

Master thesis

The dominance of the white race

A comparative history of racial legislation

1880-1933

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Preface

This master thesis is the finalization of the six years that I have spent at the University of Utrecht. It is written as a part of the master program “Comparative History”. The subject of this thesis stems from my interest in scientific racism in general and eugenic societies in particular. In the process of establishing a comparative research question, it gradually changed to a more general work on racism. From my interest in scientific racism, only the first chapter on biological justification remains. During these months I have learnt more than I thought possible on racism, and probably less than necessary to even comprehend a small part of what is truly behind it. I have been surprised and shocked to learn what racist matters have come to pass in a time-period so close to our own. I cannot help but wonder whether in a hundred years, some student of history will look back at the early twenty-first century and consider our society to be deeply racist as well.

I would like to thank my thesis supervisor Frans Willem Lantink for his support during the seemingly endless months that I have been working on this thesis and mainly his very useful insights into the difficult German case. I also want to thank my master supervisor Maarten Prak for his support with the comparative method and some necessary adjustments to my conclusion. Last but not least, I am deeply indebted to my girlfriend Eva for her encouraging words and the incredible help with the English language and overall editing of my thesis.

Introduction

Between 1880 and 1933, in many parts of the world, racial legislature was implemented as state policy. Scientific developments in the fields of biology, anthropology, psychology and paleontology helped to enhance the notion of the inequality of the human race. Race became a prominent factor in comparisons between human beings and by the end of the nineteenth century, the belief in human inequality was scientifically justified in many parts of the Western hemisphere. The idea that the white race was better than people of non-white races became a dominant thesis. Racial superiority was used as a reason to justify economic and social inequality in many countries.

It was in Nazi-Germany that scientific racism reached a new level of barbarism. According to most of the recent literature on racism, developments in Germany resembled developments in America and Britain until the 1930s.¹ When scientific racism started to lose its scientific appeal in countries such as America and Britain, it became more widely implemented in Nazi Germany. It is important to understand the implications of this escalation in the German racial state, as it is in many aspects, the culmination of the racially obsessed *Zeitgeist*. After the end of the Second World War and the collapse of the *Third Reich*, scientific racism lost its viability in nearly all societies. Although neither eugenic programs nor racism disappeared, the barbarism of Nazi Germany was for many nations an important reason to abandon the idea of racial inequality on scientific grounds. Since the war, racial differences are viewed in more or less cultural terms, not biological. This transformation can be seen as the 'retreat of scientific racism'.²

A lot of research has been done on the racial aspects of Nazi Germany. However, by focusing too much on the exceptional situation of Nazi Germany, the situation of racism in the decades before the *Third Reich* has long been obscured. It is therefore interesting to compare the many similarities and differences of racism in advanced societies before 1933. A rigid comparison of Western societies before 1933

¹ See for example: Elizabeth Barkan, *The retreat of scientific racism; changing concepts of race in Britain and the U.S. between the world wars* (Cambridge 1992) 1-6 ; Henry Friedlander, *The Origins of Nazi Genocide: from euthanasia to the final solution* (London 1995) 1-4.

² Elizabeth Barkan, *The retreat of scientific racism; changing concepts of race in Britain and the U.S. between the world wars* (Cambridge 1992) 1-11.

can help us understand these similarities and differences. This might give us a better insight in the importance of racist thought in these societies before the *Third Reich*.

At the end of the nineteenth century, in some parts of the world legislative policies were introduced to enforce racial inequality. Interestingly enough, this was not the case in Germany. It was in the United States and in Australia that most legislative measures were taken to reinforce racial inequality. In the United States, many white people felt that people of African and Asian descent were inferior. They were sure that the African-American population could not take care of themselves.³ In this highly segregated society, the legal status of the whites was far better than that of the non-white population groups. They also introduced immigrant restriction laws to limit the immigration of scientifically 'inferior' Southern European races. In Australia, the 'White Nation policies' were introduced. These policies had as ultimate goal to change Australia into a white homogeneous society. Immigrants from Asian stock were prohibited to enter Australia. They also attempted to eliminate the culture of the Aboriginals by assimilating them into the dominant white culture.⁴

The governments and inhabitants of all the countries studied in this thesis believed to some extent in the concept of racial inequality. It was part of the racially obsessed worldview of Social Darwinism. Herbert Spencer's Social Darwinist ideals of a neo-liberal society were very popular all over Western Europe and also in the United States. It is a world view that believes that biological 'Darwinist' laws of nature, also extend to social life. Spencer believed that human nature has evolved through the principle of natural selection. Darwinian concepts such as heredity, struggle for survival and selection was central to his thinking of society. We will see that by the end of the nineteenth century, these ideas sparked a general consensus of racial 'biological' superiority of the white race among the educated people.

A causal analysis of theories for racism will aid us in finding the most plausible causes for racist legislation in a country. The intention is to explain why some countries introduced more extreme policies of racism than others. In this thesis, racial legislature is considered to be the culmination of racist ideas that are

³ Gunnar Myrdal, 'An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy' reprinted in Ellis Cashmore and James Jennings ed., *Racism: Essential Readings* (London 2001) 38-40.

⁴ F.S.Stevens ed., *Racism, the Australian Experience: Volume 1 Prejudice and Xenophobia* (Redfern 1971) 10-14.

accepted by a significant part of society. For racial legislature to be implemented in a democratic country, it needs to be widely accepted and institutionalized. It is not the purpose of this study to establish exact ways how these laws were introduced, but to understand why racist ideas in some societies lead to more severe measurements than other societies.

Eventually, although it's not the main research question, it might be possible to shed some new light on the problematic debate about the reasons for the racist policies of the *Third Reich*. Ever since the end of the Second World War, many politicians, sociologists and historians have been debating, in what has come to be known as the *historikerstreit*, about the reason for the Third Reich to come into existence. Some historians considered it to be merely coincidence that this happened in Germany. Other researches insisted on the German *Sonderweg* (special path) thesis. These historians argued that the German development in an industrialized state was very different than the other Western nations. The industrialization didn't go hand in hand with the development of democratic institutions.⁵ According to the *Sonderweg* historians, this was a possible reason that Germany was susceptible for the racist Nazi party to grab the power. Hans Ulrich Wehler, one of the main supporters of the *Sonderweg*, therefore also opposed intentionalist explanations. These intentionalists saw the rise of the racially obsessed and charismatic Hitler as the most important factor in explaining the holocaust. Wehler strongly opposes the assumption that the excesses of the *Third Reich* were mainly because of Hitler. In one of his polemical attacks on the intentionalists he said: "This survey is directed among other matters-against the apologetic effect of the tendency of interpretations that once more blame Hitler alone for the 'Holocaust'-thereby exonerating the older power elites and the Army, the executive bureaucracy, and the judiciary ...and the silent majority who knew". Wehler thus lay the guilt question of the World Wars not just in the hands of Hitler, but also at the development of the German nation and its people since 1870.⁶

⁵ Chris Lorenz, *De Constructie van het verleden; Een inleiding in de theorie van de geschiedenis* (Amsterdam 2006) 158-162 ; David Blackbourn, *Populists and Patricians; Essays in Modern German History* (London 1987) 6-7.

⁶ Quoted in: John Lukacs, *The Hitler of History* (New York 1997) 35.

Historiography of race and racism

To understand racist ideas, it is important to know something about the various theories about race and racism that had been established by biologists, sociologists and psychologists during the course of the nineteenth and twentieth century. In the middle of the nineteenth century, the French aristocrat and novelist, Arthur de Gobineau, was one of the first to theorize extensively about different races, in his book *An Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races* (1853-1855). In this book, Gobineau argued that race is the primary force for determining world events. He believed that there are three races: 'the white, the black, and the yellow race'.⁷ Gobineau ranked them on a scale of superiority. According to him, the black race was the lowest, marked by animality and limited intellect, but possessing great energy, desire and will. 'The wild sensuality of the Blacks is the mark of inferiority'.⁸ In contrast, 'the yellow race is the antithesis of the black race. They prefer mediocrity and material enjoyment. They lack physical strength and wild desires. They are able to build a mediocre society, but lack the energy and creativity to give beauty to society', according to Gobineau.⁹ In his view, the white race is supposed to be superior to the others in all aspects. The white race has great physical power and a high level of intelligence. They are characterized by a love for life and liberty. The white race is aware of its permanent superiority.¹⁰ According to Gobineau, there are natural barriers between these races and 'race-mixing' would inevitably lead to chaos. But he also considered race mixing to be a necessary evil, as civilization could only be created by the white race in hybridization with an element of 'alien blood'. Civilization would then move into its inevitable degeneration through stages of extreme action, morbid torpor and on to ultimate destruction.¹¹ He considered the economic problems of France to be caused by this miscegenation of races. The white race would eventually fade away.¹²

⁷ The terms 'white, black and yellow race' are not intended to be anyway discriminatory in this thesis. For the sake of explaining the arguably 'racist' views of Gobineau, they are kept in their original form. It is the way Gobineau put forward his influential theory. The black race is the word used by Gobineau for people of African descent, the Yellow race is the word for people of Asian origin.

⁸ Michael Biddiss, 'Gobineau and the Origins of European Racism' in Martin Bulmer and John Solomos ed., *Oxford Readers: Racism* (Oxford 1999) 50-51.

⁹ Ibidem 51.

¹⁰ Ibidem 51.

¹¹ Ibidem 51.

¹² Leon Poliakov, 'Gobineau and His Contemporaries' in Martin Bulmer and John Solomos ed., *Oxford Readers: Racism* 55.

Gobineau's work was an inspiration for a host of other racial theories that emerged at the end of the nineteenth century in the United States, Britain and Germany. Gobineau's idea of racial miscegenation was a predecessor of the later idea of degeneration of the race. Among the predecessors of Gobineau was Houston Stewart Chamberlain. Chamberlain was a British-born author of books on natural sciences and political philosophy. He felt more at ease in the German conservative elite than in the British Empire. He acquired German citizenship in 1916. His most famous work was *Die Grundlagen des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* which was published in 1899. This book was well received in most European nations. In this book, Chamberlain argues that the Aryan race has deeply influenced all of civilization. According to him, the Aryan race includes the Germans, Celts, Slavs, Greeks, Latin and the Berbers from North Africa. At the helm of the Aryan race were the Nordic people such as the Germans.

Gobineau and his predecessors were the first to introduce the white race as the standard for measurement. All other race varieties were judged as approximated to, or diverged from the white race. Africans presented the widest divergence, thus they assigned to this race the lowest intellectual and moral estate in the genus homo.¹³ The idea of the superiority of the white race gained even more interest after the publication of Charles Darwin's theory of evolution, which was first published in 1859. This evolution theory was misinterpreted by followers of Gobineau to support the idea that the white race was further on the scale of evolution than the people of African or Asian origin. Africans were assigned a place less than human, more like a man-ape. In the words of one nineteenth century racist: 'the Negro has an oval skull, flat forehead, snout-like jaws, swollen lips, broad, flat nose, short, crimped hair, calf less legs, highly elongated heels, and flat feet.'¹⁴ Scientific theories were used to complement, justify or rationalize the exploitation of subjugated populations. In this respect, the notion of a permanent and distinguishable white superiority was of great use.

Between 1890 and 1933, the published racist theories were often used to complement nationalistic and imperialistic movements. An example of this nationalistic fervour is Chamberlain's pan-Germanic ideal for Germany. He believed

¹³ George W. Ellis, 'Psychology of American Race Prejudice' reprinted in Ellis Cashmore and James Jennings ed., *Racism: Essential Readings* (London 2001) 10-12.

¹⁴ *Ibidem* 13.

that Germany should (forcefully) expand its borders to create a Greater Germany that consisted out of all the Aryan people. An important example of an imperialist that was inspired by ideas of racial superiority was Cecil Rhodes. Cecil Rhodes was one of the most influential British imperialists, he wanted to expand the British Empire from 'Cape to Cairo', meaning from the South of Africa to Northern Egypt. He strongly believed that the Anglo-Saxon race was destined to greatness. In his testament, Rhodes said of the British, "I contend that we are the finest race in the world and that the more of the world we inhabit the better it is for the human race."¹⁵

After the Second World War, racist theories lost most of its general appeal and there aren't many interesting racist theories known after 1945. However, theorizing about racism gained more attention of sociologists, biologists and psychologists. Besides the negative conception of race set forward by 'racists' in the past centuries, now the way different races treated and should treat each other became a more important field of research. In 1944, an extensive research group led by Gunnar Myrdal was the first to theorize extensively about racism. In 'An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy' Myrdal offered a conception of racism as a dynamic force. It was more value-free than the theories of the first half of the twentieth century. According to him, racism changed in accordance with social and economic conditions, and as such, it needs to be theorized in its own historical context. This context would be produced by a combination of conscious design and social forces, choice and necessity. Most of Myrdal's research is done on the American society. It explores the social bases of beliefs of the racial inferiority of the African American population and Jews. He argues that racism is not restricted to parochial values or region-specific attitudes: rather, it is a complex of beliefs and values.¹⁶

Myrdal considered several causes for racial inequality in America. Many African-Americans in the south were poor, uneducated, deficient in health, morals and manners, and thus not very agreeable as social companions. This maintained the social inequality. This was enhanced in the South by the proportion of African American people to the total population. There was also a widespread tendency to

¹⁵ Robert I. Rotberg, *Cecil Rhodes and the Pursuit of Power* (New York 1988).

¹⁶ Gunnar Myrdal, 'An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy', reprinted in Ellis Cashmore and James Jennings ed., *Racism: Essential Readings* 35.

exaggerate the lower class traits of African American people. Physical differences were feared. Thus there also was a significant biological justification. A more psychological reason was the idea that the African American population wanted to be segregated, that they are happy in their humble status, paternalized by the white population.¹⁷

According to Myrdal, a remarkable thing was that in America social segregation and discrimination were never motivated in the obvious way as being in 'the white people's interest'. It seemed to be that an important aspect for social inequality, the material benefits for the white population, did not occur to the white people.¹⁸ *'Fear of amalgamation. It is this fear that gives a unique character to the American theory of 'no social equality'.*¹⁹ Behind all rationalizing stereotyped beliefs and popular theories, a main concern of the white man was to preserve social inequality for its own sake. Also, the idea that African Americans were servants and needed a paternalistic attitude was still prominent. Myrdal considered sex and race fears to be the main reason for the segregation of American society.²⁰

In 1948, the African American Marxist sociologist Oliver Cromwell Cox came with a repudiation of Myrdal's theory. He proposed a different cause for racial inequality. Not surprising for a Marxist, Cox saw the ultimate cause for racial inequality in the capitalist economic exploitation. Cox argued that racism is a fundamental and direct product of the rise of capitalism.²¹ According to Cox, the exploitation that occurred prior to capitalism was based on cultural instead of racial grounds. He used examples of the Greeks and Romans to postulate this idea. The Greeks and Romans distinguished themselves from all 'Barbarians' that did not have their superior culture and language. However, these Barbarians were encouraged to embrace the Roman culture and language, regardless of their 'racial stock'.²² Thus, according to Cox, before capitalism, no rationalized ideology for human inequality based on racial premises existed. When the European countries started to colonize the world, theories of racial superiority started to appear. This helped to support the exploitative intentions of the imperialist countries. Already in 1550, the Spaniard

¹⁷ Ibidem 38-40.

¹⁸ Ibidem 37.

¹⁹ Ibidem 37.

²⁰ Ibidem 40.

