to accommodate 60,000 people listening to Hitler 5. Albert Speer involved in organisation, constructed huge wooden framed eagle behind the podium 6. Leni Riefenstahl made <i>Victory of Faith</i> -> Röhm, leader of the SA, featured in it so almost all copies were destroyed after the Night of the Long Knives 7. 1st Sept – new party flags consecrated = Hitler touched each flag with one hand while his other hand held the <i>Blutfahne</i> ('blood banner' = flag carried during Munich Putsch stained with blood of SA member who died) 8. Parades, fireworks and speeches
<p><u>1934 Rally – Rally of Unity and Strength</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. First to last a full week 2. After Night of the Long Knives and the death of Hindenburg 	<p><u>Rally grounds</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 11km in extent

<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Full scale development of Rally grounds 4. Cathedral of Light -> 130 anti-aircraft searchlights pointed skyward 5. Filmed by Riefenstahl -> <i>Triumph of the Will</i> (3 hours long, shorter version released in German cinemas) 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Large open spaces like Zeppelin Field (could hold 100,000), Luitpold Arena (could hold 150,000 SS and SA) and the March Field used 3. Large buildings like the Congress Hall (hall based on Roman architecture) were also used 4. These areas were linked by the Great Road -> 2km long and 60m wide 5. Speer and Hitler beloved in 'ruin value' (ruins proved greatness of civilisation) and wanted to create buildings that would last 1,000 years, like in Ancient Greece and Rome 6. Construction was not complete when war broke out in 1939
<p>1935 Rally – Rally of Freedom</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Riefenstahl made <i>Day of Freedom</i> 2. Celebrated breaking the Treaty of Versailles with the introduction of conscription 3. For the first time, tanks, armoured cars and aircraft were put on display 4. Nuremberg Laws passed -> defined who was a Jew, Jews prevented from marrying non-Jews 5. Cathedral of Light 6. Zeppelinwiese enlarged to accommodate 250,000 party members and 70,000 spectators 	<p>1936 Rally – Rally of Honour</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Celebrated Rhineland being remilitarised 2. Cathedral of Light
<p>1937 Rally – Rally of Labour</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Highlighted reduction in unemployment since the Nazis came to power 2. Cathedral of Light 3. Hitler told listeners that the Third Reich would last 1,000 years 	<p>1938 Rally – Rally of Greater Germany</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Celebrated Anschluss 2. Hitler put pressure on Czechoslovakia over Sudetenland, Munich Conference held shortly afterwards 3. Imperial Regalia of the old Holy Roman Empire returned from Vienna to Nuremberg 4. Cathedral of Light 5. Each day devoted to a separate topic: Welcome, Congress of Labour, Fellowship, Politics, Youth, Storm Troopers, Armed Forces 6. Attended by over 1 million people 7. Events recorded by hundreds of international reporters
<p>1939 Rally – Rally of Peace</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Cancelled because of WWII <p>During and after WWII</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Deliberately bombed by the Allies during WWII 2. USA held a victory parade through Nuremberg after the War 3. Nuremberg Trials of leading Nazis held there after WWII, e.g. Göring 	<p>Key features of the Rallies</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Night before each rally, opera <i>Die Meistersinger von Nuremberg</i> by Wager performed 2. Each rally opened with the Party Roll of Honour for those who died for the Party 3. Each part of the Nazi organisation presented themselves to Hitler over the course of the rally -> Hitler Youth, German Women's League, SS, SA, Reich Labour Front
<p>Role in propaganda</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Promoted Hitler cult 2. Cathedral of Light like religious experience 3. Widespread use of ritual -> songs, marching, parades, flags 4. Speeches from Nazi leaders highlighted enemies of Germany -> Jews, Communists, Treaty of Versailles 	<p>Quotes</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>'The Party is Hitler! Hitler is Germany – just as Germany is Hitler!'</i> – Hess 2. <i>'The Nuremberg Rallies held every year... were masterpieces of theatrical art'</i> – A Bullock 3. <i>'Whatever may be said or thought about the Nazis, nobody can deny that they are good showmen, and that Dr Josef Goebbels is the</i>

supreme showman of them all' – The Irish Times

4. *'Hitler appointed [Leni Riefenstahl] to make films of the rallies. As the only woman officially involved in the proceedings, she had frequent conflicts with the party organisation... but after the first Party Pally film, which convinced even the doubters of her skill as a director, these attacks ceased'* – Albert Speer

Case study: The Jarrow March, October 1936

Britain after WWI

- WW1 ended in **1918**
- **750,000** soldiers killed
- National debt increased **ten times**
- 1918-1920 -> brief post-war boom
- By 1921 **2.2 million** were unemployed and it never fell below 1 mill during the inter-war period
- Some areas suffered more than others e.g. North of England (**Tyneside**, ship building and coal mining) and **South Wales** (coal mining)
- **The National Insurance Act** gave most workers unemployment benefits but;
 1. It only provided **15 shillings** a week to men and **12** to women.
 2. It was **limited** to 15 weeks a year
 - **Wage cuts** and **industrial tension** were common especially in the coal industry e.g. 1921

Causes of the economic depression

- Decline of Britain's staple industries -> coal, iron, steel, shipbuilding, cotton led to **structural unemployment** in Britain
- **Competition** from German and Polish coal mines where **mechanical mining** was done
- Decline of world trade meant a **surplus of ships**, USA and Japan also started to produce their own
- Decline in shipbuilding meant a drop in **iron and steel production**
- During WWI, Britain **lost China and India** as cotton markets
- In 1925, **Churchill**, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, fixed the value of the £ Sterling to the Gold Standard. It was fixed at \$4.86 to the £. Economist **J M Keynes** said this was too high. The gov. hoped to control inflation by fixing the exchange rate, but they also made **British exports dearer** and slowed down economic growth

The General Strike 1926

- 1921 -> 8 million union members
- 1925 -> mine owners tried to introduce wage cuts as the selling price of coal in export markets had increased by 10
- *'Not a penny off the pay! Not a minute off the day!'* – **A. J. Cook**
- Miners went on strike on 1 May 1926. The **T.U.C.** (Trade Union Congress) supported the miners and by 4 May a general strike involving transport, heavy industry, power suppliers and printers was underway (2 mill)
- The strike **failed** -> only lasted 9 days. The government was very tough in dealing with it
- Gov. passed the **Trades Disputes Act 1927**. This made general strikes **illegal**
- Trade Union military was broken and replaced by **negotiation and co-operation**. So, there was an increase in support for the Labour Party

The Great Depression

- **1929** -> crash in stock exchange
- Collapse of trade -> production cuts -> unemployment e.g. by 1932, **3.4 mill unemployed** in Britain (1/5 of the labour force)
- **National Gov.** led by **Ramsey MacDonald** -> Brit was removed from the Gold Standard; the £ sterling fell 30% in value, means testing was introduced, unemployment benefit was cut by 10%, wages of civil servants were cut
- **Import Duties Bill** introduced protectionism
- **Special Areas Act** (1934) – the gov. proposed giving help to depressed areas to encourage development. This failed -> only 15,000 jobs created.
- Bank interest rate was **lowered**.
- Overall unemployment fell, but some areas still suffered e.g. in 1934 in **Jarrow**, 68% of workforce was unemployed.

Background

- **Jarrow** = small town in north-east of England
- Main industries = iron and steel manufacturing and shipbuilding -> 1852, **Palmer's Shipbuilding and Iron Company** est., produced over 1,000 ships
- **1934** -> Palmer's closed

Efforts to improve

- Jarrow tried to build a new steelworks using modern cost-effective techniques, but this plan was **blocked** by the **British Iron and Steel Federation** who held a monopoly over the steel industry

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>'The most remarkable giant liner in the world is probably the Mauretania.... Now the Mauretania was launched at Wallsend, just across the river from Jarrow; and she has lasted longer than Jarrow. She is still alive and throbbing, but Jarrow is dead' - English Journey by JB Priestley, 1934</i> • 'Jarrow is like a man who has lost both his arms. First we lost the Steelworks and 3,000 men lost their jobs. Then we lost our Shipyard and another 5,000 were out of work. No town can stand such crippling blows' – Mayor of Jarrow. • Of the 8,000 skilled workers, only 100 were employed. • 1932 -> 72% unemployment, compared to 15% nationally • Infant mortality rate in Jarrow: 114 per 1,000. Infant mortality rate in London and South-east of England: 51 per 1,000 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Representatives met with Walter Runciman, President of the Board of Trade, who told them; <i>'Jarrow must work out its own salvation'</i> • Jarrow Borough Council decided to petition the government • 'Hunger marches' were popular in the 30s. Usually organised by the National Unemployment Workers' Movement (N.U.W.M.) e.g., 2,000 people took part in a march to London in 1932. • But the Jarrow March/Crusade was organised by the Jarrow Borough Council and Ellen Wilkinson, the Labour MP of Jarrow, as the N.U.W.M. had links to the communist party.
<p><u>Organisation of the Jarrow March</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 20 July 1936 -> Jarrow Borough Council decided to organise a march to present a petition to Parliament • March Committee was set up • 300-mile journey • 200 men selected after medical examination • Raised £1,500 to fund march, including train fare back from London • Labour-dominated Council got support of local Conservative Party • Called a 'crusade' to reflect religious background of area and distance itself from hunger marches 	<p><u>The Crusade begins</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Religious service on the eve of the March • March began on 5 Oct 1936 from the Town Hall • Marchers carried petition signed by 11,000 in an oak box with gold lettering • Another 68,000 Tyneside people signed a further petition • 'Red Ellen' marched most of the way with them except when she attended the Labour Party Conference in Edinburgh where she presented the men's case -> <i>'...tell the government our people shall not starve!'</i> • Wilkinson was critical of those who did not support the march like the Bishop of Durham and the National Council of Labour • Paddy the dog also accompanied the marchers • A second-hand bus was bought to carry cooking equipment, and ground sheets were provided for outside rests. • <i>'There is no political aspect to this march. It is simply the town of Jarrow saying "Send up work"', Manchester Guardian, 13 Oct. 1936</i>
<p><u>Daily routine</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Began around 8.45am • Marched around 13 miles a day • Some marched army style – 50 min marching, 10 minutes rest • Fed from their transport wagon • At the end of the day, leaders presented the case of Jarrow at public meetings in the towns they stopped off at • Mayor of Barnsley -> <i>'Everything Barnsley can do for you will be done'</i> 	<p><u>Reaction in London</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The British Cabinet called such marches 'altogether undesirable' • Reached London on 31 Oct. 1936 • Held demonstration at Hyde Park Corner – not well attended, only 3,000 to 5,000 compared to 250,000 that attended a few days earlier for the National Hunger March • Ellen Wilkinson presented petition to Parliament • P.M. Baldwin would not meet with marchers • Gov. did little to ease hardship. • Gained sympathy but little else -> <i>'...they gave us a cup of tea. When we got turned down in the House of Commons, that was it... You knew you were finished'</i>
<p><u>Reaction in Jarrow</u></p>	<p><u>Impact</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Delivered petition

- When the marchers returned home they were welcomed by cheering crowds; *'never before in the history of the town has there been such an exhibition of mass enthusiasm'* – North Mail.
- The next day the **Unemployment Assistance Board** reduced their unemployment benefit as they had not been available for work.

- Unlike other similar marches it **did not alienate the general public**
- Well organised and orderly
- Little real impact for unemployed
- New industry was set up (**tube factory** that made casings for bullets) – WW2 not march
- Symbolism of despair of unemployed men -> awoke conscience of middle class
- Mass unemployment of 20s and 30s contributed to the development of the **Welfare State**

Mussolini and Fascist Italy: Rise to power

<p><u>Factors that contributed to the rise of fascism in Italy</u></p> <p>1) Italy's war experience.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 5 million troops sent from Italy. $\frac{3}{4}$ million died. • Low morale -> humiliating defeat at Caporetto, 1917. • Cost of war was crippling, increased national debt from 16 billion lire -> 85 billion lire. • Resented treaties. Felt they '<i>won the war, but lost the peace</i>'. E.g they did get Istria, S.Tyrol and Trentino but did not get Fiume or Dalmatia. Also didn't get any German colonies. 	<p>2) Economic and Social Problems.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Italy's economy was badly affected by WW1. • Cost of war strained government finances, so taxes were increased. • Inflation increased by 500% -> <p>1914: 1 dollar = 5 lire 1920: 1 dollar = 28 lire</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Problems accentuated by 2 ½ million demobilised soldiers. • These problems led to a huge number of strikes. <p>In 1920 alone ½ million workers were involved in 1,800 strikes. There were so many strikes between 1918-20 that the period became known as '<i>biennio rosso</i>' (2 red years).</p>
<p>3) Italy's political weakness.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Italy was a constitutional monarchy, but democracy in Italy seemed to be failing. Corrupt deputies, unstable governments and fixed elections made democracy unpopular. • Proportional Representation (P.R.) led to weak, unstable coalitions especially since the 2 main parties (Socialist Party and Catholic Party) couldn't agree. The result was frequent changes of ministries e.g. Between 1919-22, there was 5 different governments. • Italy had a unique system called '<i>Trasformismo</i>' -this was concerned with maintaining a majority by bribes. • There was also a property and literacy qualification for voting. This meant that only 2 million out of 30 million could vote. 	<p>4) Fear of communism.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communist society was the idea that private property was abolished, the government would run the land and the factories for the benefit of the people and that everybody would be equal. • Factory and property owners feared the rise in support for communism.
<p><u>The Growth of the Fascist Party</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Est. In 1919. • Blackshirts. • Fasces as symbol. • 1919 election: no seats won. • Grew between 1919 and 1922 due to the afore mentioned reasons and illegal fascist activities e.g. In 1921 fascists attacked opponents - > 207 deaths, 800 wounded. <p>Army didn't intervene – believed they had a common enemy. Gov. didn't crack down – more afraid of a 'Red Revolution'.</p>	<p><u>March on Rome</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • October 1922; Mussolini demanded that the Italian gov solve all Italy's problems or stand aside and let him do it. • The gov failed to respond so 30,000 Fascist Blackshirts began to march on Rome. • The PM Luigi Facta wanted to use the army against the Fascists but King Victor Emmanuel III refused. • Facta resigned and Mussolini was appointed the new Prime Minister of Italy.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1921 election; 35 seats (only 7% of total). • Now tried to quieten physical force and attract 'respectable followers', i.e. the Church, Monarchy, Middle Class. • With the general strike of 1922 and Mussolini's role in crushing it, he became a hero. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two days later the March on Rome went ahead but it was more of a victory parade. • Mussolini, however, gave the impression that he had come to power in a coup d'état (takeover of the state).
<p>Mussolini sets up a dictatorship</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 1922, Mussolini was only Prime Minister of a coalition government in which there were only 3 other Fascist ministers. <p>By 1926 he was a fully-fledged dictator. This was achieved by a few steps;</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) 1923: Mussolini introduced the Acerbo Law. This meant that the political party that got the most votes in an election received 2/3 of the seats in parliament, guaranteeing a one party government. 2) 1923: Fascist squads turned into a legal Fascist militia for National Security (MVSN) – state paid. 3) 1924 election: Fascists made sure they won through a campaign of terror and intimidation. 4) 1924; Socialist leader Matteotti was murdered by the Blackshirts. The socialist party withdrew from parliament. 5) 1925: Mussolini removed the king's right to appoint or dismiss government ministers. <p>All opposition parties were banned.</p> <p>Laws could be passed without the consent of parliament.</p> <p>Abolished elections and instead set up the Fascist Grand Council to choose ministers.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 6) 1926; The OVRA (secret police) was established to seek out and destroy Fascist opponents. 7) 1926; obtained the right to Rule by Decree (use 100,000 times) 8) A prison camp for political opponents was opened on the Lipari Islands. 9) Mussolini was now a dictator calling himself Il Duce. 	

*'Italy wants peace and quiet, work and calm; I will give these things with love, if possible, and with force if necessary'.
Mussolini.*

Mussolini and Fascist Italy: Domestic Policy

<p><u>Totalitarianism</u></p> <p>Mussolini's Domestic Policy</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Propaganda • Youth and Education • Economy • Corporate State • Church/State Relations 	<p><u>Propaganda</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Propaganda = the selective use of information to promote a particular idea. • He set up a Ministry of Propaganda under Achille Starace. • Strict ensorship. • Used photos, newspapers, radio and newsreel to create the image of the 'superman' called Il Duce. • This cult of personality made him into a man of culture and a role model for all Italian men. We saw Mussolini the animal lover, the sportsman, the worker, the man of the people. • Cult of personality = the use of mass media to create a god-like image of themselves. • <i>'Mussolini is always right'</i>. • Mass rallies were carefully organised. • Fascists encouraged production of low-cost radios and the number of radios did increase. <p>1926 -> 27,000 1939 -> 1 million</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • He often kept the light on in his office through the night to give people the impression that he was working hard late into the night for Italy.
<p><u>Youth and Education</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education was strictly controlled. • School teachers had to be fascist. • Textbooks rewritten. Compulsory Ancient Roman History. • Focus on fascist values of obedience and patriotism. • 1926; youth groups like Balilla set up. <p>Their motto = <i>'Live Dangerously'</i> Their symbol = a rifle and a book. Creed = <i>'I believe in the genius of Mussolini, in our Holy Father Fascism... in the resurrection of the Empire'</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • At 14 children joined the Avanguardisti – emphasis on military exercises • At 18 many joined the Fascist Party. Membership was necessary for anyone who wished to be employed by the state. • 1927, Battle for Births: Mussolini wanted to increase the birth rate of the country by promoting larger families. <p>It was designed to increase the population from 40 million to 60 million by 1950.</p>	<p><u>Mussolini and the Economy</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) His aim was to make Italy self-sufficient (autarky). 2) The Minister for Finance from 1922-25 was de Stefani. <p>Reduced government expenditure Introduced a simpler tax system Promoted free trade Reduced unemployment from 500,000 -> 122,000</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3) However, Mussolini fired him in 1925. Now protectionism was introduced and the lira was revalued at 90 lire to a sterling. <p>This was done for pride, but it made Italy's exports dearer and so it damaged the economy.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4) The Battle for Grain did lead to the doubling of grain production. But this is misleading, the Italian climate was unsuitable for grain so perhaps it would have been better to grow crops for export. 5) A huge programme of public works was successful. 6) Land was reclaimed e.g. Pontine Marshes 7) Autostrada built 8) Railway networks were electrified

<p>Marriage loans were offered to encourage couples to have more children, part of that debt was then cancelled for each subsequent child that a couple had.</p> <p>Married men with at least 6 children were exempt from all taxation. This was a failure as the birth rate actually declined until 1936.</p> <p><i>'War is to the male what childbearing is to the female'</i></p>	<p>9) Unemployment reduced (in short term)</p> <p>Assessment: Mussolini's economic policy was, at best, moderately successful. With the strains of WW2, the weaknesses became apparent. His policy was superficial – it gave the appearance of grandeur, but did little to produce any real wealth.</p> <p>In fact the standard of living for most Italians did not improve as the value of their wages fell by 10% between 1925-39.</p>
<p>The Corporate State</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An idea thought up by Alfredo Rocco. • Aim: to provide an alternative to capitalism and communism. <p>To eliminate class conflict and promote co-operation.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Various sectors of the economy had a corporation. 22 in total. • Each was made up of <p>Workers Employers 3 fascists</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The corporations settled disputes about pay and conditions. So, trade unions and strikes were banned. • Seemed effective, but in practice; <p>Favoured employers Led to corruption Too much bureaucracy.</p>	<p>Church/State Relations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relations between the Catholic Church and the Italian State were poor since 1870 when Italy was unified and the Pope lost land. • In 1919 Mussolini declared <i>'we are the heretics of all Churches'</i>. • Soon however, Mussolini realised that he could gain from healing the rift between church and state. • Although Mussolini was an atheist and anti-clerical he was wise enough to realise that he had a lot to gain from healing the rift. • So, in the 1920s, steps were taken to improve relations; <p>Compulsory R.E. in schools Crucifix in courts and schools Anti-abortion and contraception laws Baptised his children and blessed his civil marriage</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • His biggest success was in 1929 with the Lateran Treaty. <p>Pope recognised the Italian state State recognised Pope's control of Vatican State paid 750 million lira in compensation Catholicism became the official religion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • However, in the 1930s conflict arose when Mussolini tried to suppress the youth organisation Catholic Action. • Again tension arose in 1938 when the 'Charter of Race' was introduced. This was condemned by the church. • In 1939, Cardinal Pacelli became Pope Pius XII. He advised Mussolini to stay neutral in WW2.

