MONASH University

Shifting Depictions of the Vietnam War in Victorian Government Education Policies, Curriculum Documents, Textbooks and Education Resources, 1975-2005

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Abstract

This study investigated how the Vietnam War (1962-1975) was depicted in Victorian education documents (1975-2005), using qualitative and quantitative content analysis methodology. To-date, no academic research has sought to capture and analyse changes in post-Vietnam War depictions, attitudes and representations of the war in Victorian Government education policies, curriculum documents, textbooks and education resources, 1975-2005, including the *Victoria Education Gazette and Teachers' Aid*, and the History Teachers' Association of Victoria's journal *Agora*.

Through a content analysis of 520 documents viewed through a social constructivist lens, this study adds new knowledge and understanding of shifts in depictions that occurred across this time. It deconstructed and analysed representations of Vietnam War historical narratives in the documents. At times, it discovered that wider social and political contexts framed the narratives across the period. At other times, it discovered silences in the documents compared to other contexts and reporting, such as in newspapers of the time. The content analysis methodology explored manifest and latent content, and exposed language and thematic inferences, as well as correlations between the documents over the period.

This study found a notable silence on the Vietnam War in the early post-war year education documents of the 520 sourced, with references thereafter developing in frequency, diversity and nuance over the period 1975-2005. Specifically, the study discovered a total absence of Vietnam War references in Victorian Government education policy documents, and relatively few Vietnam War references in Victorian Government curriculum documents and *Victoria Education Gazette and Teachers' Aid* entries relating to History, when compared to the earlier C20th conflicts, WWI and WWII. This contrasted with stronger focus on the Vietnam War developed in textbooks and *Agora* articles, especially during the years 1990-2005. Where the Vietnam War was mentioned in the education documents, there was a general shift in view of the Vietnam War. In congruence with the social constructivist theoretical framework, this view shifted from a focus on international and Australian home front political perspectives, to a greater inclusion of personal narratives, including those of Australian soldiers and veterans, North and South Vietnamese soldiers and civilians, and South Vietnamese refugees in Australia. The strongest evidence of these shifts occurred in

textbooks later in the 1975-2005 period, and especially in 1990-2005 *Agora* journal entries, where teachers actively promoted the inclusion of these voices in their units.

The study found several drivers that influenced these shifts. First, the time between the war's end and emerging public discourse shifted public opinion and the focus of publications. Second, History and Humanities textbook authors and *Agora* writers (often teachers) focusing on differing aspects of the war, increasingly adopted critical inquiry approaches and different ways to investigate and learn about the war. Third, the increasing rise of Vietnam War veterans telling their stories enabled oral history approaches in teaching about the war. Supporting these drivers were shifting classroom demographics throughout the period, including the increase in Vietnamese-Australian students in the classroom, and contemporary events and conflicts that led to comparative discussions with the Vietnam War.

Declaration

This thesis is an original work of my research and contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma at any university or equivalent institution and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

Signature: ……

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Glossary of Terms

ANZAC – Referring specifically to Australia and New Zealand Army Corps World War I History

Anzac – Referring to Anzac Day or Anzac Legend

C20th – Twentieth Century

Education Department – Victorian Government Department Responsible for State's Education System

Gazette - Victoria Education Gazette and Teachers' Aid

History (upper case) – The discipline or subject taught in schools

List of Abbreviations

AAP – Australian Associated Press

AATTV - Australian Army Training Team Vietnam

ALP - Australian Labor Party

ANZUS Treaty – Australia, New Zealand, United States Security Treaty

ARVN – Army of the Republic of Vietnam

ASEAN – Association of South-East Asian Nations

AWM- Australian War Memorial

BOS – Board of Studies

CAT – Common Assessment Task

CDA- Critical Discourse Analysis

DET - Department of Education and Training

DFAT- Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade

DVA - Department of Veterans' Affairs

Ed Dept - Victorian Education Department

HSC – Higher School Certificate

HTAV – History Teachers' Association of Victoria

KLA – Key Learning Area

LIB – Liberal Party

MGSECPP - Melbourne Graduate School of Education Curriculum Policies Project

Ministry of Ed – Victorian Education Department

NAT – National Party of Australia

NGV- National Gallery of Victoria

NLA - National Library of Australia

NLF – National Liberation Front (Viet Cong)

NVA – North Vietnamese Army

PAVN- People's Army of Vietnam

PROV – Public Record Office Victoria

PTSD- Post Traumatic Stress Disorder

RSL - Returned and Services League, Australia

SEATO – South-East Asia Treaty Organisation

SHEP – Secondary Historical Education Project

SOS – Save Our Sons (Australian anti-conscription protest group)

SOSE - Studies of Society and Environment

UK – United Kingdom

US – United States

USSR – Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

VCAA – Victorian Curriculum and Assessment Authority

VCAB - Victorian Curriculum and Assessment Board

VVET - Vietnam Veterans Education Team

VVMC - Vietnam Veterans' Motorcycle Club

WWI – World War One

WWII – World War Two

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Personal Rationale

The history of warfare has fascinated me since I was a child. I listened to my Nana's WWII stories, and her experiences of growing up in the aftermath of WWI. I listened to my parents' recollections of war-affected countries they had travelled to, and 'potted histories' as my Dad called them, of the places I saw on the news. In an attempt to understand how and why these events occurred, and the experiences of those involved, I began to read, watch and listen to war-related books, documentaries, films and music. My knowledge of the Vietnam War however, seemed to be framed more by music of the 1960s and Hollywood films of the 1970s and 1980s, almost all from the U.S. than Australian stories or documentary films. As I grew older and more aware of history as a subject, I began to question why the American experience dominated and the Australian perspective was largely absent. I wondered why my learning and knowledge of the Vietnam War was so dominated by 'unofficial' history, primarily cultural artefacts, rather than by curriculum based 'official' history.

My experience as a VCE student, 1995–1996, as well as a Victorian Government secondary school History teacher from 2004 until the present day, enhanced my interest in the questions of how and why curriculum changes over time, especially in relation to such a controversial topic as Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War. As a student, I was initially interested in the war because it seemed to be part of the cultural package of the 1960s. However, besides a personally chosen Common Assessment Task (CAT) during the VCE International Studies, there was minimal Vietnam War-related content taught during my entire schooling. In later years, in my role as the secondary school History teacher, I was again struck by the lack of Vietnam War history, especially the Australian perspective, in the core curriculum. Herein lie the reasons for this doctoral research journey.

1.2 Rationale for the Study

> The commitment to Vietnam lasted more than seven years (or ten, if one starts with the commitment of a team of advisers in 1962), making it Australia's longest overseas conflict in the 20th century and the largest most costly other than the two world wars; it did not prevent the downfall of the Republic of Vietnam ten years later; it was maintained partly by deploying conscripts, chosen by a highly controversial, selective ballot of men too young to vote; its wisdom and morality were challenged by an increasing number of Australians, provoking deep divisions in Australian society and politics; it was linked to bitter, worldwide controversies that remained prominent for decades; and for years afterwards it was identified with strategic, diplomatic, military, political and social failure and ineptitude. (Edwards, 2014, p. xi)

Changing Australian federal and state governments and policies have represented and brought to the fore differing attitudes and beliefs about the Vietnam War (Nguyen, 2014). There have been numerous academic and mainstream books and articles written regarding the topic of the Vietnam War itself from Australian and US perspectives, predominantly focusing on wartime events, politics, battle strategy, and specific individuals closely connected to the war (King, 1983; Edwards, 2014; McMaster, 1997; Heard, 2005; Ham, 2007). Some works have concentrated on understanding the experiences of soldiers during the war and veterans after the war (Crowe, 1999; Rintoul, 1987; Dapin, 2014), and there has been limited writing on the experiences of Vietnamese refugees in Australian society (Nguyen, 2015a). However, there has been little focus on capturing and analysing changing post-war attitudes and beliefs regarding the Vietnam War – and nothing with regard to the depictions of the war in Victorian Government education policies, curriculum documents, textbooks and education resources from 1975 to 2005. These oversights provide justification for this study, which adds new knowledge and understanding of what shifts occurred during this time and how they are connected to other debates in education and shifting post-war public viewpoints overall.

Sustained research into why and how schools have taught the histories of wars has generally been rare (Ammert & Sharp, 2016; Clark, 2008; Elmersjö et al, 2017). More recent efforts in

Australia have focused on the teaching of the Anzac legend (Lake, 2010; Crotty, 2009; Kilmister, Bennett & Debenham, 2017). Throughout the post-Vietnam War period, the teaching and representation of Indigenous and British colonial histories in academic communities within wider Australian history have been sources of debate, as well as in the mainstream Australian media. The competing views have been commonly referred to as the 'History Wars' (Macintyre & Clark, 2004; Taylor & Guyver, 2012; Blainey, 2015; Windschuttle, 2005; Broome, 2010; Reynolds, 2001). Previous to the 'History Wars', through the 1980s and 1990s, were the earlier 'SOSE (Studies of Society and Environment) wars' centering on the nature of Humanities as a field of learning, named at the time as Studies of Society and Environment. SOSE was an umbrella title for the field of learning that included the subjects "history, geography, economics, politics, sociology and philosophy" (Taylor, 2012, p.28) into one subject, that incorporated emerging inquiry-based learning practice and broader problem solving. This change supported the shrinking and sometimes removal of History-based curriculum in many schools. Because there was less focus on History as a stand-alone subject, fewer historical topics were able to be covered (Taylor, 2000). Therefore, by study will contribute to an understanding of the extent of representation of the Vietnam War in education documents in the state of Victoria, during this SOSE period.

I was also interested in exploring the extent of 'Silence' about the Vietnam War. 'Silence' in historical narratives has been researched more widely (Moynagh, 2002; Stafford, 2012; Fougère & Moulettes, 2011; Haegert, 1993; McDonald, 2005; Puvimanasinghe et. al. 2015). However, the focus of these studies has been on the silence of specific voices of history, including minority ethnicities, marginalised groups, and specific perspectives of historical events with the possible reasons for these silences. My study investigates the extent to which there is silence or limited representation of the historical events of the Vietnam War in Victorian Government education policies, curriculum documents, textbooks and education resources 1975-2005.

The researchers quoted directly above have predominantly explored the reasons behind silences as relating to the construction and perpetuation of specific groups' political power. However, my study's aims is not to explore which, if any, political or social groupings may have benefitted from the possible silence regarding the Vietnam War in history, but which specific topic silences are maintained in the education documents, and why there may be avoidance of some areas of Vietnam War history though Australian lenses.

The inclusion and/or exclusion of war histories in Government education policies, curriculum documents, textbooks and education resources, as well as ideas about how those histories are best taught, are often contentious topics for curriculum authorities and school communities; all the more in relation to how the perspectives of war and methods of teaching change over time (Graff, 1992; Hayes, 2013; Lachmann & Mitchell, 2014).