²¹ Oliver Cromwell Cox, 'Caste, Class and Race: A Study in Social Dynamics', reprinted in Ellis Cashmore and James Jennings ed., *Racism: Essential Readings* (London 2001) 49-50.

²² <http://www.bookrags.com/biography/oliver-cromwell-cox-soc/>.

Gaines de Sepulveda put forth a theory that certain races were innately inferior and, thus, assimilation was not conducive to a healthy society. As this ideology spread, exploitation of people based on race alone received the justification it needed. According to Cox, capitalists had a massive workforce at their disposal, justified by racial theories of human inequality. African slave labour was a normal, justified element in the new colonies.²³ The new capitalist system embraced the idea of racial inequality. Cox even viewed racial antagonism as one of the fundamental traits of class struggle within the capitalist system. Racial prejudice was, in his mind, an attitude built up by the capitalists to keep control over the proletariat, whom they exploited.²⁴

It is clear that Cox set the phenomenon of racism in the context of class consciousness. This concept dominated theories of racial discrimination for a long time. Economic exploitation is still seen as a major cause in most explanations for racial inequality. However, most of these theories are not as deterministic as Cox' own ideas and he was criticized as a result. An example of an author who was not convinced by Cox is Oscar Handlin. He wrote in the introduction of his book *Race and Nationality in American Life* that 'The degradation of the black people is clearly connected to economic exploitation, but it did not altogether explain that degradation' and 'The idea of race rested on a body of knowledge, and a full understanding of it demands an assessment of the intellectual and emotional context in which it took hold.'²⁵

According to Handlin, racism needed to be analyzed as a form of ideology in itself and not just as a reflection of economic conditions, a by-product of capitalist exploitation.²⁶ Cox' idea that elimination of class exploitation would cause all race prejudices to disappear was therefore oversimplified. Handlin saw the link between economic exploitation and race prejudice in a different way:

'Exploitation created a sense of social uneasiness in which there was room for, and psychological and political unity in, prejudiced behaviour. A society weighed down by such uneasiness found relief by dividing against itself: in other words, by

²³ <http://www.bookrags.com/biography/oliver-cromwell-cox-soc/>.

²⁴ Oscar Handlin, *Race and Nationality in American Life*, reprinted in Ellis Cashmore and James Jennings ed., *Racism: Essential Readings* (London 2001) 79.

²⁵ *Ibidem* 75.

²⁶ *Ibidem* 75, 80.

sanctioning the hatreds of some of its members against others.... Not the fringes alone, but society as a whole was affected'.²⁷

Methodology

To understand the similarities and differences between the implementation of racially inspired laws in the period 1880-1933 in several countries, this thesis will use a comparative methodology. The advantages of comparative methods are the structured, analytical framework that they offer. Although at some points simplifications of data have to be introduced to compare certain cases, a vital part of the study is still focused on a detailed research of the specific cases. Although not being an expert on one single case, a good comparative historian is knowledgeable of the influential literature on the subject he discusses. As the focus of the comparative historian is mostly on secondary sources, the intention of the research is to offer new and fresh insights by undertaking a causal analysis of an outcome on which several theories exist. By undertaking a systematic comparison of the available theories on a certain outcome, the comparative historian attempts to explain which theories are more suited to explain the outcome, and which theories are not plausible at all. It is therefore not the intention to study the primary sources extensively.

There are several comparative methods, which have their own merits in different types of research. In this study, the method of Boolean algebra will be used to compare the different cases. A major advantage of Boolean algebra is the possibility to tackle the problem of multiple causation. Most other comparative methods try to eliminate all possible causes for a certain outcome until eventually one single cause will be determined as the reason for something to happen. Many historians find this approach too deterministic. Boolean algebra offers us a way to deal with this problem, by leaving the possibility for multiple causes open.²⁸ The goal of a Boolean analysis is to find the most plausible combination of causes for a possible outcome. It is mostly used to understand the underlying causes for the outcome of a 'big question'. The emergence of racial legislation is the specific outcome investigated by this thesis: we want to find possible causes for the emergence of racial legislation. A Boolean analysis starts with the creation of a truth

²⁷ Ibidem 80.

²⁸ Charles C. Ragin, *The comparative method: Moving beyond qualitative and quantitative strategies* (Berkeley 1989) 86-87.

table. Each row in a Boolean truth table represents a possible combination of present and absent causes. This presence or absence is coded with a 1 or a 0. Of course, labelling the causes on with 0 or 1 for absence of presence can lead to some loss of information, but this simplification is necessary for the method. The scoring of a 1 or 0 should therefore be explained and justified carefully. When a Boolean truth table is created, the next step in the process is deriving the Boolean formula from present and absent causes. This is accomplished by using a simple letter-combination. An upper case letter is used when a cause is present; a lower-case letter is used when a cause is absent. The result of the derivation will look something like this; Outcome $Y = AbC + aBC + AB$.²⁹

This looks hard to understand at first sight, but will be carefully explained in a proper Boolean analysis. The Boolean analysis takes the complex problem of multiple causation into account by dealing with both present and absent causes. The absence of a variable can be just as necessary for an outcome as the presence of another one. We will discover that the presence of one factor, or cause, often operates in combination with the presence of other factors. This Boolean approach can eventually help us gain new insights in the causation of a certain major outcome. By illuminating the historical roots of a certain outcome, the Boolean analysis is able to add new substance to existing theories or function as the basis for a new theory. In the concluding chapter, the Boolean analysis will function as a useful tool to give structured analyses of the available theories on racism.

Of course, to be able to have a sensible comparison of racial legislature in several countries, a selection has to be made among the countries suitable for comparison. The countries that will be compared in this study are the United States, Britain, Germany and Australia. Other possible countries that could have been included in the comparison are, for example, France, Italy and Canada. The most important reason that I did not include these countries is the limited space and time available for this study. France and Italy, which are probably the most interesting cases that were left out of this thesis, have the additional problems of a linguistic barrier for the author. It appeared to be that many of the developments in Canada are similar to those of Australia, therefore it would not have been a true addition to this thesis. A comparative approach helps us to understand why racial legislature

²⁹ *Ibidem* 92-95.

was abundant in the United States and Australia, partly in Britain, but not in Germany at all until 1933. The reason why the above countries are interesting to compare is that they were all democratic countries, with a significant interest in new scientific possibilities that emerged in the nineteenth century. The United States and Australia were both multicultural societies with a significant non-white population. In both countries racism has always been an important problem in society, and remains so even today. The United States and Australia have both implemented immigrant restriction acts as a state policy to block immigration into their ideal of a 'white nation'.

Britain and Germany did not take the same extreme racial measures as the United States and Australia. This does not necessarily mean that these countries did not have their own problems with racism, but for some reason they did not introduce racial legislation to the same extent as the United States and Australia. The goal of a comparison between these four countries is to understand the different elements that made Australia and the United States take more severe measurements for their racial ideas. After comparing these four democratic societies, it might also be possible to understand the changes in Germany that caused it to develop into such a racially obsessed state after 1933.

To explain the emergence of racial legislature, the comparative method needs to take several important elements from theories about racism into account. First, it is important to explain the extent of scientific racism in all the societies. In the decades after Gobineau's racial theory and Darwin's theory of evolution, the scientific justification of racial differences became widespread. We will look at this factor by comparing different eugenic movements of these countries. The eugenics-program was the culmination of ideas behind scientific racism. In some of these eugenic societies research was done that could support the racist ideas of white superiority. By looking at the differing status of eugenic societies and the research programs in which they were involved, we can consider the differences in scientific racism between our four cases. Thus, the first variable is the 'biological justification' for racial inequality.

Secondly, from most twentieth-century theories about racism it becomes clear that economic exploitation can play an important role in the emergence of racism. We can operationalize this factor in two ways. The first is by looking at the

level of class consciousness of the different cases. Is it probable that class exploitation was more obvious in one society than in others? We will look at size and influence of trade unions to measure this factor. The theory states that - where there is much class consciousness, there are larger trade unions, and workers are more occupied with class than with race. Thus, economic exploitation would less likely be a factor for racism when there is much class consciousness. The second factor of economic exploitation is more easy to measure. As one of the main ways of economic exploitation between 1880 and 1933 was the exploitation of colonial possessions. With the 'second' wave of imperialist, old and new imperialist nations struggled for more territorial possessions to exploit. The extent of economic exploitation can therefore be measured by the amount of colonial endeavours of the countries. Ultimately we might be able to answer whether economic exploitation can explain the emergence of racial laws?

The problems of a multiracial society constitute a third theme in the available literature. Was there much inequality between different ethnicities on social and economic level? What was the status of immigrants and other minority populations? Social unrest because of different ethnic population groups resulted in racial unrest in some cities. The amount of these racial riots is a good way to measure the presence of 'multiracial problems' in our cases.

The last factor that is part of the comparison is the presence of 'political racism' in the countries. Did the government concern themselves with the aspect of racial inequality? Was there a racist political party or party members influential in the government? If they were very racially oriented and supported the idea of racial inequality, we can consider this factor to be present.

Thus, the variables that we will compare are 'biological justification', 'economic exploitation', 'multiracial problems' and 'political racism'. By comparing these different variables in all four cases, we will attempt to establish a plausible causal link for the radicalization of racism and the emergence of racial laws.

Sources used

When working on a subject regarding racism in different countries, it is important to understand the many different facets to the existence of racist ideas. In the past there have been many accounts of racism that set racism in a biological, cultural,

sociological or economical framework. There are two extensive readers that helped me understand the basic theoretical framework on racism to work with. One of these books is 'Racism; Essential readings', edited by Ellis Cashmore and James Jennings. Although focusing mainly on racism in the United States, many of the publications were vital for my understanding of racism in general. The second important bundle is the 'Oxford reader on Racism, edited by Martin Bulmer and John Solomos. These are both two distinguished authors on racism, and this reader manages to give a very useful overview on the background of race and racism.

For more case-specific details on Britain, many works were useful, but Paul Rich's small but excellent work *Race and Empire in British Politics* was absolutely vital. Linking the problems of a multiracial British Empire to the problems of the British nation was a really useful addition to this thesis. For information on the racial thinking in Germany, I am again indebted to many works, but Paul Weindling's 'Health, race and German politics between national unification and Nazism, 1870-1945' was the most complete. Without a doubt the most important work on Australian racism that I have used is; 'Racism: The Australian Experience', edited by F.S. Stevens. This is an extensive collection of articles bundled in three separate volumes, dealing with nearly all aspects of Australian racism. The guide to all of my methodological issues has been Charles Ragin's 'The Comparative Method: moving beyond qualitative and quantitative strategies'.

Biological justification

To understand the connection between eugenics and racial legislation, it is important to understand the biologically obsessed *Zeitgeist* of the second half of the nineteenth century. We have to consider the emergence of eugenic movements all over the developed world.

In 1859, the British amateur biologist Charles Robert Darwin published one of the most influential scientific theories in history. His book 'On the Origins of Species' gave an alternative to the religious worldview of a world created by God. His theory of evolution was able to explain questions like 'who are we?' and 'where do we come from?' in a (r)evolutionary new way. The Darwinian theory of evolution also provided the biological basis for social scientists to judge the human condition.³⁰ The theory of evolution by Darwin and the growing importance of biological sciences in general, led many biologists to advance theories of human inequality as a matter of scientific fact. Furthermore, at the end of the nineteenth century, the work of Gregor Mendel gained ascendancy. Mendel's theories supported Darwinian evolution and gave statistical support for evolution based on heredity. Mendel's ideas maintained that heredity followed a rigid pattern not influenced by the environment. How exactly evolution happened, was still unclear. In 1893, the German cell biologist August Weismann advanced a theory about independent, immutable germ plasm that gave a reasonable explanation for heredity. Further research in genetics discovered that genes are the building-stones of an organism and they could not be altered. According to these geneticists, social environment was considered to be irrelevant in relation to the human condition.³¹ From their theories it logically followed that the human condition was biologically determined and that some people could be biologically superior to others. This biological superiority was seen as a permanent racial quality.

In this period, it were mainly the anthropologists that concerned themselves with differences between the races. These anthropologists ranked human beings on scales of intelligence and brain volume. ³² In 1861, the anthropologist Paul Broca was the first to assert that 'there is a remarkable relationship between the

³⁰ Henry Friedlander, *The Origins of Nazi Genocide: from euthanasia to the final solution* (London 1995) 1.

³¹ *Ibidem* 2-3.

³² *Ibidem* 1.

development of intelligence and the volume of the brain' and 'in general, the brain is larger in mature adults than in the elderly, in men than in women, in eminent men than in men of mediocre talent, in superior races than in inferior races'.³³ Some scientists manipulated objective, quantitative data in the interest of their own biased, preconceived ideas. The superiority of the white race over all other races was accepted as self-evident. At the end of the nineteenth-century, inferior races were not just accused of lacking culture, but also of being immoral, depraved and criminal. In his work *Natürliche Schöpfungsgeschichte* that was published in 1868, the German biologist Ernst Haeckel suggested that human beings went through chronological stages of evolution as they advance from embryo to adult. This recapitulation could help to measure at what level of the evolutionary scale an individual was.³⁴

Another influential 'scientific' theory was that of the *'uomo delinquente* – criminal man', set forward by the Italian physician Cesare Lombroso. He tried to establish a scientific methodology that would be able to predict criminal behaviour and isolate individuals capable of the most violent types of criminal activity. He argued that criminal behaviour could be explained by the process of recapitulation of the evolutionary stages. In his views, 'criminals are apes in our midst, marked by the anatomical stigmata of atavism'. Someone was born 'criminal', and could be identified by his physical defects. Lombroso therefore defined groups such as gypsies and handicapped people as criminal; 'they are vain, like all delinquents, but they have no fear or shame'.³⁵

Furthermore, the French psychologist Alfred Binet discovered a way to test human intelligence. He developed the method that was able to produce an intelligence quotient – IQ – for each human being. American and British psychologists elaborated on this method, and bolstered the belief that IQ could disclose a hereditary quality known as intelligence. This IQ was another sign of biological determinism. The American psychologists classified persons and groups on the basis of these tests, and labelled the lower groups as morons, imbeciles or

³³ Cited in Stephen Jay Gould, *The mismeasure of man revised and expanded edition* (London 1997) 115-116.

³⁴ Friedlander, *Origins of Nazi Genocide* 3.

³⁵ Gould, *The mismeasure of man* 152-162.

idiots. They intended to change the population through manipulation of heredity, and most of them joined the already established eugenics movements.³⁶

These eugenics movements were exemplary for the scientifically obsessed worldview at the end of the nineteenth century. The term eugenics has Greek roots - meaning something like 'good of birth' or 'noble in heredity'. In 1883, the English scientist Francis Galton, a cousin of Charles Darwin, first coined the term eugenics for his scientific enterprise. Galton pioneered the mathematical treatment of heredity; he intended it to denote the science of improving human stock by giving 'the more suitable races or strains of blood a better chance of prevailing speedily over the less suitable'.³⁷ He wanted to use statistics to support his theories of heredity. At that point, no other biologist dealt with this subject mathematically. Even though most of his formulas had faulty results, his combination of statistics and biology had lasting effects on the scientific enterprise.³⁸

Galton's principal successor was the British intellectual and socialist Karl Pearson. He advanced Galton's statistical analyses and made it into a new discipline called biometry. Pearson devoted most of his time to statistical studies of eugenic subjects. Eugenics was described as 'the science of the improvement of the human race by better breeding'. It developed within the larger movement of Social Darwinism, which applied Darwin's biological theories of the 'struggle for survival' and 'survival of the fittest' to human affairs.³⁹ Between 1890 and 1933 eugenic movements developed in more than thirty countries, each adapting Galton's ideas to suit local scientific, cultural, institutional and political conditions.⁴⁰

In the first half of the twentieth century, eugenic aims merged with biased, misinterpreted results of the sciences of anthropology and genetics and produced cruel and oppressive results. There was a distinction between two kinds of eugenics. 'Positive' eugenics was the prime concern of the researchers at the beginning of these movements. They wanted to improve the fitness of mankind by positive regeneration and stimulation of their race. They were visionaries concerned with the 'health' of the nation. They wanted to eliminate diseases, mental illnesses and other

³⁶ *Ibidem* 4.