Mussolini and Fascist Italy: Foreign Policy

<p>Overview</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strong interest in foreign policy. • Served as his own foreign minister between 1922-36. Then gave the job to his son-in-law Count Ciano. • Foreign policy was inconsistent... <p>Expansionist in early 1920s Cautious in late 1920s Aggressive in the 1930s</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aim: to gain status and territory for Italy. <p><i>'My objective is to make Italy great, respected and feared.'</i> He saw himself as the new Caesar. He wanted to make the Mediterranean <i>'Mare Nostrum'</i> (our sea).</p>	<p>Expansionist; Early Successes of the '20s</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Corfu Incident In 1923 four Italians were killed while redrawing the Greek/Albanian border for the League of Nations. Mussolini blamed the Greek Government and so demanded 50million lira as compensation. He occupied the island of Corfu until this was paid. • Fiume He also found success in 1924 when he negotiated an agreement with Yugoslavia by which Fiume was acquired by Italy. This agreement was called The Treaty of Rome. • Albania In 1926 he successfully turned Albania into an Italian puppet state.
<p>Cautious; Mussolini as peacekeeper in late '20s</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In the late 1920s Mussolini put on a reasonable front. <p>He said; <i>'we shall all make ugly faces at each other, but none of us means to fight'</i>.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • He enjoyed jetting around the world signing international agreements. <p>He signed 130 in total including: 1925; The Locarno Treaty -> this agreed to honour existing boundaries between Germany and her Western neighbours. 1928; The Kellogg/Briand Pact -> this outlawed war as a means of solving problems.</p>	<p>Aggressive; Abyssinia (Ethiopia)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) 1935: Mussolini invaded Abyssinia. He described Abyssinia as <i>'unworthy of taking its place among civilised people'</i>. Why invade? 2) Avenge the defeat of Adowa in 1896 3) Divert attention from economic problems at home 4) Enlarge empire <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mussolini had little difficulty in overcoming the natives. <p>400,000 Italians used tanks and poisonous gas. After only 7 months Marshall Badoglio entered Addis Ababa.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emperor Haile Selassie appealed to the League of Nations. <p>Sanctions were imposed but they did not include oil. This highlights the weakness of the League.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Results: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Italy earned a reputation for barbarity. 2) It earned the admiration of Hitler who used the incident as an opportunity to reoccupy the Rhineland. 3) It provided a drain on resources. 4) Militarily it led to complacency which proved costly in WW2. 5) It led to the end of the Stresa Front.
<p>Relations with Germany (1)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • At first Mussolini was threatened by Hitler because he feared the Anschluss. <p>Mussolini wanted a weak, independent, Austria on his border.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 1934, when the chancellor of Austria, Dollfus, was assassinated, Mussolini took immediate action to stop the Anschluss -> he sent 40,000 troops to the Brenner Pass to prevent Hitler from attempting the Anschluss then. 	<p>Relations with Germany (2); the Road to War</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1936 was a turning point in the relationship between Hitler and Mussolini. This was due to; <p>Abyssinia Spanish Civil War (Mussolini and Hitler both supported Franco).</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mussolini then joined with Britain and France to form the Stresa Front. This was opposed to German rearmament and expansion. However, Mussolini's invasion of Abyssinia destroyed the Stresa Front and drove him into the arms of Hitler. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1936; the Rome-Berlin Axis was formed (friendship treaty). 1937; Anti-Comintern Pact was signed. We can also see the influence Hitler had on Mussolini with the Charter of Race which was introduced in Italy in 1938. 1939; The Pact of Steel committed to assist each other in future wars.
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<p>Mussolini and World War 2</p> <p><i>'A minute on the battlefield is worth a lifetime of peace'</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Italian army was economically and militarily weak due to campaigns in Abyssinia and Spain. Mussolini knew they were not ready for war. So, when war was declared in 1939, he asked Hitler for huge quantities of arms which he knew Hitler could not give. Because of this Mussolini was able to declare Italy's non-belligerence. War was declared by Mussolini in June 1940 as he was then sure of German victory. By June 1940 Hitler had successfully invaded Poland, Denmark, Norway and France. Mussolini made himself supreme military commander of the army and made many mistakes. All responsibility for Italy's defeats were Mussolini's'. Despite having 1 million Italian soldiers in North Africa, Italy was rapidly pushed back 800km by 36,000 British soldiers. Hitler was forced to send General Rommel and the Afrika Korps to help the Italians. Mussolini's failure to recall Italian merchant ships resulted in the loss of 1/3 of Italy's merchant shipping. Mussolini made no provision for rationing. Mussolini refused to order full mobilisation of resources. Mussolini's worst military mistake was to appoint Fascist ministers with no military experience to senior command positions in the army. In conclusion: <p>Mussolini was the first of the Fascist dictators</p> <p>His tactics were later copied by Hitler, but Mussolini's rule was never as totalitarian as Hitler's – the king remained head of state and eventually dismissed Mussolini</p> <p>His only long-lasting legacy was the Lateran Agreement; his Corporate State was a failure and his foreign policy led Italy into WW2</p> <p>His genius lay in his ability to manipulate the Italian people</p> <p>Italian Fascism as a ruling force died with Mussolini in 1945</p>	<p>Quotes</p> <p><i>'Mussolini's most important quality was that of being a stupendous poseur. His mixture of showmanship and vulgarity appealed to the common people'. Denis Mack Smith.</i></p> <p><i>'Foreign and military policies were the key activities of the fascist state... But Mussolini was erratic and seemed incapable of taking a long-term view... ever liable to get carried away by his own mythology and ever seeking military glory on the cheap'. Martin Clarke.</i></p>
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Weimar Germany, 1918-1933

Treaty of Versailles

- **Weimar Germany** = established in 1918.
- The Allied **blockade** of German ports continued until 1919 and by that time 1/4 million Germans had died of starvation.
- In 1919, the '**November Criminals**' signed the Treaty of Versailles.
- Under the terms of the Treaty, Germany lost 75% of its iron ore resources, 25% of its coal deposits and 15% of its arable land.
- Many Germans felt they had been 'stabbed in the back'.
- Other clauses included **£6.6 billion in reparations** and a **war guilt clause**.
- British economist John Maynard Keynes estimated that this sum was **three times** more than what the German Government could pay.
- The Weimar Government **borrowed** heavily to make the repayments.

Hyperinflation

- January 1923 -> when the Germans failed to pay a reparation instalment, the French Premier, Poincaré, sent French troops into the **Ruhr** to extract payment by taking supplies of iron, steel and coal.
- When German workers refused to work under French occupation, French miners were sent to the Ruhr.
- The German Government began to **print money** to pay the striking miners of the Ruhr.
- The loss of production was twice as costly to the German Government as the annual reparations.
- Borrowing and printing money led to the greatest **inflation** in German history.
- By 1923, 1,783 printing presses were churning out paper notes.

January 1922	760 marks =	£1 sterling
January 1923	72,000 marks =	£1 sterling
November 1923	16, 000,000,000 =	£1 sterling

- Apples were sold for **300 billion marks a half-pound**, and by November 1923, a litre of milk cost 360 billion marks.
- This period of **hyperinflation** meant the mark became worthless, wages declined and life savings were wiped out.
- Middle class support for the Weimar Republic dropped.
- Industrialists, however, were able to buy out smaller competitors.

The Stresemann Era

- August 1923 -> **Stresemann** formed a government and Germany entered a period of economic stability.
- Stresemann ordered an end to the passive resistance in the Ruhr to help boost German industry.
- President of the *Reichsbank*, Schacht, introduced a new mark based on a mortgage value of all the land and industry in Germany, rather than the value of gold.
- Each new **Rentenmark**, was exchangeable for one trillion old paper marks.
- April 1924 -> **The Dawes Plan** unveiled a new plan to aid German economic recovery.
- A regular schedule of German reparations payments was established.
- Germany was given **more time** to pay.

The Wall Street Crash

- 1929 -> **The Wall Street Crash** and the onset of **the Great Depression** brought Germany's economic recovery to an abrupt end.
- American investment in Germany ceased and loans were **recalled**.
- German exports slumped as nations moved to protect their economies.
- Unemployment rose to 2 million by the end of 1929.
- By January 1933, this figure had reached 6 million.
- Banks were forced to close and, once again, Germans lost their savings.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • She was to pay £50 million per annum for the next five years and £125 million from 1929 onwards. • Germany also received 800 million marks in loans, mainly from American investors. • 1929 -> The Young Plan stated that reparations would be reduced to £2,000 million and Germany had until 1988 to repay this money. • Stresemann stated, <i>'We are once again masters in our own house'</i>, but right-wing forces claimed the plan would cause the 'economic enslavement' of two future generations of Germans. • German industry continued to improve. • By 1927, coal had reached 79% of its pre-war level, pig iron 68% and steel 86%. • Social conditions improved with increased wages but there were still 1.8 million people unemployed in 1928. • Recovery was also over-reliant on short-term American loans. • Agriculture was slow to recover. • Over 20% of Germany's arable land was owned by less than 1% of landowners. • Hitler and the Nazis would eventually win much support with promised of agricultural reform. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two economic collapses in six years convinced many people that the democratic system of the Weimar Republic was not working. • The Grand Coalition Government, made up of the three largest parties in Germany, fell from power in 1930 due to proposals to cut unemployment benefits and old age pensions. • 30 March, 1930 -> Heinrich Brüning formed a new government that raised taxes and cut wages and welfare payments. This earned him the title 'The Hunger Chancellor'. • The French Ambassador in Berlin said; <i>'everybody is dissatisfied with him'</i>. • Many middle-class families couldn't afford rent. They moved to shanty towns and relied on soup kitchens. • May 1930 -> Brüning was forced from office. • His successors, von Papen and later von Schleicher, fare no better, paving the way for Hitler's rise to power. • Numbers joining the Red Front and SA, in search of change, increased.
<p><u>Political Upheaval</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Huge divisions between left (Spartacists, socialists) and right (nationalists, conservatives, Nazis). • Spartacist Uprising (1919), left-wing • Kapp Putsch (1920), right-wing • Munich Putsch (1923), Hitler, right-wing -> hoped to use French occupation of Ruhr as distraction and seize power, took over Bavarian government meeting but coup was stopped by police 	<p><u>Quotes</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>'Hunger was the daily companion of the German working man. All people looked for better times. I lost all I possessed so I joined the Nazis.'</i>

Religion and Nazi Germany

<p><i>'National Socialism and Christianity are irreconcilable'.</i> - Martin Bormann</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • However, Hitler was clever enough not to make a martyr of the clergy, so he used indirect methods to undermine the Churches. • 1933 pop. of Germany = 60 million -> c. 20 mill Catholics, 40 mill Protestants, less than 1% = Jewish. 	<p>The Catholic Church</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hitler signed a concordant in 1933. The Church and State agreed to stay out of each other's business. • This approach was insincere, and tension soon arose when Hitler tried to control youth and education, e.g. the Catholic Youth League was forced to disband. • From 1935; The government also held public 'immorality trials' (some legitimate, some fabricated) of monks and nuns, e.g. sex scandals. -> 'We must not blame the agents of these deeds so much as the system. It is a system which has brought untold misery on mankind...', <i>The Persecution of the Church in the Third Reich</i>. • Eventually about 250 priests, religious, and employees of Catholic institutions were found guilty of inappropriate actions and behaviour. • From 1936 on, parents were pressured to withdraw their children from Catholic schools and place them in Nazi-approved schools. By 1939, most Catholic-based schools had disappeared in Nazi Germany. • Soon the church criticised Nazism. Pope Pius XI issued an encyclical called 'With Burning Anxiety' in 1937. This condemned Nazism. • Cardinal von Galen spoke out about the violence of the Gestapo and euthanasia. He held protests -> 'If you establish the principle that you can kill "unproductive" fellow human beings then woe betide us all when we become old and frail. Then none of our lives will be safe anymore.' • He also attempted to bring a lawsuit against those he deemed responsible under statute 139 of the penal code. • Between 1939 and 1943, 693 Catholic priests were arrested. • The Nazis tolerated some opposition from high ranking clergy but many priests were sent to concentration camps, e.g. Friar Titus Brandsma died in Dachau in 1942. • In 1945, German priest, Alfred Delp, was executed for conspiring against Hitler.
<p>Protestant Churches</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The German Evangelical Church = the largest Protestant Church in Germany, it was comprised of 28 regional churches • During the 1920s, a movement emerged within the German Evangelical Church called the "German Christians" -> they embraced many of the nationalistic and racial aspects of Nazi ideology. Once the Nazis came to power, this group (led by Ludwig Müller) sought the creation of a national "Reich Church" and supported a "nazified" version of Christianity.. • Müller, as Reich Bishop, introduced Nazi ideas to the Church e.g. anti-Semitism and 'Adolf Hitler is the new messiah'. • A copy of Mein Kampf was placed on the altar of each church. • Some individuals opposed this move. They formed the Confessional Church and were led by Niemöller. They were supported by 6,000 pastors and about 40% of the evangelical clergy. • <i>'First they came for the Communists And I did not speak out Because I was not a Communist Then they came for the Socialists</i> 	<p>Jehovah's Witnesses</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1 April 1935 -> the Nazis made it illegal to be a Jehovah's Witness and more than 8,000 people were sent to prisons or concentration camps. • They objected to military service and swearing an oath to Hitler. • Nazi officials took Jehovah's Witness children away from their parents. These children were placed with Nazi families or

<p><i>And I did not speak out Because I was not a Socialist...'- Niemöller.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1935 – Hitler set up the Ministry for Church Affairs. They repressed the Confessing Church. Pastors were banned and Niemöller was sent to a concentration camp. • Other individuals showed great courage in speaking out against the Nazis e.g. Dietrich Bonhoeffer – he was hanged. • In total 800 were arrested. • The Gestapo spied on the Confessing Church. • Confessing Church seminaries were banned, and state-funded religious schools were all closed by 1939. 	<p>sent to reform schools.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jonathan Stark was a 17-year old Jehovah's Witness who refused to swear allegiance to Hitler because his faith forbade him, and was hanged a year later. • C. 1,500 murdered.
<p>The German Faith Movement</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Nazi idea of faith was based on racism and a return to the ideas of Nordic pagan faith. • So, in 1934 the German Faith Movement was set up. It became the state religion. • By 1939 only 5% of the population were recognised members. 	<p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Nazis succeeded in weakening and controlling the churches but not in crushing them. • As organisations, the churches did not provide effective opposition to Hitler, but many individuals did e.g. Father Hugh O'Flaherty saved over 6,500 Jews and Allied soldiers.

Hitler and the Jews

<p>Background</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Less than 1% of the German population was Jewish, yet anti-Semitism was a major force behind support for Hitler. • Hitler believed Jews were sub-human and were an obstacle to the survival <i>Herrenvolk</i>. In Mein Kampf, he often referred to the 'annihilation' of the Jews. • Jewish people were regarded as the source of all evil. • They were blamed for the German loss in WWI, they were associated with communism because Karl Marx was communist, and they were deemed responsible for the Great Depression. • Nazi propaganda portrayed the Jews as rich even though a quarter of Berlin's Jews were in poverty. • Nazi newspapers spread wild stories about the Jews; <i>'the blood of the slaughtered child is used by young married Jewish couples, by pregnant Jewesses, for circumcision and so forth'</i>. 	<p>Hitler comes to power</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The persecution of Jews began slowly as Hitler didn't want to upset world opinion as he needed foreign loans. <p>1933- Jews banned from civil service and journalism. A quota on Jews in universities. A boycott of Jewish shops, doctors and lawyers.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1935 – Nuremberg Laws. These deprived Jews of German citizenship and marriage between Jews and Aryans was forbidden. • Jews were deprived from voting. • Marriages between Jews and other Germans forbidden. • Jews not to employ non-Jewish Germans under the age of 45. • Persecution of the Jews now became more systematic. They were banned from parks, swimming pools, restaurants and public buildings. • 1936- lull due to Olympics. • By 1938 Jews were banned from practicing medicine, law and participating in business. • The Évian Conference was held on 6–15 July 1938 to discuss the Jewish refugee problem and the plight of the increasing numbers of Jewish refugees fleeing persecution by Nazi Germany. <p>32 countries attended including Ireland, the USA and Britain. The Dominican Republic was the only country willing to accept more Jewish refugees.</p>
<p>Kristallnacht</p>	<p>WWII</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 9-10 Nov, 1938- Kristallnacht (Night of the Broken Glass). The Nazis used the assassination of a German diplomat in Paris as an excuse to launch a widespread attack on the Jews (pogrom). • Property was destroyed. • 100 killed. • 20,000 in concentration camps. • Hitler fined the Jewish community (1 billion Reichsmarks) in order to pay for the damage. • From 1939 -> Jews forced to wear the Star of David. • Emigration was encouraged. By 1939, 360,000 had emigrated. E.g. Albert Einstein and Otto Frank. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • With the war in 1939, persecution entered a new phase. • 10% of Poland's population were Jews and they were forced into ghettos that were set up in Nazi-occupied Eastern Europe. E.g. the Warsaw Ghetto. • 490,000 forced into 1.3 square miles in Warsaw Ghetto. • By 1942, over 500,000 died in the ghettos. • Hitler's plan to send 4 million Jews to Madagascar was abandoned. • In March 1942 the Nazis began deporting ghetto inhabitants -> Operation Reinhard. • With the invasion of the USSR in 1941 Hitler ordered Einsatzgruppen to follow the army and exterminate Soviet Jews. 100,000 Soviet Jews were murdered by the end of the war.
<p>The Holocaust</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The first major concentration camp was opened at Dachau in 1933, slogan over the gate read 'Work Brings Freedom'. • They were officially described as 're-education camps'. • Opponents to Nazism, Jews, Communists, religious dissenters, homosexuals, Roma and Sinti were all sent there. • Used as slave labour. • In 1941 leading Nazis decided that the Final Solution was genocide; the extermination of all Jews. • In 1942 a meeting of leading Nazi leaders took place at Wannsee where it was agreed the Jews would be sent to extermination camps in Poland. • Adolf Eichmann was responsible for the programme of genocide. • Jews were transported there on trains. • Auschwitz and Treblinka were two extermination camps. • C. 90% died immediately. Remainder used for slave labour (life expectancy c. 3 months). • In 1942 gassing of the Jews began. • The commandant of Auschwitz, Hoess, stated '<i>We tried to fool the victims into thinking they were going through a delousing process. Sometimes they realized our intentions and we had riots</i>'. • Zyklon B was the gas used. • Bodies were burnt in crematoriums. • Jews were also used for experiments, e.g. Under Dr. Mengele in Auschwitz. • About 6 million Jews were killed during the Holocaust. 	<p>Aftermath</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • German attitudes: most Germans took no direct action against the Jews, but anti-Semitism was strong and many Germans subscribed to the idea of Jews as scapegoats. <p>Many found the concept of genocide inconceivable, but it cannot be maintained that an entire nation was ignorant. Apathy and fear ensured that most Germans accepted the situation. After WWII, some Allied forces made locals tour the camps.</p>