Previous studies have noted that Victorian Government secondary education policy and curriculum documents as well as textbooks, teacher resources and classroom resources developed in the period 1975–2005 reveal fewer references to the Vietnam War than may be expected for a major later C20th event, and one in which Australia was closely involved. The literature also demonstrates that the majority of academic references on education about the Vietnam War relate to the experiences of other nations' involvement, not Australia's (Johannessen, 1995; Murray, 2004; McMurray, 2011). My study introduces new, distinctly Australian, and specifically Victorian, knowledge to the field.

The limited number, or complete absence in some sources, of references to the Vietnam War expressed in the documents analysed in this study supported my decision to use content analysis as the methodology. The analysis of the manifest content (Babbie, 2004), as well as latent content, exposes thematic inferences, and possible thematic correlations between the documents over time, revealing the education document writers' authorial choices and, thus, shifts in depictions of different aspects of the war across time.

This study commences in 1975, corresponding with the year the war ended, specifically with the Fall of Saigon in April 1975. The study concludes with the introduction of the *Victorian Essential Learning Standards* (VELS) (VCAA, 2005) curriculum at the beginning of 2006. This choice of end date for the study was made because the VELS "differed from traditional curricula by including knowledge and skills in the areas of physical, social and personal learning" (Victorian Curriculum and Assessment Authority. (VCAA) (n.d.), para. 5). In the intervening years, four curriculum framework documents were introduced in Victoria; the *Curriculum Frameworks P-12* (1985) (See document *Curriculum Frameworks P-12 – An Introduction,* Ed. Dept., 1985)*; The School Curriculum and Organisation Framework P-12* (1988), the *Curriculum and Standards Framework* (*CSF*) (1995), and the revised *CSF II* (2000) (Yates et al., 2014). The VELS introduced significant curriculum change, especially for the History subject and how it was to be delivered in Victorian Government schools (VCAA, 2005). Instead of the VELS being a part of the Key Learning Area (KLA) of SOSE,

as it had been in the *CSF*, VCAA (2000) stated that, "Strands in some key learning areas are discipline-based, for example, music and art in the Arts, biological science and physical science in Science, and history and geography in SOSE" (para. 3). History became a domain within the Humanities learning area, and was encouraged to be taught as part of a more integrated, holistic structure, to "help them (the students) understand how the world has been changed in the past and how it might be changed again in the future" (VCAA, 2005, p. 9). However, this integration was not mandated, so schools could still offer History as a stand-alone subject. This context of curriculum change in Victoria will be referred to later in this study.

This study will not analyse the shifts in beliefs and attitudes pertaining to the content of the Vietnam War taught in the International Baccalaureate. Replacing Matriculation in 1970, the Higher School Certificate (HSC) was delivered in Victorian secondary schools, until the introduction of the Year 12 Victorian Certificate of Education (VCE), introduced in 1987, and the Year 11 and 12 two-year VCE certificate program, introduced in 1990 (Yates et al., 2014).

1.3 Thesis Structure

My study of shifting depictions of the Vietnam War in Victorian Government Secondary education documents 1975-2005, includes policies, curriculum documents, textbooks, and teachers' resources. It begins with a discussion of the rationale for the study, the key research questions and the conceptual framework. Following this is a summary of the literature review, observations on the limitations of content analysis, researcher positionality, and an explanation of the data collection process. My study then includes the methodology chapter, including comments on the depth and scope of content analysis, as well as why the choice of content analysis is appropriate to this study. The chapters examining the data include historical context (from Victorian Government policy, curriculum, and the *Victoria Education Gazette and Teachers' Aid*), textbooks, and *Agora*, the journal of the History Teachers' Association of Victoria (HTAV), followed by discussion of the shifts evident in all the documents throughout the period 1975-2005. Chapter Ten provides overall conclusions to my study.

My thesis is written following APA6th version referencing (which was the Faculty of Education, Monash University, preference at the time of commencing my research), with any anomalies explained in context throughout. Some reproductions of visual representations are of poor quality due to the aged state of the textbooks, and visual representation titles (when appropriate) have been quoted directly from the text, or are offered as my interpretation of the visual representation's contents. Every effort has been made to cite fully the sources of items that appear in documents, such as in textbooks. However, the acknowledgements in some textbooks are presented as an entire page block and in alphabetical order, without stating specifically where sources have come from. In these cases, I have written, 'original source unclear from document acknowledgments'. Throughout my thesis, History as a school subject is capitalised, whereas all other references to history are not. Collected quantitative date is discussed throughout the chapters when relevant, as opposed to being presented in appendices, because the data collection resulted in over 400 pages of coding. Finally, although the Vietnam War is also known as the Second Indochina War and the American War to the Vietnamese, within the colloquial Australian lexicon, it is commonly referred to as the Vietnam War and therefore this term will be used in this study.

1.4 Research Questions

The following questions inform this investigation into shifting depictions of Victorian education documents relating to the Vietnam War, 1975-2005.

1. How has the Vietnam War been depicted in Victorian Government education policies, curriculum document, textbooks, and education resources across the period 1975–2005?
2. To what extent have there been shifts in language and perspectives in these documents across this period?
3. How can these shifts be explained?

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Introduction

This review explores existing scholarship on depictions of the Vietnam War, as well as gaps, in Victorian Government education policies, curriculum documents, textbooks and education resources, 1975-2005, in order to situate my study in context. The six areas of literature relating to the research questions, are:

1. Research on the Teaching of C20th War Histories
2. Controversies Associated with Other Nations' Textbook Portrayals of C20th Wars
3. Australian History Education and Curriculum Debates
4. Research into History Education Content related to Australia's Engagement in C20th Wars
5. Australian Vietnam War Experiences in Australian Academic and Popular Histories
6. International and Australian Popular Culture Influences on History Education, 1975-2005

In the following sections, each area explores literature related to factors that influenced representations of the Vietnam War in Victorian Government documents and classrooms, and establishes what has been previously written about contexts relevant to this study. It also enabled me to highlight what has been overlooked in research to-date and how this study can contribute new historical knowledge.

2.1 Research on the Teaching of C20th War Histories

It was important to begin the review, by relating my study to views on the teaching of war histories. Connerton (1989) argues that individuals' personal memories intertwine with other individuals' memories, creating broader narratives, and intertwine with those of smaller

communities and overarching national narratives. The interpretation of the relevance of the past to both the individual and broader community supports identity construction and its intergenerational cultivation (Miguel-Revilla & Sánchez-Agustí, 2018). Although they differ depending on historical and geographical context (Hall, & Malešević, 2013), traditional nationalist war narratives offer governments and other political entities the chance to continue and sometimes to begin wars. They also present stories that challenge and exacerbate the threads culminating in collective memory (Kvernbekk, & Bøe-Hansen, 2017), providing the opportunity for political persuasion. In education, war narratives can exacerbate existing cultural or ethnic stereotypes, supporting beliefs that either contribute to conflict, proactively integrate narratives promoting peacebuilding (Smith, 2010), or present as a multifaceted combination of the two. These views are particularly relevant to my study, since they provide me with a lens through which I can interrogate shifting depictions of the Vietnam War. They alert me to the need to consider individuals' views and how they compare with others' in the time period of my study.

Events, individuals' lives, themes and topics also interweave over time to develop historical narratives (Kvernbekk, & Bøe-Hansen, 2017). However, narrative omissions equally illuminate perceptions of perceived historical importance. The construction of power through silence is prevalent in many historical narratives (Achino-Loeb, 2006), including feminist histories (Grosz & Pateman, 1986, Grosz & Pateman. 2013), Indigenous histories (Foster & Nettlebeck, 2012, Haebich, 2011, George, 2018) and labour movement histories (Rosenzweig, 1987), sometimes intersecting across two demographics such as the historical silence of black workers (Honey, 2002). On the topic of historical silences, Fivush (2010) notes the important distinction "between silenced and being silent" (para. 2), as does Taylor (2008) in asking if the silence is a result of cultural denial, or if they are of personal and collective trauma, as Puvimanasinghe et al., (2015) attest, in the case of refugees and other victims of war.

However, the focus of studies on silences predominantly explore how the narratives conflict or cooperate with the existing power structures orchestrating the narrative. And although some authors have focused on post-war collective guilt (Berger, 2012; Davoine, & Gaudillière, 2004), whether it be personal or national, the possibility that post-Vietnam War silences and omissions in education texts could be a result of the collective public guilt

related to the Vietnam War's aftermath, has not until now been discussed in Australian research.

To help navigate the shifts of representations of the Vietnam War in the educational documents investigated here, my study views the changes through the contemporary lens in which they were created, avoiding the possibilities of presentism often ingrained in nostalgic memory. Even so, presentism itself is a much-debated concept (Colla, 2021). Asay and Baron's (2014) exploration of presentism and 'truth making' argues that presentism "cannot accommodate the truth of claims concerning the past in order to satisfy our intuitions about time" (p. 332), and from a philosophical angle, Sider (2001) contends that the temporal makeup of the material world negates the presentist view completely.

However, some commentators argue in favour of presentism (Bourne, 2006), stating that it can be used selectively (Fendler, 2008), and noting that separating the concept between political use and the historians' presentist lens helps illuminate current situations. The difficulties of 'othering' the past and the possible need to overcome presentist views in History education and history of education, support the need to understand connections of past to present when concerning personal identity (Korber, 2019), an essential factor to note when examining the teaching of war histories. However, Walsham (2017) notes History education's relevance to contemporary events and contexts and its relationship to how today's students view and explore the future.

Some writers propose viewing history through a presentist frame for ethical reasons, because this practice gives responsibility to the person engaging with the history, and responsibility of the ethical connection to their own life (Armitage, 2020). History education does not exist in a vacuum, and ethical considerations should be considered when exploring 'difficult' histories in the classroom. Jonker's (2012) proposal of reflexive presentism confronts how histories can be examined in concert with individuals' lives and how they have been affected by it. Another ethical consideration is the presumption that all cultures and individuals have access to history, furthering the availability principle (Spoerhase, 2008); an important point when viewing Vietnam War history education in a multicultural Australian context.

Adding a further dimension to the presentism discussion are the practicalities of how students view history and the incidence of presentism when given specific tasks. My analysis of documents relates to Vietnam War education, including personal narratives of individuals

directly involved in the war, such as soldiers and refugees. It explores the shifts in perspectives over time and the presentation of these shifts, because the shifts can also be represented in the tasks set in classrooms, which in turn are often included in education resources, or adapted from them. De Leur, Van Boxtel and Wilschut (2017) found that when presented with different versions of the same task:

> Students who were not explicitly asked to imagine themselves or someone in the past included more perspectives into their writings. Students who completed the task in first person tended to show more presentism and moral judgements of the past than students who completed a task in third person. (p. 321)

The role and content of war narratives in History education regularly prompt discussion among academics, politicians and media commentators about what should be taught and 'remembered', especially at times of commemoration in Australia. Some media organisations and politicians promote specific versions of national war narratives (Goalen, 1997; Clark, 2009; Sheehan, 2011; Sheldon, 2012; Collins, 2013; Fine-Meyer, 2013), linking narrative, national identity and nationalism to history narratives taught in the classroom (Sheehan, 2011). However, Taylor and Collins (2012) note that the debates played out in parliament and the media often omit practicalities of collective memory construction and History teaching, including understanding the role of textbooks and other education publications in narrative construction.