³⁷ Daniel J. Kevles, *In the name of Eugenics: Genetics and the Uses of Human Heredity* 3-4.

³⁸ *Ibidem* 13.

³⁹ Hawkins, Mike, *Social Darwinism in European and American Thought, 1860-1945: nature as model and nature as threat*. (Cambridge 1997) 20-24.

⁴⁰ Mark B. Adams, *The Wellborn Science; Eugenics in Germany, France, Brazil and Russia* (Oxford 1990) 4-5.

hereditary afflictions. In the early 1900s negative eugenics also gained ascendancy. Negative eugenics was more concerned with aspects of degeneracy. These eugenicists wanted to make sure that degenerate elements of society could not reproduce. This could be done by marriage restrictions, immigrant restrictions or by sterilization measures.⁴¹

The research results of the eugenicists were not only accepted by fellow scientists but also by national policy makers. Ultimately, eugenicists lobbied for racial laws to be introduced in the United States and Australia. Most of these were directed against immigrants of a certain racial 'stock' or against the indigenous populations. In the following sub-chapters, the Eugenic societies in specific countries will be discussed.

Eugenics in Britain

In England, racial problems were not really an important theme until after World War II. There were, of course, many races part of the British Empire, but for most of the British it was clear that the white race was simply superior. Racial insensitivity was prevalent across the entire political spectrum. British anthropologists were mostly part of the upper middle class of the British society. They were part of a society that was advantaged by claims that justified the British Empire.⁴² At the turn of the twentieth century, 'The Aryan Myth' was central in the British conception of race.⁴³ This Aryan Myth was based on the idea that the Aryan race was simply better in all aspects and therefore suited to dominate the other races of the world. But scientific racism was not really an important aspect of the British research agenda.

In Britain, higher class citizens based the white supremacy on Victorian 'high-brow' principles, not on scientific knowledge.⁴⁴ An example of this is the response of the British Left in the 1920s to French occupation of the Rhine and support of Germany. They campaigned against the African occupation troops employed by the French. Edmond Dean Morel, a British socialist and 'humanitarian' orchestrated these attacks with the help of the respected paper the 'Daily Herald'. He

⁴¹ Ibidem 90-93.

⁴² Kevles, *In the name of Eugenics* 25.

⁴³ Barkan, *The Retreat of Scientific Racism* 19.

⁴⁴ Paul B. Rich, *Race and Empire in British Politics* (Cambridge 1986) 8.

accused the coloured French soldiers of being 'oversexed syphilitic rapists' and 'primitive African barbarians' who terrorized the German countryside. This kind of racial thought was typical for the high-brow respectability of the British type of racial thinking.⁴⁵ It was not based on scientific reasoning, but on social class.

Although the English had an important part in the establishment of eugenics as a scientific enterprise all over the world, they did not concern themselves with racial research. There were two important eugenic societies in Britain. The wealthy 'father of eugenics' Francis Galton donated money for a 'Research Fellowship in National Eugenics' in 1904 and also helped to fund the Eugenic Records Office in 1907. In 1909 he combined these centres into the 'Galton Laboratories for National Eugenics'. He assigned the brilliant biometrician Karl Pearson as director. This became the major institute for statistical Eugenics research and was the first to organize data on human heredity in an orderly fashion.⁴⁶

The second significant institute was 'The Eugenics Education Society'. This institute combined scholarly research with propagandizing eugenics in British society. It formed a watchdog committee to monitor all parliamentary bills concerning poor laws, divorce, education, venereal disease and feeble-mindedness. They sent their opinions on these eugenic issues to newspapers and the government. They were mostly concerned with mental illnesses. They welcomed the passing of the Mental Deficiency Act in 1913. This act granted a central authority with the power to detain and segregate feeble-minded persons.⁴⁷

There was disagreement among leading scientists on the significance of human heredity in social affairs. There was no strong coalition of influential groups in Britain that wanted legislative action based on scientific findings. Pearson, still the leading eugenicist in Britain, did not want anything to do with politics; he was only concerned with his scholarly activities. He was reluctant to use his research results for political activities and kept much of the results to himself. He considered the Eugenics Education Society as careless: a mixture of wisdom and folly. According to him, they concerned themselves too little with science, and too much with propaganda.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Kevles, *In the name of Eugenics* 24.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem* 38-39.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem* 99.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem* 104.

British eugenics was more concerned with social status than with race. Its proponents were aware of immigrants from Ireland and the continent, but were not threatened by them as was the case in the United States. A reason for this could be that British society was more or less ethnically homogeneous; most minority groups were Jewish or Irish and they were concentrated in just a small number of cities, mostly sea-ports such as Liverpool and Cardiff.⁴⁹ In these cities the debate about racial characteristics based on heredity was discussed in small circles of eugenicists.⁵⁰

Eugenics in the United States

The most important eugenics centre in the United States was the Eugenics Record Office (ERO). The ERO was founded at Cold Spring Harbor in 1910. It was a group of specialists in the fields of biology, genetics, engineering, psychology and sociology. They wanted to introduce rational social planning in human affairs. They believed that biological manipulation would achieve their ends. The ERO sponsored research to investigate the transmission of social traits, and wanted to classify individuals, groups and nations on a scale of human worth. The founder of the ERO and leading scientist was biologist Charles Davenport. He considered the white race to be biologically supreme. According to Davenport, heredity determined both the inferior characteristics of the African-Americans and of the immigrants that came to the United States. He equated national and racial identity, assuming that race determined behaviour.⁵¹

The ERO proposed biological solutions to social problems and lobbied for their implementation.⁵² Scientific publications sponsored by the ERO included several articles that were supposed to prove the existence of a relationship between low intelligence and both immorality and crime rate. It was widely accepted that there was a connection between degenerate behaviour and intelligence. H.H. Goddard, another leading scientist, commented 'how can there be such a thing as social equality with this wide range of mental capacity'.⁵³ Goddard had done a series of IQ tests on immigrants and on different racial groups of army-soldiers during

⁴⁹ Ibidem 76; Rich, *Race and Empire in British Politics* 8-9.

⁵⁰ Rich, *Race and Empire in British Politics* 9.

⁵¹ Kevles, *In the Name of Eugenics* 46.

⁵² Friedlander, *Origins of Nazi Genocide* 4-5 ; Garland E. Allen, 'The Eugenics Record Office at Cold Spring Harbor, 1910-1940: An Essay in Institutional history' in *Osiris* Volume: 2, Issue: (1986) 238-239.

⁵³ Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* 191 ; Allen, 'The Eugenics Record Office' 242.

World War I. According to the tests on immigrants, almost 80% of the Jewish immigrants were feeble-minded, and similar numbers were established for Russians, Italians and other immigrants.

The ERO considered their research to be evidence of human inequality. Eugenicians in the United States campaigned for changes in public policy to halt degeneration of society.⁵⁴ ERO director Harry Hamilton Laughlin considered that 'immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, especially Jews, were racially so different from, and frenetically so inferior to the current American population that any racial mixture would be deleterious'.⁵⁵

Eugenicians formed a coalition with other groups that lobbied for immigration restriction. These groups included businessmen and organized labour institutes. Until then, merely economic factors played a role in the debate on immigration. But the eugenicians gave scientific arguments for the restriction of certain groups of immigrants. Eugenicians thus attempted to make racial 'genetic' differences a prominent feature of the immigration debate. They sent the IQ tests that were done by Goddard as proof of the mental inadequacies of Southern and Eastern Europeans. In the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization in 1923, witnesses argued that biology 'demanded' exclusion of most members of southern and eastern European races. Congressman Robert Allen declared: "the primary reason for the restriction of the alien stream...is the necessity for purifying and keeping pure the blood of America."⁵⁶ In April 1924 the Immigration Act was passed and signed into a law by President Calvin Coolidge, who had declared that 'America must be kept American. Biological laws show...that Nordics deteriorate when mixed with other races'. The law restricted the immigration of most European countries to the United States to a small percentage of the foreign born of the same national origin. The new law was applauded by leading eugenicians for its 'biological wisdom'.⁵⁷

Laughlin was one of the most radical and racially obsessed eugenicians. He was deeply concerned with the racial stock of the Americans. He became known as an indisputable authority on the biological side of the immigration issue, and was a

⁵⁴ Friedlander, *Origins of Nazi Genocide* 6-8.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem* 6.

⁵⁶ Kevles, *In the name of Eugenics* 97.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem* 97.

key-player in the acceptance of the Immigration Act. He is a good example of the way eugenic research and politics was linked in the United States. The politicians had easy access to the research filed in the Eugenic Records Office, and managed to use it for their political ends.⁵⁸

Another example of 'negative eugenics' in the United States was the eugenicist lobby for sterilization acts. Some American eugenicists viewed individuals with mental disabilities as a burden to society and a threat to civilization. Davenport advocated sterilization 'to dry up the springs that feed the torrent of defective and degenerate protoplasm'.⁵⁹ The political campaign of the eugenics movement to implement sterilization laws was fairly successful. By the middle 1930s, more than half the states had passed laws that authorized the sterilization of 'inmates of mental institutions, persons convicted more than once for sex crimes, those deemed to be feeble-minded by IQ-tests, 'moral degenerate persons' and epileptics'.⁶⁰

Eugenics in Germany

Germany is probably the most troubling case-study when it comes to racial theories. Some studies consider the German Race Hygiene movement as a direct cause for the Nazi death camps and the holocaust.⁶¹ This simplistic reasoning suggest that the influence of the Race Hygiene movement on Hitler was instrumental for the racial atrocities of the *Third Reich*. However, although it cannot be denied that some ideals of the movement were used by the Nazi party, until the 1930's many of the leading scientists of the movement weren't racist. In the available literature, the German term *Rassenhygiene* (Race Hygiene) is generally used interchangeably with *Eugenik*. It should be noted that these are not exactly the same, as race hygiene has a broader scope than just eugenics. Race hygiene included not only all attempts aimed at improving hereditary quality of the population, but also attempts to increase the total population.⁶² In Germany, all major political parties supported eugenic research.⁶³

⁵⁸ *Ibidem* 104-105.

⁵⁹ Friedlander, *Origins of Nazi Genocide* 7.

⁶⁰ *Ibidem* 8.

⁶¹ Sheila Feith Weiss, 'The race Hygiene movement in Germany 1904-1945' in Mark B. Adams, *The Wellborn Science; Eugenics in Germany, France, Brazil and Russia* (Oxford 1990) 6-8.

⁶² *Ibidem* 8

⁶³ *Ibidem* 9.

Just like in other parts of Europe and in North America, the majority of the educated people were white. It was generally accepted by these leading intellectuals that the white race was culturally and racially superior to people of other skin colour. It is therefore not very useful to consider the German population to be overly racist compared to these other countries. Some of the leading race hygienists were promoting the use of race hygiene to the betterment of the supreme Nordic/Aryan race, but this was not the aim of the movement as a whole. One of the founding fathers of the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Rassenhygiene*, Wilhelm Schallmayer, was a fervent opponent of any such thing as 'Aryan race hygiene'. Almost all of the research done in the first decades was concerned with class problems instead of racial issues. What both the apologists and the opponents of 'Aryanism' did stress was the necessity to devise strategies to increase the fitness of Germany. This would be done by increasing the number of 'fit' elements and decreasing the 'unfit'. Fitness was another term for social and cultural productivity.⁶⁴

There are two important aspects that helped to shape the German form of eugenics. First, at the beginning of the twentieth century the Social Darwinist world view was widely accepted by German scholars. Haeckel was famous for popularizing Darwin's theory of evolution and accepted the Mendelian principle that heredity alone determined natural selection. Secondly, while in the United States and Britain many of the leading eugenicists were lawyers, biologists and psychologists, in Germany they were academic psychiatrists, trained in both medicine and biology. Many medically trained race hygienists wanted to improve the general level of national health. In the new, industrialized German society, there was an increased problem of non-productive, anti-social types. The German medical establishment wanted to tackle this problem with their own variety of *Sozialpolitik*: German race hygiene.⁶⁵ According to them, this task should be accomplished by a rigid Eugenics program, also concerned with negative eugenics.⁶⁶ Because of them, the term degeneracy became a diagnostic concept, also applicable to conditions such as homosexuality, alcoholism and hysteria. Family genealogies were studied to understand the problem of degeneration. In these studies, the people were divided

⁶⁴ Ibidem 10.

⁶⁵ Ibidem 12.

⁶⁶ Ibidem 13.

into *hochwertig* and *minderwertig* individuals. The nation's genetic heritage (*Erbgut*) had to be safeguarded against degeneration.⁶⁷

In the Weimar republic, The *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Rassenhygiene* became the primary institute for research in this area. Before World War I, social problems and class differences were the most significant subjects of research. After the war, the concept of *Volk* became more prominent and research in that field gained acceptance. The German national movements that advocated the principle of racial purity and strength received more sympathy by people in all classes of society.⁶⁸ The stance of many leading eugenicists against the so-called degenerate elements in society radicalized during the 1920s. By the early 1930s, racial differences had started to occupy a more prominent role in the eugenic research agenda. The differences between the Nordic and non-Nordic races became more important.⁶⁹ The advocates of racial purity, suggested that the Nordic race was racially superior to the other races. The Nordic race is an important subgroup of the Aryan race.

Research about racial mingling was already being done in Germany's African Colonies in the early 1900s. Fearing degeneration, the colonial governors had prohibited intermarriages between Germans and Africans. In 1913, the anthropologist Eugen Fischer concluded in his publication '*Die Rohoboter Bastards und das Bastardisierungsproblem beim Menschen*' that 'we still do not know a great deal about the mingling of the races. But we certainly do know this: Without exception, every European *Volk* that has accepted the blood of inferior races...has paid for its acceptance of inferior elements with spiritual and cultural degeneration.'⁷⁰

Eugenics in Australia

Not many scholars in Australia concerned themselves with Eugenics. Most of the Australian eugenicists worked in Britain or the United States. However, eugenic racial ideas seemed to have had a very big impact on Australian policies. The Australian eugenicists were concerned with two major aspects of society. The first was the idea of 'racial suicide'. This was the concern of the Australians about their slow growing population compared to the rapidly expanding Asian populations.

⁶⁷ Sheila Feith Weiss, 'The Race Hygiene movement' in *Osiris* vol. 3 (1987) 209-210.

⁶⁸ Friedlander, *Origins of Nazi Genocide* 12-15.

⁶⁹ *Ibidem* 10.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem* 11-12.