Lenin Summary

<p><u>Lenin comes to power</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1917 -> Russia was ruled by Tsar Nicolas II • A parliament or Duma also existed, but they had little power • Two revolutions occurred in 1917 <p>->The February Revolution – Tsar Nicholas II was overthrown and replaced by a provisional government</p> <p>-> The October Revolution – The provisional government was overthrown by Lenin and the Bolsheviks</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lenin wanted to introduce communism. This would involve: <p>-> abolishing private property</p> <p>-> state control of agriculture and industry</p> <p>-> a one-party dictatorship</p>	<p><u>Lenin sets up a dictatorship</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Renamed the Bolsheviks -> communists • Called elections for Constituent Assembly. When results showed a majority for other political groups Lenin dissolved the assembly using the Bolshevik Red Guard • A new constitution made Russia the Soviet Federal Socialist Republic. • Power was in the hands of the All Russian Congress of Soviets. • Freedom of the press was abolished • Secret police, cheka, under Dzerzhinsky carried out a 'Red Terror' (over 140,000 executed). Root out opponents of the Communist Party during the Civil War. • Lenin ended Russian involvement with WW1 and made peace with Germany with the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (v. harsh terms including the loss of 75% of Russian coal and iron resources).
<p><u>Lenin's reforms</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All ranks and titles abolished. • Universal free education. • Adult literacy campaign. • 8-hour work day. • Private ownership of land abolished. • Land redistributed to workers without owner compensation. • Factory committees given far reaching powers. <p><u>Lenin's religious reforms</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lenin attacked the Russian Orthodox Church. • 1921; teaching religion to under 18s banned. • Religious services banned. • Civil marriages introduced. • Communist Youth (Komsomol) encouraged. • Anti-clerical propaganda used. 	<p><u>The Russian Civil War 1918-1921</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bolsheviks (Reds) VS Opposition (Whites) • Lenin and Trotsky led the Reds • The Whites were made up of many groups e.g. <p>-> former Tsarists</p> <p>-> landowners</p> <p>-> industrialists</p> <p>-> social Revolutionaries</p> <p>-> minorities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whites also helped by invasion of 14 Allied Countries (250,000 troops) • The Whites attacked the Reds from 3 sides; <p>General Kolchak from the East</p> <p>General Denikin from the South</p> <p>General Yudenich from the West</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Reds were successful. Why? <p>-> Inspirational and disciplined leadership. Trotsky introduced conscription and raised Red Army to 5 mill</p> <p>-> Used rail system effectively to transport troops</p> <p>-> Used propaganda to scare peasants and workers into thinking that landlords would return if they didn't win</p> <p>-> Lenin introduced war communism* to maintain supplies</p> <p>-> Whites were poorly led and troops were prone to indiscipline</p>

<p><u>Lenin and War Communism</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • War communism was a policy followed by Lenin to ensure that all agriculture and industry was geared toward the war effort. • Industry: production was planned by the gov., strikes were banned, strikers shot • Agriculture: food rationed, handed out depending on contribution to the economy • Results: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Achieved aim of winning civil war but... 2) Severe fuel shortages 3) Transport ground to a halt 4) Inflation made money worthless, bartering was used 5) Peasants cut back on grain production = famine in 1921, 3 million died from famine and disease 6) Opposition was widespread. Many riots e.g. the sailors at the naval base at Kronstadt revolted in March 1921. • Lenin now realised that War Communism must end so he came up with the New Economic Policy (NEP). 	<p>-> Allied withdrawal after WW1</p> <p><u>The New Economic Policy</u></p> <p>The main points of the NEP (1921-28) were;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ending requisitions from the peasants • Replacing requisitions with a fixed grain tax • Peasants could sell the surplus produce • Small private enterprise was allowed <p>Some party members felt Lenin's policy was contrary to communist ideas.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Results: <p>NEP was a success!</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It helped Lenin and the Communists survive • In farming, production reached pre-war levels by 1925 • Heavy industry increased • Cereal production increased by 25% • Factory output rose by 200%
<p><u>Lenin's Last Days</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Died in 1924 • Greatly mourned – body lay in state for a week and Russians marched past • Embalmed and placed in mausoleum in Red Square, Moscow • Petrograd renamed Leningrad • Before he died he wrote his 'Last Testament' in which he criticized major party figures, esp. Stalin • Lenin's legacy -> creating and expanding the Communist Party and led the first Communist Revolution • Although he swept away the Tsarist Regime, Russia remained a poor, peasant society <p>His use of terror tactics also meant a huge loss of life</p>	<p><u>Quotes</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'No amount of political freedom will satisfy the hungry masses' – Lenin • 'Give me four years to teach the children and the seed I have sown will never be uprooted' – Lenin • 'The goal of socialism is communism' – Lenin • 'Lenin owes his historical prominence not to his statesmanship, which was very inferior, but to his general ship. He was one of history's great conquerors.' – Richard Pipes, historian. <p><u>Sample essay titles</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To what extent did Lenin bring about social and economic change? • What did Lenin contribute to communism in Russia?

Summary of Communism in Russia; the Regime of Stalin, 1928-1953

1. Stalin

- 1905; joined the **Bolshevik Party**
- lead the Red Army in the Civil War
- In 1922 he became **General Secretary of the party**

2. Stalin's Rise to Power

- 1924 – Lenin died
- Organised Lenin's funeral
- 'Lenin's Testament' – *'I suggest the comrades think about a way of removing Staling from that post and appointing another man in his stead who in all other respects differs from Comrade Stalin'*
- Believed in **Communism in one country**
- Wanted to focus on industry
- Believed in Cult of Leadership
- Stalin **joined with Zinoviev and Kamenev to defeat Trotsky** at the Party Congress of 1924
- In 1925 Stalin **allied with Bukharin, against Zinoviev and Kamenev**
- Bukharin is defeated and Stalin became leader of the USSR in 1929

3. Stalin: Domestic Policy

- **Totalitarian State**
- Suppressed religious beliefs
- Fostered a **Cult of Stalin**
- Created youth clubs e.g. Young Pioneers
- Revised history - **'education is a weapon'**
- Strict censorship
- Repression was widespread. **'Death solves all problems. No man – no problem'**
- Gulags were set up
- In 1933, first round of purges began - eliminate party members, party was reduced by 1/3
- 1936-38 => the show trials

4. Case Study: the show trials, 1936-38

- Eliminate potential opponents e.g. Trotskyites
- **'Undesirable'** members were purged -> Enemies of Communism, Hypocrites, Middle-class degenerates, The over ambitious, Moral degenerates
- **NKVD** imprisoned or shot thousands
- **The Trial of the 16, August 1936** -> Zinoviev and Kamenev and 14 others were tried, charged with collaborating with foreign powers, shot in Lubyanka prison
- Interrogation accompanied by physical torture
- **The Trial of the 17, January 1937** -> Pyatakov, Radek, Sokolnikov and Muralov and 13 others were charged, Vyshinsky demanded to **'shoot them like mad dogs'**
- There was no evidence produced at these trials
- **The Secret Trial of Marshal Tukhachevsky and the Army Generals, June 1937** -> Stalin feared the power of the Red Army, Marshal Tukhachevsky was found guilty, more than 30,000 Red Army officers were executed or imprisoned

- **The Trial of the 21, March 1938** -> Bukharin and Yagoda on trial – double agents
- By the end of 1938, all the members of Lenin's Politburo (bar Stalin and Trotsky) had been executed
- **The Impact of the Show Trials** -> 20 million may have been shot or sent to forced labour camps in Siberia, Stalin seen as ruthless killer

5. Stalin and the Economy

- Aim = set up centrally planned economy to develop USSR so it could survive in a hostile world
- **'We are 50 to 100 years behind the advanced countries. We must make good this lag in 10 years...or they will crush us'**
- **Stalin and Agriculture/Collectivisation** -> Collectivisation = gov taking over individual farms and combining them into large collective farms called Kolkhoz, some farms were combined into state farms called sovkhoz. Why? -> make capital to buy machinery, free up 25mill workers for industry. Kulaks resisted collectivisation -> began cutting back on production = famine 1932-33, 10 million kulaks = killed or deported
- **Result of Collectivisation** -> By 1940, 97% of peasant holdings were collectivised, 25 million 1 family farms were replaced by 300,000 80 family farms, in 1939 food production was only the same as in 1928
- **Industry: 5 year plans** -> Commission/**Gosplan** set targets
- **First Plan, 1928-1933** -> Focus on heavy industry, oil production doubled, 1500 new factories and power stations, iron works at Magnitogorsk
- **Second Plan, 1933-1938** -> Focus on **Heavy industry and transport**, White Sea Canal, Moscow-Volga Canal, Moscow Underground
- **Third Plan, 1938-41** (interrupted by war) -> Focus on **armaments and defence**, ammunition factories in the Ural mountains
- Results/impact -> Went from the **wooden plough to the atomic age**, Industrial output increased by 400%, **Illiteracy wiped out**. Between 1928-40 300,000 Russians got engineering degrees.
- How was this achieved? -> propaganda e.g. **Stakhanov** became a hero, quantity over quality, **'wreckers'** punished, **poor living standards, low safety standards** e.g. in 1935 62,000 accidents, 10 mill from gulags used as **slave labour**

6. Stalin's Foreign Policy (up to 1939)

- **'We do not want a single foot of foreign territory, but, we will not surrender a single inch of our territory either'**.
- **International Co-operation** -> 1922 Treaty of Rapallo, 1928 Kellogg-Briand Pact,
- Rise of Hitler -> end to Russian/German co-operation, 1934 joined the League of Nations, 1935 Franco-Soviet Pact
- Russia = still weak, not invited to Stresa
- Spanish Civil War -> sent: 1000 aircraft, 1000 tanks, 2000 personnel to **aid Popular front**
- Nazi Soviet Pact -> **'Let every country defend itself against the aggressor as it will and can... we shall bargain with the aggressor'**
- Start of WW2 -> took half of Poland, Winter War with Finland
- Throughout 1940 -> Russia gave Hitler oil and grain
- June '41. **Operation Barbarossa**. Stalin was shocked despite 76 warnings

7. Stalin and WW2

- 22 June 1941 -> Operation Barbarossa began
- 1 million Russians dead after 2 weeks
- ***'The whole Soviet people must fight for every inch of Soviet soil, fight to the last drop of our blood for our towns and villages.'***
- Russians encouraged to fight in **'Great Patriotic War'**
- 900 day **siege of Leningrad**
- Winter 1941-42 – German progress halted by winter
- **Scorched earth policy** employed by Russians
- **Battle of Stalingrad** = turning point in war for Germany

8. Stalin's post – war foreign

- Established **satellite states** in Eastern Europe -> Hungary, Yugoslavia, Poland
- At Potsdam, Allies accepted this as ***fait accompli***
- **'Iron curtain'** descended across Europe -> **Cold War**
- **The Berlin Blockade** and the **Korean War**
- Supported world communism through **Cominform**

'The whole Soviet people must fight for every inch of Soviet soil, fight to the last drop of our blood for our towns and villages.'

9. Stalin's post – war domestic policy

- Continued with 5 year plans– laid **foundation of nuclear industry**
- Collectivisation continued – **larger units** -> 1947 = 250,000 collectives, 1952 = 94,000 collectives
- **Conformity** in all areas of life was demanded -> **Zhdanov** passed laws
- Died 1953

Pravda 1953, on his death

'The heart of Lenin's comrade –in-arms, the wise teacher and leader of the party and the people, has stopped beating'

Khrushchev

'Stalin acted not through persuasion and cooperation with people, but by imposing his concepts and demanding absolute submission to his opinion'

The United States and the world: Case study: LBJ and the Vietnam War

A. Background:

1. Before WWII, Vietnam = part of the **French Indochina**. During WWII, **Japan** invaded.
2. After WWII, the Vietnamese, led by **Ho Chi Minh** and his followers (the **Viet Minh**) staged a **guerrilla war** against France.

B. Early US involvement

3. US saw this as a **containment issue**.
4. **Truman Doctrine** saw the US give aid to France -> they eventually paid for **80%** of the war.
5. 1954 -> Vietnam **defeated France** with help from communist China.
6. Peace agreements led to the **Geneva Accords** which set up North and South Vietnam along the **17th parallel**.
7. The US feared that if elections were held in the South, the communists would win and neighbouring countries would fall to communism -> **Domino Theory**.
8. The US and President Eisenhower supported **Ngo Dinh Diem**.
9. 1959-> **The Viet Cong** (S. Vietnamese communists) begins attacking the **ARVN** (southern forces) using supplies sent through the **Ho Chi Minh Trail**.
10. Diem was given **\$1billion in aid** and **military advisors** -> 1,500 by 1960.
11. Diem = **unpopular**. Diem **favoured the Catholic minority**, was corrupt and postponed land reform.

C. Kennedy and Vietnam

12. President Kennedy **increased the aid** sent to S. Vietnam.
13. 1961 -> He sent **400 Green Berets** to help the ARVN.
14. **Anti-Diem riots** break out across Vietnam.
15. **Buddhists** protest against religious discrimination -> e.g. monk set himself on fire.
16. **'If the Buddhists wish to have another barbecue, I'll gladly supply the gasoline and a match.'** —Tran Le Xuan, Ngo's sister-in-law.
17. ARVN deal **harshly** with protestors.
18. Diem **assassinated** by a group of generals and a military gov. takes over.
19. 1963 = **16,000 US military advisors** in S. Vietnam.

D. LBJ takes over

20. 22 Nov, 1963 -> JFK **assassinated**.
21. LBJ inherits the presidency and the war in Vietnam.
22. LBJ determined not to be **'the first President to lose a war'**.
23. LBJ retained **McNamara** and **Rusk**, Kennedy's strongly anti-communist advisors.
24. Privately, LBJ had reservations -> 1964 phone call = **'I don't think it's worth fighting for and I don't think we can get out'**.
25. He was concerned **'that raggedy-ass little forth rate country'** would distract from his **Great Society** reforms.
26. LBJ realised limited US involvement was not working -> the Viet Cong controlled **40%** of the Vietnamese countryside.

E. The Gulf of Tonkin Incident

27. August 1964 -> reports surface that N. Vietnamese boats fired at the **USS Maddox** while it was patrolling the **Gulf of Tonkin**.
28. Two days later, the Maddox and **USS Turner Joy** reported being fired at.
29. Recent evidence queries whether this actually happened or not.
30. This gave LBJ a **reason to increase US involvement** in Vietnam.
31. The Tonkin Resolution allowed LBJ to take **'all necessary steps, including the use of military force'** to protect American interests.

F. US Involvement Escalates

32. 1964 election -> LBJ portrayed as a moderate against **Barry Goldwater** (Republican).
33. LBJ argued that he was not willing to **'send American boys nine or ten thousand miles away from home to do what Asian boys ought to be doing for themselves'**. LBJ won a landslide victory.
34. Despite what he said on the campaign trail, LBJ launched **Operation Rolling Thunder** in 1965.
35. **'My solution to the problem would be to tell them frankly that they've got to draw in their horns and stop their aggression or we're going to bomb them back into the Stone Ages.'** —General Curtis E. LeMay, 1965.
36. This instigated **air assaults** on N. Vietnam. It was meant to last 8 weeks but continued for **3 years**. March 1965 = 300 air raids per month, Sept 1966 = **12,000 raids per month**.
37. The bombing failed to weaken support for the Viet Cong and **50,000 civilians** were killed.
38. At first these actions were popular -> 1966 poll showed **75%** of Americans supported LBJ's handling of the War.
39. US Commander **General William Westmoreland** requested more troops.
40. Soldiers were drafted on a **1-year basis** but many **'draft-dodgers'** went to University or abroad e.g. Bill Clinton, George W. Bush and Donald Trump. Most soldiers were from **rural** or **lower income** backgrounds.
41. 1966 -> **400,000 US soldiers** in Vietnam.
42. 1968 -> the war was costing the US **\$30 billion a year**.

G. The nature of fighting in Vietnam

43. N. Vietnamese used **guerrilla** tactics.
44. 30,000 miles of **tunnels** were built to protect the N. Vietnamese.
45. The US used 'search and destroy' missions to target the Viet Cong but often resulted in the deaths of many civilians.
46. **Agent Orange** = defoliant used by US over jungle where Viet Cong hid and on crops used to feed them.
47. **Napalm** also used -> jellylike substance that sticks to the body and burns.
48. American soldiers expected to be welcomed by the Vietnamese as liberations but were shocked when they weren't.
49. Morale among troops = **low** -> desertion and drug use.
50. There was 1 deserter every 3 minutes.
51. **30%** of troops tired heroin or cocaine, **60%** used marijuana.
52. **Fragging** also occurred -> around 600 officers were killed with a hand grenade by their own men.

H. The Tet Offensive

53. **Tet Offensive** = a major attack launched by the N. Vietnamese and Viet Cong on cities in the South.
54. Tet Offensive = largest engagement of the war.
55. N. Vietnamese and Viet Cong captured **80%** of all towns and villages in S. Vietnam.
56. In Saigon -> the **US embassy** was attacked and 4 were killed. The heart of US power had been penetrated.
57. Quickly, the Viet Cong lost much of the ground it had gained and **militarily** it was a success for the US.
58. Politically, it was a **failure** for the US -> the American people witnessed the fighting in all its **gory** detail.
59. **Clark Clifford** (Secretary of Defence) and 'the Wise Men' advised LBJ to **withdraw**.

I. Growing Opposition

60. Growing **anti-war sentiment** was compounded by news of the **My Lai Massacre** (1968) -> US troops slaughtered 300 men, women and children.
61. The story was leaked to the NY Times.
62. 1971-> **Lieutenant Calley** was given a life sentence for his role in the killings, he was paroled in **1974**.
63. '**Teach-ins**' were held throughout American universities stressing errors in US FP.
64. **Muhammad Ali** was stripped of his heavyweight title for refusing to serve in the army.
65. '**Hey, hey, LBJ, how many kids did you kill today?**'
66. 9 million people watched **Walter Cronkite** query, '**What the hell is going on? I thought we were winning the war!**'

K. Impact of the Vietnam War on the US

67. **58,000** US soldiers killed.
68. **150,000** US soldiers wounded.
69. Cost = **\$150 billion**.
70. Respect for the US = **undermined**.