Goalen (1997) comments that the promotion of national narrative in the History classroom assumes that teachers and students engage passively with curriculum, and the belief that students ingest curriculum or textbook content without question negates their curiosity, questioning, and interpretation. While some commentators contend that national narratives are often based on war history (Perrier, 2007; Sheehan, 2011; Fine-Meyer, 2013), others argue that student engagement in collective memory does not exist in a vacuum. Collective memory is heavily influenced by lived experience (Taylor & Collins, 2012), popular culture (Goalen, 1997), and the distinction between official and unofficial histories (Phillips, 1998). Clark (2009) exposes the assumption of student passivity by exploring how students connect to history and comments that they are more responsive to historical storytelling, debate and learning historical skills than rote learning names and dates. Clark's (2009) student and teacher surveys focus on overarching questions such as, "What do students and teachers think about teaching and learning the nation's history? Do they enjoy it? What don't they like?" (p.

754). Clark's (2009) focus on student engagement notes that, "the only times students consistently enjoyed the subject (of Australian history) was in relation to Australians at war" (p. 14), primarily WWI, the Anzac Legend and Australia's role in WWII. However, Clark's (2007) method does not disclose which wars teachers or students preferred learning about, and rarely includes later C20th conflicts, including the Vietnam War.

The almost continual violence from the early C20th until the late 1960s, prompted a need to shift the accepted 'one narrative' History teaching method of the past, which largely described key events and timelines. This was utilised by nations to support unambiguous nationalistic narratives to a greater focus on critical analysis of historical events related to war (Bandini, 2015). Writing and teaching histories that differ from state-sponsored or supported narratives can be difficult and sometimes dangerous. The politicisation of history by political groups has prompted challenges to political structures and narratives. Political intervention in historical narratives can reflect personal ideology and support policy-making and, in some instances, academic historical narrative construction is in danger of being stifled (Mackie, 1940). No Australian research to-date analyses explicitly education-related documents and their cultural context in relation to the Vietnam War. Two aspects of the documents my research endeavours to explain are language and perspective shifts in depictions of the Vietnam War, and to do so, the contemporary contexts must be understood.

The examination of a variety of education-related documents invites consideration of a variety of possible reasons for shifts in Vietnam War-related content. In Australia, intense focus on the relationship between, and different views of, political, media and education institutions has framed the 'History Wars'. The term first entered public discussions in the US, pertaining to controversy around a 1995 Smithsonian WWII exhibit of the Enola Gay (Taylor & Guyver, 2012). Australian publishers later embraced the phrase, leading to "attempts by different groups to usurp the critical, reflective, reflexive and multi-perspectival nature of the discipline of history in favor of what often amounts to a politically expedient, self-serving monoculturalism" (Taylor & Guyver, 2012, p. xii). Similar history education debates have occurred in nations including Argentina (Gonzalez, 2014), Canada (Sandwell, 2014), France (Ait-Mehdi, 2012) Germany (Semmet, 2014), Japan (Taylor, 2014b), New Zealand (Sheehan, 2014), Russia (Zadja, 2014), South Africa (Sieborger, 2014), the United Kingdom (UK) (Taylor, 1995, Sheldon, 2012, Guyver, 2014) and the US (Taylor and Guyver, 2012). Analyses of political influence and oversimplification of historical narratives

in education (Phillips, 1998b; Guyver, 2011; Campbell, 2010; Sheehan, 2011; Hood, 2014; Collins, 2013a), such as prescribing a shortlist of appropriate wartime events, and in national narratives (Winkler, 1995; Heisler, 2008; Kammen, 2008; Taylor, 2013) reveal many researchers' concerns over politically motivated history writings and teachings.

In Australia, the 'History Wars' have been a point of contest for historians and educators alike (Macintyre, & Clark, 2003; Gare, 2003; Lester, 2006; Ashton & Hamilton, 2007; Munro, 2007; Clark, 2008; Moses, 2008; Manne, 2009), predominantly focusing on Australia's Indigenous and colonial histories, while incorporating some discussion of Australia's multicultural narratives and Anzac histories. Taylor (2012) bases the 'History Wars' in the "fierce debates about the nature and character of past and contemporary Australian society, the supposed dangers implicit in adopting a policy of multiculturalism, and an alleged misrepresentation by leftist historians of Australia's past" (p.26). Yet, with political and media focus so strongly directed towards Australia's Indigenous, colonial, and British narratives (Taylor, 2013), little room is afforded to other strands of the Australian narrative, including the Vietnam War and its aftermath. These 'History War' disputes are not purely robust discussions amongst historians. Rather, they have become highly political, with the 'Black Armband' connotation most strongly opposed by a former Prime Minister of Australia, John Howard (Taylor, 2012), and debated in the News Corp and Fairfax newspapers (Collins, 2013b). In 2006, the political volatility of the 'History Wars' debate led to the Federal Government's announcement of a history education summit that aimed to "create a national, narrative-based and stand-alone… approach to Australian history in primary and secondary schools from years 3-10" (Taylor, 2012, p. 35). Perceived by some of the historians involved in the summit as a move to shift history curriculum towards the 'three cheers' version of Australian colonial history (Taylor, 2012b), a truly national curriculum being taught simultaneously around Australia did not, and still has not, come to pass, with the Vietnam War being omitted from the political and public debates, or 'History Wars'.

2.2 Controversies Associated with Other Nations' Textbook Portrayals of C20th wars

While there is now an increasing use of online resources, links to information and documents provided by museums, cultural institutions and other organisations in History education and teaching about wars in schools, the fact remains that textbooks have for many decades and

continue to be a vital classroom resource for teachers and students. Verspoor, Kin, and Mundial (1990) state that, "Textbooks define the scope of the curriculum through selection of subject material, and influence the pedagogy and classroom behavior through structuring the sequence for instruction and providing questions and exercises" (p. 1). Internationally, researchers have focused on textbooks' continued centrality in classrooms (Flanders, 1987; Bednarz, 2004; Schissler, & Soysal, 2005; Blumberg, 2008). Some highlight the importance of textbooks' accuracy (Sanders & Makotsa, 2016), exposing difficulties in textbook use when their content is inaccurate, whereas others focus on student outcomes' efficacy (Stelzer, Gladding, Mestre, & Brookes, 2009; Rockinson-Szapkiw, Courduff, Carter, & Bennett, 2013), and availability (Lee & Zuilkowski, 2015). History textbooks are a rich resource for highlighting shifts in historical content, language and cultural context and expose how cultures perceive and prioritise narratives at different times. However, numerous academics also explore how History textbooks can be vehicles for the transfer of nationalistic themes and political ideologies in the classroom, and how such resources capture changes in nationalistic themes and political ideologies at their times of publication (Antoniou, 2005; VanSledright, 2008; Wang, 2008; Vodopivec, 2009; Foster, 2012; Hutchins, 2016; King, 2017).

A considerable amount of international research explores textbook controversies in other countries, and exposes nationalistic narratives in military and war histories (Gottlob, 1968; Beal, Nozaki, & Yang, 2001; Masalski, 2001; Nozaki, 2002; Saaler, 2005; Dorn, 2008; Schneider, 2008; Takayama, 2009; Kim, & Kim, 2019). However, by predominantly focusing on the interconnections of political rhetoric and textbook content, these studies often omit external influences on students' learning. Similarly, in the past two decades, studies have explored the portrayal of Japanese, Korean, US and Russian WWII experiences in history textbooks (Beal, Nozaki, & Yang, 2001; Lin, Zhao, Ogawa, Hoge, & Kim, 2009; Lachmann, & Mitchell, 2014; Santoli, 2019; Walker, 1995; Korostelina, 2010), predominantly focusing on how the textbooks support or contradict official and unofficial government perspectives. Yet these studies, while acknowledging external educational influences on students' historical understanding, fail to examine connections between them fully. The role of textbooks differs between nations and classrooms, ranging from them being government-required, to a form of informal curriculum or optional support (Cave, 2013). Even so, as Suh, Yurita and Metzger (2008) argue, History textbooks are central to debates about historical

representation. Moreover, their place as educational tools, and perceived importance as instruments of the State, can contribute to simplified or anachronistically contextualised versions of history.

Contrasting with other textbook studies, Moreau's (2003) *Schoolbook Nation – Conflicts over American History Textbooks from the Civil War to the Present*, analyses 100 US textbooks produced over a 150-year period. Moreau's (2003) model is particularly relevant to my study of shifts in education documents about the Vietnam War because the emphasis on language use and visual representations demonstrates thematic shifts relating to national identity, and displays how, over time, textbooks represent and develop leanings towards political, lobby and particular interest groups (Moreau, 2003). Along with Moreau (2003), my study also builds on Berman's (1989) analysis of Vietnam War representations in US textbooks, but specifically focuses on Victorian education documents including textbooks, shifting the focus from the US to Australian depictions of the war.

Aside from a limited focus on WWI outside of Australia (Tyack, 1999; Capozzola et al., 2015; Berry, 2018) and discussions of Australian WWI and the Anzac Legend in textbooks that are analysed later in this chapter, most academic analyses of war-related C20th textbook controversies relate to WWII and Cold War narratives. Discussion of WWII textbook controversies and post-war representations of nations' involvement, national character, and identity can reveal nations' self-perceptions in a global context (Levintova & Butterfield, 2010). Many textbooks discuss the difficult home front politics of countries at war. Whereas limited attention has been given to comparative studies of post-war textbook narratives (Hein & Selden, 2000; Hein, 2001; Hashiba, 2010), the extensive academic focus on the Japanese textbook controversy raises issues of how a post-war nation self-examines and represents nationalism, militarism and its wartime participation and atrocities (Beal, Nozaki, & Yang, 2001; Masalski, 2001; Holt & Kawai, 2007; Schneider, 2008; Cave, 2013; Gu, 2015).

The Japanese textbook controversy highlights the relationship between government policy and transparency alongside History education (Taylor, 2014b). For example, references to 'comfort women' (women who were forced into sexual slavery by the Imperial Japanese Army before and during the war) only began to emerge in Japanese textbooks in the 1990s

(Beal, Nozaki & Yang, 2001). The inclusions in textbooks of references to wartime atrocities, such as the Japanese army's use of comfort women and treatment of prisoners of war, reflect greater public acceptance of grim facts and a need for truth telling (Beal, Nozaki, & Yang, 2001). The authors do not infer that a single Japanese consensus on WWII events and behaviour exists; instead, they conclude that contemporary political motivations project differing emphases and historical themes (Beal, Nozaki, & Yang, 2001). In one controversial instance, in the late 1980s, the Japanese Liberal Democratic Party promoted a campaign denying the existence of comfort women and the Nanjing Massacre, and supported the justification of the Asia-Pacific War. The party "demanded that the Ministry of Education order the publishers to remove references to 'comfort women' from the textbooks" (Beal, Nozaki, & Yang, 2001, p. 179). Beal, Nozaki and Yang (2001) highlight that exploration of contemporary political settings underlies analysis of historical representations, similar to this study's social-constructivist lens and what it reveals regarding depictions of the Vietnam War.