They were afraid that the increasingly powerful Asian countries would invade their Australian soil if they didn't do anything about it.⁷¹

The White Australia Policy was introduced to maintain the dominant position of the white European settler population in Australia. This White Australia Policy contained many elements; it was the binding ideological force for otherwise conflicting interests of white Australians.⁷² The most important aspect of the policy was the Immigrant Restriction Act of 1901. This was one of the first pieces of legislation by the newly established Commonwealth of Australia. The Act limited the immigration of persons that did not speak the language of the testing officer. This was a major barrier for non-European immigrants. Influenced by Eugenicists, the most important goal of the policy was to maintain racial unity. The newly established democratic society would secure its egalitarian principle by using the connotation of race as the central category through which Australian nationality was granted. Racial unity in their view was similar to racial purity. According to them, policies had to be institutionalized to stop the degeneration of society and maintain the racial purity of the white Australian. Asian influences had to be blocked.⁷³

The White Australia Policy did not only exist out of the idea that immigrants of foreign stock had to be restricted, but also that measures were needed to increase the population of white Australians in absolute terms. Measures to boost the population growth in Australia met with a second concern of the eugenicist movement. This was the matter of 'racial decay'. The Australians introduced a policy in 1912 that entailed a £5 bounty for every child that a white mother bears. This was criticized in the *Eugenics Review* on the grounds that it might encourage 'the birth of mentally deficient and unemployable of pauper stock'.⁷⁴ They were afraid that the worthy sections of society were less fertile than the paupers. This would eventually lead to degeneration of the white race.

Another implication of the White Australia Policy was the legal dispossession of the land of the indigenous peoples. The white population confiscated the lands and resources of the Aboriginal population. Exclusive white colonization was justified by the 'clash of civilizations' ideology, based on racial theories of

⁷¹Anthony Moran, 'White Australia, Settler Nationalism and Aboriginal Assimilation' in *Australian Journal of Politics and History* (Vol. 51, number 2, 2005) 171.

⁷²Ibidem 171.

⁷³Ibidem 171-172.

⁷⁴Ibidem 172.

Gobineau and the world theory of Robert Knox. The theory of Knox argued that the world was divided between competing racial civilizations. According to Knox, white people in Australia were pitted against African and Oriental or Asiatic peoples. Some influential racists in Australia argued that the land of Australia was therefore needed for the development of the white race as a civilization.⁷⁵

The Aboriginals remained a major problem for Australian policy makers throughout the twentieth century. At first, Australian policymakers were afraid of a growing number of half-castes. These were people of semi-Aboriginal descent. They were a degenerate race, an 'in-between' people. According to Australian eugenicists, the half-castes were a danger to the Australian society and they believed that they had to come with solutions to stop this problem. As the half-castes were partly white, government officials argued that they should be given a chance to succeed in society, whereas full-bloods Aboriginals did not get this chance.⁷⁶ The solution was that the Australians attempted to forcefully assimilate the half castes in the white society, rooting out all Aboriginal elements. Many of the full-blood Aboriginal children were taken away from their parents and forcefully placed into white foster care. This assimilation policy was full of contradictory ideological sentiment. Although the white Australians were afraid of a degeneration of their race, the Australians did accept the half castes into society. This meant that alien blood was accepted as long as they lost their cultural roots of 'Aboriginality'. The ultimate goal of the Australian assimilation-policy was to negate all biological and cultural Aboriginal elements.⁷⁷

Conclusion biological justification

This chapter shows that, although the establishments for scientific Eugenic research were present in all four cases, the research was more focused on race in the United States and Australia. From the second half of the nineteenth century up to the 1930s, scientific discoveries were used to justify racial inequality. At first these racial theories developed among anthropologists, but they could not find acceptable scientific proof for their claims. When anthropologists started to pursue more cultural and social studies of race, biologists hoped to explicate the mechanism of

⁷⁵ Ibidem 171.

⁷⁶ Ibidem 174.

⁷⁷ Ibidem 172.

racial heredity and the relation between genetics and social characteristics. In the 1930s, it became clear that it was hard for biologists to find sufficient scientific data on racial characteristics such as colour or physiognomy. In these years, the growth of biological knowledge caused false racial claims made in the name of science to be refuted.⁷⁸ This is what happened in most parts of the world, with Nazi Germany being an exception.

Up to the 1930s, eugenic movements were present in all four countries. There were important differences though. In Britain, eugenics research was mostly concerned with class differences. They wanted to find solutions for problems of social inequality, anti-social elements of society and the feeble-minded people. Although this did lead to appalling measurements against the mentally ill, it had nothing to do with racial inequality. In Germany, research was concerned with both class and race. Some of the leading German race hygienists were also advocates of Aryan supremacy and they did some research on racial differences.

In the United States and Australia, race played a more important role in Eugenicist societies. Some of the leading members of the Eugenics Records Office in the United States were also active in politics. They lobbied for laws that would stop the degeneration of the American race. An example of such a law is the Immigrant Restriction Act of 1924. In Australia, only a small group of Eugenicists was active. Still, eugenic ideas played a significant role in Australian policies. The White Nation Policy was implemented to maintain racial purity by stopping foreign (mostly Asian) people of entering the country. It also justified the bad treatment of the indigenous Aboriginal people. The Aboriginals were considered by the Australians to be of a lower racial scale than the white people. Letting them reproduce and mingle with the white race would lead to the degeneration of the white race.

⁷⁸ Barkan, *The Retreat of Scientific Racism* 10-11.

Economic exploitation

*'Modern commerce and industry was founded on the 'negro' slavery. The resulting colour caste founded and retained by capitalism was adopted, forwarded and approved by white labour. This resulted in subordination of coloured labour to white profits all over the world.'*⁷⁹

The second possible cause for racism that will be discussed is the factor of 'economic exploitation'. According to the Marxist sociologist Oliver Cromwell Cox, an important reason for racial inequality could have been the economic advantage for the benevolent class.⁸⁰ According to Cox, the imperialist and later capitalist countries have always benefited from systematic exploitation of the lower classes.⁸¹ In this capitalist system, it made sense for the benevolent white ruling class to exploit other races for their own economic reasons. Racial inequality was thus used as a legit reason to exploit the lower 'racial' classes. According to Cromwell Cox, racial antagonism was part of a 'stabilizing' strategy of the ruling class to maintain control over the exploited.

According to the theory of Cox, economic exploitation by a country specifically takes place in the interest of the industrialized capitalist nations. Therefore, to use this theory of economic exploitation, it is necessary to establish whether the specific country belongs to the industrialized nations or not. After establishing this, we will consider two factors that help us measure the severity of economic exploitation by the specific country.

The first factor to measure the success of capitalist exploitation is the power of the workers associations in the countries. When there is a relatively small and divided union-of-workers, it could mean that there is little class consciousness and the workers are more easily exploited. When trade unions are larger and more effective, it is plausible that there is more class consciousness among the workers. It was in the ruling capitalists' interest to deepen the division among the working class.

⁷⁹ Cited in: Louis Kushnick, *Race, Class and Struggle: Essays on Racism and inequality in Britain, the US and Western Europe* (London 1998) 169.

⁸⁰ Oliver Cromwell Cox, 'Caste, Class and Race: A Study in Social Dynamics', reprinted in Ellis Cashmore and James Jennings ed., *Racism: Essential Readings* (London 2001) 49-50.

⁸¹ William Derman and Michael Levin, 'Peasants, Propaganda, Economics, and Exploitation: A Response to Dalton' in *American Anthropologist* (vol. 79 no.1, 1977) 119.

Racial antagonism was one of the ways of dividing the 'proletariat'. They wanted to keep them fighting among themselves rather than form a united front based on a class conscious position.⁸² The relevant information we want to derive from this is that when people feel more connected with their race than with their class, it can say something about the success of economic exploitation by antagonizing on racial grounds. When there is not much class consciousness in a country, it is plausible that race plays an important role in the mindset of the people.

The second important factor to consider is the imperialist wave of exploitation that started at the end of the nineteenth century. The big industrial nations entered into a renewed wave of colonial expansion to gain access to new raw materials, markets and colonial revenue by taxation.⁸³ This 'second' wave of imperialism was basically the period between 1870 and 1913. The period was distinguished by a pursuit of what has been termed "empire for empire's sake'. There was an aggressive competition among the capitalist nations for territorial acquisitions. This colonial expansionism was supported by doctrines of racial superiority, which legitimized the so-called unfitness of backward peoples for self-government. This new capitalism was motivated by political aggrandizement, commercial competition and business profits⁸⁴. The competition for new lands caused the major capitalist countries to greatly increase their military spending. Military spending provided the industries with enlarged markets and the means for even more conquests.⁸⁵ Besides the old commercial rivals such as France, Britain and the Netherlands, newly industrializing powers, such as Germany and the United States entered the imperial arena. Needing external markets for their manufactured goods, all countries wanted better export opportunities for their home industries.⁸⁶

The economic depression between 1873 and 1896 pressured governments to protect their own industries, leading to the abandonment of free trade among Europe's leading nations. This abandonment of free trade resulted in less export

⁸² Oliver Cromwell Cox, 'Caste, Class and Race: A Study in Social Dynamics', reprinted in and James Jennings ed., *Racism: Essential Readings* (London 2001) 49.

⁸³ Michel Beaud, *A History of Capitalism* (London 1984) 139-143.

⁸⁴ *Ibidem* 141.

⁸⁵ *Ibidem* 142-143.

⁸⁶ C. P. Kindleberger, "Foreign Trade and Economic Growth: Lessons from Britain and France, 1850-1913", *The Economic History Review* (Vol. 14, 1961) 291-294.

opportunities.⁸⁷ This meant that it was necessary for the growth of the European countries and the United States to enlarge their markets by creating overseas colonies that were protected by tariff barriers. While supplying the home country with new raw materials, these new colonies also provided new export markets without the burden of foreign competition, and free to exploit.⁸⁸ These strivings for more colonial assets took place within the expansion of industrial capitalism. Although it is possible that the need for these new colonial possessions was legitimized by racial ideals, our theory suggests that it was mostly the other way around. According to the theory of economic exploitation, a possible cause for racism is the drive for more revenue. Thus one of the reasons for other racial groups to get discriminated upon is the capitalist attempt to gain easy access to new markets and commercial gains.

Industrial capitalism

First, we will have to establish that all four countries are industrialized nations. The industrialization process in most western countries took off around the 1850s. The development of industrial capitalism was based on the accumulation of wealth, which came from two principal sources: traditional extortion of peasant surplus labour and colonial exploitation. This colonial exploitation could exist of pillage, forced labour, slavery, unequal exchange or colonial taxes. The development of markets (domestic and worldwide) and the expansion of exchange made an increase of production necessary. The energy-powered mill was a technical improvement that enabled this increase in production.⁸⁹ In the early nineteenth century, these mills became more widespread in Britain. The mills were mainly used for the textile and metallurgy sectors.⁹⁰ The industrial revolution was paired with underlying movements such as urbanization and the system of wage payments. Therefore, Britain was the first country that had severe problems with city pollution and labour strikes.

The American Industrial Revolution also started with the building of large textile factories. These textile factories were originally powered by water. In the early 1830s, industrialization was essentially limited to the North-eastern states,

⁸⁷ Bernard Porter, *The Lion's Share: A Short History of British Imperialism 1850-1970*, (London 1977) 117-121.

⁸⁸ Beaud, *A History of Capitalism* 143.

⁸⁹ Michel Beaud, *A History of Capitalism* 72.

⁹⁰ *Ibidem* 83.

where fast-moving rivers were located. It was not until after the Civil War in the 1860s that steam-powered manufacturing overtook water-powered manufacturing in all regions, allowing the industry to fully spread across the nation. During the 1860s, many railroads were built. This process of connecting the different regions and industries by railroads was crucial for the industrialization of a large nation such as the United States.⁹¹ By the end of the nineteenth century the United States had one of the largest industries, even surpassing Britain as the country with the largest industrial output in 1913.⁹²

Germany's industrial take-off started somewhere around the 1850s. Some of the fundamentals for this take-off were already laid with the massive production of coal in the 1830s and the railroad expansion in the 1840s.⁹³ But the industrial expansion of the German countryside really took off with the unification of the German Empire in 1871. Due to the German unification, the domestic market greatly increased, making it more worthwhile to manufacture products on a larger scale. The German government carried out a quick economic revolution in an attempt to surpass the dominant British economic power. Mainly the German textile and metal industries managed to grow significantly. In example, the total steel output multiplied with 12 between 1871 and 1913. Within 40 years, Germany managed to become the biggest European industrial nation.

Australia became a federation in 1901. The pre-federation market was strongly divided by tariff barriers between the different states. When Australia became a federation, the bigger internal markets made more capital investment worthwhile. The unified domestic market permitted more efficient and larger scale industrial plants to be introduced.⁹⁴ As a former colony of Britain, the technology for this process was easily introduced. The active working force in the industries of metal works and machinery grew with almost 7% annually between 1903 and 1913. These big industries opened up the way for industrial maturity in Australia.⁹⁵

Finally, to gain a better comparative insight in the industrialization-process in the four cases, we will give an overview of the GDP, or Gross Domestic Product.

⁹¹ Mansel G. Blackford, *The Rise of Modern Business in Great Britain, The United States, and Japan* (North Carolina 1998) 82.

⁹² See table 1

⁹³ Walt W. Rostow, *The World Economy: History and Prospect* (London 1978) 401-402.

⁹⁴ Rostow, *The World Economy* 462-463.

⁹⁵ E.A. Boehm, *Twentieth Century Economic Development in Australia* (Victoria 1971) 125-127, 129-130.

The GDP is the basic measure of an economy's economic performance, the market value of all final goods and services produced within the borders of a nation in a year. Our basic assumption is that during the process of industrialization, the first wave of industrializing countries had an immense growth in GDP as compared to other countries. The average GDP per capita grew as well. The output per worker grew because of more efficient/ larger scale manufacturing and the technological improvements. The average person thus became more efficient. We will look at the GDP and GDP/capita to establish whether all our cases were industrialized countries by 1913.

Table 1) Total GDP and GDP as share of world economy between 1820 and 1913.

Country	1820: GDP/share of world economy	1870: GDP/share of world economy	1913: GDP/share of world economy	Rise of total GDP between 1820 and 1913
United Kingdom	36.232/5.2%	100.179/9.1%	224.618/8.6%	620%
United States	12.548/1.8%	98.375/8.9%	517.383/19.1%	4123%
Germany	26.349/3.8%	71.429/6.5%	237.332/8.8%	901%
Australia	172/0.1%	6.452/0.8%	27.552/1.1%	16018%

Source: Angus Madison; *The World Economy: A Millennial Perspective* (p.184)

Table 2) GDP/capita for the industrializing nations between 1820 and 1913.

Country	1820: GPD/Capita	1870: GPD/Capita	1913: GPD/Capita	Rise 1820-1913
Britain	1707	3191	4921	288.3%
United States	1257	2445	5301	421.7%
Germany	1058	1821	3648	344.8%
Australia	517	3645	5715	1105.4%

Source: Angus Madison; *The World Economy: A Millennial Perspective* (p.185)

These figures show us that all four countries had a strong increase in their GDP between 1820 and 1913. All of them established a more dominant role in the world economy by enlarging their share of total world output. Britain had its peak growth in the mid-nineteenth century, while the United States, Germany and Australia had a major economic boost between 1870 and 1913. Britain, the United States and Germany had the three biggest economies in the world by 1913. Only China and the

Russian Empire came near, but as their population was far bigger, their GDP per capita was significantly lower. While Australia didn't have a very big economy compared to the other countries, we can discern a rapid increase in their GDP/capita and in their share of the world economy. Thus, while the total output of Australia wasn't as big as in the other three cases, by 1913 Australia was one of the richest industrialized countries. The next step in this chapter is to compare the level of economic exploitation of our cases.