J. US withdrawal from Vietnam

61. **Nixon** = President in 1969 -> eager to end US involvement in Vietnam.
62. 1972 = only **40,000** US troops left in Vietnam.
63. BUT as part of his '**Mad Man**' strategy, Nixon increased the bombing of N. Vietnam.
64. He also invaded **Cambodia** to destroy Viet Cong supply lines -> Congress now **repealed** the Tonkin Resolution.
65. 1973 -> **War Powers Resolution** passed = controlled power the gov. has to commit US in an armed conflict without the consent of Congress.
66. 1975 -> N. Vietnam invaded the South and both were **united** under communist rule.

L. LBJ and Vietnam; an assessment

71. War overshadowed LBJ's presidency and **compromised** his **Great Society** programme.
72. The War **divided public opinion** and caused LBJ to **withdraw** from the 1968 presidential election.
73. Caused budgetary **deficits** and **inflation**.

Case study: The Montgomery Bus Boycott, 1955-56

<p>Background</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The US was a wealthy society but affluence did not bring peace. • The American Constitution (1791) said that 'all Men are created equal'. • But the Constitution also allowed slavery until 1865. • Even after the abolition of slavery black Americans were not given equal rights. • Plessy VS Ferguson -> Jim Crow laws were passed in Southern States. • These laws forced racial segregation in places like schools, bathrooms, buses and park benches. • In some states black people couldn't vote or had to prove their literacy. • The KKK persecuted, and even lynched, black Americans. 	<p>Montgomery and Segregation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Montgomery is the capital of Alabama. In 1956 the population was 70,000 white and 50,000 black. • The average black income was \$970 p.a. – half that of white people. Black people dominated unskilled, low paid jobs such as maids and labourers. • Black people in Alabama were not allowed to hold public office. Thousands were also denied the vote due to poll tax and literacy tests. • The Alabama bus company only employed white drivers. White people sat at the front of the bus (first 4 rows) and black people sat at the back, even if the front was unoccupied. If the bus was full and a white person wanted to sit, a black person was obliged to give up their seat. • 'Every person operating a bus line shall provide separate but equal accommodation for white people and [black people] on his buses' - Code of City of Montgomery. • 70% of bus users in Montgomery were black. They were often abused and harassed by drivers. • If segregation laws were not obeyed a black person could be fined or jailed. E.g. Claudette Colvin was arrested for not giving up her seat to a white person, as was Mary-Louise Smith.
<p>Rosa Parks</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A 42-year-old seamstress in a department store. • A member of the NAACP. • 1 Dec 1955 -> Parks boarded a bus after work and sat at the back of the bus. When all the white seats were full, she was asked by the driver to give up her seat to a white man. She refused. She didn't argue with the driver but remained seated. • The driver called the police and Parks was arrested. • From jail, she phoned her friend Edgar Daniel Nixon. He was leader of the NAACP in Alabama. He paid her bail. She was due to appear in court on 5 Dec. • Nixon wanted to use her case to fight to end segregation and to challenge racism in the courts. Having discussed it with her husband and mother, Parks decided to go ahead with a lawsuit to test whether the law on segregation violated the Constitution. • Nixon contacted other black leaders to secure their support – Rev Ralph Abernathy and Rev Martin Luther King. 	<p>Planning the Bus Boycott</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The black community in Montgomery was outraged when they heard the news of Parks' arrest. • Jo Ann Robinson, leader of the Women's Political Council of Montgomery, organised a one day boycott for Monday, 5 December. • 35,000 leaflets were printed to spread the word. • Meanwhile, Nixon and other religious leaders were growing concerned at the violent mood among the black community. To avoid violence, they called a meeting on 2 Dec in King's church. • Over 40 religious leaders attended this meeting. They agreed to support the boycott and to spread the word to their congregations on 4 Dec.
<p>December 5th</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rosa Parks appeared in court, King and Abernathy attended. • Parks was found guilty and fined \$10. Nixon immediately appealed the decision. • Meanwhile, the bus boycott was a huge success – all over the city the buses were empty as black people 	<p>The Montgomery Improvement Association</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A permanent group called the M.I.A. was set up to run the boycott. Martin Luther King was elected leader. • That evening he addressed a crowd at a meeting. He urged them to follow non-violent, Christian principles. -> 'We are here, we are here this evening because we are tired now. And I want to say that we are not here advocating violence.... We are Christian people... The only weapon that we have in our hands this evening is the weapon of protest.' • The M.I.A. had 3 demands; <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Black drivers must be employed 2. Drivers must be courteous to passengers 3. Segregation on buses must end • The M.I.A. urged the black community to continue the boycott until these demands were met.



<p>found alternative ways of getting to work.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> It was so successful that leaders of the boycott met that afternoon and decided to continue with the boycott. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Money was collected to buy station wagons for a private taxi company. A Transportation Committee was set up to form carpools – when local agents tried to cancel their insurance, they got it from Lloyds of London. Black churches raised \$30,000 for the carpool and acted as pick-up points for black people looking for transport. 8 Dec -> King and representatives from the M.I.A. met Mayor W.A. 'Tacky' Gayle and reps from the bus company at city hall. King was optimistic as the press were also present, but the bus company refused to change segregation seating. The Mayor even joked 'comes the first rainy day and the [black people] will be back on the busses'.
<p>White Reaction to the Boycott</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The white community made various attempts to disrupt the boycott. They came from 3 main sources: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> City Bosses. Threatened to shut down taxi drivers who charged the same as the bus (10c). 22 Jan -> city bosses falsely announced to the media that the boycott was over. Rumours were spread that King was misusing M.I.A. funds. Police. Regularly stopped those car-pooling. King was arrested for doing 30mph in a 25mph limit. Feb '56 -> 89 black leaders were arrested under an old law that banned boycotting. KKK. Marched through the streets. Poured acid on cars in car pools. Black churches and homes of black leaders were attacked e.g. King. 'There are those who would try to make this a hate campaign. This is not a war between the white and the [black] but a conflict between justice and injustice...' – MLK. 	<p>The Legal Struggle to End Segregation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The boycott was only half the battle. The N.A.A.C.P. were working hard through the legal system to end segregation. Claudette Colvin, Aurelia Browder, Susie McDonald, Mary Louise Smith, and Jeanetta Reese had been discriminated against by drivers in Montgomery. They agreed to become plaintiffs in a federal civil action lawsuit. Reese dropped out because of intimidation. June 1956 -> Browder VS Gayle - a panel of 3 Federal Judges ruled the bus laws were unconstitutional. But, lawyers for the city of Montgomery filed an appeal to the Supreme Court The city sued the M.I.A. for damages – they wanted \$15,000 in compensation. This soon became irrelevant however, as on 13 Nov 1956 the US Supreme Court declared that segregation on buses was unconstitutional, and so it must end. This decision was to come into effect on 20 Dec. 14 Nov -> the M.I.A. called off the boycott but asked black citizens to stay off buses until the ruling came into effect. 21 Dec 1956 -> King and others took their seats at the front of the bus. The boycott was over. However, there was backlash from the white community with buses being shot at and churches being burnt.
<p>Results of the Boycott</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lasted 381 days. Cost the M.I.A. \$225,000. Bus co. lost \$250,000 in revenue. Showed that non-violent protest and well organised movements can succeed. King came to prominence. He founded the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. TV and media coverage made white America aware of the plight of the black community. The boycott succeeded because it was combined with a legal challenge. Jim Crow laws continued in other areas of life e.g. schools. Rosa Parks lost her job. She and her husband moved to Detroit. In 1996 she was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom. 	<p>Martin Luther King</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> King was born in Atlanta, Georgia. In 1955 he was awarded a PhD from Boston University. He was appointed pastor of a Baptist church in Montgomery. In Montgomery, King came to national prominence as the leader of the Montgomery Bus Boycott. He then became President of the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) which was set up to lead the boycott. He was inspired by the teachings of Gandhi and Terence MacSwiney, and their use of non-violent protest, which he put into practice in Montgomery. King founded the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. He was involved in many non-violent demonstrations e.g. Birmingham, Alabama. 1963 -> King led 250,000 people in a civil rights march in Washington where he made his 'I have a dream' speech. 1964 -> King was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize and he saw the passing of the Civil Rights Act. However, King's leadership was now being challenge by more radical black leaders e.g. Malcom X. King was assassinated in Memphis by James Earl Ray in 1968.

Case study: The Moon Landing, 1969

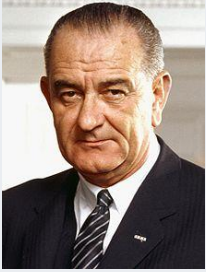
<p><u>Advances in Space Technology</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • With the development of inter-continental ballistic missiles after WW2, it became clear that the potential was there to send men and satellites into space. • The US thought they had the edge in missile development thanks to von Braun, so they were shocked with the success of the USSR. • 1957 - Sputnik 1 became the first satellite in space. • 1957 - USSR launches a dog into space. Laika dies a few hours after take-off. • 1960 – Luna II became the first man made object to land on the moon. • 1961 – Yuri Gagarin in Vostok I was the first man in space. • 1963 – Valentina Tereshkova became the first woman in space. 	<p><u>Response of the US</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1958 – Eisenhower set up NASA. • 1958 – Explorer 1 was the first US satellite in space. • 1961 – JFK promised to put a man on the moon within the decade -> <i>‘I believe this nation should commit itself to achieving the goal, before this decade is out, of landing a man on the Moon and returning him safely to Earth’.</i> • Three separate programmes were set up in the 60s. <p>-> Mercury (1959-63). To see if a person could survive in space.</p> <p>-> Gemini (1963-66). Experiments relating to the moon mission.</p> <p>-> Apollo (1961-72). To land a man on the moon.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1961 – Alan Shepard = first American in space. • 1962 – John Glenn orbited the Earth 3 times in Friendship 7.
<p><u>Apollo Programme</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Developed to achieve Kennedy’s promise. • 1967 – Apollo 1 destroyed by fire while it was on the ground, 3 astronauts killed. • Missions 2-6 = unmanned. Used to test the rocket Saturn. • Apollo 7 - first US mission to carry a crew into space. • 1968 – Apollo 8 made a successful manned orbit of the moon. • 1969 – Apollo 11 became the first manned mission to the Moon. 	<p><u>Apollo 11</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Apollo 11 = 3 parts. 1. The command module (Columbia) brought the astronauts to the Moon and back. 2. The service module held rockets and fuel. 3. The lunar module (Eagle) landed on the Moon. • There were 3 astronauts on board: Neil Armstrong, Michael Collins, and Buzz Aldrin. • 9.32am, 16 July 1969 -> Apollo 11 cleared for take-off at the Kennedy Space Centre. • Apollo 11 loaded with 2,000 tonnes of fuel which burned at a rate of 15 tonnes a second. • After 3 minutes, the launch escape tower was jettisoned. • After 9 minutes, the second-stage rocket was jettisoned. • After 11 minutes, Apollo 11 and the three astronauts reached the Earth’s orbit.
<p><u>The journey to the Moon</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On the journey, the astronauts took part in live TV broadcasts and ate freeze dried food. • The crew travelled 384,400km from Earth to the Moon. • On 20 July, Armstrong and Aldrin took the Eagle (lunar module) and landed in the Sea of Tranquillity. 	<p><u>On the Moon</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stepping on the Moon, Armstrong said: <i>‘That’s one small step for (a) man, one giant leap for mankind’.</i> • He was watched by an estimated 530 million people. • The astronauts wore Portable Life Support Systems, spacesuits with an extra layer for added protection and helmets with 2 visors. • Aldrin and Armstrong planted an American flag on the Moon. • They collected rock samples and carries out experiments. • Aldrin and Armstrong left a plaque on the Moon: <i>Here men from the planet Earth first set foot upon the Moon.</i>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'Contact light on. Engine off. The Eagle has landed', Armstrong. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The astronauts spent 21 hours, 36 minutes on the Moon's surface before departing on the Eagle and docking with Columbia. • The Eagle was left to float in the Moon's orbit.
<p><u>Return to Earth</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Columbia, protected by a heat shield, returned to Earth with parachutes to slow the entry speed. • The astronauts splashed down in the Pacific Ocean and were picked up by the USS Hornet. • The astronauts were placed in quarantine for 21 days. • The US now led the space race. • The Soviets focused more on the development of space stations. • Due the budget cuts, the past US mission to the Moon was in 1972. 	<p><u>Celebrations and Reactions</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tours, parades and interviews were arranged for the astronauts. They were awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom by Nixon. A presidential tour was organised. They visited 24 countries in 45 days. They even met the Pope. • The Moon Landings were seen as a victory for capitalism, democracy and the US in the Cold War. It was carried live by radio and TV around the world. • Not all countries gave it such prominent coverage. China, North Korea and North Vietnam all ignored the story and in Russia, reports on the landings were slotted into regular broadcasts. • Newspaper coverage also differed. In the West it was front page news and many special editions and supplements were printed. • However, the Chinese papers did not cover the story on the front page. • 'Pravda', the official Communist paper in the USSR placed it on the bottom of the front page. • The French Communist paper 'L'Humanite' praised the landings but managed to keep the words 'United States' off the front page.
<p><u>Further Apollo Missions</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Russia did launch a spacecraft, Luna 15, but it crash landed on the Moon. They failed to catch up with the US and instead focused on developing space stations. • The US followed up with 6 more Apollo missions. • 1969 – Apollo 12 collected samples from the Moon. • 1970 – Apollo 13 failed to reach the Moon due to a burst oxygen tank. • 1971 – Apollo 14 set up scientific experiments in space. Alan Shepard played golf on the Moon. • 1971 – Apollo 15 spent 3 days on the Moon and had a moon buggy. • 1972 – Apollo 16 almost aborted due to engine failure. • 1972 – Apollo 17 spent 3 days on the Moon. 	<p><u>Space Exploration after the Moon Landing</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public interest declined, why? • US had won space race. • 70s was era of détente in Cold War. • Economic decline led to NASA budget cuts. • Shift in focus from the Moon to space stations and missions to other planets. • NASA then began working on a reusable craft to deliver and retrieve satellites. It was designed to launch like a rocket and return like an aircraft. The first such shuttle was The Enterprise and was used in 1977. • 1973 – NASA launched an experimental space station called Skylab. It orbited the Earth until it crashed down in Western Australia in 1979. • Shuttles were expensive and difficult to operate e.g. in 1986 the space shuttle Challenger exploded soon after take-off killing all 7 astronauts. In 2003, The Columbia broke up on re-entry killing 7.

US Presidents from Roosevelt to Reagan

President	Domestic Policy	Foreign Policy
 <p>Franklin D Roosevelt; 1933-45 Democrat</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • When FDR became president the Wall Street Crash and Great Depression brought the banking system to the brink of collapse • Yet when he died in 1945 the US was the greatest economic power in the world • Expanded the power of the presidency -> federal gov took more of an active role in social and economic issues • 'New Deal' policies -> gov took a more active interest in the economy to 'promote the general welfare' of US citizens -> beginning of US welfare state • Federal Emergency Relief Act -> granted \$500 million to finance work relief schemes • Emergency Banking Relief Act -> all banks now under federal control • National Recovery Industrial Act -> all major industries to create fair prices, wages and working conditions • Tennessee Valley Authority -> developed the seven states in the Tennessee River basin • The right-wing Liberty League claimed FDR was trying to introduce socialism • Socialists and communists said FDR wasn't doing enough • 1939 -> Roosevelt created the Executive Office to control the work of White House agencies • His 'fireside chats' provided a direct link with the public • First president to speak on tv 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1939 -> US = neutral • 1940 -> 'lend-lease' program with Brit. – US agreed to offer Brit weapons • 7 Dec 1941 = Pearl Harbour, US joins war on Allied side • Feb 1945 – Yalta Conference -> agreed that Nazis should be tried, all Nazis dismissed from office and a democratic Germany established = 'defeat, de-nazify, democratise' • 12 April 1945 = Roosevelt died
 <p>Harry S. Truman; 1945-53 Democrat</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Proposed 21 program called Fair Deal = expanding social security system, public housing for those in need, civil rights laws for minorities -> rejected by Congress (evidence of checks and balances in action) • Passed GI Bill of Rights -> veterans could buy homes at low interest rates and had access to higher education 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • July 1945 -> met with Stalin and Attlee in Potsdam to discuss the future of Europe • Truman presidency saw the dawn of the nuclear age • 6 August 1945 -> atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima. 78,000 killed, 88,000 injured, 300,000 exposed to radiation. • When Japan still refused to surrender a second bomb was dropped on Nagasaki three days later. • <i>'Let there be no mistake about it, I regarded the bomb as a military weapon and never had any doubt that it should be used'</i> – Truman • Believed in the policy of containment. • 1947 - Truman Doctrine committed US to supporting all countries fighting communism • Marshall Plan -> US would provide financial aid to war-torn Europe (and consequently also help stop the spread of communism) • 1948 – Truman was re-elected • 1948-49 -> Berlin Blockade, for 11 months the US airlifted supplies into West Berlin • 1949 -> negotiated the formation of NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation) to defend Western Europe against communism • 1950 -> sent troops to South Korea when it was invaded by the communist North

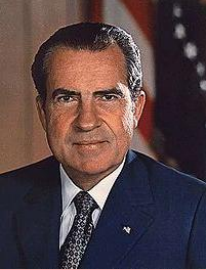
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fired General Douglas MacArthur for challenging his orders • Korean War was unpopular and in 1952 Truman's approval ratings slumped to their lowest level • He died in 1972 and is still regarded as one the greatest US Presidents
 <p>Dwight D. Eisenhower; 1953-61 Republican</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • He believed there should be less gov involvement in the economy (dynamic conservatism) • He reduced gov spending which meant he would cut taxes • He extended social security, unemployment benefit and raised minimum wage • 1953 – Ike secured state ownership of oil deposits in the Gulf of Mexico and Pacific which he allowed private companies to exploit • 1956 – 10 year interstate highway building program commences, 4-8 lane motorways were built at a cost of \$25 billion <p>Motor industry (mainly Chrysler, Ford and General Motors) benefitted from this</p> <p>There was a rise in sprawling suburbs and domestic holidays as a result</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ike had a limited view of the presidency – believed Roosevelt and Truman had taken over some of the powers of Congress • But he did oppose efforts to pass a constitutional amendment that would reduce the power of the president to negotiate treaties with foreign powers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces in Europe during WW2 • Peaceful co-existence with Khrushchev • 1957 – Soviets sent Sputnik into space • In response Eisenhower set up NASA (National Aeronautics and Space Administration) • July 1953 – Korean War ended with a ceasefire • 1954 – Vietnam partitioned, gov of South Vietnam attacked by Vietcong (South Vietnamese Communists) • Eisenhower increased economic aid to South Vietnam to \$500 million p/a • By 1960 – 1,500 US advisors in South-East Asia
 <p>John F. Kennedy; 1961-63 Democrat</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New Frontier aimed to 'get America going again' -> policies on civil rights, health and education • 1961 -> set up a Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity • Attempted to address shortage of qualified teachers -> this was blocked by Congress over issues of religion and desegregation • 1961 -> Created the Peace Corps = volunteers who gave health, agricultural and educational aid to overseas countries • <i>'I believe that this nation should commit itself to achieving the goal, before this decade is out, of landing a man on the moon and returning him safely to the earth'</i> – Kennedy to Congress • Sept 1962 -> Governor Barnett of Mississippi refused to allow a black student study at the state university, Kennedy sent federal troops to protect the student • June 1963 -> Kennedy sent troops to force Governor Wallace of Alabama to admit 2 black students to the state uni • Kennedy appointed 2 significant black officials: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -> Thurgood Marshall = Circuit Court Judge -> Robert Warren = Head of the Housing and Finance Agency • 1963 -> Kennedy introduced the Civil Rights Bill but he was assassinated before it passed through Congress 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kennedy sent helicopters and 16,000 advisors to Vietnam • 1962 -> Cuban Missile Crisis = Kennedy's greatest test <p>Soviets planned to install missiles on Cuba, Kennedy ordered a blockade of the island</p>