In this instance, from where did this shift to including Japanese WWII war atrocities in Japanese textbooks originate? Beal, Nozaki and Yang (2001) contend that protest from progressive groups and the South Korean and Chinese governments shifted public discourse and countered the predominantly conservative Japanese government's promotion of narratives excluding Japanese WWII atrocities. Cave (2013) adds that publishers wanting more market share included more progressive narratives, exposing another variable in textbooks' representations of history, from which the Vietnam War is not immune.

Textbooks on the Cold War have also been investigated in recent years (Walker, 1995; Jager, & Mitter, 2007; Levintova, 2010; Levintova, & Butterfield, 2010; Korostelina, 2010; Stenfeldt, 2012; Christophe, Gautschi, & Thorp, 2019). Similar to my study's analysis of Vietnam War-related Cold War representations in textbooks, Stenfeldt (2012) argues that fear of totalitarian doctrines during the Cold War informed Sweden and Denmark's political course after WWII, and the textbooks of these nations reflect the shift during the Cold War period and in its aftermath. From a US perspective, Walker (1995) contends that textbook representations directly reflect the political administration's preferred narrative at the time. According to Walker (1995), the teaching of Cold War histories offers context to current events and explores the war's "implications for the development of modern American

society" (p. 1652). In keeping with Beal, Nozaki and Yang (2001), Walker (1995) also notes that what is taught through textbooks can influence political opinions, and that contemporary public discourse and political-ideological shifts directly relate to textbook narratives. He argues that since the end of the Cold War, the 'New Left' reaction to the Vietnam War (p. 1653) has shifted Cold War narratives. "The balanced post revisionist approach that prevail(ed) in (recent) US history textbooks provides a sharp contrast with interpretations presented during the heyday of Cold War orthodoxy" (p. 1656), which placed blame for the Cold War's beginning firmly in the hands of the Soviet Union.

Lachmann and Mitchell (2014) extend understandings, by contrasting shifting depictions of the Vietnam War and WWII representations in US textbooks. Their study displays movement from nationalistic and militaristic themes, battle focused content, and impersonal discussion of soldiers' experiences to a focus on personal stories of soldiers' suffering (Lachmann & Mitchell, 2014). Arising from many Americans' opposition to their nation's involvement in the Vietnam War and the pain of its aftermath, Lachmann and Mitchell (2014) further contend that textbook representations embrace diverse perspectives in the US, often focusing on different political and social groups, including politicians, veterans and refugees. Yet, non-American voices are notably absent from US textbooks. Lachmann and Mitchell (2014) find that the "textbooks' emphasis on US soldiers' pain and death does not extend to the soldiers or civilians of America's enemies or allies" (p. 202). They conclude that delivering a binary-style interpretation of 'good guys/bad guys' history creates an oversimplification of the complexities of history, including post-war national narratives. These challenges can arise in the History classroom.

By placing textbook representations in their contemporary context, rather than viewing them through a presentist lens, Lachmann and Mitchell (2014) explore evidence of "hidden curriculum, designed to promote patriotism, military service, and national sacrifice" (p. 200), similar to the identification of 'latent content' explored later in this study. A "trend toward increasing coverage of the antiwar movement" (p. 200), is representative of the change from group conformity to world culture. A US-centric lens frames the limited conversation (Leahey, 2007), emphasising war atrocities (Zhao, & Hoge, 2006; Leahey, 2010) and similarities between teaching Vietnam War content and more recent conflicts such as the Iraq

War (McMurray, 2007). Australia's education historians appear to have rarely discussed representations of the Vietnam War in Australia's history textbooks during and soon after the war to 2005, providing my study with an opportunity to explore these discussions further.

2.3 Australian History Education and Curriculum Debates

Taylor (2005) argues that:

> History is not just general knowledge about what happened a while ago (the 1970s view.) It is a clearly specific discipline with its own highly sophisticated philosophy, protocols and styles. History is now seen as relevant because it relates directly to the knowledge and understanding of our national character, our civil responsibility and our sense of personal and community identity. History is not just a school subject. History is a lifetime study, which starts at home and in the classroom. (p. 5)

In this section, I discuss how since the 1970s, there has been more focus on the study and analysis of historiographical changes in Australian history and the history of education in Australia (Campbell, 2014). Taylor's (2005) view is particularly pertinent to my study, because he argues for the relevancy of history, and it is important to capture and trace the extent to which there have been shifts in the ways major events such as the Vietnam War do or do not prompt debates about character and identity. Campbell (2014) argues that although Australian history writing often reflects international trends, there has also been a focus on understanding changes within Australian narratives.

In Australia, Campbell (2014) states that the history teaching tradition referred to as Whig, liberal, or progressive, has dominated the writings on histories of education, especially those focusing on educational systems and the people who constructed them. Those who promote this tradition view these constructed narratives as progressive, and "as a force for the improvement of populations, economic development, educational opportunity and nation-building in general" (Campbell, para. 7). Although this form of historiography has contributed greatly to conversations relating to the construction of educational systems and

the roles of Church and State in education, it has been criticised since the early 1970s (Campbell, 2014) as rarely including minority voices.

Similar to the United Kingdom and United States, Australian histories of education in the 1970s saw the rising prominence of "revisionism and its close ally, social history in the critical tradition" (Campbell, 2014, p.2). The argument that traditional educational constructs at the time, promoting formal language-based education for the upper classes, supported the continuing disadvantage of certain social groups, saw criticism of the constructs and of those who had constructed them. Greater focus since the 1970s has been given to groups who had been previously omitted from the narratives, such as members of the working class. There has also been a rise in focus on gender in education (Campbell, 2014). My study seeks to discover whether or not Victorian education documents include women's voices in the Vietnam War narratives presented, alongside others. Added to this, my study's focus on shifts in depictions of the Vietnam War, including inclusions and omissions of events and voices, shows evidence of changes in the rise of using oral histories as method of understanding the experiences of those who had been previously marginalised (Campbell, 2014).

Young (2008) argues that philosophical changes over time relating to sociological aspects of curriculum and the political nature of knowledge and curriculum frame the discussion of subject content knowledge. Shifts in thinking have led to the social constructivist belief that the "structuring of knowledge… in our educational institutions is intimately related to the principles of social and cultural control in a society" (Bernstein, 1975, p. 158 as cited in Apple, 1977). Although Young (2008) and Bernstein's (1975) discussion often focuses on the role of education and schools as politico-economic institutions supporting power and control of the State (Apple, 2004), which is not a focus of my study, these arguments support the questioning of links between Vietnam War narratives in education and whether or not there are connections to broader political and social discourse.

The relationship between government ideology and shifts within education systems is complex and not unique to Australia (Goalen, 1997; Thomas, 1999; Gaither, 2012; Tan, 2012; Taylor & Collins, 2012; Collins & Allender, 2013; Mehta, 2013; Smith, 2020; Taylor, 2020). In the UK and New Zealand, History secondary school curriculum documents have come under scrutiny (Phillips, 1998; Sheehan, 2011), as political groups with perceived vested interest in the curriculum have engaged in public debate concerning "teaching, learning and assessment" (Sheehan, 2011, p. 176). Phillips (1998) argues from a British

perspective, that this scrutiny has directed the relationship between "'official history' taught in schools and the 'unofficial histories' which influence children in the community…(and) in the media" (p. 20). Exploring German, Japanese, UK and US histories, Furedi (1992) argues that this "anxiety about the direction of the future has stimulated a scramble to appropriate the past" (p.3), leading to attempts to control or direct history curriculum content through policy and the media. These are connections that my research explores.

Since the 1950s, Australian education systems have shifted from a tradition of teaching absolutes to incorporating relative truths and changing ideologies (Barcan, 1972; Musgrave, 1979; Parkes, 2007; Peterson, 2016). The issue of what *should* be taught in the Australian history classroom has been a controversial subject exemplified by two submissions (Melleuish, 2006; Taylor & Clark, 2006) to the 2006 Australian History Summit. Melleuish (2006) presented a personal, normative view of preferred Australian history content focusing on post-1788 European-Australian perspectives and events. However, aside from Melleuish's (2006) statement that he had read some New South Wales history textbooks, the submission did not include any formal methodological content analysis of what Australian history topics were taught at the time. Although he believed that textbooks were "focusing excessively on some topics such as the Vietnam War" (p. 3), Melleuish provided no substantiating evidence. Conversely, Taylor and Clark's (2006) submission summarised the History curriculum in each State and Territory, focusing on historical literacy skills and perspectives. Because Taylor and Clark (2006) presented a summative document, their research did not review education documents aside from the prescribed curriculum, leaving space for the further investigations of this issue.

The relationship between the two major Australian news sources, News Corp and Fairfax, and Australia's History curriculum, has also had considerable influence in directing public discourse (Collins, 2013b). In exploring the relationship between the news sources and the implementation of the Australian Curriculum, Collins (2013b) found that:

> In the realm of contemporary public discourse about history education in Australia, there is a clear and strong (conservative) ideological position being promoted through conservative news sources which is consistent, readily reproducible and has successfully penetrated public awareness. (p. 9)

Collins' (2013b) findings did not show an equal measure of passion or clarity from non-conservative press, possibly due to the oft-held belief that the education system is controlled by progressive-left politics. What is not clear, however, is the relationship between the public discourse and what is actually taught in the classroom via History education publications.

Australian researchers have recently shown an increased interest in understanding student engagement in history (Taylor, 2002; Carroll, 2020), focusing on student interest and historical consciousness (Clark, 2004b; Ashton & Hamilton, 2007; Clark, 2007; Clark, 2009; Harrison, 2013; Carroll, 2020). The research to-date tends to focus on which specific historic events spark student interest, noting that war-related topics are a grimly particular interest of students.

By analysing education documents relating to the Vietnam War, my study proposes that within the stated curriculum, there is also evidence of hidden curriculum, which Webster and Ryan (2014) explain as "what is experienced collaterally by students – usually not found in documents, nor noticed or intended by teachers" (p. 10). This, is also explored in later chapters.

2.4 Research into History Education Content related to Australia's Engagement in C20th Wars

My literature review found that WWI and ANZAC histories hold significant compulsory territory in curriculum documents and stir much discussion about their place in the teaching of Australian history (Ashton & Hamilton, 2007; Lake et al, 2010; Lake & Donaldson, 2010; Sharp, 2014a; Sharp, 2014b; Holbrook, 2016); yet the Vietnam War has barely captured any attention in this discussion, negative or otherwise.

What's Wrong with ANZAC (Lake et al, 2010) highlights concerns over perceived nationalism and militarism in Australian History education and contends that an influx of pro-ANZAC political rhetoric has shifted Australian war history narratives towards a mythologised, pro-war stance. Lake (2010) argues that that the large amount of spending by the Department of Veterans' Affairs (DVA) on educational resources exacerbates militaristic thinking in education. However, she does not include any quantitative analysis comparing the number of DVA resources to previous decades, content analysis of the resources, or

discussion of if or how the resources are used in classrooms. By framing the discussion through a political lens rather than an analysis of education documents or by observing teachers at work, Lake (2010) assumes the influence of selected political rhetoric such as the funding of the DVA to produce resources. Holbrook (2016) objects to this assumption, stating that there is "no direct line of transmission between the curriculum resources and children's minds" (p. 22). She notes that the "distaste for militarism that remains pervasive in Australian society" (p. 22) is important to remember when discussing how students learn about Australia's engagement with war histories.