Britain

Britain was one of the first countries with established workers organizations. During the 1800s many small trade unions were established, but they didn't have any influence. Trade unions were opposed by the Master and Servants act. This law regulated the relation between employers and employees. It basically protected the employer by requiring the absolute obedience and loyalty of the employees. This law was used against any workers organizing in trade unions for better conditions as it was against the interest of the masters and 'trade' in general. When in 1871 the Master and Servants Act was replaced by the 'Workmens act' and the 'Trade Union Act', the British Government became the first nation to officially support trade union membership. With this act, they had a key role in improving the fate of the workers.⁹⁶ Workers organizations such as trade unions, mutual insurance companies and work exchanges developed in the 1870s. In these years, the number of unionized workers increased from 1.1 million in 1876 to 4.1 million in 1913. Several social laws were introduced, including the Employers and Workmen Act of 1875. More social reforms were introduced at the beginning of the twentieth century with a law dealing with the retirement of workers (1908) and unemployment benefits and medical insurance (1911).⁹⁷ From the ranks of the trade unions emerged the British Labour Party in 1914.⁹⁸ This all suggests that the British workers were conscious of their class and not much occupied with race.

Britain was also one of the most active countries of the second imperialist wave. The influential spokesman of British imperialism Cecil Rhodes wrote in 1895: *I was in the East End of London yesterday and attended a meeting of the unemployed. I*

⁹⁶ Blackford, *The Rise of Modern Business in Great Britain, The United States, and Japan* 153.

⁹⁷ Beaud, *A History of Capitalism* 130.

⁹⁸ *Ibidem* 128.

*listened to wild speeches, which were just a cry for 'bread'. I became more and more convinced of the importance of imperialism...My cherished idea is a solution for the social problem, i.e. in order to save 40,000,000 inhabitants of the United Kingdom from a bloody civil war, we colonial statesmen must acquire new lands for settling the surplus population, to provide new markets for the goods produced in the factories and mines. The Empire, as I have always said, is a bread and butter question.*⁹⁹ Examples of the colonial expansions of Britain in this second imperialist wave are the expansions in South Africa and Sudan, and the new colonies of Kenya and Uganda.¹⁰⁰

United States

It appears to be that in the United States most of the people felt that race was more important than class. Trade-unions weren't as common as in Britain. The concept of 'whiteness' played a more important role in society. The United States government even opposed national trade unions until the 1930s.¹⁰¹ However, trade union membership still rose from about 150.000 in 1886, to over 2 million in 1912.¹⁰² But without political support, the American trade unions seem to have been less influential as compared to the German and British counterparts. The dominant big industries and the government benefited from a situation in which there was only minor class consciousness. While the low wage workers were exploited themselves, they could more easily accept this by considering their own 'privileged' statues as belonging to the white race. They did not consider the capitalist exploiters, but the African American workers as 'the others'.

According to the sociologist Louis Kushnick, in the United States existed a so-called '*Herrenvolk* Democracy'.¹⁰³ The threat posed by the interracial working-class cooperation was perceived by the ruling class and the agents of the state. They used repression and propaganda to overcome interracial cooperation. The white workers were promised privileges over their non-white colleagues. Exploited white workers felt more at ease with their oppression as they still had a psychological and material advantage on non-white members of society. Some of the advantages that

⁹⁹ Cited in Beaud, *A History of Capitalism* 139-140.

¹⁰⁰ See table 2.3 for a complete overview on the size of the British colonial expansion.

¹⁰¹ Blackford, *The Rise of Modern Business in Great Britain, The United States, and Japan* 153.

¹⁰² Beaud, *A History of Capitalism* 129.

¹⁰³ Louis Kushnick, *Race, Class and Struggle: Essays on Racism and inequality in Britain, the US and Western Europe*. (London 1998) 207-208.

the white Americans had on the 'others' were; voting rights, public deference, a white police force, access to public parks and functions, and voting rights. The education possibilities for the white were the best in the community and this helped to maintain the unequal opportunities. The political Arena was sealed shut for the African Americans, thus they had little chance to improve their own situation.¹⁰⁴ In other words, to be 'white' meant to be a citizen of 'The Great Republic'.

Thus, the racialist attitudes and –more importantly- institutional racism ensured that there was antagonism between white workers and their new African-American colleagues. The African Americans were concentrated in particular low-level jobs and in ghettos that were denied the level of public services to which they should have been entitled. Thus the labour force continued to be divided and controlled by the big industrialists.¹⁰⁵

As colonial possessions were deemed necessary in the new capitalist world order, the United States felt that they could not stay behind. New lands were seen as good capital investments for the rising businesses. The colonization process of the 1890s was seen as one of the tasks of the 'civilized nations'. It was seen as necessary to plant the 'seeds of greatness' on other people, in the United States this was considered to be the 'white man's burden.'¹⁰⁶ The United States government attempted to expand in Latin America and Asia, specifically in Guam, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Samoa, the Philippines and Panama. Guam, Puerto Rico and the Philippines were annexed as colonies. Traditionally the United States annexed new territory that eventually became part of the federation as a state. Thus, this new phase of expansionism in the United States was also marked by colonial expansion and exploitation.

Germany

In Germany, the workers were politically supported by the socialists and social democrats. The social democratic party gained their first success in 1884, with 24 elected representatives. In the years after this, the party grew immensely, receiving 4 million votes and 110 representatives in the 1912 elections. At the same time,

¹⁰⁴ Ibidem 207.

¹⁰⁵ Ibidem 216.

¹⁰⁶ See: Winthrop D. Jordan, *The White man's burden: historical origins of racism in the United States* (New York 1974)

German trade unions grew from only 95.000 members in 1887 to over 2.5 million in 1913. They gained more political influence by the 'agreement about parity', adopted by the Congress of Mannheim in 1906. After this, the party and the union were obliged to make decisions together.¹⁰⁷ It was actually the liberal German chancellor Otto von Bismarck that was the first to implement social insurance laws. There was a widespread desire in the German society for social insurance and the statesman Bismarck took the lead in dealing with this. He wanted to implement the minimum of these social insurance programs that would still be acceptable for the German conservative government, thus without overtly socialist aspects.

All the laws that were accepted were in the program of the Social Democrats. Thus even though they were not the ones that implemented them, the laws about medical insurance (1883), accident insurance and old-age benefits (1884) and retirement at sixty years of age (1889)¹⁰⁸ can be seen as minor successes for the Social Democrats.

Under the leadership of Bismarck, Germany remained a land-based European power until the 1880s. This German *Realpolitik* maintained the peace between Germany and other European powers for a long time. When Kaiser Wilhelm I died and Wilhelm II became the new Kaiser in 1888, a new phase in German foreign policy started. Germany started a phase of *Weltpolitik*, which meant that Germany attempted to become a large and unbeatable empire in every possible way. It was already one of the strongest industrial nations and Wilhelm II considered it to be necessary that Germany took part in the second imperialist wave of colonial expansionism. Germany created colonies in Southwest Africa (Namibia), German East Africa (modern Rwanda, Burundi and Tanzania) and German New Guinea.¹⁰⁹

Australia

During the 1850s, small craft unions arose all over Australia. British legislation opposed the development of unions until the Trade Union Act of 1871, after which larger unions seem to have developed. In 1879, most of these unions worked together in the Inter-Colonial Trade Union Congress, which became the ACTU (Australian Council for Trade Unions) in 1927. Although never becoming one united

¹⁰⁷ Beaud, *A History of Capitalism* 129.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibidem* 130.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibidem* 136-144.

trade-union as in Britain or the United States, the ACTU was a national organ that represented most of the unions.¹¹⁰ The Australian Labour Party, founded in 1891, was the first Australian political party. It is still one of the major political parties in contemporary Australia. The rapid rise of the Labour party and the trade unions has enabled several improvements for workers, such as; improved worker safety, increased wages for both union workers and non union workers, reduced hours in a work week and other social benefits for working class families.¹¹¹

Australia did not partake in the second wave of imperialism. At the end of the nineteenth century, they were still a colony of Britain themselves. Only in 1907 did they gain the dominion status of Britain and they were still highly dependent on British trade after that. Furthermore, there was still a significant area of unexplored territory in the mainland of Australia. Economic colonial exploitation therefore is not a plausible factor for Australia's racism.

Conclusion economic exploitation

When we compare our four cases on the factors of economic exploitation, we can conclude that in all four cases a certain level of industrial capitalism was present. The process of industrialization took off in Britain, but Britain was overtaken by Germany and the United States at the onset of World War I. While Australia was the latest country to start their industrializing process, they also entered a stage of spectacular growth.

A significant difference between the United States and the other cases is the level of class consciousness. In the United States the low-wage workers seemed more pre-occupied with race than with class, leaving the possibility for exploitation open. While the white workers were exploited in the United States as well, it was even worse for the non-white workers. In Germany, Britain, and Australia, class consciousness seems to have been more relevant than race. The working class worked together in trade-unions to lobby for higher wages, better job prospects and shorter working days. They seemed to be less concerned with the race of their fellow workers. The trade-unions were relatively successful in their lobbies for better wages and insurances in comparison to workers in the United States. We can

¹¹⁰ Website of the ACTU, <http://actu.com.au/AboutACTU/HistoryoftheACTU/default.aspx>, last viewed 26-05-2009.

¹¹¹ Website of the ALP, <http://www.alp.org.au/about/history.php>, last viewed 26-05-2009.

therefore conclude that the racial aspect of capitalist exploitation of the working class was the most prominent in the United States.

The second factor of the level of economic exploitation is the colonial expansionism. This ‘capitalist expansionism’ started around 1870, when the major capitalist countries attempted to acquire new and bigger markets for their own commercial gains. Legitimized by theories of racial superiority, this capitalist phase of exploitation meant the subjugation and domination of many inhabitants of Latin America and Africa. In the table below is an overview of the territorial possession before and after the second wave of imperialism.

Table 3: Colonial expansion during the second imperialist wave between 1876 and 1914.

Country	Area of Colonies in 1876 (million km ²)	Population of colonies in 1876 (millions)	Area of colonies in 1914	Population of colonies in 1914
United Kingdom	22.5	251.9	33.5	393.5
United States	-	-	0.3	9.7
Germany	-	-	2.9	12.3
Australia	-	-	-	-

Nikolai Bukharin, L'économie mondiale et l'imperialisme, 1915-1917 (Paris, 1969) 81.

We can clearly see that the United Kingdom, United States and Germany all expanded their territory during these years. Germany and the United States even gained their first colonial acquisitions. While capitalist exploitation wasn't the only motive for acquiring these colonies, it was definitely one of the reasons for this expansionism. In those years of imperialism the countries deemed it necessary and legit to exploit the racially inferior inhabitants of other countries. We can thus conclude that Britain, Germany and the United States all had a major part in this phase of capitalist exploitation of other countries. They all acquired and exploited new territories for commercial profit. As we can see from table 2.4, Australia did not participate in the struggle for new colonies. It is possibly because it was only recently a colony of Britain. Another reason might be that they did not need new markets yet. They were still a relatively small population and had a large area of unexplored land on their own continent. Furthermore, as a former colony of Britain, they had good trade opportunities with them, and nearly all their exports were still

directed to Britain. It seemed unnecessary to increase their markets by acquiring colonial expansions.

We can thus conclude that the level of economic exploitation was most prominent in the United States, followed by Germany and Britain. In those three cases it might be a cause for racism. It seems to be an implausible cause for racism in Australia, but this will become clear in our final analysis.

Problems of a multiracial society

The third factor that will be compared are the multiracial problems of the societies. When a country has a larger ethnic diversity of the population, the chance of severe racial measurements such as the implementation of racial legislature is higher. In this chapter, we will compare our cases on several different factors to come to an understanding of the ethnic diversity in its population and the possible problems.

We will consider the status of the different ethnicities in each society. Was there one major ethnic population group or were there several large populations? The status of immigrants in the nation is also very important. Were immigrants allowed to enter the country or were there restrictions? Did immigrants manage to mingle with the dominant population group or did they live in their own sub-communities? Were these immigrants seen as inferior outsiders by the dominant population group?

Furthermore, we will consider the amount and severity of racially inspired riots that happened in the country. A race riot is basically an outbreak of violent civil disorder in which race plays a key factor. Between the 1880s and 1933 there were many of these race riots in the growing urban communities. I believe that the amount of race riots is the best measurement of racism that is caused by a multiracial society. Therefore we will consider this factor to be crucial for establishing the severity of multiracial problems in the countries.

Britain

Great Britain remained an ethnically homogenous society for a long time. In the late nineteenth century Victorian society, the norm was to be white. The stereotyped view of the few African Americans was either of a savage or bestial people that needed to be controlled at all costs, or of a passive and helpless being that needed missionary care and protection¹¹². There was a 'Victorian' faith in social advance and progress - in white liberal supremacy. From the 1880s a discussion about the consequences of segregation was part of the lively political debate in the United Kingdom. The problems of British military weakness in the Caribbean and the West Indies gave rise to advocates of segregation. There were uprisings of the indigenous

¹¹² Paul B. Rich, *Race and Empire in British Politics* 12.

populations in these colonies. The racial tensions nullified the hopes of the somewhat 'naïve' advocates of racial harmony'.¹¹³

The theatre critic and political author William Archer was strongly opposed to the British model of a multi-racial society. His book 'Through Afro-America: an English Reading of the Race Problem' which was published in 1910, was a strong defence of racial segregation. He saw the model of segregation that was used in most southern states of the United States as a positive example of segregation. 'The Southern States were the great crucible in which the experiment in inter-racial chemistry is working itself out'. According to Archer, segregation represented a 'legitimate measure of defence against constant discomfort' for 'It was the crowding, the swamping, the submerging of the white race by the blacks, that the south cannot reasonably endure.'¹¹⁴.

This model of segregation was also used in parts of the British Empire, such as South Africa. A response to the advocates of segregation was the 'Round Table movement'. These conservative politicians, defenders of British multi-racial imperialism, generated quite radical political ideas on the evolution of British imperialism. They managed to counter the critique that came from anti-colonialists and segregationists. One of the ways in which this was done was through the development of a form a multi-racialism which blurred the differences between the policies on race in different parts of the Empire. They forestalled major debates on race differences in national politics in Britain until after the Second World War.¹¹⁵

However, although it wasn't an important debate in national politics, the aspect of race became more relevant in British cities during the 1900s. There was a growing association of the non-white people as being immoral and of a 'slumland underclass'. They were standing outside the main social order of Britain. Until then, race and colour was just a problem of the other parts of the commonwealth. This growing concern with race in Britain was mostly because of the growing number of Black seamen, traders and students. Mainly in London, Cardiff and Liverpool were substantial communities of non-white seamen.¹¹⁶

¹¹³ Ibidem 51-53.

¹¹⁴ Ibidem 52-53.

¹¹⁵ Ibidem 55.

¹¹⁶ Ibidem 120.

These communities mostly existed out of jobless seamen from the British colonial possessions that were enlisted on British ships during the First World War. After the war, they found themselves without a job and were discriminated upon by the British shipping industry and the Seamen's and Firemen's union that campaigned to keep jobs on ships for white crewmen only.¹¹⁷

In these towns, there was a increasing tension between the white working class and the growing population groups from British colonial possessions. The presence of these African and Asian communities also raised the problem of inter-racial sexual liaisons between white women and African men. Racial hostility increased as the jobless African communities became linked with growing crime rates and involvement with white prostitutes that had unwanted 'half-caste' offspring.