Lyndon B. Johnson; 1963-69
Democrat

- He wanted to create a **Great Society** -> believed the federal government should be used to improve the lives of the people
- *'The place to build the Great Society is in the classrooms of America... Poverty must not be a bar to learning, and learning must offer an escape from poverty'*
- Set up schemes to provide cheap housing, provide grants for slum clearance and educate poor students in state-funded schools
- 1964 -> **Civil Rights Act** banned discrimination based on race, religion, sex or nationality
- 1965 -> **Voting Rights Act** passed = gave federal gov powers to supervise state and federal elections

- 1964 -> **Tonkin Resolution:** Congress gave LBJ approval to involve the US military in the war
 - 1965 -> the US started bombing North Vietnam
- ** separate summary on LBJ and Vietnam



Richard Nixon; 1969-74
Republican




- 1969 -> Republican Nixon was appointed President but the Democrats held the majority in Congress and blocked many of Nixon's plans
- 1970 -> Congress ignored Nixon and lowered the voting age from 21 to 18
- Nixon wanted to end direct social welfare payments to the poor but Congress blocked this and actually increased social-security spending
- Nixon wanted to prevent further desegregation in Mississippi but the Supreme Court demanded more integration and supported the bussing of children between black and white areas to attend mixed schools
- 1972 -> Nixon hired people to gather info on his political rivals

17 June 1972 -> 5 intruders were arrested with recording material at the HQ of the Democratic Party
The break in was traced back to the President's staff
Nixon tried to cover up the scandal
Congress began measures to impeach Nixon, who refused to co-operate and hand over recordings that related to **Watergate**
The Supreme Court said Nixon had to hand over the tapes
9 August, 1974 -> Nixon resigned rather than wait to be impeached

- Because of events in the Vietnam War and Watergate, Congress began to **limit the power of the President**

-> they set limits to political contributions for elections
-> they passed the Ethics in Government Act – senior gov officials had to declare their wealth
-> CIA had to report to Congress
-> 1973 War Powers Act restored the powers of Congress in declaring war
-> 1974 Budget Reform Act restored the powers of Congress over the budget

- Launched a policy of **détente** -> easing/relaxing of tensions
- May 1972 -> **SALT** = Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty, this limited the number of new missiles being built for 5 years
- Feb 1972 -> Nixon visited China
- Aug 1969 -> Nixon started secret peace talks with North Vietnam
- May 1972 -> Nixon ordered a 10 day bombing campaign of North Vietnam
- 27 Jan 1973 -> **Paris Peace Accords** signed and Nixon was able to bring all remaining US troops home

 <p>Gerald Ford; 1974- 77 Republican</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ford wanted to increase spending on military and reduce spending on social-welfare but Congress opposed this Ford gave Nixon a <i>'full, free and absolute pardon'</i> -> Ford's press secretary resigned in protest 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Continued Nixon's policy of talks with the USSR on SALT II
 <p>Jimmy Carter; 1977-81 Democrat</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1979-> high fuel prices (mainly due to the revolution in Iran) meant Congress gave Carter the authority to introduce fuel rationing During the 1970s unemployment = 6.2%, by 1980 unemployment = 10% Carter raised minimum wage He provided revenue to clean up toxic waste sites 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1979 -> signed SALT II Involved in Camp David peace talks between Israel and Egypt Carter did nothing with the USSR invaded Afghanistan 1979 -> Iranian students abducted Americans in Tehran , Carter was unable to secure their release
 <p>Ronald Regan; 1981-89 Republican</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reaganomics = economic policy 1970s = recession, so Reagan introduced the Programme for Economic Recovery -> aimed to increase economic growth through worker productivity He believed <i>'Government is not the solution to our problem. Government is the problem'</i> so he reduced government spending on social-security programmes Economic Recovery Tax Act cut personal income tax to 25% 1984 -> unemployment = 7%, inflation dropped by 3% 1987 -> Congress rejected his budget due to proposed spending on defence Oct 1987 -> stock market crashed due to a national debt of \$192 billion 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reagan was prepared to stand up to the 'evil empire' (USSR) He met with Gorbachev in 1985 and twice in 1986 Reagan informed Gorbachev that the US was developing a Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) called Star Wars – Reagan believed that if the USSR tried to match the US in arms build-up the Soviet economy would collapse Reagan sent financial and military aid to Contra rebels in Nicaragua -> this angered Congress who banned all aid to rebels 1986 -> Reagan ordered the bombing of Libya 1987 -> it was revealed the US had been secretly selling arms to Iran in return for the release of US hostages -> profit from these sales had been going to Contra -> Congress had made this illegal 3 years previously

Sources of the US economic boom, 1945-68

<p>The Boom</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. During WW2, the US economy entered a boom period which lasted from the 1940s-1960s. 2. Economy more than doubled in size between 1945-1960. 3. Unemployment = low. 4. Inflation averaged at 2.5% per year. 5. US enjoyed <i>'the greatest prosperity the world has ever known'</i>. 6. Late 1940s -> US = home to 7% of the world's population, but 50% of the world's manufactured goods and 40% of the world's income. 7. By 1960, families could buy 30% more than they could in 1950. 	<p>Reasons for the Economic Boom – Influence of WWII</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Expansion of war industries eliminated high unemployment of the 1930s. 2. Millions of women brought into the workforce. 3. Family earnings increased during WW2 as did savings (there was nowhere to spend the money) -> by 1945 there was \$140 billion in private savings. 4. These savings were used after the war on consumer goods -> this increased employment as more workers were needed to produce these goods 5. Increased government revenue as more people were working, therefore more people were taxed -> 1940 = gov collected \$7 billion in tax, 1945 = gov collected \$51 billion. 6. Company profits increase and many companies merged -> By 1945, 75% of all manufacturing industry was controlled by 100 companies. 7. Mainland US was undamaged by WW2 and didn't have to spend money on reconstruction. 8. US actually exported goods to areas that needed reconstruction (Marshall Aid was used to buy them).
<p>Reasons for the Economic Boom – Public Investment</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5. Public investment increased from \$10 billion in 1940 to \$580 billion in 1980. 6. Increased spending on highways, education and welfare. 7. Mild recessions in 1953-4 and 1957-8 were mainly due to gov cutbacks in spending. 8. 1945-70 -> 60% of all gov spending went on defence. 9. US benefited from sale of weapons to other countries. 10. Relationship between US gov and military = military-industrial complex. 11. 1946 -> Council for Economic Advisors (CEA) established = role was to watch progress of economy and recommend gov action if necessary. 12. 1946 -> Employment Act also passed -> committed gov to achieving maximum employment and productivity; <i>'the business of American governments was business'</i>. 13. Many economists followed Keynesian economic ideas = gov spending had a large impact on economic growth and employment. 14. 1944 -> GI Bill of Rights helped veterans buy homes, start businesses and educate themselves. 15. 1956 -> 8 mill veterans benefited from further education -> more skilled workforce and more schools and colleges needed. 16. 1956 -> Highways Act – over 15 years gov invested \$30 billion in 41,000 miles of roads crossing the US. Direct boost -> construction. Indirect boost -> car companies, motels, diners. 17. Gov involvement = successful. 1950 GDP (gross domestic product) = \$355 billion. 1960 GDP = \$488 billion. 18. 1950s -> investment in industrial plants and equipment = \$40 billion a year. 19. 1966 -> Gross national product = grew by 9%. 20. Still 40 million Americans living in poverty – Johnson wanted to target this with Great Society Program. 	<p>Reasons for the Economic Boom – Other factors</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Domestic supplies of oil, coal and gas. • Rapid technological advancements increased worker productivity by 35%. • 1945-61 -> number of scientists and engineers involved in industrial research grew by 600%. • Medical advancements -> 80% of drugs prescribed in 1956 had been produced in the previous 15 years.
<p>The Development of the US Industrial Structure – The Military Industrial Complex</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. Close relationship between Department of Defence (military) and major corporations (industry) 5. The military relies on industry to supply weapons, while the defence industry gives government contracts to arms contractors. 6. The military and industry had similar demands and combined to form a very powerful lobby group. 7. Corporations like Boeing made profits from contracts received from the Department of Defence. 8. Generals and admirals benefitted from increased money for the armed forces. 9. Members of Congress gave contracts to companies in their own states -> increased employment and kept politicians popular with voters. 10. Early 1960s -> 22 of the 50 states depended hugely on military spending. 	<p>The Development of the US Industrial Structure – The Rise of Multinational Corporation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1945 = 300 mergers in manufacturing and mining. 1969 = over 2000. • These mergers created corporations. E.g. Johnson & Johnson and P&G. • 1955 -> 30% of manufacturing sales were controlled by 50 of over 300,000 manufacturing companies = corporate capitalism. • Some of these companies became multinational corporations -> built and operated factories outside the US e.g. Ford. • 1960s -> 1,200 US companies abroad. • US became the world's largest overseas investor; 1950 -> US foreign investment = \$11.8 bill. 1968 -> \$64.8 bill. 1978 -> \$160 bill. • This can be seen as a form of economic imperialism. • By the 1980s, however, the level of foreign investment had halved. • Reasons for the growth of multinationals:

11. The military-industrial lobby group wanted to **heighten fears about the threat of the USSR** so that the gov would spend more money on military defence.
12. It was feared this '**Iron Triangle**' would damage US society -> during the 1960s, spending on military averaged at \$40 billion per year.
13. 1960 -> Kennedy campaigned on the grounds of a **missile gap** between the US and USSR, even though there was none.
14. Eisenhower warned about the dangers of the complex: **'Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired, signifies, in a final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed.'**

- Success in US market encouraged businesses to invest **abroad**.
- US companies had **better technology** than foreign rivals.
- Improved transport and communications made it possible to control widespread corporations.
- Cheaper to build a factory abroad near a foreign market than export goods from America.
- Development of **EEC** (European Economic Community) provided another prosperous market.
- US gov insured multinationals against potential losses in unstable countries.
- After 1945, the **dollar** became the **world's main currency**.
- **Tax laws** encouraged US companies to invest abroad.
- Foreign investment became so important to corporations that by 1976, 150 corporations admitted involvement in **bribing** politicians e.g. **Exxon**.

Globalisation

- **Globalisation** = worldwide spread of trade and commerce by multinational corporations.
- Goods and culture have become increasingly similar around the world.
- Companies like **McDonalds** and **Coca-Cola** were part of the **Americanisation** of the world.
- **English** = the most studied second language throughout the world.
- As American goods became more popular, anti-American feeling developed in some countries where people resented the decline of their native culture and way of life.
- A **Global Trade System** developed;
- The **International Monetary Fund** was est. to promote international co-operation
- The World Bank provided **loans** for development programs.
- 1947 -> **General Agreement of Tariffs and Trade** began reducing tariffs
- Supporters of globalisation;
- Increased world trade was helping reduce poverty
- Multinational companies **employed local people** and **improved the skills of the workforce**
- Critics of globalisation;
- US corporations invested in poorer countries to make a greater profit by paying **lower wages**
- Spread of American culture was at the expense of native cultures
- Globalisation = new **imperialism** -> larger countries controlled the economy of weaker ones

Demographic Growth

- Post-war America – rapid growth of population and its geographic distribution became a key feature. 1940 -> pop = 131 million. 1980 -> pop = **226 million**.
- After WW2 there was an **increased birth rate** -> 3.5million births in 1947, -> 4.3 million births in 1960.
- Decline in death rate due to **better food** and **improved medicine** e.g. penicillin, polio vaccine.
- **Immigration** -> between 1940-80 11 million immigrants came to the US.
- **Refugees** came from Europe after WW2, from Hungary after the Rising in 1956 and Cuba after Castro took over -> in search of security and a piece of the 'American Dream'.
- 1965 -> new immigration laws allowed people with **special skills** into the US.
- Age structure of US changed -> more younger and older people.
- The 'teen market' (**Pepsi Generation**) fuelled the consumer boom of the 50s and 60s.
- Increased numbers of older people meant there was greater federal spending on health and welfare.
- Greater **mobility of pop** -> Cities -> suburbs, countryside -> cities.
- By 1960 over 60% of the pop lived in cities.
- This increased to 75% by 1980.
- Farm pop dropped from 7 mill in 1935 to less than 2 mill in 1980.
- Within cities, people moved from the inner city to the suburbs.
- Vast new estates, like **Levittown** in Long Island, were built (black people were not allowed buy here).
- The pop of suburban areas grew by 35 million.
- People saw suburbs as a threat to individualism -> '*Suburbs are small, controlled communities where for the most part everyone has the same living standards*'.
- 1960 -> ¼ of Americans living in a different state to the one they were born in.
- Many moved to California for work (many tech industries there) and Florida (sun).
- Black people living in Southern States moved north -> Washington DC was ¾ white in 1940 and ¼ black by 1970.
- Racial differences -> black people moved to cities, whites moved to suburbs.

The Declining Economy

Global effects on the US Economy

- Booming economy of 50s and 60s started to slow by the late 60s.
- The cost of Vietnam led to inflation.
- LBJ believed the US economy could support the war in Vietnam and the Great Society, *'I believe that we can continue the Great Society while we fight in Vietnam'* – he was **wrong**.
- LBJ reduced taxation while continuing the same level of gov spending.
- This meant there was not enough gov revenue to pay for gov spending = budget deficit.
- **1973 Oil Crisis** quadrupled the price of oil.
- **1979 Iranian Revolution** increased cost of oil.
- 1981-83 = worst economic **recession** since the Great Depression -> nearly 4 million people had lost their jobs in back-to-back recessions of the early 80s

Budget Deficit

- Budget Deficit = gov spends more money that it receives, this **deficit** (shortfall) must be paid from borrowed money.
- 1960s -> deficit = 1% of Gross Domestic Product (owed 1% more than money made)
- 1970s -> deficit = 2% of GDP
- 1980s -> deficit = 4% of GDP
- Gov didn't increase taxes to pay for deficit, it **borrowed** money. This put more money into the economy and **increased inflation**.

Domestic Recession

- Late 1960s -> US economy went into **recession**.
- 1969 -> rising unemployment
- Early 1970s -> **prices rise by 6%**
- Labour costs rose due to wage increases.
- 1971 -> 7 million unemployed
- Following **1973 Oil Crisis**, unemployment = 8.5%
- Rising unemployment and rising prices (inflation) = **stagflation**.
- US **gold reserves fell** to 1/3 of what they had been in the 1940s.
- 1960s -> US was importing more than what she was exporting.

Government Reaction

- 1971 -> Nixon put a **3 month freeze** on wages
- He **devalued the dollar so that US exports were cheaper to buy** abroad but this made US imports more costly
- Nixon put **tariffs** on imported Japanese cars.
- **Ford cut gov spending** which led to further unemployment.
- **Carter increased gov spending**, which increased inflation.
- 1980 -> inflation = 13% and interest rates = 20%
- Carter **rationed** petrol following the **Iranian Revolution**.
- Reagan introduced his **Program for Economic Recovery**.
- He **cut taxes by 25%** to encourage more people to find jobs
- **Cut spending** on 300 gov programmes
- By 1984 the economy grew by 10%.
- Unemployment fell to 7%
- Inflation dropped to 4%
- Reagan **cut spending** on domestic programmes, increased spending on defence
- This created a huge **federal deficit of \$212.3 billion** by 1985

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1985 -> Congress passed the Gramm-Rudman Act to gradually reduce the federal deficit
<p>International Competition</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • International competition from Western Europe and Japan worsened the US economy • 1966 – 87 -> US economy grew by 3.3%, while the Japanese economy grew by 6.5% and the West German economy grew by 13% • 1960-73 -> Japanese workers were 3 times more productive than US workers • West Germany became the most economically successful country in Europe. • It was aided by Marshall Plan. • 1966-87 -> West Germany = world's leading export country (exported 30% of its manufactured goods, Japan = 11%, US = 7%) • West Germany spent less on consumer goods and paid its workers less than the US. • US share of world trade declined from: 25% in 1948 to 15% in 1964 to 10% in 1970. • EEC replaced the US as the largest trading bloc. • Japan replaced the US as the fastest-growing economy. • US imports rose from 6% in the 60s to 16% in 1970. • The US seemed to be going through a process of deindustrialisation (decline of manufacturing) but as the economy was so big to begin with, the US remained the largest economy in the world. 	<p>Quotes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>'Nixon temporarily froze prices in the early 1970s, but that just postponed the pain. When his controls were lifted, prices bounced even higher.'</i> – NPR. • <i>'Gerald Ford declared inflation "Public Enemy Number One." Carter called it the nation's most pressing domestic problem.'</i> - NPR.

The Decline of Cold War Certainties, 1972-89

Nixon and Détente

- Nixon developed the policy of *détente* -> the US would try to improve relations with China and the USSR
- Nixon also developed the Nixon Doctrine -> getting countries faced with the threat of Communism to take on more responsibility in fighting for themselves.
- 1972 -> Nixon visited China = a big surprise as the US had tried to isolate Communist China since 1949
- He hoped to improve US-Chinese relations and trade.
- Despite Nixon proclaiming that 'this was the week that changed the world', the visit was mainly symbolic.
- 1972 -> Nixon met Brezhnev in Moscow.
- The leaders agreed on SALT (Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty) -> this put a limit on the number of intercontinental ballistic missiles and sub-marine based missiles produced for 5 years.
- This showed both sides realised the danger of the arms race and nuclear weapons.
- Both countries also agreed to work on peaceful co-existence -> *'do their utmost to avoid military confrontation and to prevent the outbreak of nuclear war'*
- 1973 -> Brezhnev visited the US
- These moves were significant victories for the policy of détente
- 1948 -> Israel created on land taken from Palestine (an Arab state)
- Oct 1973 -> Egypt and Syria (Arab countries) attack Israel
- Since 1948 US had supported Israel while USSR supported Arab states -> détente was now under strain
- Nixon put the US on nuclear alert
- US Secretary of State (Kissinger) worked out a truce and détente was saved.
- Nixon's actions were often contradictory -> when socialist Salvador Allende was elected in Chile, Nixon used the CIA to undermine his rule. Allende was overthrown and executed.

Ford and Détente

- Ford continued détente.
- 1974 -> Ford met with Brezhnev and agreed on a second round of SALT talks.
- 1975 -> Ford, Brezhnev and 33 other world leaders signed the Helsinki agreement;
 - Respect each other's borders
 - Allow freedom of travel
 - Respect human rights
- Congress refused to send military aid to the collapsing South Vietnamese gov, which was attacked by the North in 1975
- Congress also rejected Ford's proposals to send arms to anti-Communist forces in Angola.