Other researchers have drawn attention to the realities of how Australia's war histories are taught in schools (Holbrook, 2016; Sharp, 2014a, Sharp, 2014b). Holbrook (2016) states that the Australian Curriculum: History includes commemoration of WWI with an emphasis on the Anzac Legend, but adds that the horrors of war may affect students learning of WWI history more than nationalist themes. Sharp's (2014a) analysis of textbooks aims to "ascertain how the Gallipoli campaign is represented including ideological understandings of history communicated to students and teachers' true content" (p. 14). She notes the strong focus on the Australian experience of Gallipoli rather than the Turkish. Yet Sharp's (2014a) conclusion emerges from analysing three recently published textbooks and, thus, does not contribute to an understanding of changing depictions over time.

Concern has been raised over the decline in educational documents of representations of anti-war sentiment, with academics (Donaldson & Lake, 2010; Holbrook, 2016) noting that interest in Australian histories and commemorations of wars was at a low ebb of interest during the early 1960s, with the Vietnam War protest movement pushing public sentiment away from Anzac memorialisation from the late 1960s onwards all the more. Holbrook (2016) also refers to how Prime Minister Paul Keating's belief that Australia's involvement in WWII's Pacific theatre should be more prominent in Anzac Day services shifted public discourse further from WWI narratives alone. Nevertheless, these arguments (Donaldson & Lake, 2010; Holbrook, 2016) do not discuss how Vietnam War protest history, anti-war messaging or other shifts in focus on wars are presented in the classroom.

Knight (2013) addresses some of these questions in *The Place and Role of Australian Military History in the New South Wales, Stage 5 History Syllabus: Implications for*

Curriculum Planning and Practice. Although referring to NSW, the focus on the relevance of teaching Australian war histories highlights how the NSW history syllabus presents WWI and WWII. Concerned that "little research concerning its (Australian military history's) impact on history teaching and pupil learning in schools" (p. 46) has been undertaken, Knight's (2013) analysis found that the syllabus document "did not dictate a simplistic narrative about wartime achievements, but afford(ed) scope for enquiry, incorporating social history and some women's history" (p. 47). Knight (2013) refutes Lake's (2010) assumption that students were learning a nationalistic or militaristic ANZAC narrative. Knight states of the syllabus that, "the inclusion of the 'Anzac legend' demonstrates the intention that the legend's veracity and role in glorifying war be questioned" (p. 47). The study's interviewees (teachers) also strongly believed in the importance of imparting the horror of warfare to their students, highlighting that the "impact of the role and place of military history on teacher practices within the classroom setting proved more nuanced than initially suggested by academics" (p. 47). Although Knight (2013) acknowledges Lake's (2010) argument that military history dominates Australian history in education, she refutes the impact of political rhetoric in instilling patriotism, and finds little correlation between the shifts in political discourse and how teachers teach war education in their classrooms. In contrast to the assumed impact of public discourse around ANZAC history, Knight (2013) finds that students described events on the Kokoda Track as being most worthy of respect. Highlighting her study's limitations, Knight (2013) also comments that the "omission of the Vietnam War potentially narrows the scope for how students engage with the concept of conscription and understandings of how Australians responded to wars in different contexts" (p. 50), a point that is taken up in my study's later analyses.

In contrast, one of the articles reviewed that does focus on the Vietnam War, *Teaching the Vietnam War: Approaches and Resources* (Fiford, 2013), concentrates on the practical approaches to teaching the topic, rather than sustained analyses of how it has been taught. Although Ammert and Sharp's (2016) Swedish and Australian history textbook study references the Vietnam War, the study's Cold War frame omits scrutiny of Vietnam War textbooks. Similarly, Cairns (2018) reported that VCE History curriculum, specifically Unit Two: Twentieth Century History and Unit Four: Australian History, offer the Vietnam War as an option, however Cairns (2018) does not analyse representations of the war in textbooks. All up, there has been no significant published analysis to-date of the place of the Vietnam

War in Victorian (or any other Australian State or Territory) school textbooks and guiding education documents. To address this gap, my study not only explores omissions and shifts in textbook representations of the Vietnam War, but in Victorian Government policy documents, curriculum documents, and other published educational texts to analyse connections between the documents and broader education, political and social contexts.

2.5 Australian Vietnam War Experiences in Australian Academic and Popular Histories

The scope of this literature review cannot accommodate a full analysis of Australia's histories of the Vietnam War, since this is not required to contextualise my study. However, to demonstrate "how representations really work and how the power of representation can be explained" (Kansteiner, 2002, p. 180), this section includes some discussion of both academic and popular histories to focus on four dominant shifts in depictions of Australia's experiences of the Vietnam War and its aftermath. These are; Australia's role(s) in the war, the role and representation of the ANZUS Treaty (Australia, New Zealand and United States Security Treaty), veterans' issues in the post-war period, and emerging representations of Vietnamese refugee experiences in Australia.

The *Official History of Australia's Involvement in Southeast Asian Conflicts 1948 – 1975* (Edwards *et al*, 1992-2012) embraces various aspects of the politics of the time, including Australian and international home front and diplomatic perspectives, as well as military operations and strategy. *Australia and the Vietnam War* (Edwards, 2014) thoroughly explores the complexities of that conflict, including its situation within post-colonial and Cold War frames, and foregrounds for the reader the specifically Australian experience. Yet, Horner (2008) identifies clearly the two main limitations with any official history. The first is that because it is written from the official historian's perspective, delving into previously classified or censored areas of government legislation, the framing of the war becomes a government-sanctioned exercise diminishing the role of other forms of 'history making', such as personal narratives oral histories and broader social histories. Second, the time required to write an official history is extensive, and, in this case, some views immediately before publication are not likely be captured.

Similar to Edward's (2014), *Vietnam, The Australian War*, a history of Australian experiences of the Vietnam War written by Ham (2008), provides background discussion of

Vietnamese history as well as why and how the Vietnam War began. In addition, the increase in historical research and publishing on Australian experiences between 1975 and 2005 highlights the importance of understanding differences between Australian tactics and those of the US. However, in their review of *Vietnam, The Australian War* (Ham, 2007), Wilkins and Britten (n.d) observe that a narrow view of Australian soldiers' experiences has emerged because much of Australia's war representation, aside from major battles has been omitted from the historical record.

Also of concern in war history writing, is the difficulty of including oral histories, especially "the role and reliability of memory, potential barriers to remembering and discussing traumatic events, and the part played by the participant interviewer" (Morris, 2010). To-date, however, no researcher has examined the emergence of personal narratives in classroom resources on the Vietnam War. Murdoch (2016) adds that there are difficulties in obtaining trustworthy documents relating to even the most famous Australian Vietnam War battle, the Battle of Long Tan. Difficulties in finding and examining corroborating evidence of the battle shows continuing challenges in understanding Australia's role in the war, let alone what is taught in classrooms.

Over the past 45 years, many Australian Vietnam War biographies, autobiographies and memoirs have been published (Rintoul, 1987; Crowe, 1999; Donaldson, 2012; Dapin, 2014). However, academic publications exploring these texts tend to be associated with the study of oral history (Morris, 2010; Mann, & Edwards, 2009), the importance of including Indigenous veterans' narratives (Riseman, 2012), or understanding veterans' experiences and the physical and mental struggles of that community (Walton, 1990; Hiddlestone, 2003; O'Toole et al, 2010; Dixon, 2014). Although many post-war experiences of Australian veterans of the Vietnam War have been documented (Crowe, 1999), changes in beliefs and attitudes of the Australian public and analysis of those have had a less public conversation. In addition, there has been no consideration for how these experiences are presented in History education resources.

Recently, the examination of veterans' narratives, and questioning of the veracity of some veterans' stories represented in prominent Vietnam War literature such as *Desperate Praise* (Coe, 1982) and *Ashes of Vietnam* (Rintoul, 1987), expose a shift towards publicly exploring widely held public beliefs about the Vietnam War and veterans' experiences during the war

and on return. *Australia's Vietnam: Myth vs History* (Dapin, 2019) counters the widely held views that Australian soldiers received no welcome home parades, or were widely harassed on their return, highlighting the importance of reviewing collective memories, their construction, and how History education resources depict these views.

Despite a focus by a small number of academics on Vietnamese people's wartime and post-war experiences and perspectives (Viviani, 1997a; Viviani; 1997b; Nguyen, 2015a; Nguyen, & Ebooks Corporation, 2015), research on these topics has not been commensurate with, or connected to, the number of Vietnamese refugee children in Victorian schools and the limited emergence of Vietnamese perspectives in curriculum documents and classroom resources. Aside from an early study of Vietnamese migration and settlement in Australia (Viviani, 1984), experiences of Vietnamese women (Nguyen, 2005; Nguyen, 2009) and veterans (Nguyen, 2013; Nguyen, 2015), through these publications, add to the voices discussing Australian Vietnam War narratives. However, there are no in-depth studies of how refugees' experiences have been presented in Victorian education documents.

More research has focused on the ANZUS Treaty with Australia and New Zealand's strategic shift from Britain to the US (Williams, 1987). However, political and military historians' discussions since 2000 have prioritised understanding of the more contemporary relationship between Australia, New Zealand and United States (Tacey, 2002; Catalinac, 2010; Ham, 2015; Robb & Gill, 2015; Ross, 2016; Taylor, 2016; Kelly, 2017). There has been no research into how the Treaty has been represented in Victoria's History education. My research fills the gap between the how positive or negative views of the US (revealed in changes over time) have permeated the curriculum and other educational documents.

2.6 International and Australian Popular Culture Influences on History Education 1975-2005

Oral histories, film, books, and music have a dominant role in creating collective memory and cultural context, and inform how war history is developed and delivered along with the way students learn it (Fine-Meyer, 2013; Landy, 2001; Shaffer, 2004; Grainge, 2003). My study includes examination of how Vietnam War-related popular culture has influenced, or been included, in education documents. Much literature examines the influence of popular culture on history and history education generally (Rosenstone, 2001; Grainge, 2003; Godfrey & Lilley, 2009; Donnelly, 2014; Kansteiner, 2017; Korte & Paletschek, 2017).

Grainge (2003) notes that popular film is integral to the cultivation of cultural imagination and there are "clear entanglements of history and memory" (p. 2). These entanglements, when supported by politically motivated recreations of history in popular film, can fuel public sentiment, thus furthering governments' war engagements (Storey, 2003). Korte and Paletschek (2017) add that fewer people encounter history through formal education than by films and television. However, as Donnelly (2014) states, historical film use in the classroom can not only broaden students' understanding of events, but also heighten understanding of narrative creation. This is true for the use of popular culture in the classroom.