The racial tensions in London, Liverpool and Cardiff eventually culminated in a series of anti-black riots¹¹⁸ in April, May and June of 1919. There were widespread inter-racial attacks resulting in several casualties and also some deaths. On 8 June, mobs of as much as 10000 angry white men were roaming the streets of Liverpool, attacking people from African descent at random and setting houses on fire. It is known that police and other servicemen supported these riots. In Cardiff, the city referred to by the Times as 'nigger town', many houses occupied by black people were attacked. At the head of these riots were often jobless colonial soldiers.

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These racial riots were shortly after the First World War, in a time of scientific racism and industrial unrest. In the large British seaports, the African population emerged as a new and distinct problem'.¹²⁰ According to the British political scientist Paul B. Rich, the longer-term significance of these riots lay in the series of official responses over the following years as a result of pressure from the police force, other public officials and the Seamen unions.

'The importance, therefore, of the 'coloured alien seamen' issue lay not so much in its magnitude, as the actual numbers of seamen involved were relatively small, numbering only a

¹¹⁷ Ibidem 120-121.

¹¹⁸ These kind of riots in the early twentieth century are still commonly referred to as 'anti-black' riots, as the main target of these racial riots were the people from the African colonies with a darker skin colour.

¹¹⁹ Paul B. Rich, *Race and Empire in British Politics* 121.

¹²⁰ Ibidem 121.

few hundred, but for the manner it exemplified that the ideas on race and empire generated at the heart of the British imperial culture could penetrate down to the administrative petty bourgeoisie within the metropolis.'

The 1919 riots were exemplar of the response of the British to the rising 'colonial' nationalism. Many officials were afraid of the rising mobility of the colonial seamen and the emerging solidarity groups of the people from African descent. The response from the police can be seen as an attempt to tighten governmental control within the metropolis to suppress the rising colonial nationalism.¹²¹

The white seamen's trade union was the most severe group that wanted to restrict the non-white seamen of living and working in Britain. They saw the competitive pressure of the 'undesirables' as a threat to their members and wanted to safeguard as many jobs for the white seamen as possible. Another influential group that was opposed to the non-white seamen population in Britain was The British Board of Trade. This section of the government wanted to protect the white industries versus the non-white wage-earners. In the following statement they took their stance against the possibility of employment for non-white seamen '*Coloured seamen seem to imagine that the United Kingdom is a place where there is ample opportunity of obtaining remunerative seafaring employment*' and since it seemed impossible to disabuse their minds of this totally erroneous idea they '*sought all practical steps to prevent their adding to the numbers of unemployed seamen*'. Immigration officers were instructed by the Home Office to refuse to allow coloured seamen to land unless they could satisfy the necessary criteria.¹²²

For the Immigration officers, a problem with these criteria was that they were very broad and open to interpretation. It was therefore not possible to successfully prosecute persons that claimed British Nationality, but had no evidence of it. The following debate revolved around redefining the existing immigration law, namely the Aliens Order, in specifically racial terms. The result of this was the

¹²¹ Ibidem 122.

¹²² Ibidem 122-123. These criteria were: a) If he produces satisfactory evidence of British nationality. b) If he has signed on in the United Kingdom for the round voyage. c) If, though signed on abroad, he can prove that he is domiciled in this country, and has been in the habit of signing on at British ports. d) If he has signed on at any distant foreign port, so that his repatriation would be almost impracticable. e) If the owners or agents guarantee in writing his repatriation as a passenger and satisfy the Immigration Officer that a passage has been or is about to be booked for him. In such a case the seaman is given leave to land on condition that he leaves the United Kingdom within a specified time and (where possible) by a specified route.

implementation of the 'Coloured Alien Seamen Order' in 1925. This law gave the police and immigration officers more control over the registration process of the immigrant seamen. The Coloured Alien Seamen Order tightened the legislative procedures. The control of this registration procedure was in the hands of the police force. The result was that employers became prohibited to sign on any coloured seamen unless the specific seaman had proof of being a British subject, which almost no-one had.¹²³

Most of the police in the cities were allies of the white seamen's Union. By the police, the coloured seamen were seen as a very serious danger to the public peace. The racist chief constable of Cardiff, James A. Wilson, warned the mayor that *'rioting must be expected at any time if steps were not promptly taken to do something to ameliorate the condition of these coloured men.'* Added to this was his notion that a number of 'undesirables' had recently entered Cardiff to stir up discontent. Calling the coloured seamen undesirables was exemplar for the view of the police in these sea-port cities.¹²⁴ Prohibiting coloured seamen from access to jobs was not enough for Wilson. He also proposed legislation to prohibit inter-racial sexual intercourse:

*In other parts of the Empire, including the British Isles, there is reason to believe that the knowledge, by the male members of the white race, of social ostracism is a sufficient deterrent to them but, strangely, that feeling does not dominate a certain class of women in the British Isles. The day may come when public opinion will awake to the fact that our race had become leavened with colour strain to such an extent that calls for action.*¹²⁵

This appeal for anti-miscegenation legislation came as a logical accompaniment to the earlier campaign for social control in the docks through the coloured alien seamen's order. The racially obsessed people were afraid of a growing half-caste population with the 'vicious hereditary taint' of their parents.

United States

The United States has always been prone on their past as a immigration-country. It was actually built by immigrant colonists. In the 1880s there seems to have been a different attitude towards certain immigrant groups. As we have seen in chapter two, in the wake of scientific racism, certain immigrant groups were seen as racially

¹²³ Ibidem 124-125.

¹²⁴ Ibidem 126-128.

¹²⁵ Ibidem 128.

inferior. The immigrants could only become truly American by asserting their whiteness. It was only by acting 'white' that immigrants could gain acceptance and have the same opportunities as the other white people in the United States. Economic competition and scientific racism resulted in an immigration restriction law in 1924. In this law was a quota for the number of immigrants that were allowed from distinctive countries. Most of the immigrants in the United States lived in sub-communities within the large cities. Prime examples of these are the significant amount of Chinese that lived in sub-communities called 'Chinatown' and the significant Italian and Irish communities in some cities.

The position of the large African American sub-groups was incredibly bad. Although after the civil war slavery was forbidden, inequality persisted.¹²⁶ Both African American slaves and free African Americans were exempted from any opportunities for betterment of their status. In the south, the society became almost completely segregated. In the so-called Jim Crow laws of the 1880s the legislation for the segregated society were established. An important example is the famous 'Plessy vs Ferguson' federal court law of 1896. This reinforced the 'separate but equal' doctrine¹²⁷. According to this law, separate facilities for the Afro-Americans and the whites could be equal¹²⁸. The period from 1900 to 1920 saw the extension of segregation to all public transportation and educational facilities. Public restrooms, restaurants, hotels and water fountains were labelled "White only" or "Coloured." In hospitals, African Americans could not nurse the white population, nor the other way around. African Americans were forbidden to sit with white people in most places of public amusement. In practice, this meant that nearly all state funding went to the white schools and facilities. In the Southern states this segregated society remained intact until well in the twentieth century.

During the First World War, many African Americans moved to Northern urban centres to work in the factories that were understaffed because of the increased war production and men that went to war. After the war ended, the 'northern' cities had problems with African American migrants that did not want to move back to the southern states, where Jim Crow laws, segregation and humiliation were still the order of the day. White people continued to disdain African American

¹²⁶ Kushnick, *Race, Class and Struggle* 209.

¹²⁷ *Ibidem* 214.

¹²⁸ Rich, *Race and Empire in British Politics* 51.

men and women as *undesirable* competitors – in the labour market, in politics and in public accommodations.¹²⁹

Between 1905 and 1945, there were many riots in the United States that could be considered to be racial riots. Most of the riots took place in the ‘Red Summer’ of 1919. The first and largest riot of this summer happened in the city of Chicago. According to the noted historian of American race relations, William Tuttle, Chicago’s racial bloodshed had been the ‘ideal-type’ or type-caste of Northern Urban violence. Many years the African American and the white communities had coexisted without much problems, but in 1919 economic, social and racial tensions were all present and this resulted in the riots. The riot involved direct ‘ecological warfare’ between the residents of white and African American neighbourhoods. After the riot, the generalized beliefs which all other ethnic groups had about the African American community continued to be invariably hostile and deprecating. The dark skin served as a symbol that aroused distinct hostile feelings towards them. It was easy to identify the African American community as the source for one’s own anxiety about the social and economic situation.¹³⁰ The riot in Chicago in 1919 cost 38 people their lives, 537 wounded and hundreds of homeless. Chicago was a forebode for a troubling period of urban racial violence. The next major riot was in Omaha, another upcoming urban centres which had attracted thousands of Southern African Americans to its stockyards during and after the First World War. As in Chicago, racial tensions had mounted with its rising African American population. There was a high level of criminality among this group and some of the white inhabitants felt that they were suffering from an epidemic of African American criminality and sex crimes. The fear of racial miscegenation also played an important part in the fear of the coloured population.¹³¹

When of September 28 the police arrested William Brown, a man of African descent that was accused of molesting a young white girl, a mob of whites assembled at the courthouse demanding that the authorities released the alleged rapist to them for the execution of quick justice. Eventually the mob managed to set the courthouse on fire and seize Brown. He was shot, burned, molested and eventually hung on a

¹²⁹ William M. Tuttle Jr., ‘Racial Violence in Chicago and the Nation’ in *Oxford Readers: Racism* (Oxford 1999) 183-184.

¹³⁰ *Ibidem* 183.

¹³¹ Tuttle Jr., ‘Racial Violence in Chicago and the Nation’ 180.

lamppost, riddled with hundreds of bullets. The police in Omaha needed federal assistance to prevent race riots of the size of Chicago. The federal soldiers managed to restore order, but not before four people were murdered and fifty injured.¹³² Other notable race riots in the United States included the Atlanta riots of 1905, the Springfield riot in 1908, the Tulsa riot in 1921 and the Rosewood Massacre in 1923.

Another important element of multiracial problems in the United States was the status of the Native Americans. The position of the Native Americans (Indians) in the United States actually improved from the 1900s, as compared to the nineteenth century. However, this was after two centuries of Indian Removal policies and political unrest. Under the auspices of 'Manifest Destiny' much of the Indian Territory was confiscated. Manifest Destiny is the belief of the white Americans that the United States is destined, even divinely ordained, to expand across the North American continent, from the Atlantic seaboard to the Pacific Ocean. This meant that the Americans ultimately moved westward, driving the Native Americans of their lands. Several wars between Indian tribes and the Americans were fought in the nineteenth century, the most famous ones being the Sioux Uprising of 1862, the Sand Creek Massacre (1864) and the battle of Wounded Knee in 1890. By the 1900s, the Indian population had diminished greatly and all the Indian tribes were living in reservations or assimilated in the American population. With the Indian Citizen Act of 1924, all Native Americans were granted United States citizenship. Although the position of the Native Americans had greatly improved, the assimilation policies meant that the white culture was to be the norm for all United States citizens, including the Indians.

Germany

After Germany became a unified nation-state in 1871, there were several minority population groups. There were three kind of ethnic groups that could become more or less troublesome for the German nation. The least problematic were small groups of work-migrants. From 1871 these groups of migrants got short-lease contracts, after which they returned to their home country.¹³³ There were also the dispersed groupings of a certain ethnicity, mainly the Jews and the Gypsies in Germany. The

¹³² Ibidem 181-182.

¹³³ Panikos Panayi, *Ethnic Minorities in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Germany: Jews, Gypsies, Poles, Turks and Others* (Harlow 2000) 12.

Jews were often the scapegoats for economic problems and between 1880-1933 more and more frequently the targets of anti-Semitism. This situation continued to deteriorate after the loss of the First World War and the economic depression between 1929-1932.¹³⁴

The third and most significant problem of the multiracial German nation was the problem with the peripheral population groups. This was mostly the relationship with the Slavs to the east and south-east of Germany. There was a large group of Poles within the borders of Germany, mostly in the former Prussian provinces. In 1890, about three million Poles lived in Germany. They lived in large Polish communities where most of them spoke Polish and were not really involved in the German nation. Many right-wing German political groups wanted the Polish population to become 'Germanized', they introduced some changes in the educational system to ensure that all schools taught in the German language.¹³⁵

At the end of the nineteenth century the conception of the German '*Drang nach Osten*' became a widespread notion in the Slavish countries neighbouring Germany. It was mostly used by the Slavs as a term to denote the German attempt to expand eastwards and to dominate the Slavish nations. In German discourse it was used as a nationalistic slogan of past successes. Most of the multiracial problems in Germany were 'felt' by certain rightwing political groups. The term '*Drang nach Osten*' became the main slogan for the program of the pan-Germanic nationalist movement in 1891, with the founding of the *Alldeutschen Verbandes*, in the words: '*Der alte Drang nach dem Osten soll wiederbelebt werden*'.¹³⁶ The German eugenicist Ploetz considered the Slavic people as the most significant biological and political threat to the Germans. At the international Eugenics Congress in London in 1912 he commented 'While the western Europeans exhibited a decline in fertility, the Poles, Hungarians, Russians and South Slavs – nationalities with strong Asiatic traits – have an extremely high birth rate and are everywhere successfully pushing westward.'¹³⁷ In the 1920s, Julius Friedrich Lehmann, a medical publisher and one of the leading racial hygienists, wished to publish a racial geography of Europe so as to

¹³⁴ Ibidem 12-15, 84-88.

¹³⁵ Ibidem 16, 75-77.

¹³⁶ Wolfgang Wippermann, *Der "Deutsche Drang nach Osten": Ideologie und Wirklichkeit eines politischen Schlagwortes*, *Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft*, (Darmstadt 1981) 87.

¹³⁷ Mark B. Adams, *The Wellborn Science: Eugenics in Germany, France, Brazil, and Russia* (Oxford 1990) 26-27.

remind readers that the many ethnic German groups in the East justified his vision of a Greater Germany. His vision of the superiority of the Nordic race was inspired by Madison Grants book 'The Passing of the Great Race', which praised the Nordic race for its mental qualities.¹³⁸ To handle problems of German citizenship for minority populations, the Germans introduced a new piece of legislation, the Nationality Act of 1913. This act defined German citizenship by German origin and not by residence within the German borders. It was quite similar to nationality legislation that was also found in other European nations such as Britain.

The multiracial problems in Germany seem to have been similar to the ones experienced in other countries with minority population groups. Although there were cases of scapegoating and anti-Semitism, problems with immigration and nationality, the different racial identities in Germany did not lead to any racial riots, as was the case in the United States, Britain and Australia. Between 1871 and 1933, there were no pogroms such as happened in Tsarist Russia between 1881 and 1905. Attempts at racially motivated riots were effectively quelled by state troops. Furthermore, the French political scandal revolved around the Dreyfuss affair in 1890 was also more influential than any multiracial German event.¹³⁹

Australia

Australia had an utopian ideal of a pure white society, which was referred to as the White Australia policy. The White Australia policy was the government's response to a general consensus among the white Australian males: to keep Australia white and racially homogeneous. It was also the name for the complex business of implementing this consensus.¹⁴⁰

At the end of the nineteenth century, it were mostly the Chinese immigrants that were targeted for hateful actions. There was a large group of Chinese active as gold-diggers in the recently discovered mines in Queensland. The basic complaint against them was that the Chinese were reducing the European digger's opportunities and earnings. They were easily identified as an out-group: they differed from the Europeans in physique, dress and custom and they formed their

¹³⁸ Paul Weindling, *Health, race and German politics between national unification and Nazism, 1870-1945* (Cambridge 1989) 311.