Carter's Foreign Policy

- Carter's FP differed from that of Nixon and Ford; he wanted to base his FP on moral principles.
- Carter relied on the opinions of his Secretary of State, Cyrus Vance, and his Secretary of Defence, Zbigniew Brzezinski.
- These men had different views on the USSR and Carter's FP was often inconsistent.
- Carter wanted to reduce arms but was openly critical of the USSR for its treatment of dissidents (political prisoners) in Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union.
- 1975 -> Carter arranged a peace agreement called the Camp David Agreement between Israel and Egypt with involving the Russians.
- 1979 -> SALT II

Reagan and Star Wars

- 1981 -> Reagan = President
- The invasion of Afghanistan convinced the US that the USSR was continuing the policy of Communist expansion.
- Reagan took an aggressive approach to FP.
- Reagan called the USSR an *'evil empire'*.
- He began a huge arms build-up -> over \$550 billion a year was spent on weapons.
- The stealth bomber was developed.
- START (Strategic Arms Reduction Talks) collapsed in 1982.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - This limited the no. of missiles to 2,400 per country - By 1982 this figure had to be reduced to 2,250 - It did not stop the USSR installing SS-20 missiles in Eastern Europe • Dec 1979 -> USSR invaded Afghanistan and Congress refused to ratify SALT II • Carter said the Soviet invasion was <i>'the most serious threat to peace since the Second World War'</i>. • Carter suspended grain sales to the USSR. • 1980 -> The US boycotted the Moscow Olympics. • Détente was over. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'They know they cannot match us in an arms race if we are determined to catch up. Our true ultimate purpose is arms reduction' - Reagan • March 1983 -> US announced that it was developing the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) -> Star Wars. • This was a plan to develop a defence shield in space that would shoot down and destroy and missile fired at the US. • Some scientists believed this was impossible. • 1987 -> Raegan and Gorbachev (new USSR leader) signed the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF). • Soviet missiles in Eastern Europe were dismantled • US Pershing missiles were dismantled • Relations between the two improved when Reagan visited Moscow in 1988.
<p><u>Containment – a success?</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1980s -> Gorbachev introduced several reforms in the USSR; • More power given to local heads of industry • Allowing greater press freedom • Soviet troops would not be used to defend Communism in Eastern Europe • These reforms led to the collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe in 1989 and in Soviet Russia in 1991. • Containment was a major factor in the fall of Communism. • The policy forced the Soviets to spend huge amounts of money in an arms race which starved the economy of finance. • Soviet Russia could not compete with the stronger US economy. • Those who supported the policy said containment avoided war with the USSR and discouraged an invasion of Western Europe. • However, one of the authors of the policy said: '<i>We paid with 40 years of enormous and unnecessary military expenditure. We paid through the cultivation of nuclear weaponry to the point where the vast and useless nuclear arsenals had become a danger to the very environment of the planet'</i>. 	<p><u>Past exam Q: What were the significant developments in US foreign policy, 1973-1989?</u></p>

The Civil Rights Movement

Why was there racial conflict in the US?

- The US was a wealthy society but affluence did not bring peace.
- The American Constitution (1791) said that *'all Men are created equal'*.
- But the Constitution also **allowed slavery until 1865**.
- Even after the abolition of slavery, black Americans were not given equal rights.
- **Plessy VS Ferguson** -> **Jim Crow laws** were passed in Southern States.
- These laws forced **racial segregation** in places like schools, bathrooms, buses and park benches.
- In some states black people couldn't vote or had to prove their literacy.
- The **KKK** persecuted, and even lynched, black Americans.

Why was there a demand for change?

- WW2 was a major **turning point**.
- Thousands of black people served in the armed forces and worked in war industries in defence of democracy and freedom but were still treated as second class citizens in their own country.
- By 1945 huge numbers of black people had migrated from southern to northern states, and from rural to urban areas -> **concentrated black pop** in certain areas made it easier to organise protests etc.
- The rise of **liberalism** -> the colour of someone's skin is unimportant
- A new, educated black leadership emerged e.g. **Martin Luther King**
- US portrayed itself as leader of the Free World against evil Communism -> to maintain this image the US could not have millions of its own people treated as second class citizens.
- *'Hitler didn't snub me – it was FDR who snubbed me. The president didn't even send me a telegram'*. – Jesse Owens.
- Influence of **mass media** -> all Americans became aware of the brutal and aggressive treatment of black people
- Foundation of the **NAACP** (National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People) meant that black people became better organised

Martin Luther King

- King was born in Atlanta, Georgia.
- In 1955 he was awarded a PhD from Boston University.
- He was appointed pastor of a Baptist church in Montgomery.
- In Montgomery, King came to national prominence as the leader of the **Montgomery Bus Boycott**. He then became President of the **Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA)** which was set up to lead the boycott.
- He was inspired by the teachings of **Gandhi** and **Terence MacSwiney**, and their use of **non-violent protest**, which he put into practice in Montgomery.
- King founded the **Southern Christian Leadership Conference**. He was involved in many non-violent demonstrations e.g. Birmingham, Alabama.
- The police used savage methods against protestors that were widely publicised.
- 1963 -> King led 250,000 people in a civil rights march in Washington where he made his **'I have a dream'** speech.
- 1964 -> King was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize and he saw the passing of the **Civil Rights Act**.

Desegregation of the military

- The Military -> **1948 Executive Order** issued by **Truman** desegregated the armed forces.
- The process was accelerated by the Korean War and the need for soldiers of any race.
- Officer class remained largely white.

Desegregation of public facilities

- **Jim Crow laws** enforced racial segregation of public facilities in the South.
- The Montgomery Bus Boycott inspired a new wave of black activism.
- In 1960, 4 black students defied segregation laws by sitting at a 'white only' lunch counter in North Carolina. They refused to leave, even when they were not served. Others followed this example and a huge **lunch-counter campaign** was started, including over 50,000 young people.
- In 1961, a **'freedom ride'** was organised by black and white civil rights activists. They wanted to test the **1960 Supreme Court Ruling outlawing segregation on buses and trains**, by travelling through the South by bus.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • However, King's leadership was now being challenge by more radical black leaders e.g. Malcom X. • King was assassinated in Memphis by James Earl Ray in 1968. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They were assaulted and intimidated by white mobs but federal marshals escorted them.
<p><u>Desegregation of education</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education -> in 1954 N.A.A.C.P. lawyers challenged segregation in education with the case Brown VS Board of Education Topeka. • The N.A.A.C.P. won and the Supreme Court accepted that black students must be allowed attend the same schools and universities as white students. • <i>'We conclude that in the field of education the doctrine of separate but equal has no place, separate education facilities are inherently unequal'</i>. Supreme Court • Huge resistance to integration in the South where 17 states segregated education. • Governor Faubus of Arkansas refused to desegregate education. In Sept 1957, 9 black students tried to enrol at the all-white Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas. The National Guard were sent in to stop them and a white mob surrounded the school. Eisenhower sent 1,000 federal troops into Little Rock and the 9 did eventually enrol and attend. • 1960 -> Ruby Bridges was the first black child to attend a previously all-white school in Louisiana. • 1962 -> Governor Barnett of Mississippi refused to let a black air-force veteran, James Meredith, enter the University of Mississippi. So, President Kennedy insisted on Meredith attending and sent state troops to protect him. • 1963 -> Governor Wallace stood in the doorway of the University of Alabama to prevent Vivian Malone and James Hood entering. Kennedy sent in the National Guard to ensure the students could register at the university. • Still, by 1969, 20% of black children in the South attended integrated schools -> indicates that there were other social and political conditions that hindered desegregation 	<p><u>Tackling voting</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There were many obstacles to black voting in the South; <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➔ poll tax ➔ literacy tests ➔ intimidation by KKK • As a result, in 1955, only 4% of black people in the South were registered to vote. • In the '60s, King organised peaceful protests in the South -> 'Free by '63' = slogan used. • He managed to bring together many different elements – his own Southern Christian Leadership Conference and also Congress on Racial Equality. • May 1963 -> King organised a protest in Birmingham, Alabama. Marchers filled the streets singing <i>'We Shall Overcome'</i>. If arrested, like King was, others took their place. • On 3 May 6,000 black children marched through Birmingham. Police arrested thousands. • The next day, police chief Eugene 'Bull' O'Connor ordered the use of dogs and cattle prods against the protesters. • When this violence was shown on TV, audiences were shocked and most demands were met. Kennedy brought in a Civil Rights Bill (outlawed discrimination in public places and jobs), but this bill was delayed. • Aug 1963 -> King organised a peaceful and ordered rally in Washington. A ¼ million civil rights supporters marched to the Lincoln Memorial where King made his 'I have a dream' speech. • This helped to get Kennedy's Civil Rights Bill made law under LBJ in 1964. • By 1964, few black people in the South were registered to vote. So King led a peaceful march from Selma to Montgomery. Police used tear gas against the protestors. Again, TV viewers were shocked so LBJ sent the National Guard to protect the marchers. • 1965 -> The Voting Rights Act became law – gave black people equal voting rights. • 1968 -> 60% of black people were registered to vote.

Advances in Technology

<p>Advances in Military Technology</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> In the mid 20th century, the US led advances in military technology, spending 10% of US national income on it. A military-industrial complex developed when companies such as Boeing and General Dynamics formed close links with the government. Why did the US lead? <p>-> involvement in wars provided a reason for developing weapons</p> <p>-> powerful economy – can afford research</p> <p>-> support of public – public believed that the American way of life ensured their freedom and democracy must be defended</p> <p>-> Cold War – need to maintain the superpower status and compete with the USSR</p>	<p>Nuclear Weapons</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> During WW2 the US developed the atomic bomb in the Manhattan Project. 1949 -> USSR exploded its own atomic bomb. 1952 -> the US detonated the hydrogen bomb in the Pacific Ocean. It was 1000 times more powerful than an atomic bomb. The explosion sent a radioactive cloud 25 miles into the sky and developed a crater 1 mile wide.
<p>Rockets</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rockets offered greater precision and were more difficult for the enemy to shoot down. Germany was the first to experiment with rockets. When Wernher von Braun surrendered to the US Army, he was quickly brought to work for the US. US also captured some rockets (V2s) which they tested between 1945-51. US developed short and medium range missiles like Snark and Corporal. 1960s -> Pershing was developed with a range of 400miles. All of these could carry nuclear or conventional war heads. Eisenhower said nuclear weapons gave 'more bang for the buck'. 	<p>Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1957 -> USSR launch Sputnik into space – US feared Russians would attack from space. 1957 -> US tested its first I.C.B.M. (Intercontinental Ballistic Missile), it was called the Atlas. Soon they launched Titan and the Minuteman, which could be fired from an underground silo. Further development of the Minuteman gave it a range of 7000miles and multiple warheads (MIRV). Navy developed the Polaris missile which could be fired from a nuclear-powered submarine. 1970s -> the Poseidon had a range of 12,000 miles and could carry MIRV warheads. Advances in rockets are linked with space exploration because rockets were used to fire satellites into space. In the 80s, the Peacekeeper missile was introduced. It had 10 separate warheads. It could travel 5000 miles and could deliver within 200 metres of its target. Each warhead was 25 times more powerful than the bomb dropped on Hiroshima.
<p>Warning Systems</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> US and Canada developed D.E.W. (Distant Early Warning). This was a range of radar stations in Alaska and Canada. They also used the A.W.A.C.S. (Airborne Warning and Control System) = radar system 	<p>Aviation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The awesome power of nuclear weapons made their use unlikely, so the US continued to develop conventional weapons for use in conflicts such as in Korea and Vietnam. At the end of WW2 the jet engine was developed. This made planes quicker and capable of inflicting massive damage while minimising US deaths. 1950s -> supersonic air-to-air missiles like Sidewinder, Phoenix and Falcon were developed. 1954 -> B52 Stratofortress bomber was developed. It was later used in Vietnam to carpet bomb the jungle.

<p>carried on planes. Airborne 24hrs a day.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In the 60s the first reconnaissance satellite SAMOS was launched. • In the 80s, Reagan announced the development of Strategic Defence Initiative/S.D.I./Star Wars. This was to destroy Soviet missiles in space. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reconnaissance aircraft like the U2 were developed (a U2 plane spotted Soviet missile bases being built in Cuba). • More recently drones have been developed for spying. • Helicopters like the Huey were used to carry troops in Vietnam. • Helicopter gunships became symbolic of the fighting in Vietnam. They were fast, heavily armed and used to support ground troops. • Surface-to-air missiles like the Hercules were developed. • A shoulder-mounted missile called the Redeye was used. • In the 80s, stealth bombers, which were invisible to enemy radar, were developed e.g. The B-2 bomber.
<p>Land and Sea</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1960s-70s -> M60 and MBT-70 tanks had gun launchers to fire missiles as well as conventional shells. • Aircraft carriers became a vital part of warfare. They gave mobility and rapid response. By the end of the 80s they were nuclear powered, 1/3 km in length and could carry over 80 aircraft e.g. The Enterprise. • However, as the Vietnam War showed, superior technology did not guarantee victory in fighting unconventional guerrilla warfare. 	<p>Advances in Information Technology</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The computer was developed to handle more and more information. • The US government and military were behind much of the development of the computer. They linked up with companies (IBM) and universities for this research. • Mark 1 and ENIAC were two of the early computers; both were very large and needed a team of operators to work them. • IBM used the work of John von Neumann, a mathematician, to build mainframe computers such as EDVAC and UNIVAC. The latter was used to count the census of 1951 and the presidential election of 1952. • The invention of the transistor by William Stockley led to the production of smaller computers. Seymour Cray designed the first fully transistorised computer in 1958. There were about 2,000 computers in the US by 1960. • The production of integrated circuits and the microchip was the next major step. • Smaller, personal computers (PCs) became available in the 1970s; <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -> Steve Jobs and Steve Wozniak developed Apple in 1976. -> IBM made its own PC in 1981. -> the Apple operating system and the development of Microsoft made computers user friendly. • By 1991 there were over 65 million computers in the US. • The computer industry grew from \$1billion to \$17 billion by 1978 and to \$900 billion in 2017. • The US had the largest computer industry, employing 1 million by 1990. • The US also had the greatest number of computers – half of the world's, compared to Japan (11%) and Europe (25%). • Research continued in Silicon Valley, California, Boston and in the Research Triangle, North Carolina but most production shifted abroad. • The Internet was first developed to combat fear of a nuclear war, so that military scientists could communicate after a nuclear explosion. Later it was developed so that businesses and individuals could use it. • Effects of advances in computer technology;

	<p>-> Computers influenced all aspects of life from home to shopping to work.</p> <p>-> They caused a rise in productivity.</p> <p>-> There was a debate about the danger of technological unemployment.</p> <p>-> Computers made some people very wealthy e.g. Bill Gates (worth \$1bill in 1987).</p> <p>-> Computers continued the globalisation industry.</p> <p>-> There was the danger of the invasion of privacy.</p>
<p>Advances in Space Technology</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • With the development of inter-continental ballistic missiles after WW2, it became clear that the potential was there to send men and satellites into space. • The US thought they had the edge in missile development thanks to von Braun, so they were shocked with the success of the USSR. • 1957 -> Sputnik 1 became the first satellite in space. • 1960 – Luna II became the first man made object to land on the moon. • 1961 – Yuri Gagarin in Vostok I was the first man in space. • 1963 – Valentina Tereshkova became the first woman in space. • The US responded immediately. • 1958 – Eisenhower set up NASA. • 1958 – Explorer 1 was the first US satellite in space. • 1961 – JFK promised to put a man on the moon within the decade. • Three separate programmes were set up in the 60s. <p>-> Mercury (1959-63). To see if a person could survive in space.</p> <p>-> Gemini (1963-66). Experiments relating to the moon mission.</p> <p>-> Apollo (1961-72). To land a man on the moon.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1961 – Alan Shepard = first American in space. • 1962 – John Glenn orbited the Earth 3 times in Friendship 7. • 1968 – Apollo 8 made a successful manned orbit of the moon. 	<p>Space Exploration after the Moon Landing</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public interest declined, why? - US had won space race - 70s was era of détente in Cold War - Economic decline led to NASA budget cuts - Shift in focus from the Moon to space stations and missions to other planets • NASA then began working on a reusable craft to deliver and retrieve satellites. It was designed to launch like a rocket and return like an aircraft. The first such shuttle was The Enterprise and was used in 1977. • 1973 – NASA launched an experimental space station called Skylab. It orbited the Earth until it crashed down in Western Australia in 1979. • Shuttles were expensive and difficult to operate e.g. in 1986 the space shuttle Challenger exploded soon after take-off killing all 7 astronauts. In 2003 The Columbia broke up on re-entry killing 7.