The extensive array of war history films, literature and art works (Remarque, 1929; Dix, 1932; Picasso, 1937; Heller, 1961; Vonnegut, 1969; Coppola, 1979; Kubrick, 1987) creatively explore themes of humanity in horrific situations. Rosenzweig and Thelen (1998) study of what makes people feel connected with their past, included "watching historical films" (p. 20), yet stated that people felt a deeper connection when it related to the people who mattered most to them, and least when they "encountered it in books, movies, or classrooms" (p. 21), adding nuance to the dominance of popular culture. Marcus (2005) asserts that it is necessary to understand, "what it means to interpret inevitably inaccurate film portrayals in a way that promotes, rather than diminishes, historical understanding" (p. 61) in the classroom. To better understand how these portrayals are presented in Victorian education documents, my study builds on Weinburg's (2001) understanding of the role US-focussed films in supporting the development of collective memory in the classroom setting.

Dittmar and Michaud (1990) argue that the Hollywood films on the Vietnam War distort public memory of the conflict, yet only make brief comment on Australia's role in the conflict, and no discussion of how Hollywood Vietnam War stories distort Australians' understandings of the true experiences of Australian soldiers in Vietnam. A small number of documentary films have focused on Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War (Bradbury, 1979; Brown, et. al., 2016; Le Clezio & Wilkinson, 1983; Summerton & Cahill, 1969). However, *The Odd Angry Shot* (Jeffrey & Milliken, 1979) and *Danger Close: The Battle of Long Tan* (Stenders & Beattie, 2019) remain the only two feature films on Australia's Vietnam War experience, highlighting the US dominance of Vietnam War popular culture in Australian contexts. Some Hollywood WWII films, such as *Saving Private Ryan, Pearl Harbor* and *U-571* have been written and produced in a manner "to 'correct' and help 'erase

Vietnam's more negative discursive rendering" (Godfrey and Lilley, 2009, p.275). These politically motivated films emphasise the need to critically evaluate Hollywood portrayals if they are included in the classroom.

2.7 Conclusion

This literature review has explored Australian and international research on the teaching of C20th war histories, international school textbook controversies about war education, Australian history education broadly and curriculum debates. In addition, there is discussion on the teaching of Australia's engagements in C20th wars, academic and popular writings on Australian Vietnam War experiences and the influences of popular culture on history education. The nuances and complexities found in the wide research pool of how war history education is taught internationally and in Australia prompt the need for my study. Specifically, the lack of Vietnam War focus in History education research is stark. Considering that my study further explores interconnections between collective memory, oral history and political rhetoric and how they converge in educational documents, my study aims to expose the relationship between depictions of the Vietnam War in History education documents used in Victorian classrooms, and the scholastic or external influences driving these shifts.

Chapter Three: Methodology

In this chapter, I explain the methodology adopted for this study and the rationale for the use of largely qualitative approaches to explore and analyse how the Vietnam War was represented in Victorian Government education policies, curriculum documents, textbooks and education resources during the post-war period of 1975 to 2005. The conceptual framework and the use of a social constructivist paradigm are discussed. The approaches to data collection, the choice and appropriateness of content analysis as a method and other modes of data analysis used are explained.

3.1 Conceptual Framework

This section demonstrates the connections between the ontology, epistemology and methodology in my study, acknowledging Berman and Smyth's (2015) process and their view that these elements should be connected. Firstly, the ontological perspective is established within a social constructivist paradigm, because this approach is concerned with how knowledge is constructed and understood, often through human interactions. Qualitative research that is situated in the social constructivist paradigm involves interpretive and naturalistic practices in their natural contexts "to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them" (Denzin & Lincoln 2000, p.3).

Social constructivist theorists "tend to identify qualitative educational research as discovering meaning and understanding by the researcher's active involvement in the construction of meaning" (Kim, 2014, p.539). Social constructivism "focuses on the construction of meaning in terms of the social, cultural, and historical dimensions of understanding in order to make sense of human experience" (Kim, 2014, p.541). In addition, as Vygotsky and Cole (1978) argue, the understanding of texts is informed by the cultural context from which the texts are derived, therefore conceptual formation is intrinsically linked to cultural contexts. This view is particularly pertinent to my study, since it focuses on a period of time when there were

substantial shifts in societal understanding, attitudes towards and perceptions of the Vietnam War.

Content analysis is a core aspect of my study that also supports the ontological aspects of my conceptual framework, because the apolitical nature of the quantitative coding of the documents underpins the process of being able to understand the contextual cultural and political frames in which the topics are situated.

As part of the analysis of education documents relating to the topic of the Vietnam War, my study discusses the cultural contexts in which they were written. Student learning in and out of the classroom is not a focus of my study, but the ways that policy makers, curriculum and text and journal writers and educators have or have not emphasised and prioritised learning about the Vietnam War is. My research explores the extent to which there is or is not cultural silence related to the Vietnam War in the documents related to the teaching and learning of the subject.

Epistemologically, my study explores the void of academic research into connections between documents relating to education about the Vietnam War and seeks to further research the field of war history education and its relationship to the cultural-political contexts of the times.

3.2 The Choice of Qualitative Approaches

Hoepfl (1997) states that, “where quantitative researchers seek causal determination, prediction, and generalization of findings, qualitative researchers seek instead illumination, understanding, and extrapolation to similar situations. Qualitative analysis results in a different type of knowledge than does quantitative inquiry” (p. 46). Drisko and Maschi (2015) add that, “Qualitative research methods may describe the content found in texts, or they may summarize the key themes found in texts, or examine the process or form of the delivery of content” (p.4).

Although the initial coding of documents in this study included some quantitative data and inductive numerical analysis of language, the study is largely qualitative in nature, as it

"seeks to understand phenomena in context-specific settings" (Hoepfl, 1997, p. 46). This study also explores the extent to which the contexts of Australian post-Vietnam War culture influenced, or was influenced by, the content of the documents. That the documents be understood within these contexts is imperative. As opposed to other methods, content analysis is a technique that "seeks to analyze (sic) data within a specific context in view of the meanings someone - a group or a culture - attributes to them" (Krippendorff, 1989, p. 403). Other methods, specifically critical discourse analysis (CDA), focus on the linguistic aspects of language and the constructs of power inherent within. As Locke (2004) comments, CDA "views a prevailing social order as historically situated and therefore relative, socially constructed and changeable" (p.1). Similarly, although there is much discussion related to the similarities and differences between content analysis and discourse analysis (Herrera & Braumoeller, 2004), discourse analysis "is fundamentally concerned with power relations and the situatedness of meaning of language, both of which are outside the bailiwick of content analysis" (p.16). However, my study has sought to analyse the shifts in language and perspectives in the documents, and has explored possible explanations for the shifts. This is especially important when exploring possible reasons behind lack of textual references, and topic and thematic inclusions and omissions pertaining to the emotive histories of the Vietnam War.

3.3 Definition and Scope of Content Analysis

The understanding and analysis of texts to explore meaning has been practised formally since the 1600s (Krippendorff, 1980). Although many of these analyses have been from a quantitative perspective, the qualitative method of content analysis allows the communicative context of the text to be understood and analysed (Mayring, 2000). Content analysis is particularly appropriate for my study, because this method aims to answer the question which forms the basis of communications research, "Who says what, to whom, why, how, and with what effect?" (Babbie, 2004, p. 314). Williams (1965) argued the importance of the study of education content by stating:

> The cultural choices involved in the selection of content have an organic relation to the social choices involved in the practical organization. If we are to discuss education adequately, we must examine, in historical and analytic terms, this organic relation,

> for to be conscious of a choice made is to be conscious of further and alternative choices (pp. 145–146).

The qualitative content analysis in my study includes Victorian Education Department policy documents, curriculum, textbooks and education resources, between 1975 and 2005, to determine what topics, voices, events, individuals, groups, political viewpoints, representations, images and emphases have related to the Vietnam War, and which have been absent. This has then been analysed to identify thematic shifts and explain evident silences. It is important to acknowledge that teachers' use of textbooks and other texts, such as photographs, letters, guest speakers, television documentaries, and feature films, varies between individuals, and teacher practice is also informed by other learning and teaching factors. This includes availability of varied published resources and available primary sources, but the analysis here explores the implicit and explicit social and political beliefs of individuals and groups that underpin their construction, emphases and intended outcomes in the times the documents were written

Krippendorff's (1980) understanding of content analysis from a qualitative perspective is as "a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context" (p. 21). This supports the importance of locating my study within a defined context; a focus on the Victorian Government secondary school system, as well as policies, curriculum, textbooks, and education resources present in the State of Victoria at that time. Content analysis is also a conceptual framework. Krippendorff (1980) explains that because the researcher views the content from their own context, understanding this context is crucial, as is the context of the text itself. He explains the approach as including the following steps;

- The *data* as communicated to the analyst
- The *context* of the data
- How the *analyst's knowledge* partitions his (sic) reality
- The *target* of a content analysis
- *Inference* as the basic intellectual task
- *Validity* as ultimate criteria of success. (p. 26)

The context of the data examined must be stated to frame the content and lay the boundaries for the research (Krippendorff, 1980). Krippendorff argues that, "The analyst places these data in a context that he constructs based on his knowledge of the surrounding conditions of

the data including what he wishes to know about the target of the content analysis" (p. 28), supporting the need for my study to analyse the texts within their context.

3.4 The Choice of Content Analysis for this Study

The political nature of war histories necessitates a thorough understanding of not only the data, but the context in which the data was written. Content analysis is unobtrusive (Webb et al., 1966) and therefore omits various human reactions that can interfere with data when using other methods. Webb et al., (1966) explain the following issues which are eliminated by the use of content analysis as opposed to methods in which humans are present;

- The awareness of being observed or tested
- The subject's assumed or assigned role as interviewee or respondent
- Influences of the measurement process on the subject
- Stereotypes and preferences in casting responses
- Experimenter-interviewer interaction effects on the subject. (p. 12)

Arguably, the most obvious strengths are that not only is content analysis effectively unobtrusive (Berg, 1998), but it is cost effective, and it supports longitudinal studies that may reveal society's trends (Babbie, 1992).

Moreover, as Vaismoradi et al. (2013) argue, in order to "arrive at an understanding of a particular phenomenon from the perspective of those experiencing it" (p. 398), the appropriate method needs to be chosen. My study is framed by the need to contextualise the documents as well as the period from whence they came.

Content analysis employs methods that are replicable and reliable (Krippendorff, 1980). My study follows the tenets of "units of analysis, step models, working with categories, validity and reliability" (Mayring, 2000, p. 1) and uses these tenets to understand the contexts of the different document categories. The embedding of the content within the specific context is integral to content analysis, therefore the themes and main ideas of the text are to be considered primary content, whereas context information is latent content (Becker & Lissmann, 1973). My study emphasises the importance of understanding the context of each of the three document groupings.