¹³⁹ *Ibidem* 87

¹⁴⁰ A.C.Palfreeman, 'The White Australia Policy' in F.S. Stevens, *Racism: The Australian Experience, Volume 1, Prejudice and Xenophobia* (Redfern 1971) 136.

own distinct enclaves. They were seen as a threat to the rest of the diggers in time of economic problems.¹⁴¹

During the 1901 debate about the immigration act in Parliament, it became clear that nearly everyone wanted the complete exclusion of non-Europeans from permanent settlement in Australia. However, at the same time, cabinet ministers explained to parliament that any racially discriminatory legislation would be strongly resisted by the British government, itself very conscious of the multiracial character of the Empire and of its new and better relations with Japan and China.¹⁴²

In order to keep the British happy, the official immigration act remained racially neutral, although still managing to keep unwanted immigrants out. The solution was the introduction of the 'Natal dictation test method of exclusion'. This test was first used in the South African Natal Act of 1897. This gave the immigration officer the possibility to force non-European immigrants to do a dictation test in any European language chosen by the officer. In practice this meant that a language was chosen that the immigrant could not possibly know. For example, in one known case the Transylvanian dialect of Rumanian was used. Parliament was assured that by using this test method, it would quite effectively keep out all non-Europeans, but would not be used to discourage the much-wanted European migrants.¹⁴³

Furthermore, naturalization rights were completely denied to non-Europeans in the Naturalization Act of 1903. A few exceptions were made, mostly to the New Zealand Maori. The Minister had an almost absolute discretion to decide who could and could not enter Australia, and under what conditions. Although the utopian prospect of a White Australia was not literally stated in any official law, the discretionary power of the minister was firmly set in the legislation.¹⁴⁴ The law allowed the immigration officers to administer a policy of near-exclusion for over half a century. That the Immigration Act was successful can be seen from the number of immigrants in Australia. In 1901, when the Immigration Act was passed, there were a total of 47000 foreign-born Asians and Polynesians in Australia,

¹⁴¹ A.T. Yarwood, 'Attitudes towards non-European migrants' in *Racism: The Australian Experience, Volume 1, Prejudice and Xenophobia* 147-148.

¹⁴² Palfreeman, 'The White Australia Policy' in *Racism: The Australian Experience, Volume 1, Prejudice and Xenophobia* 136-137.

¹⁴³ *Ibidem* 137.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibidem* 138-139.

representing almost 1.3% of the total population. By 1947, this number was reduced to 22.000, from which only 6400 foreign-born. The rest was Australian-born, mostly of mixed blood. Together this was only 0.22% of the total population.¹⁴⁵ In the eyes of the policymakers, the White Australia Policy can thus be considered to be very 'successful', it made the population of Australia possibly the 'whitest' nation on earth.

Between 1905 and 1920 several racially inspired uprisings happened in Australia. These happened in the towns of Broome and Fremantle. There is not much information about these uprisings, only that they were mostly anti-Japanese, anti-Chinese or anti-Italian. They did not have the same size and impact as some of the riots in the United States and Britain.

As we have seen in other chapters, another important multiracial problem in Australia was their treatment of the Aborigines. Although the White Australia policies were mostly directed towards the Asian immigrants, it also involved a continuation of the bad treatment of the Aborigines. The Aborigines were seen as lesser human beings, somewhere between children and dogs.¹⁴⁶ The result of the racist attitude was the establishment of a system of segregation and repression that was similar to South African apartheid. Eventually the white Australians created a legislative society with almost complete control and repression of Aborigines with the Australian State act of 1905 - The Aborigines Act.¹⁴⁷ The repression of the Aboriginal population continued until well in the 1960s.

Conclusion multiracial problems.

We can consider the treatment of immigrants to be the worst in Australia. It wasn't so much the immigrants that were already in Australia, but the complete obsession with only allowing European immigrants, that supports this conclusion. This eventually 'helped' Australia to become one of the 'whitest' nations in the world. The treatment of the indigenous Aboriginal population was also appalling. The Aboriginal population was almost completely subjugated and controlled by the Australian government. The relative size of this population group was also rapidly dwindling. This treatment of the indigenous population is similar to the treatment of

¹⁴⁵ Ibidem 141-142.

¹⁴⁶ H.O. McQueen, 'Racism and Australian Literature' in F.S. Stevens, *Racism: The Australian Experience, Volume 1, Prejudice and Xenophobia* (Redfern 1971) 116.

¹⁴⁷ S. Encel, 'The Nature of Race Prejudice in Australia' in F.S. Stevens, *Racism: The Australian Experience, Volume 1, prejudice and xenophobia* (Redfern 1971) 35-36.

the Indians in the United States during the nineteenth century. By the 1900s, they were completely subjugated and controlled in military capacity and legislation. Britain and Germany did not have any problems with indigenous populations in their home country, as they weren't settler nations such as the United States and Australia. It appears to be that both of these countries had some problems with the way they had to cope with the multiracialism of their colonies. The treatment of these colonial acquisitions wasn't very good, but does not seem to be any better or worse than that any of the other colonial powers at the time. Therefore, it is not that relevant for our comparison.

When we look at the amount and size of racially inspired riots, we can consider the problems of a multiracial society. Germany seems to be the only country that was totally exempted from these. There were definitely problems in Germany with Polish and Jewish minorities, but they did not result in racial riots. Australia had some small anti-German, anti-Italian and anti-Asian riots. However, they were not of the size of the United States and Britain. In Britain, the problems with groups of non-white seamen in London, Cardiff and Liverpool resulted in some significant riots in 1919 and the 1920s. It was still nothing compared to the United States, where more than twenty significant race riots took place between 1905 and 1925. The most severe one was in Chicago, where over thirty people were killed.

We can thus conclude that the United States has had the biggest problems with a multiracial society. The problems in Australia and Britain were also significant, while in comparison Germany was the least problematic.

Political Racism

The last variable that we will discuss is the presence of political racism. This factor will be considered as 'present' if there were influential 'racist' politicians in a specific country. The presence of racist politicians in a country can tell us something about the institutionalization of racism. When there are racist politicians, it is more plausible that racist legislation is written into policy.

It is hard to measure whether a politician or political party is racist or not. It is also anachronistic to look at politicians of the nineteenth century and consider their views as racist compared to the views of contemporary politics. Still, it is possible to discern the difference between politicians that actively pursue racist policies and speak, for example, of African Americans as 'imbeciles', and the ones that consider racial policies way less important. In this thesis, a politician or political party is considered to be racist if their actions or party program has any overtly racist elements to it.

Britain

In Britain most people, and also most politicians, seemed to be more aware of social differences between different population groups than they were of racial differences. British politics were solely the field of white upper-class men and those men were confident that they were superior to other population groups, whether they be of another race or of another social class. Different viewpoints between politicians were not often matters of race. The multiracial empire of the British was a challenge for politicians. If there were any debates about racial matters, they were held for the sake of maintaining the prosperity of the empire. At a conference in London in 1897, Prime Minister Chamberlain appealed to their former self-governing colonies such as Australia to refrain from legislation that insulted other racial inhabitants in their country, because a significant part of the British Empire was composed of other (coloured) races.¹⁴⁸ It is probable that the multiracial empire was so important for British economic power, that racist politicians didn't have any support in Britain. British politicians had to be thoughtful of their many non-white subjects in the colonies, or this could possibly cause a rebellion.

¹⁴⁸ Palfreeman, 'The White Australia Policy' in *Racism: The Australian Experience, Volume 1*, *Prejudice and Xenophobia* 152-153.

The German scholar Friedrich Hertz, author of *Race and Civilisation* which was published in 1928, saw the British Empire as a model for other countries. According to Hertz, 'England is certainly the land in which race prejudice plays comparatively the smallest role' and 'simply because, of all nations, the English show the greatest political maturity, and because in the process of governing a world empire she had far and away the widest experience of dealing with all kind of races'.

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In the early 1900s, there was a group of influential politicians that were referred to as 'the Round Table'. They were fervent supports of the British Empire-Commonwealth and attempted to maintain and improve the system. After the First World War, they helped to institutionalize a form of multi-racialism which blurred the differences between the policies on race that were being developed in different parts of the Empire. As noted in the chapter on 'multiracial problems', this helped to forestall any major debate on racial matters in Britain until the Second World War.

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United States

In the United States it appears that racism and politics were entwined. The 'Southern Democrats' had a party program that was based on the benefits of the white race over the non-white population groups. They saw their opponents, the Republicans, as traitors to the supremacy of the white race.¹⁵¹ Although we have already established that it was common for white people to have ideas of white supremacy, it was more severe in the Southern states than elsewhere. It is therefore plausible that this could have caused the institutionalization of racism in these states.

One of these racially obsessed Southern Democrats was 'Pitchfork' Ben Tillman. This politician, governor of South Carolina, had many followers. Tillman was exemplary for many southern white farmers after the civil war. They wanted to maintain economic and political control over the African American population, as was the case in the days before the American Civil War. After the difficult reconstruction period between 1865-1877, in which the freed African Americans had some level of civil right protection under the Republican government, the

¹⁴⁹ Paul B. Rich, *Race and Empire in British Politics* 99.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibidem* 55.

¹⁵¹ Mary Beth Norton et al, *A People and a Nation; A History of the United States* (Boston 2005) 545.

Democrats managed to return to power in most of the Southern states.¹⁵² They were supported by paramilitary groups that intimidated their opponents and harassed the African American population.

Tillman joined one of these paramilitary groups that wanted to overthrow the interracial Republican party in South Carolina. He was present at the Hamburg Massacre in July 1876, during which an African-American federal militia was defeated and six captured men slaughtered.¹⁵³ In the 1880s Tillman decided to make the move to politics. Because of his charismatic speeches, in which he was able to appeal to many of the worries of the lower class white citizens, he gathered many followers. He was elected Governor of South Carolina in 1890, consecutively became a U.S. senator in 1894, and was re-elected to this post 4 times until his death in 1918.¹⁵⁴ As Governor of South Carolina and member of the senate, he was strongly opposed to any appeals for African American voting rights. As a leader of 'white farmers', he successfully disfranchised most of South Carolina's African Americans and lobbied for more Jim Crow legislation. He was one of the most outspoken advocates of white supremacy ever to serve in Congress. Even during his time he was considered to be racist and denigrating. A quote that is exemplary for his thoughts about the African Americans: 'We of the South have never recognized the right of the negro to govern white men, and we never will. We have never believed him to be the equal of the white man, and we will not submit to his gratifying his lust on our wives and daughters without lynching him'.¹⁵⁵

Due to the influence of racist politicians such as Tillman, the Jim Crow laws were introduced. The political institutionalization of these segregation laws meant a racial division of the southern states. Examples of these Jim Crow laws include prohibition of intermarriage between people of a different race, segregation of public schools, public places and public transportation, and segregation of restrooms and restaurants for whites and non-whites.¹⁵⁶ These Jim Crow laws multiplied

¹⁵² Ibidem 550-551.

¹⁵³ Francis B. Simkins, *Pitchfork Ben Tillman: South Carolinian* (Ann Arbor 1967) 61-65.

¹⁵⁴ Ibidem 167-168, 172.

¹⁵⁵ <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/55/> "Speech of Senator Benjamin R. Tillman, March 23, 1900," *Congressional Record, 56th Congress, 1st Session, 3223-3224.*

¹⁵⁶ There are too many Jim Crow laws to include in this chapter. An overview of Jim Crow legislation can be found at: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Jim_Crow_laws_by_State

throughout the South and confronted African Americans of their inferior status on a daily basis.¹⁵⁷

Germany

From the 1870s there were some relatively influential right-wing political parties in Germany with racial aspects in their programs. According to the historian Papaya, the constitutional structures of Germany in the 1890s failed to meet all the demands of the working classes. German politicians therefore attempted to focus the attention of the workers on internal and external foes to buy off time to get the newly industrialized nation in order. External foes were the Eastern European states, Russia, France and England. More interestingly for this thesis are internal foes that were targeted. These were mostly the Poles and the Jews. Especially Jews became increasingly unpopular. They were viewed as a disloyal, un-German, inassimilable separate race.¹⁵⁸ Mainstream 'rightwing' parties dominated German politics in this era, but further to the right all kinds of anti-Semitic and Polonophobic groups and parties existed that influenced and reflected on a rightwing ideology.¹⁵⁹ These groups included organizations such as the Colonial Society, the *Ostmarkverein*, the Pan-German League and the German Navy League (*flottenverein*), which played a large role in building the German navy.

Despite a relatively small membership of 22.000 at most, the Pan-German League seemed to have been very influential. Many of its members later played a role in the Nazi-party. Its main program point was the expansion of Germany into eastern Europe. Although it was more nationalistic than racist at first, they were the voice of the anti-Semites and Polonophobes in Germany. They devoted many publications to anti-Semitism and also to more general racial ideologies, such as the supremacy of the Aryan race.¹⁶⁰ The Pan-German League protested government decisions which could weaken Germany. They wanted to uphold German race hygiene and were against 'breeding' with so-called inferior races like Eastern Europeans and Jews. The 1890s were a relatively successful period for German anti-Semitic parties. In 1889 the *Antisemitische Deutschsoziale Partei* and the *Antisemitische*

¹⁵⁷ Norton et al, *A People and a Nation* 552.

¹⁵⁸ Panayi, *Ethnic Minorities in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Germany* 71.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibidem* 72.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibidem* 79-81.

Volkspartei came into existence. At the Reichstag election of 1893, 4.4% of the total votes cast were on racially obsessed parties and this meant that 16 racial politicians were elected. The increasing importance of race manifested itself in the 'Nationality law' which was introduced in 1913. This meant a significant change in Germany, as nationality became defined according to origin instead of residence in Germany.¹⁶¹ After the first world war, the liberal Weimar republic had a hard time dealing with the manifold economic problems and massive critique from all corners of society on the Treaty of Versailles. Just as other European states, the Weimar Republic represented a nationalistic state and increasingly a racist one, especially for the Jews.

In 1919, the predecessor of the NSDAP came into existence as the *Deutsche Arbeiterspartei*, under the leadership of Anton Drexler and Karl Harrer. Its most important aims were to establish a *völkisch* state free from the influence of communists, pacifists and Jews.¹⁶² In 1921 it changed its name into the NSDAP and saw the rise of Adolf Hitler as leader of the party. At the following elections it rose in strength until it ultimately managed to come to power at the election of 1933. After this Germany rapidly changed into a full-fledged racial state.

Australia

In Australia, racial matters played an important role in political programs. One of the main campaign points of the first election for the Australian Federation in 1901 was the matter of the White Australia policy. The Australian protectionist party under the leadership of Sir Edmund Barton was in fervent support of this policy. The major adversary for this election, the Free Trade party, was initially opposed. Eventually the protectionist party won the election with 31 seats out of the 75. They did not have a majority, but formed a coalition with the third biggest party, the Labour party. The first piece of legislation that they passed was the Immigration Restriction Act, part of the White Australia policy. Eventually the Free Trade party also changed their attitude towards the White Australia policy and gave their

¹⁶¹ Ibidem 74.