Politics and Society in Northern Ireland: Case study: Coleraine University Controversy, 1965

<p>Background</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Queen's College Belfast -> est. 1845, only university in NI 	<p>The Lockwood Committee</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 1963: the Robbins Report on Higher Education in Great Britain recommended a huge expansion in the number of places in third-level education.
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<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By 1960s ¼ of students = Catholic. • Magee College = much smaller college in Derry, provided first 2 years of training in certain subjects, students finished course at Queen's Belfast or Trinity. • Soon became clear that more university places would be needed • Two options; expand Queen's University or open a second, new, university. • The decision to found a new university led to a bitter public controversy during 1965. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. November 1963 – Stormont establishes its own committee under Sir John Lockwood to investigate higher education in NI. 3. The Lockwood Committee = 8 members, 4 from England and no Catholics or nationalists. 4. Three towns began to lobby for new university: Derry/Londonderry, Armagh and Coleraine. 5. Derry, as the second largest city in NI (54,000) appeared to be in a strong position. 6. Even before the Lockwood Committee was appointed, the city corporation set out its claims; <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) <i>'It is an obvious step to use Magee College as the nucleus around which to build a second independent university'</i> b) <i>'...the establishment of a university in Derry would help to restore the equilibrium of Northern Ireland, educationally, economically and culturally'</i> c) <i>'Accommodation of students and staff presents no major problem'</i> d) <i>'The possible establishment of a university in Derry has aroused the support of all sections of the community'</i> 7. A new university could provide Derry with more employment opportunities and provide a boost to the underdeveloped western part of NI. 8. Jan. 1964 – Lockwood Committee visits Queens University and confirms need for second university 9. Queens is hemmed in by adjacent land with no power of compulsory purchase 10. Feb 1964 – Lockwood Committee visits Magee College and members are unimpressed. They report "lack of dynamism" among college community who have no "clear idea about how the college should develop" 11. May 1964 – Senior official from Department of Commerce, Labour and National Insurance tells Lockwood Committee that industrialists think Derry "too remote" 12. June 1964 – Lockwood Committee draws up its shortlist – Magee College is not included. 13. Dec 1964 – Stormont cabinet recognises backlash of "killing Magee" and O'Neill aware of the support for Magee College 14. 10th Feb 1965 – Lockwood Report published recommending Coleraine as site for new university and Magee College to be closed down -> outrage, Derry felt they were being overlooked 15. <i>'In our converted view the Coleraine area satisfies our criteria better than any of the other areas we have considered....[on Magee University] we see no alternative to its discontinuance'</i> 16. The Lockwood Committee justified their decision to locate a new university at Coleraine by stating Coleraine representatives had presented a better case than Derry or Armagh and cited the availability of accommodation in nearby Portrush and Portstewart.
<p>Opposition and protest in Derry</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'University for Derry' campaign set up by teacher John Hume -> he was pleased this campaign was uniting Catholics and Protestants with a common goal • Other leading members in the campaign for a university in Derry were the city's unionist mayor, Albert Anderson, and the local MP, Eddie McAteer, who was leader of the Nationalist Party. • At a protest meeting in Derry's town hall, McAteer declared, <i>'Stormont might ignore the people of Derry, or even the people of Londonderry; but when the people of Derry and Londonderry get together as one, surely they will have to listen.'</i> 	<p>Debate at Stormont</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 3 March 1965; Lockwood Report debated in parliament -> lasted 15 hours • O'Neill stressed the importance of the Report for the economic future of NI • Despite heated discussion and defection of two Unionists, O'Neill's government wins the

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 11 Feb 1965 -> Hume led a delegation to see O'Neill but it was in vain; <i>'the decision against Derry had already been taken...the second university should be located in the small unionist town of Coleraine, thirty miles from Derry'</i> • 18th Feb 1965 – Two-minute silence in Derry with many shops and businesses closed in protest. • 20,000 people took part in a motorcade to Stormont led by Derry's Unionist Mayor (Albert Anderson) and Nationalist MP (Eddie McAteer) to protest Lockwood Report -> gov. didn't listen 	<p>vote 27:19 -> university to be located in Coleraine</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • May 1965 – Magee College trustees agree to compromise – the college will become part of Coleraine University, with full degree courses -> agreement not honoured
<p><u>Continuing controversy</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • May 1965 – Unionist MP Robert Nixon makes his "faceless men" allegation -> hard-line Unionists (e.g. members of Apprentice Boys) advised O'Neill against any future development for Derry -> <i>"the faceless men", as they were called, preferred to leave Derry a stagnant backwater rather than see it develop out of their control'</i>. • Hard-line Unionists wanted to ensure there would be no increase in Catholic voters and Unionist control of Derry would not end. • Nixon was expelled from the Unionist Party but years later, his allegations were proved correct when the archives at Stormont were opened. • A petition of 15,000 names failed to move the government to investigate the matter. • 1969 – Magee College absorbed into new University of Ulster 	<p><u>Why Coleraine</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most people in Derry felt that O'Neill's government had influenced Lockwood in choosing Coleraine. Lockwood denied that this has happened • It was argued that sectarian tensions in Derry did not make it suitable for a university • Derry was 70% Catholic and Unionists were afraid any increase in Catholic numbers because of a university would upset their control of the city • Certain leading Unionists (faceless men) influenced O'Neill against choosing Derry • O'Neill shared the view of Derry Unionists. He asked <i>'If Derry industrialised, how is it possible to ensure against a radical increase in R.C. papas?'</i> [Roman Catholic papists] • Magee College was too small, in need of repair and no new site was offered.
<p><u>A missed opportunity</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The failure to locate a university in Derry can be seen as a missed opportunity of the O'Neill Government. • Instead of supporting those Protestants in Derry who wished to co-operate with the Catholic community, O'Neill followed the path recommended by more extreme, traditional unionists. • By favouring the small Protestant town of Coleraine over the North's second city, O'Neill alienated the Catholic population even further • <i>'The isolation of the west policy was to be continued under O'Neill as rigidly as under any of his predecessors'</i>, F. Curran. • <i>'The university setback was traumatic for John Hume. He had poured time, effort and imagination into the role of chief organiser of the campaign. The lesson was a hard lesson in his political education'</i>, F. Curran. 	<p><u>The significance of the Coleraine University controversy</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>'...the seeds of a civil rights street protest movement had been planted by the Magee controversy. They would shortly sprout'.</i> – T.P. Coogan • <i>'The "betrayal of Magee"... can be in no way constructed as a cause of the "troubles", but there can be little doubt that the circumstances which surrounded the siting of the University at Coleraine conspired to make the occurrence into one of the triggers of the initial unrest'.</i> – G. O'Brien • The controversy was deeply political and reflected the fundamental divide between unionists and nationalists. • It strengthened the conviction of many nationalists that the Unionist Government was fundamentally unfair and that public protest was needed.

Case study: The Sunningdale Agreement, 1973

<p style="text-align: center;">What happened to bring NI to this point?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. January 1967 -> Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association established in Belfast 2. 28 April, 1969 -> O'Neill resigned and later claimed that the series of explosions (planted by the UVF) at electricity stations and reservoirs across NI <i>'quite literally blew me out of office'</i> 3. August 1969 -> The Battle of the Bogside is seen as the start of the Troubles. Locals of the Bogside erected barriers to stop an ABOD march. British troops arrived in NI to take over from the RUC. 4. 1969 -> Provisional IRA est. 5. 1970 -> SDLP established. 6. NI PM Brian Faulkner introduced internment. 7. 1972 -> Bloody Sunday. British soldiers opened fire on protesters -> 13 civilians were killed, 7 were under the age of 19 8. Brit PM Heath dissolved the parliament in NI. Direct Rule introduced to NI. 	<p style="text-align: center;">Background</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 1972- Whitelaw (N.I. Secretary) calls a meeting for all parties 2. Border Poll to ease Unionist worries: boycotted by Nationalists but Unionists vote 97.8% support for remaining part of the UK 3. White paper (government report) from Whitelaw has 4 key components: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> A. Assembly (law-making body) B. Executive (government) C. Council of Ireland D. Guarantee that Northern Ireland remains part of UK as long as majority want it.
<p style="text-align: center;">Splits in Unionism</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Split in Unionists: Faulkner and moderate Unionists agree to White Paper and pledge their support - called "Pledged" Unionists 2. Those Unionist against: Paisley and DUP, William Craig and his Vanguard Party, Orange Order and the "Unpledged" Unionists led by Harry West. 3. The SDLP welcome White Paper with cautious support 4. Republicans reject it as it reinforces partition 5. Election 64% in favour of Power-Sharing, 36% against 6. Unionist results: 26 seats for anti-White Paper, 24 seats for pro-White Paper 7. Faulkner had difficulty trying to unite Unionists within his own party and the more extreme Unionists. 	<p style="text-align: center;">Talks begin</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Whitelaw has great skill and patience as a negotiator 2. Faulkner wanted a Unionist majority in the Executive 3. Council of Ireland agreed on and would have influence on policing and representatives from the Dail. 4. SDLP agree to end rate strike (council taxes) against internment 5. During talks Whitelaw called back to London and replaced by Francis Pym (no experience)
<p style="text-align: center;">The Agreement</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 6th Dec. meet in Sunningdale, Berkshire 2. Liam Cosgrave, Taoiseach along with Garret Fitzgerald and Conor Cruise O'Brien attend 3. John Hume from SDLP chief negotiator for Nationalists - gets real power for the Council of Ireland which could open doors for a United Ireland at a later date. 4. <i>'I believe that the initial British idea had simply been that there should be a coalition government in Northern Ireland, in which Unionists and Nationalists would take part... but John Hume... stipulated that there should be an all-Ireland dimension in the shape of a Council of Ireland'</i> – Conor Cruise O'Brien 5. Prime Minister Heath chairs the meeting and quickly gets impatient with Unionists. 6. Irish Government agrees to give a verbal agreement on Northern Ireland remaining part of the UK as long as the majority wanted it. 	<p style="text-align: center;">Power Sharing Executive</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 1st Jan 1974, Faulkner as First Minister and Gerry Fitt. (SDLP) as Deputy, Power-Sharing Executive begins. 2. Orange Order, DUP, Vanguard and Unpledged Unionists led by Harry West unite to form the United Ulster Unionist Council (UUUC) 3. UUUC is created to resist power-sharing and a Council of Ireland. 4. Faulkner resigns as leader of the Unionist party after a motion on the Council of Ireland fails to pass at a meeting. He is replaced as leader by Harry West. 5. Unionists now deeply split, and Faulkner was becoming isolated. 6. IRA and Loyalist attacks continue. 7. <i>'The Agreement's basic unpopularity in the Unionist community was made worse by Faulkner's loss of leadership of the Unionist Party... the damaging February elections and the continuing violence'</i> – Robert Fisk 8. <i>'The Prods will accept very reluctantly... that the time has come to have a power-sharing government, but</i>

7. Conference ends 9th Dec with Sunningdale Agreement.	<i>that business of a Council of Ireland, it scared the living daylights out of them’ – Gerry Fitt.</i>
<p>British General Election</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Election called by Heath against the advice of the Executive who said it was bad timing. 2. UUUC use election as a referendum on Sunningdale and put forward one anti-Agreement candidate in each constituency. 3. UUUC win 11 out of 12 of the Westminster seats (Paisley, Craig and West all win) 4. Gerry Fitt the only pro-agreement candidate to win a seat. 5. In Britain, Heath (Conservative) loses the election and Wilson becomes PM (Labour) 6. Pym replaced by Meryl Rees as Northern Ireland Secretary (indecisive and not as committed a party) 7. Assembly remained despite violent and abusive behaviour from anti-agreement members 	<p>Ulster Workers Council Strike</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Many Northern Ireland industries employed predominantly Protestant workers. 2. The Ulster Workers’ Council was a group of loyalist workers who worked in shipbuilding, engineering and electricity generation. 3. 15th May 1974, the UWC called a strike. 4. Loyalist paramilitaries became involved, and workers were ‘persuaded’ not to return to work. 5. Road blockades were established, and youths armed with clubs turned back lorries delivering milk, groceries or petrol 6. Strikers managed to cut electricity out-put by 60% and factories were forced to close 7. PM Wilson describe the strike as <i>‘a deliberate and calculated attempt by thugs and bullies using violence and un-parliamentary means for the purpose of bringing down the whole constitution of Northern Ireland’</i> 8. The British Army and Police stood by and did nothing 9. Many Protestants supported the strike 10. The UWC made sure needed supplies got through to Protestant areas in order to keep support for the strike in Protestant areas 11. Loyalists were strongly suspected of bomb attacks in Dublin and Monaghan in May (the UVF later admitted responsibility) 12. The Executive was isolated and had no control 13. Rees, the Northern Ireland Secretary, failed to stop the strikes 14. Faulkner tried to get the Dublin government to reduce the powers of the Council of Ireland and despite them agreeing to hold off implementing it was too late 15. Hospitals were about to close and the Executive resigned in May 1974 16. The Power-Sharing Executive had ended in failure
<p>Why did the Sunningdale Agreement fail?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Northern Ireland Secretary Rees was unwilling to use the police and army to stop the strike 2. The Labour Party under Wilson who were in power were not as keen as the Conservatives about the Agreement 3. The UWC strike brought the North to a halt 4. The Council of Ireland was greatly feared by the Unionists as they believed it would lead to a United Ireland 	<p>Quotes</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>‘This wasn’t just an industrial dispute. This was the Protestant people of Northern Ireland rising up against Sunningdale and it could not be shot down’ – Meryl Rees</i> 2. <i>‘The flaw in the Sunningdale Agreement was that those involved in it had completely different views of what it entailed. Faulkner saw the Council of Ireland as an advisory body... some members of the SDLP had a different opinion of what the Council of Ireland would mean’ – Making Sense of the Troubles, McKittrick and McVea</i> 3. <i>‘The end came on Tuesday 28 May 1974. The failure of the British government to give adequate support to the Executive... and its incapacity to maintain essential services, led to a complete collapse of the self confidence amongst the pro-assembly Unionists’ – Garret FitzGerald</i> 4. <i>‘As far as I was concerned we had got an Executive composed of Protestants and Catholics representing the Unionist and Nationalist communities. For me that was the biggest development in Irish politics... that happened within my lifetime’ – Gerry Fitt</i> 5. <i>‘It appears doubtful that Sunningdale could have worked anyway. That doubt became a certainty when it became evidence early on in the Loyalist strike that the army was not going to put the boot in’ – Tim Pat Coogan</i>

Case Study: The Apprentice Boys of Derry

<p style="text-align: center;"><u>The Loyal Orders</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Commemorating the past = very important part in the cultural identity of Protestants of NI • War of the Three Kings (1688-91) is an important focal point of commemoration - Protestant William of Orange defeated Catholic King James II, who was assisted by King Louis XIV of France • To keep the memory of historical victories alive 3 Protestant loyal orders were established -> The Orange Order, the Royal Black Institution and the Apprentice Boys of Derry. • The Apprentice Boys of Derry, est 1813, commemorates the Protestant victory during the Siege of Derry (1688-9). 	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>The Siege of Derry</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Siege of Derry = Dec 1688 – August 1689 • Protestant refugees from all over Ulster fled to Derry. • Catholic forces, under James II, arrived outside the walls of the city. • When the governor, Colonel Robert Lundy, wished to surrender, 13 apprentice boys defied him and closed the gates in the face of the Catholic army. • Lundy's replacement, Rev. George Walker, became a hero of the siege. • After 105-day siege involving gunshots, cannon balls, hunger and disease the siege was broken by the arrival of relief ships from Brit. • Ever since, Protestants in NI have drawn inspiration from the story .
<p style="text-align: center;"><u>The Foundation of the Apprentice Boys of Derry</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Siege was commemorated but no formal organisation responsible for this until... • 7 Dec 1813 -> first Apprentice Boys club formed in Dublin by 14 Derrymen. • Shortly afterwards a club was formed in Derry. • 1856 -> a General Committee of the Apprentice Boys was formed to co-ordinate the siege celebrations. • These celebrations took place each year around 18 December and 12 August. <p>***Careful – a lot of the information up to this point would be considered background information as it is outside of the topic date parameters. I have included the information here for contextual purposes.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>A Divided City</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • After partition and the creation of NI in 1921, Derry/Londonderry became the second largest city in NI. • But the Protestant population felt far from secure -> there had been strong nationalist pressure to have Derry/Londonderry included in the South because of its Catholic majority. • Local Protestants welcomed the Apprentice Boys celebrations when other Protestants from all over NI came to the city to join them in recalling a Protestant victory. • <i>'The Protestant shrine of Protestant Ulster is forever Derry. We do not meet together to provoke anybody or criticise any man's faith. But just as our forefathers before us, we are resolved that we shall not be driven out of this country by political pressure'</i> -Rev. JG MacManaway. • For the majority of the Catholic community in Derry, the annual march was a source of provocation • A statue of Governor Walker was placed on a column overlooking the largely nationalist Bogside area • As Apprentice Boys marched along sections of the walls overlooking nationalist areas they frequently exchanged insults with local inhabitants but things got much worse in the 1960s.
<p style="text-align: center;"><u>The ABOD and the Battle of Bogside</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Summer 1969 -> Derry was in a highly tense state 	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Through Conflict to Consensus</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Apprentice Boys had a turbulent history during the Troubles

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ever since the police had baton charged marchers during the civil rights march in Oct 1968, relations between Protestant and Catholic communities had deteriorated • <i>'After a year of civil rights marches banned from the centre of every town and batoned off the streets of Derry, the Catholics were in no mood to be reminded of their inferiority. If the march went ahead there was bound to be a riot...'</i> - M. Farrell • NI PM James Chichester-Clark refused to ban the Apprentice Boys march • Efforts were then made at a local level to persuade the organisers to call it off - > e.g. Paddy Doherty • It was clear conflict would erupt between marchers and local Catholics, as well as inhabitants of the Bogside and the RUC -> The Battle of Bogside • The Battle of Bogside between local Catholics and the RUC following the Apprentice Boys parade is seen by many as the real start of the Troubles • It led immediately to the deployment of British troops in NI -> this radically altered the political situation and paved the way for direct rule. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1970-71 -> ban imposed on the Apprentice Boys' parades • 1972-74 -> parades restricted to Protestant Waterside district • 1973 -> IRA blew up Walker monument • The Apprentice Boys were not allowed to march around the city walls again until 1995 • Apprentice Boys found themselves in conflict with local nationalist residents over the right to march • Feeder parades also a source of conflict -> groups of Apprentice Boys marching in various parts of the province before travelling to the main parade in Derry • Brit Gov appointed a Parades Commission to adjudicate on contentious marches <p>-> Apprentice Boys reached a compromise in late 1990s, the Orange Order still has not accepted the need to compromise on their marches. Loyalists feel their culture is being diminished.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1989 -> special celebrations to mark tercentenary of siege <p>-> Some events organised by Derry City Council who believed the siege and relief were part of the heritage of all citizens</p> <p>-> events more important to Protestant community</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • At a time when many NI Protestants felt insecure facing the challenge of conceding equality to their Catholic fellow citizens, the memory of past victories was a point of pride to many.
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Social and economic changes in NI, 1949-69

<p>Background CAREFUL!!! Watch out for material outside the timeframe!! Make this sort of information relevant by saying something like 'it was introduced in 1947 BUT the impact/change/results were felt over the next 10/20 years'</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Welfare State = in return for increased taxation the state would provide free health care, higher old-age pensions, disability pensions and better educational opportunities. 1. The Unionist Party were opposed to radical social change and did not welcome the introduction of the Welfare State. 2. However, PM of NI, Basil Brooke (later Lord Brookeborough), and then Captain Terence O'Neill (succeeded Brooke in 1963), were bound to implement it. <p>Social Welfare</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. A new system of national insurance was introduced in 1947 -> all workers paid into social insurance fund, when they retired workers got payments from the state. 2. Payments were much higher than they were in the South, e.g. widows pension in NI = £4.50, in ROI = £3.25. 3. The 1930s per capita income in NI was 55% of the average in Brit, by 1950 this had risen to 68% due to welfare payments. 	<p>Healthcare</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Healthcare in NI had not really changed since state was established in 1921. 2. Majority of population had to depend on under-funded, over-crowded public system of healthcare. 3. System radically changed from 1948 onwards when a new national health service was introduced (NHS). 4. People could attend a doctor of their choice and all healthcare, including medicines, would be free. 5. Hospitals came under the administration of the Hospital Authority. 6. Some Catholic independent voluntary hospitals were not willing to transfer their administration to the new authority as they wanted to keep their Catholic ethos. 7. Belfast's Mater Hospital (run by the Sisters of Mercy) did not want to be forced to provide information on abortion and contraception. 8. If a hospital did not opt-in to the Hospital Authority, then they would not receive state funding. 9. The Mater opted out and funded itself. This meant Catholics were paying towards the NHS and privately funding these services too. This fostered resentment.
<p>Housing</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 1945 -> Northern Ireland Housing Trust est. 2. Between 1945-63 113,000 new houses built 3. The Housing Trust intended that social housing would be allocated by need, however, local authorities, mostly under unionist control, allocated these houses to fellow unionists and Protestants. 4. This was a source of much tension between unionists and nationalists in the years to come. 5. 1963 – the Unionist chairman of the Enniskillen housing committee stated, <i>'we are going to see that the right people are put in these houses, and we are not going to apologize for it'</i>. 6. Dungannon, Co. Tyrone -> by 1963 no Catholic family had been allocated a permanent house by the local council in 34 years 7. 1963 - Homeless Citizens League set up by Dr Conn and Patricia McCluskey -> held protests, squatted in houses vacated by Protestant tenants. Predecessor of Campaign for Social Justice group, a driving force behind the NI civil rights movement 8. September 1967 -> Derry Housing Action Committee formed to highlight housing crisis in Derry <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They planned a civil rights march in Derry but the Apprentice Boys (loyalist order) announced a march of their own at the same time and on the same route • Minister of Home Affairs, William Craig, banned the civil rights march • March went ahead on 5 October, 1967 -> attacked with batons by RUC • Gerry Fitt, Eddie McAteer and Austin Currie were all hit with batons • In total 77 people were injured • The events of Derry were captured on tv and shown around the world • William Craig defended police behaviour and accused the marchers of being communists, republicans and a front for the IRA • It appeared that freedom of speech was being trampled in the UK by a violent police force 	<p>Education, also see notes on Coleraine</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. NI's education system was run by the Protestant and Catholic Churches, education was almost entirely denominational. 2. 1923 -> Unionist gov. offered increased funding to schools that transferred to State control. 3. These schools prohibited the teaching of religion during the day. 4. Catholic schools refused to transfer so could only receive 50% of the grants available to them. 5. Protestant schools did transfer and so received more funding. 6. This created a huge disparity between the quality of facilities and student-teacher ratios in Catholic and Protestant schools. 7. The prohibition on teaching religion was removed, so Protestantism was, in effect, taught in State schools. 8. Education Minister Colonel Hall-Thompson was forced to resign in 1949 when PM Lord Brookeborough failed to support plans to give Catholic teachers pensions 9. 1947, Education Act: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) Compulsory education up to age of 15 b) 11 Plus exams introduced -> most able 20% attend grammar schools (academic), other 80% attend secondary schools (technical) c) Local authorities had to provide milk, meals, transport, books d) Increase in grants for all schools, funding for voluntary (Catholic) schools increased from 50% to 65% 10. Numbers attending second level in NI doubled between 1947-52