In order to adhere to the principles of content analysis, my study follows Mayring's (2000) points regarding the "Basic Ideas of Content Analysis" as follows;

- Fitting the material into a model of communication: It should be determined on what part of the communication inferences shall be made, to aspects of the communicator (his experiences, opinions, feelings), to the situation of text production, to the socio-cultural background, to the text itself or to the effect of the message.
- Rules of analysis: The material is to be analysed step by step, following rules of procedure, devising the material into content analytical units.
- Categories in the center (sic) of analysis: The aspects of text interpretation, following the research questions, are put into categories, which are carefully founded and revised within the process of analysis (feedback loops).
- Criteria of reliability and validity: The procedure has the pretension to be inter-subjectively comprehensible, to compare the results with other studies in the sense of triangulation and to carry out checks for reliability. (p. 3)

Hsieh and Shannon (2005) discuss three dominant approaches to using content analysis as a methodology: conventional, directed or summative. In their text, *Three Approaches to Qualitative Content Analysis* they note that,

> In conventional content analysis, coding categories are derived directly from the text data. With a directed approach, analysis starts with a theory or relevant research findings as a guidance for initial codes. A summative content analysis involves counting and comparisons, usually of keywords or content, followed by the interpretation of the underlying content (p. 1277).

My study utilises the summative approach, because the thematic analysis of shifts in language and perspectives is a central aim of the study.

Elements other than written words are also important in the content analysis of texts. Krippendorff (2013) argues that visual representations such as artworks, images and maps should also be analysed alongside the written text of documents. The emotional power of visual representations of war has been "a significant force in the production and dissemination of collective memory" (Godfrey & Lilley, 2009, p. 275). I decided that visual representations of the Vietnam War were necessary in my analysis, considering, too, that

images reproduced and presented in secondary school resources used in Victoria's classrooms across the period of 1975-2005 are included within the works analysed in the study. One important aspect of coding the textbooks has been to ascertain themes relating to the visual representations within, whether they are photos, graphs, maps, or cartoons, and with what frequency, to discover whether these illustrations continued or changed in nuance or number across the period. This has subsequently provided an opportunity to explore possible correlations between these themes and those of Victorian Government education policy and curriculum documents.

Visual representations of events can be extremely powerful, and understanding the reasoning of the author or publisher for their inclusion is an important component of the content analysis of textbooks. Corrigal-Brown & Wilkes (2012) comment that "long after the historical details that surround these events are forgotten, these iconic images shape how the public understands the campaigns and movements from which the photographs were taken" (p. 224). Although focused on media representation of collective action, *Picturing Protest: The Visual Framing of Collective Action by First Nations in Canada* (Corrigal-Brown & Wilkes, 2012) emphasizes the importance of recognising and coding visual images in texts. Corrigal-Brown and Wilkes' (2012) study explores how media-published images "convey meaning about collective action events and reflect the media's presentation of collective action and those who engage in it" (p. 225) by employing a coding system relating to how various actors in the photos are represented. My study codes only the visual representations of textbooks and *Agora* because there are no images supporting the written text of Victorian Government education policies, curriculum documents or editions of the *Gazette* from the period.

3.5 Limitations of Content Analysis

Content analysis has multiple strengths and one noticeable weakness (Berg, 1998). The weakness is that content analysis limits the researcher to analysing messages that have already been recorded, therefore the causal relationships between variables, in relation to themes or patterns, cannot be seen to be definitive (Berg, 1998). My research does not

include personal reflections of teachers and students relating to the teaching and learning of the Vietnam War during the period 1975 – 2005, and is solely focused on documentation.

3.6 Data Collection Process

Three methods were employed to source the three sets of documents. Firstly, Victorian Government documents were found on Government websites, and through the Public Record Office of Victoria (PROV). There was also a timeline of key policy and major education reports which is part of the University of Melbourne Curriculum Policy Project (University of Melbourne, 2013) found on the University of Melbourne website. Secondly, curriculum documents were available through the Victorian Curriculum Assessment Authority (VCAA) pages on Previous Curricula (VCAA, 2018), which connect to the Pandora internet archive of the documents and the National Library of Australia (NLA) website (NLA, 2006). Hard copies of these documents were sourced through the Monash University Faculty of Education library. The textbooks were available through the private collections of Monash University Faculty of Education lecturers. After reviewing over 100 secondary school History textbooks published and used in Victoria, only 19 (of the collection) were found to have relevance to my research. One textbook without Vietnam War references was added to the coding to display the lack of Vietnam War references.

Public documents fall into three categories; macro, meso and micro (Middleton, 2012). Governmental and ministry policy statements, including national curriculum statements, fall into the first category, whereas meso level documents are translations of the macro-level documents in operational form such as the curriculum documents and textbooks this research analyses. Micro-level documents are not analysed as a category in this study, because they constitute documents such as assessment and students' work (Middleton, 2012). The exception to this rule has been during the data analysis of the content of the documents themselves, because initial readings showed examples of micro-level documents being used as sources within the textbooks.

The five categories of documents chosen for analysis are integral to the teaching of any secondary school subject, because they frame and support the work of teachers in relating the

content and themes of their classes to their students. Government education policy documents are used in this study to ascertain how different governments over time have framed the expectations of the secondary school system with regard to including or not the Vietnam War. Curriculum documents are explored as pedagogical devices because they are "there for one purpose: to transmit criteria" (Bernstein, 2000, as cited in Middleton, 2012, p. 307). This refers to criteria related to the Vietnam War. Textbooks, *Gazette* and *Agora* are analysed to understand the ways in which these criteria were transmitted at selected times. Depending on which curriculum framework was being used at the time these criteria vary.

3.7 Data Analysis Approaches

The analysis of the policy and curriculum documents, textbooks and resource publications concentrate on the relative emphasis of the content on the topic of the Vietnam War within each. I used Boyatzis' (1998) definitions of thematic analysis to code the documents:

> *Thematic analysis* is a process for encoding qualitative information. The encoding requires an explicit 'code'.
>
> A *theme* is a pattern found in the information that at the minimum describes and organizes the possible observations or at the maximum interprets aspects of the phenomenon. A theme may be identified at the manifest level (directly observable in the information) or at the latent level (categorizing issues underlying the phenomenon).
>
> A *code* may be a list of themes; a complex model with themes, indicators, and qualifications that are causally related; or something in between these two forms.
>
> A *codebook* is the completion or integration of a number of codes in a study.
>
> *Three methods of developing themes* are
>
> 1. Initially generating themes inductively from the raw information.
> 2. Initially generating themes deductively from theory.
> 3. Initially generating themes from prior research. (p. 161)

When there is mention of the Vietnam War, it is analysed for the amount of content, the historical perspectives taken, and historians' analyses. Several content coding possibilities such as frequency, amount, presence or absence and degree of intensity support the templates used in coding the different types of documents (Baker, 1994). A chapter, paragraph and line count has been completed on each textbook, to quantify the amount of content a textbook possesses related to the topic of the Vietnam War in comparison to other topics. My study presents this data my thesis' text when relevant.

The lack of reference to the Vietnam War exposed through initial readings led to a topic category examination requiring two major applications: deductive category application as well as inductive category development. Firstly, my study employs deductive category application to deduce which topics and themes the documents have referenced. By beginning with pre-theorised aspects directed by my research questions, I follow Mayring's (2000) "Step Model of Deductive Category Application" (p. 5) as follows:

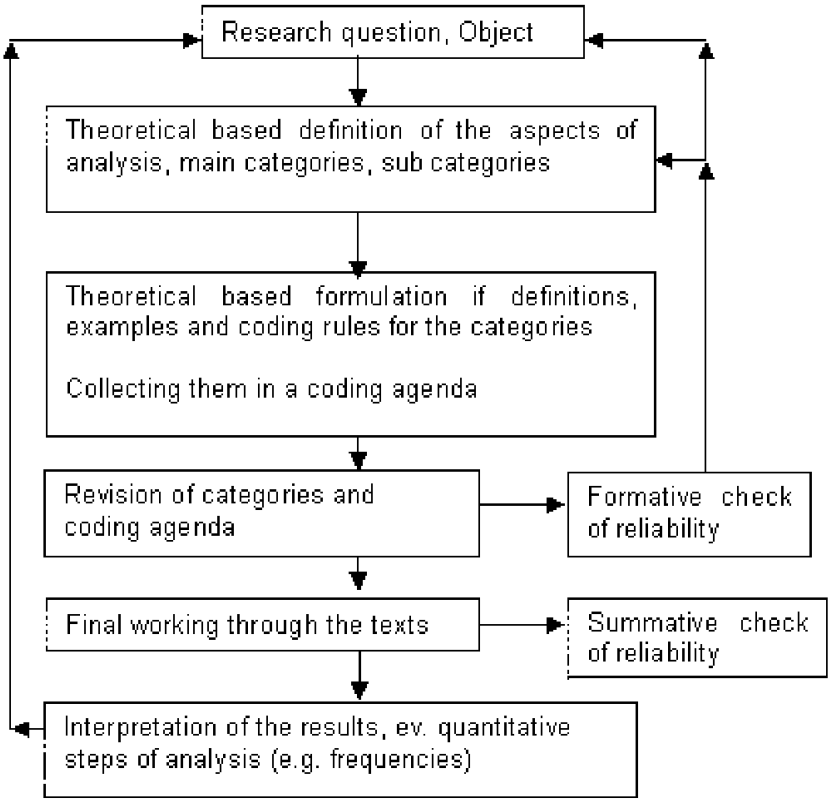

Figure 1. Step Model of Deductive Category Application (Mayring, 2000, p. 5)

To note and explore the absence of themes and/or topics in the documents, I then employed inductive category development. Based on the "Step Model of Inductive Category Development" (p. 4), I have determined the category definitions by examining the amount of content related to similar topics within the documents. The use of both techniques has shown patterns and shifts in both what is written and unwritten.