¹⁶² Ibidem 140: the first four aims of their twenty-five point plan are as follows: 1) We demand the Union of all Germans to form a Great Germany on the basis of the right of self-determination enjoyed by the nations. 2) We demand equality of rights for the German people in its dealings with other nations and abolition of the peace Treaties of Versailles and Saint-Germain. 3) We demand land and territory (colonies) for the nourishment of our people and for settling our excess population. 4) None but members of the nation may be citizens of the state. None but those of German blood, whatever their creed, may be members of the nation. No Jew therefore may be a member of the nation.

support. The first Prime minister was Sir Edmund Barton. As most higher educated men in Australia, he believed in the racial superiority of the whites. He is noted to have said: 'The doctrine of the equality of man was never intended to include racial equality'.¹⁶³ The leader of the Labor Party agreed with Barton, asserting that: 'The objection I have to the mixing of the coloured people with the white people of Australia lies in the main in the possibility and probability of racial contamination'.¹⁶⁴ The stance of Australian politicians towards Aboriginals was very hard and can, even for the standards of the 1900s, be considered to be racist. The Aboriginals were forced to move to reserves and mission stations. From the early 1900s, legislation was introduced to enable this. These were called Aboriginal Protection and Welfare acts, but seemed to be more concerned with the welfare and protection of the White Australians against Aboriginals. The commissioner of police was, under the Aborigines Act of 1909, responsible for this 'protection'. He was legally allowed to intrude and intimidate the Aboriginal population, even in their own settlements, and this seemed to have happened frequently. This Act remained institutionalized until an amendment in 1969.¹⁶⁵

The Aboriginals themselves had no access to the Australian legal system at all. The Aborigine Act legislated the Aborigines thus to be under complete control of the superintendents and the white police force.¹⁶⁶ Mr. Nicklin, an influential parliamentarian and later Premier of Australia, formulated his solution to the half caste population as follows: 'gather together the whole of the remnants of the Aborigines in Queensland and place them in reserves so that they will be removed from contact with irresponsible whites and the half caste problem will be overcome to a great extent'.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶³ Palfreeman, 'The White Australia Policy' in *Racism: The Australian Experience, Volume 1, Prejudice and Xenophobia* 137.

¹⁶⁴ Ibidem 137.

¹⁶⁵ P.Tobin, 'Aborigines and the Political System' in F.S. Stevens, *Racism: The Australian Experience, Volume 2, Black versus White* (Redfern 1972) 65-77.

¹⁶⁶ S.Encel, 'The Nature of Race Prejudice in Australia' in F.S. Stevens, *Racism: The Australian Experience, Volume 1, prejudice and xenophobia* (Redfern 1971) 35.

¹⁶⁷ F.S. Stevens, 'Parliamentary Attitudes to Aboriginal Affairs' in F.S. Stevens, *Racism: The Australian Experience, Volume 2, Black versus White* (Redfern 1972) 123.

Conclusion political racism

Political racism is hard to measure. But from the sources used it becomes quite clear that there was definitely a difference in racial attitudes of politicians in the countries under consideration. Just like in the other chapters, the United States appear to be the most obvious case. There was a definite abundance of racist politicians active in the United States. In most Southern states they held high positions and were able to introduce discriminatory acts. Ben Tillman is only one of many obvious examples of racial 'bigots' that managed to put his stamp on American politics for over fifty years.

In Australia many influential politicians seemed to be acting on a discriminatory program as well. They did not consider men of different races to be equal and this can be seen in their policies. The White Australia policy and the support for the Aborigine Acts are abundant evidence of discriminatory programs of Australian politics.

Germany was the hardest case under consideration. It appears to be that in the German *Kaiserreich* between 1870 and 1914, anti-Semitism and ideas of Aryan supremacy played a role in some circles of German politics. However, this was also the case in other European nations and the German feelings of anti-Semitism did not seem to be worse than that of the Russians or the French. Still, although not a political organization, the racially obsessed Pan-German League was a major influence on small rightwing political parties in Germany. Later on their ideals were also asserted as goals of the NSDAP, and many of the Pan-Germans ultimately played a significant role in the party. Thus it can be asserted that in Germany there was also a presence of political racism.

Britain seems to be the only country that was relatively free of political racism. Racist attitudes were not present in the British parliament, possibly because of economic interests of the British in their multiracial empire. Britain was seen as a model for other countries that wanted a working multiracial empire free from racial problems. Therefore, political racism is excluded as a possible cause for British racism.

Conclusion

The concluding chapter of this thesis will consist of two parts. First, the comparative method of Boolean algebra will be used to consider the most plausible causes for racism. Secondly, the results of the Boolean analysis will be used to shed new light on certain questions raised in this thesis.

When we derive the information for our four variables from chapter 2 to 5 and place them in a table, it will look as follows.

Table 4, Dataset Causes for Racial legislation

Case	Biological Justification	Economic Exploitation	Multiracial problems	Political Racism	Outcome: Racial legislation
Britain	1	1	1	0	0
United States	1	1	1	1	1
Germany	1	1	0	1	0
Australia	1	0	1	1	1

First, let us consider what the table above actually says. In the first column at the left side of the table you can see the four cases used in our comparison. The four columns to the right of that are the four possible causes for racial legislation that we have discussed in this thesis. The last column is the outcome of the main research question of this thesis; is there any significant racial legislation in the specific country? Furthermore you can see several “1’s” and “0’s” in the table. As explained in the introduction, a “1” means a certain factor is ‘present’, while a “0” means a certain factor is not. The careful reader of this thesis has already understood that this is a necessary simplification of some factors. Therefore, I will now give an explanation of the ‘scoring’ of all relevant factors.

The last column is essential for understanding the analysis, that is why it will be discussed first. It contains the data on the outcome - whether there is severe racial legislation or not. When there is abundant evidence of racial laws, racism is considered be institutionalized in society. This was the case in the United States and Australia. The United States had racial legislation on several distinct matters. Most abundant were the segregationist policies, that divided the society and gave the white population a privileged position. There were also laws that oppressed Native Americans and Mexicans. Another piece of American racial legislation from this

period was the anti-immigration law against unwanted southern and eastern Europeans, which was introduced in 1924. All of these laws were at least partly based on racial grounds. The idea of a superior white race seems to have been deeply institutionalized in the United States.

Australia became a federal state in 1901 and gained dominion status of the British Empire in 1907. From the moment they were a federation, legislation was introduced to create a White Australia. The purpose of this White Australia policy was twofold. The first reason was to keep non-European (mostly Asian) immigrants out of Australia. The second purpose was to maintain and extend control over the Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders. These indigenous population groups were treated badly. This was institutionalized in the Australian law system.

From this thesis it becomes clear that Britain and Germany were also 'racist' nations in comparison to our own modern society. This was part of the overall *Zeitgeist* of imperialism and Social Darwinism. However, the measurements that both these countries took to follow up on possible racist views seem to have been less severe than in the United States and Australia. Britain was part of a large Empire with a multitude of different races. They were confident that they were the rightful dominant race. However, the institutionalization of racism in Britain never reached the same level as in the United States or Australia. It is also evident that most British colonies introduced more severe racial legislation after they became independent from Britain. This is true for Australia, but also for another large former British colony, South Africa.

In Germany, there was the nationality law of 1913 that granted citizenship to Germans of German blood, instead of granting it to everyone that lived within the borders. This was partly based on racist grounds. However, this was mostly part of an attempt to clarify issues of nationality that were a problem for many countries at several stages in history, even for modern nations today. There is no further evidence that racial legislation was institutionalized in Germany.

The first factor in table 4 represents the 'biological justification', which is discussed in chapter 2 of this thesis. In this chapter I have considered the presence or absence of eugenic societies. As a eugenic society was present in all four of the cases, I have tagged it as a '1' in the table. Although the societies in both Britain and Germany seem to have been less concerned with racial questions than in Australia

and the United States, they did have the ability and the means to cause racism. The possibilities for a biological justification were definitely present.

The second variable is 'economic exploitation'. This has been measured by looking at trade union membership and colonial expansion. The first theory is that, when a country has a large trade union, there is more class consciousness in the society and they are more concerned with class than with race. This appeared to have been the case in Australia, Germany and Britain. In the United States trade unions were also growing, but less steady than in the other countries. It seems to be that the inhabitants of the United States were more aware of the fact that they were 'white workers' than in the other countries. The second factor to measure 'economic exploitation' is the amount of colonial expansions that were acquired during the second imperialist wave. Britain, Germany and the United States were all very active as imperialist nations, exploiting other countries with 'lesser races' for their own growth. Therefore, I have tagged Britain, Germany and the United States with a '1', while 'economic exploitation' did not appear to be a present factor in Australia.

To measure the third variable, the amount of 'multiracial problems', I have looked at the amount of racial riots in the specific cases and the way the indigenous populations or minority groups were treated. In Britain there were several large riots between different ethnic groups in Liverpool, London and Cardiff in 1919. Therefore we can conclude that the factor of multiracial problems is present. The United States score a '1' on this variable as well. They had the most severe problems with racial riots between African American and white people, and also had several skirmishes with the Native Indians. Australia has a bad record with their treatment of the indigenous Aboriginal population, treatment of non-European immigrants and also some minor racial riots. The factor of 'multiracial problems' is therefore also present in Australia.

Scoring Germany with a 1 or 0 was the most problematic. Although there were some significant problems with the Jewish minority in Germany and anti-Semitism became more severe during the 1890s, this did not lead to any racial riots up till the 1930s. Neither was German anti-Semitism more severe than treatment of Jews in Europe in the past two millennia. All over Europe the Jewish population has known harassment and anti-Semitism during several periods of history. Therefore, I

don't consider the factor of 'multiracial problems' in Germany between 1880 and 1933 to be present.

The last variable, the presence of 'political racism', is also present in some of our cases, and not present in others. It appears to be that in the United States, Australia and Germany, racist politicians were in one way or another influential in government functions. The United States had Southern Democrats such as Ben Tillman, whom became governor of South Carolina and also a senator. The Southern Democrats were known for their strong believe in white supremacy and the institutionalization of the Jim Crow legislation.

An important aspect of Australian politics was the White Australia policy. Therefore the first real debate in the parliament was about these racial politics. It was normal for Australian politicians to gain followers by showing their concern with racial matters, such as treatment of Aboriginals and foreign immigrants. In Germany, there were several rightwing organizations that formed the basis for several anti-Semitic political parties. The most influential of these organizations was the Pan-German League. Many of the racist ideas of the Pan German League were later used by the NSDAP.

'Political racism' seemed to be absent in Britain. British politicians were mostly interested in keeping the multiracial Empire intact. They also seemed to be more concerned with social standing than with racial matters.

The next step of this conclusion will be to take another look at table 4. By doing this, we can see which factors are most plausible to cause a country to take severe racist measurements in the form of racial legislature. The data of table 4 shows that the factor 'biological justification' is insignificant for the outcome 'racial legislation'. This is the case because it is a present factor for all the four countries, whether they had racial legislation or not. Biological racism was part of the overall worldview. With the emergence of Social Darwinism and the establishment of eugenic societies, scientific racism was everywhere. Although this might have influenced the appearance of racism in some countries, it was not one of the causes for one country to take more severe racial measurements than others. The factor of 'biological justification' is therefore taken out of the equation. After doing this, I have derived the following causal analysis for racism.

$$\text{Outcome R} = \text{EMP} + \text{eMP}$$

Using the Boolean method, we can derive the final equation:

$$\text{Outcome R} = \text{MP}$$

In words, this equation means: when the factors of ‘multiracial problems’ and ‘political racism’ are present, there will be racial legislation in a country. It is interesting to notice that the factor ‘economic exploitation’ does not seem to be a relevant cause for racist legislation. This is explained by looking at the case-study of Australia. Although Australia had institutionalized racism, there was no economic exploitation. Although I don’t believe that this entirely invalidates the theory that economic exploitation is a possible a cause for racism, it does mean that it isn’t the most important, or only, cause for racism. Marxist theories of racism are therefore wrong in asserting that economic exploitation is the most important reason for racism.

It is established that the factors of ‘multiracial problems’ and ‘political racism’ are the most important causes for severe racial measurements in the form of racial legislation. Further analysis of different cases is necessary to find out which of these causes are ‘necessary’ and which are ‘sufficient’ for racial legislation. This is just a very simplistic use of Boolean algebra with only a small dataset. A Boolean analysis will become more useful to gain a clear insight on racial legislation once a larger dataset with the relevant information on more countries is established.

That multiracial problems and political racism together cause the emergence of racist measurements can be explained. Politicians are necessary to institutionalize racist measurements, as they are the ones that propose new legislation. In a democratic society they would need support from their electorate and other politicians to initialize and maintain this legislation. That is why the factor of ‘multiracial problems’ seems to be necessary as well. When there are severe (alleged) problems with people from other races, it is expected that there will be more political support for racist legislation. This would be the best way to institutionalize racial legislation in a society.

The conclusion that political racism and multiracial problems together explain the emergence of racial legislation might be able to shed some light why racial legislation was introduced in Germany after 1933. As becomes evident in the

case study of Germany before 1933, political racism was already present. Multiracial problems were not. Theory suggests that when multiracial problems would have presented themselves in Germany, racist legislation would have been institutionalized. It is evident that this is partly what happened in Nazi Germany. There were severe racial problems in Nazi Germany, with racial riots (pogroms), policies of expulsion and later the Holocaust. Thus even a quick look at history would score the factor of 'multiracial problems' to be present for Nazi-Germany. The outcome is also clear. All kinds of racist legislation was institutionalized to support Nazi goals, thus it would be tagged with a '1' as well.

Thus, by using a simplified equation derived from Boolean Algebra, it is possible to explain the emergence of racial legislation in Germany. However, it is very important to note that this only explains that racial legislation was introduced in Germany and not why it happened in Germany specifically. It is even more important to note that although this can explain the emergence of racial legislation, it does not explain why it escalated the way it did in Germany. It does not help us to understand why it was in Nazi-Germany that the measurements were even more severe than in the other nations. This thesis has shown that Germany, in comparison with the United States, Australia and even Britain, was one of the least racist countries up till the early 1930s. It is true that already at the end of the 1920s we see a slight shift in German focus to racial matters. The German Race Hygiene movement, in which prominent members such as Lehmann and Ploetz are more and more concerned with aspects of Nordic biological superiority. They eventually become influential in the NSDAP. Also, the political influence of racist national socialist party NSDAP grows significantly at the end of the 1920s, when their electorate rises to 18% of the German votes in 1930 and 44% in 1933.¹⁶⁸ Anti-Semitism was a clear aspect of the political program of this party. This could have been a forebode for what was to come, but there is no reason to believe that this was inherent to the German society. This concludes that racism in Germany was definitely not a sufficient reason for the *Third Reich*, with all its barbarous racial politics, to come about. If racism was one of the most important causes for the *Third Reich*, the results of my analysis would suggest that it should have happened in the United States and not in Germany.

¹⁶⁸ Panayi, *Ethnic Minorities in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Germany* 141.

We can therefore conclude that my thesis does not make the deeply racist aspects of Nazi Germany easier to explain, *as Germany before 1933 was actually less concerned with racial aspects than other nations at the time*. This explanation seems to give support to historians that believe in convergence and a possibilistic view of history. Possibilism is the theory that the (f)actual history is only one of several possible ways that an event could have turned out.¹⁶⁹ It is opposed to any claims of causal ‘finality’ for historical matters.

Although the convergence or ‘coincidence’ of the extreme racism of the *Third Reich* might be supported by this thesis, I still believe that it is an important endeavour to find possible causal links that help us understand parts of it. This will at least make sure that we’ve done everything to see possible problems in future cases of racism. A comparative endeavour such as this thesis is already a step towards understanding a small part of racism better. It is helpful for future research that this thesis has discerned that ‘political racism’ and ‘multiracial problems’ are the most plausible causes for racist measurements to be institutionalised. This information can be used as an element for further research on cases such as Nazi-Germany, but also for more contemporary cases and even for research on racism in general.

¹⁶⁹ Chris Lorenz, *De Constructie van het verleden; Een inleiding in de theorie van de geschiedenis* (Amsterdam 2006) 80, 102, 147.

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