<p>9. 1968, Caledon, Co. Tyrone -> local council gave a council house to a single, 19 year old Protestant instead of Catholic families on the waiting list</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Local MP Austin Currie, squatted in the house in Caledon until he was removed by police 24 August, 1968 -> 2,500 people involved in civil rights march from Coalisland to Dungannon to protest against Caledon affair and other forms of injustice When marchers reached Dungannon they were met by a police barricade 1,500 loyalists took part in a counter-demonstration The behavior of these local authorities strengthened the Catholic community's mistrust of NI authorities. <p>PM O'Neill - If Protestants 'give Roman Catholics a good house they will live like Protestants...they will refuse to have eighteen children. But if a Roman Catholic is jobless and lives in the most ghastly hovel he will rear eighteen children on National Assistance'.</p>	<p>11. The top 25% of 11-Plus exam students were given free places in grammar schools.</p> <p>12. By 1964 there were 95,000 students from NI in second level. The South had double the population but only 85,000 in second level.</p> <p>13. Grants made available to enable students to attend third-level education.</p> <p>14. By 1960 there were over 3,500 students attending Queen's College and there were plans for a second university (this was VERY controversial, see Coleraine below).</p> <p>15. Results: Catholics and Protestants remained at school longer and attended university in greater numbers -> educated and articulate young Catholics emerged who were not prepared to put up with discrimination under Unionist rule anymore</p>
<p>The Economy</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Unemployment in NI = 7% in 1950s, much higher than the rest of UK Agriculture remained most important industry During the 1940s, $\frac{1}{4}$ of workforce engaged in agriculture During the 1950s the number of men working on the land declined by 27% -> tractors Linen industry rapidly declined (synthetic fabrics more popular) -> 27,000 jobs lost between 1948 and 1964 Shipbuilding picked up during the war but went into sharp decline after 1955 due to increased competition from Germany and Japan Laws passed to provide incentives to foreign companies locating in NI -> 55,000 new jobs created between 1945-63 Despite this, unemployment remained high, esp. in nationalist areas e.g. 11.5% of Co. Derry unemployed in 1961 Discrimination was also a major issue in employment in NI. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> The Civil Service was 90% Protestant. The 10% of Catholics were generally in the lower ranks. 1943 -> of the 55 senior positions in the civil service there were no Catholics -> of the 600 middle-ranking positions there were only 55 Catholics. Unemployment among Catholics was almost 200% higher than among Protestants. 'Where discrimination hurts the most is in employment and housing. You come to a factory looking for a job and they ask you which school you went to. If its name was Saint Somebody they know you are a Catholic'. Bernadette Devlin. Phil Coulter's <i>The Town I Loved So Well</i> also highlights male unemployment; 'the shirt factory horn called women from Creggan... while the men on the dole played a mother's role fed the children, and then walked the dog'. O'Neill spent 7 years as Minister of Finance Admired the Whitaker Report and Programme for Economic Expansion introduced by Lemass Government 1965 - Professor Wilson of Glasgow University created <i>Economic Development in Northern Ireland</i> -> set high targets for economic expansion Annual growth rate = 4%, higher than that of UK 1960s -> 40,000 new jobs created in NI But 25,000 jobs lost in traditional industries such as textiles <p>Recognised Northern Ireland section of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions -> represented mostly Catholic workers</p>	<p>The Civil Rights Movement in NI</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> January 1967 -> Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association established in Belfast Aims: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -> one man, one vote in local elections -> no gerrymandering -> fair distribution of council houses -> get rid of B-Specials -> repeal Special Powers Act (internment) Derry civil rights march 5 October, 1967 -> attacked with batons by RUC 24 August, 1968 -> 2,500 people involved in civil rights march from Coalisland to Dungannon After the Derry civil rights march the Citizens Action Committee, People's Democracy and new branches of the Civil Rights Association sprang up all over NI British PM Harold Wilson summoned Terence O'Neill, Brian Faulkner and William Craig to London Wilson insisted the Unionist Government introduce reforms in NI: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Londonderry Corporation was to be abolished Parts of Special Powers Act suspended Local councils would have to implement a points system to ensure fair housing allocation Ombudsman appointed to investigate citizens' complaints 'One man, one vote' would be considered for local elections In a few months the civil rights campaign had gained more reforms than the minority community had gained since the establishment of NI in 1921.

The Anglo-Irish Agreement, 1985

Background

1. With the failure of Sunningdale, the Brit gov restored **direct rule** in NI. The **Secretary of State** took over day-to-day running of NI.
2. Sept 1976 -> **Roy Mason** appointed the new Secretary of State of NI by James Callaghan, the new Brit PM
3. Abolition of **Special Category Status** met with an immediate response by the IRA prisoners in the **Maze Prison** (formerly Long Kesh). This led to **blanket protests and dirty protests** by prisoners
4. May 1979 -> **Margaret Thatcher** and the Conservatives won the general election in GB. She was **sympathetic** to the unionists
5. Thatcher appointed **Humphrey Atkins** as the new Secretary of State of NI
6. 27 August 1979 -> IRA killed **Lord Mountbatten** and four others in Co. Sligo
7. Humphrey Atkins proposed a **roundtable conference** involving the 4 main parties in Ulster. This was a complete **disaster**.
8. Due to the failure of the blanket and dirty protests, prisoners in the H block now went on **hunger strike**. 5 May 1981 -> **Bobby Sands** was the first hunger striker to die. **100,000** attended his funeral
9. Oct 1984 -> IRA attempted to kill Thatcher during the **Conservative Party Conference in Brighton**
10. Thatcher **rejected** the **New Ireland Forum** (a meeting between nationalists, North and South, with the aim of a united Ireland) -> *'I have made it quite clear...that a unified Ireland was one solution that is out'*

The Anglo-Irish Agreement

1. 15 Nov, 1985 -> **Anglo-Irish Agreement** signed by Thatcher and FitzGerald at **Hillsborough Castle, Co. Down**
2. **Inter-Governmental Conference** established -> Secretary of State for NI and Irish Minister for Foreign Affairs would meet and deal with **cross-border co-operation** on a variety of issues
3. It had a permanent office containing civil servants from NI and the Republic in Maryfield, Co. Down
4. **No change** in the status of NI could come about without the **consent of the majority**. Thatcher believed she was **strengthening** the Union
5. Signing Anglo-Irish Agreement was a big **achievement** for Taoiseach **FitzGerald**
6. Because of the Inter-Governmental Conference, Irish governments would have a **significant role** in the affairs of NI
7. Fitzgerald hoped that in championing the cause of the minority in NI, he would **reduce support** for the IRA and Sinn Féin
8. **Fianna Fáil, under Haughey, condemned** the Anglo-Irish Agreement – said it **abandoned** the principle of Irish unity
9. The IRA and Sinn Féin **rejected** the agreement
10. The SDLP **welcomed** the agreement as a huge advancement for the nationalist community
11. Unionists were **outraged**

Ulster Says No

1. Unionists **not informed** of talks leading up to Anglo-Irish Agreement
2. Accused Thatcher of complete **betrayal**, Paisley accused Thatcher of being prepared to *'wade knee-deep in the blood of Loyalists for this document of treachery and deceit'*
3. 23 Nov 1985-> **100,000** attended a massive unionist rally in City Hall, Belfast
4. **'Ulster Says No'** = slogan
5. **James Molyneaux** and **Ian Paisley** pledged their complete **opposition** to the Anglo-Irish Agreement
6. Unionists **withdrew all support** from the Brit Gov and 15 unionist MPs resigned
7. Thatcher **refused to yield** to violence against the Anglo-Irish Agreement

Loyalist Violence

1. As well as political opposition to the Anglo-Irish Agreement, there were widespread and repeated **violent incidents**
2. Anger vented at the **RUC** because without police co-operation the agreement could not have been enforced
3. 11 December, 1985 -> during the first meeting in the Anglo-Irish offices crowds of loyalist workers **battled with police** in an attempt to tear down the gates
4. On the same day the homes of **15 police officers** were attacked. By May 1986, **368** members of the RUC and their families had been attacked by loyalists. UDA and UVF also attacked **Catholics**
5. Despite loyalist violence, by the end of 1986 it was clear that the Anglo-Irish Agreement would **not be removed**

The Downing Street Declaration, 1993

<p style="text-align: center;"><u>The IRA and Sinn Féin – New Directions</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. June 1983 -> Gerry Adams elected Sinn Féin MP for West Belfast 2. Sept 1984 -> Adams made president of party 3. May 1985 -> Sinn Féin won 59 seats in local elections 4. Adams and Martin McGuinness had a dual strategy: <p>A. Continue the armed campaign</p> <p>B. Increasing involvement in politics</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5. Leading republican Danny Morrison described this policy as <i>'as Armalite in the one hand and a ballot box in the other'</i> 6. 8 Nov 1987 -> IRA bomb killed 11 at Remembrance Day commemoration in Enniskillen, Co Fermanagh 	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Background</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. July 1989 -> Thatcher appointed Peter Brooke Secretary of State for NI 2. Nov 1989 -> Brooke admitted that the IRA could not be defeated militarily and that talks with Sinn Féin were inevitable 3. Nov 1990 -> Brooke declared Brit had <i>'no selfish, strategic or economic interest in Northern Ireland'</i> = Brit Gov only in NI because 1 million unionists wanted to be part of UK 4. This supported Hume's argument that it was divisions between the Irish people themselves, and not the Brit Gov, that stood in the way of Irish unity 5. Nov 1990 -> Thatcher resigned as PM and John Major replaced her. Brooke remained Secretary of State
<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Towards an Agreement</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Irish Gov, Hume and Adams hoped to convince Brit to persuade unionists to accept a united Ireland 2. John Major completely refused this 3. Unionists were alarmed when news of talks between Hume and Adams became public 	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>The Downing Street Declaration, Dec 1993</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. December 1993 -> John Major and Albert Reynolds (succeeded Haughey as Taoiseach in Jan 1992) signed the Joint Declaration/ Downing Street Declaration 2. Brit Gov formally declared that it had no <i>'selfish, strategic or economic interest in Northern Ireland'</i> 3. Declaration said the main interest of the Brit Gov was <i>'to see peace, stability and reconciliation established by agreement among all the people who inhabit the island'</i> 4. The Taoiseach accepted that it would be wrong to attempt to impose Irish unity without the consent of the majority of NI 5. Reynolds agreed to examine any aspects of life in the Republic that might be a threat to the unionist ethos and way of life 6. While the Downing Street Declaration was nationalistic in tone with references to Irish unity and self-determination, many unionists welcomed the principle of consent being enshrined in the document 7. Sinn Féin were critical of the Downing Street Declaration <p>-> objected principle of consent based on two parts of the island rather than the island as a whole</p> <p>-> disappointed that the Brit Gov did not become a persuader for Irish unity</p>

Cultural identity in NI

<p><u>Conflicting identities</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • At the heart of the conflict in NI was the existence of 2 separate traditions/identities -> Protestant/unionist and Catholic/nationalist • These separate traditions attended different churches and schools, supported different political parties, played different sports and supported different teams • E.g. Protestants support Glasgow Rangers Catholics support Glasgow Celtic 	<p><u>The Unionist identity</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As a result of the Troubles many unionists felt threatened and insecure • In these circumstances they supported traditional expressions of their cultural identity e.g. the Orange Order • Events like the Fall of Stormont, the IRA campaign and the Anglo-Irish Agreement deepened unionist's 'siege mentality'/belief that their way of life was under threat • Before the Troubles -> main identity = British but some would have also described themselves as Irish • Against a backdrop of IRA violence many downplayed their Irishness • Poet Michael Longley graphically described the effects of the conflict in the province: <i>'Rum and raisin, vanilla, butterscotch, walnut, peach: You would rhyme off the flavours. That was before They murdered the ice-cream man on the Lisburn Road And you bought carnations to lay outside his shop.'</i> • Tom Paulin argued that the poor morale among Protestants was reflected in the low status of the Ulster Scots language, the language of their unionist ancestors • Loyal orders like the Orange Order and the Apprentice Boys of Derry became defenders of the cultural identity of Protestants
<p><u>The Nationalist Identity</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nationalist identity = Irish and Catholic • Outbreak of the Troubles -> nationalists united by a common sense of grievance against unionist majority rule • Focus = achieving an end to discrimination • General aim = united Ireland, deep divisions among nationalists over the role of violence in achieving this • Conflicting loyalties in nationalist areas between supporters of the constitutional SDLP and Sinn Féin, the political wing of the IRA • Nationalists deeply involved in GAA -> close link between politics and the GAA in NI 	<p><u>Towards Greater Understanding</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • With the advent of the peace process, there was a greater awareness of the need to accommodate both traditions in NI • There was a growing recognition that a stable society would need to take account of diversity and difference • This can be seen with the increased willingness within local communities to resolve the contentious issue of marches (see notes on ABOD next)

- Under **Rule 21**, members of **security forces** in NI were not permitted to join GAA clubs
- **Irish language** = nb element in cultural identity
- It was **taught** in Catholic schools
- An **Irish-speaking area** developed in West Belfast
- Irish-speaking nationalists in NI called on the Brit Gov to provide greater funding and support for the language
- Unionist support for the **Ulster Scot** language was largely in response to nationalist attempts to promote the **Irish language**
- Just as poets and writers from the unionist tradition reflected the fears and aspirations of their community, writers also emerged from the nationalist tradition
- 1980 -> **Brain Friel** founded the **Field Day Theatre Company** in Derry
- Field Day had a v **nationalist political agenda**
- Its plays were performed in **Derry's Guildhall** -> a symbol of the Brit Empire
- **Stephen Rae**, Field Day director, noted the irony *'in us doing plays there which maybe undermine that position and certainly come from a different point of view'*
- **Seamus Heaney** wrote the following in a **Field Day pamphlet**:
*'My passport's green
 No glass of ours was ever raised
 To toast The Queen'*
- Heaney's writings reflect the traditions and way of life of the nationalist community in NI
*'The innocent in gaols
 Beat on their bars together.
 A hunger-striker's father
 Stands in the graveyard dumb.
 The police widow in veils
 Faints at the funeral home'*

Impact of the Troubles on the economy, population distribution and education

<u>Impact on the economy</u>	<u>Impact on population distribution</u>	<u>Impact on education</u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • During the height of the Troubles the economy went through a prolonged crisis and decline • Factories closed, foreign investment declined and industrial employment fell sharply • Decline due to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -> worldwide depression following oil crisis -> decline in demand for various products e.g. textiles -> bombing campaigns <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Violence destroyed property and deterred outside industries from locating in NI • Between 1966-71 foreign industries created 11,600 manufacturing jobs • Between 1972-76 only 900 jobs were created by foreign companies • During the 1970s there was a massive expansion of gov services in the areas of health, education and security • There was increased investment on the part of the Brit Gov in health and education in an attempt to bring social services in line with the rest of the UK • Both Labour and Conservative governments in the 1970s believed that better stands of healthcare and education would reduce poverty and lessen support for violence • Conflict resulted in huge expansion of security forces in NI • Brit troops arrived in large numbers but from the mid-1970s a policy of 'Ulsterisation' was followed <p>Ulsterisation = use of more locally recruited security forces in policing the province</p> <p>Numbers in RUC, UDR (police reserve) and prison service expanded greatly</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most of these jobs were filled by members of the Protestant community • Under Thatcher's Conservative Gov, 1979-90, investment increased in security forces but spending on health and education was restricted • During the peace process of the 1990s the economy was a high priority • 'Peace dividend' = social and political stability would lead to economic progress • Brit, Irish and US Govs, private investors and the EU were all committed to investing in the economy of NI in the event of a peaceful resolution to the conflict 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As well as discouraging investment in NI, the Troubles had a major impact on population distribution • Due to violence and intimidation, thousands were forced out of their homes • In working class parts of Belfast people lived in either Catholic or Protestant ghetto areas with a huge barrier called the peaceline separating them • In Derry, Protestants almost completely abandoned the Cityside area west of the River Foyle (e.g. Bogside and Creggan) and transferred east to the Protestant Waterside or to Protestant towns like Limavady and Coleraine • According to the 1991 census, most people in NI lived in an area that was either 90% Protestant or 90% Catholic making NI one of the most segregated societies in Europe • Steady rise in proportion of Catholics in NI from 1960s • Catholics had traditionally formed 1/3 of population but by 1991 they made up 42% of total population • As a result there were significant Catholic populations in largely Protestant and unionist towns like Lisburn and Portadown • Unionists felt increasingly insecure as the SDLP and Sinn Féin increased their electoral support • In Belfast nationalist councillors accounted for nearly half of the overall membership of the corporation by the 1990s -> huge transformation as unionists had always dominated the Belfast Corporation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education was nearly completely segregated at first and second level • Nearly all Catholics attended Catholic schools while Protestants attended state schools • Some parents believed that children should be educated together in intergraded schools with the hope that this would lead to greater respect, tolerance and mutual understanding • Integrated education movement faced many problems -> funding and pupil numbers • Brit Gov believed education had an important role in bringing about a more tolerant society • 1982 -> Department of Education circular stated mutual understanding was a duty and a responsibility for everyone in education • 1989 -> National Curriculum introduced – pupils in all schools followed the same curriculum • -> it was no longer possible for some schools to avoid Irish history or neglect British history • -> compulsory sections on cultural heritage and education for mutual learning • Apart from separate Protestant and Catholic primary teacher training colleges, practically all third level colleges contained a mixture of Catholics and Protestants • Since the introduction of the welfare state more Catholics attended third-level education -> many of these went on to become nationalist leaders during the Troubles • Violence had serious impact on proportion of Protestants attending third-level in NI -> from 1970s many went to uni in UK • They often remained in Britain to work after graduation = 'Protestant brain drain'