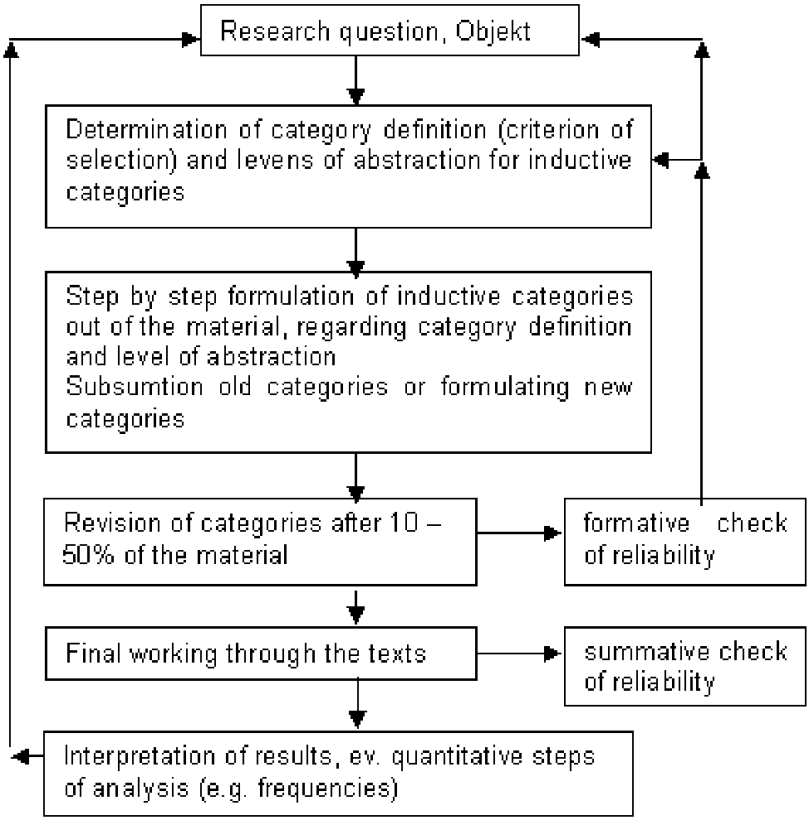

Figure 2. Step Model of Inductive Category Development (Mayring, 2000, p. 4)

The coding template for my study employs techniques adapted from *The Japanese history textbook controversy: a content analysis* (Holt & Kawai, 2007). Firstly, the authors located a list of the officially approved Japanese secondary school history textbooks. They also chose "five recently-published texts by major publishers randomly selected from three groups: Japanese History (modern only), Japanese History (general i.e. ancient and modern), World History" (p.24). Holt and Kawai (2007) explored the textbook representations of twenty-eight events related to Japanese involvement in the Second World War. The twenty-eight topics were "defined without reference to the texts, as reasonably significant events/actions in relation to Japan's general, international, political-military reputation" (p.23).

My study firstly focuses on whether or not the topic of the Vietnam War is referenced in the text, and the quantity of the content in relation to other war history topics. Next, the documents are examined to determine their focus on a list of topics and events deemed significant in the history of the war. My reading of Edwards (2014) official history of the Vietnam War, *Australia and the Vietnam War* suggested the following possible topics;

- Decolonisation of South-East Asia
- The Cold War including Domino Theory
- North and South Vietnam
- ANZUS Treaty
- Conscription
- Long Tan
- Protest
- Tet Offensive
- Homecoming
- Fall of Saigon
- Aftermath

Other topics were also prominent in the education documents (and are discussed in following chapters) as are shifts in prominence and focus on different topics.

The second process in Holt and Kawai's (2007) study was to investigate to what extent the topic is explored through several words used to describe the event, and discerning which textbooks explores the topics from least to most extensively. Thirdly, the study categorises the topics via a description of whether each was presented in a positive, negative or ambivalent light in relation to how a reader might interpret the text (Holt & Kawai, 2007). To relate how and why different categories were chosen, in the use of this initial template, my research has extended the approach to collate and analyse references included in government policy documents as well as curriculum documents of the period that reference the teaching of the history of the Vietnam War. Holt and Kawai (2007) also note that textbooks:

> …(g)enerally employ a language register that may be described as impersonal, fairly formal and broad or unspecific, it is of interest to locate examples of usage in the present texts that are more than vaguely negative but would normally connote condemnation. (p.26)

However, it is important to note that Holt and Kawai's (2007) model was developed in Japan, where the context includes a high level of sensitivity to Japan's actions in WWII.

The third part of the analysis relates to my third research question, 'How can these shifts (of language and perspectives in the documents across the period) be explained?' This is an example of abductive reasoning. Due to the nature of the methodology, there are variables that cannot be accounted for, such as a lack of interviews with people who were directly involved with the decision making at the time. However, content analysis allows for reasonable judgements to be made relating to the shifts in language and perspectives provided by the documents themselves, all the more when analysed alongside contemporary news publications, academic publications, popular history texts and historic events.

The analysis of the five types of documents (policy, curriculum, textbooks, and resource publications *Gazette*, and *Agora*) has been paramount to understanding thematic shifts over time. Through coding and analysis of the texts in this format, I have investigated how the context in which the documents were written represent a construction of that time (Krippendorff, 2013; Lin et al., 2009). The purpose of this is to evaluate the shifts in attitudes relating to the Vietnam War and how they were represented in different education documents of the time.

3.8 Coding

The education documents' data was recorded chronologically, to display shifts in quantity of references as well as in language and themes. The data was recorded on a coding sheet that included the following headings:
Frequency of References to Wars (chapter, word count),
Frequency of References to Vietnam War (chapter, word count), and,
Topics and Themes Referenced (Deductive).

The coding sheet interpreted the first stage of coding, as outlined in this chapter. The second stage of the coding process included a second coding sheet following the inductive method with the following headings:
Topics Referenced,

Themes Referenced,
Description of Language (Positive, Negative, Ambivalent), and,
Description of Latent Content.

A third coding sheet was used to analyse visual representations, and the headings were: Visual Representation and Description of Visual Representation. Drawing on the work of Mayring (2000), Hsieh & Shannon (2005) and Corrigal-Brown & Wilkes (2012), I developed a coding sheet focussing on the deductive analysis of the initial readings to understand and code topics and themes, then used the inductive method to focus on the shifts and changes of language and perspectives in each document, and across the period. The collated quantitative data from the deductive and inductive processes is included in my study in chapters when relevant. As the qualitative sections of the *Gazette*, textbooks and *Agora* coding sheets amassed to over 200 pages, the manifest and latent content is discussed in the text of my study. (See Appendices A, B and C for the Policy and Curriculum Documents coding sheets)

Twenty humanities and social sciences (HASS) textbooks from the period 1975-2005 have been analysed for their inclusion of topics related to WWI, WWII and the Vietnam War. During coding, references to WWI, WWII and the Vietnam War in the textbooks' introductions and non-war themed sections were included in the tally as well as analysis. However, text references were counted were required before the text within visual representations was not included because it was analysed as part of the visual representation. Mentions of WWI, WWII and the Vietnam War written by any textbook author in not primarily war-related chapters, including each book's introduction, were included in the tally, because their inclusion implied the prominence of the topic in the author's mind. The contents page, appendices or indices were not been included in tallies. Some textbooks mentioned the Cold War 'era' and some of its events in sections relating to the aftermath of WWII, but these were not included in the Vietnam War word tally, because these sections focused more broadly on general social change that has not been connected directly to the Vietnam War in the text.

Chapter Four:

Shifts in Depictions of the Vietnam War in Victoria Government Education Policy Documents, Curriculum Documents, and the *Victoria Education Gazette and Teachers' Aid*, 1960-2005

Introduction

This chapter examines Victorian Government education policy documents, curriculum documents, and the *Victoria Education Gazette and Teachers' Aid* to understand how individual topics and wider themes relating to the Vietnam War were depicted prior to, during, and following the Vietnam War. It explores the socio-historical context underpinning shifts in how the Vietnam War was depicted in these documents within a social constructivist context. This chapter provides examination of the first two research questions: *How has the Vietnam War been depicted in Victorian Government education policies, curriculum document, textbooks, and education resources across the period, 1975-2005,* and, *To what extent have there been shifts in language and perspectives in these documents across this period?* (Chapters Five-Nine focus on the two other categories of documents, textbooks and *Agora*). This chapter also presents initial answers to the third research question; *How can these shifts be explained?* (explained in Chapter Ten).

4.1 Analysis of Victorian Government Education Department Policy Documents

This section focuses on the first group of coded documents, the Victorian Government Education Department (Education Department) policy documents, 1975-2005. During this

period, the Education Department naming changed to the Ministry of Education, and the Department of Education and Training, but, henceforth, will be referred to as the Education Department unless a direct citation names it otherwise. The policy documents have been included to help explain how the Vietnam War was understood and depicted by policy-makers at the time, and to help contextualise and explain decisions influencing curriculum documents, textbooks and education resources. The policy documents were sourced from the *Melbourne Graduate School of Education Curriculum Policies Project* (MGSECPP) (Yates, Collins, O'Connor, Wright & Holt, 2013), specifically, the Victorian sections of the *Chronologies of Secondary School Curriculum Policy* and *Curriculum Policy and Major Education Reports*, *The Political Context - Commonwealth, State and Territory Education Ministers* pages (Yates et al., 2013), and the websites of the Parliament of Victoria and Victorian Curriculum and Assessment Authority (VCAA). After an extensive search of these websites, and PROV, some reports could not be located, including the Victorian Government Education Department Annual Reports from 1990-1995.

Coding sheets have been used to ensure consistency throughout the process. The sheets were based on the deductive and then inductive models previously explained in the data analysis section of the methodology chapter (Section 3.3). The deductive process was used to locate and then record references to the Vietnam War. However, as there were only three mentions of war history in general and no references to the Vietnam War in any of the policy documents, the inductive section of the coding process was abandoned; simply, there were no themes or topics to decipher.

Other Victorian Government ministerial documents were found through the *MGSECPP* (Yates et al, 2013) site, and the Parliament of Victoria website. One of the early ministerial documents, *Curriculum Development and Planning in Victoria: Ministerial Paper No. 6* (Ministerial Paper 6) (Victorian Ministry of Education, 1984), focused on curriculum development and implementation in Victorian Government schools. The foreword states that, "This paper on curriculum, which was developed with the assistance of the State Board of Education, outlines in greater detail the kind of education which should be provided if all young people are to participate fully and productively in our rapidly changing world" (Victorian Ministry of Education, 1984, p.3). It is written as 11 chapters including among others, "Government Policy, The Central Purposes of Schooling and Fundamental

Expectations" (Victorian Ministry of Education, 1984, p.5) and the final chapter, "The School Program: Areas of Learning" (Victorian Ministry of Education, 1984, p.5). The summary of the document stipulates that schools should ensure there are connections between different learning areas, but is non-prescriptive about the way schools should organise programs (Victorian Ministry of Education, 1984). In later documents the connections between different learning areas and the overlap between them in the Humanities develops further into the Social Education, and Studies of Society and Environment (SOSE) learning areas, which fused the subjects of History, Geography, Economics and variants of Civics and Citizenship into one learning area. The *Ministerial Paper No. 6* (Victorian Ministry of Education, 1984):

> Proposes that curriculum should cover the following seven learning areas:
>
> - Language and mathematics – including LOTE
> - The world and its people
> - Participation in Australian society
> - Literature and the arts
> - Personal fulfilment
> - Technical competence
> - Science, Technology and the Environment.
>
> (Victorian Ministry of Education, 1984, p. 17).

This is the first mention of areas of study (here, 'learning areas') in the coded policy documents to include historical content. In the year after, the *Ministerial Review of Postcompulsory Schooling* (Blackburn, 1985) was presented to the Minister for Education, Ian Cathie, and contained forty-five recommendations in regard to 'Postcompulsory Schooling' in Victorian State School education. None, however, were related in any significant way to the Vietnam War.

All up, of 34 policy documents coded from the period 1975-2005, seven did not mention History as a subject at all (Ed. Dept., 1984; Ministry of Ed., 1986; Ministry of Ed., 1986a; Ed. Dept., 1999; Ed. Dept., 2003; DET, 2003; Ed. Dept., 2004). Of the 27 that did, none

included any reference to Australia's involvement in international conflicts as a topic of study, and none referred to the Vietnam War; a complete omission of the topic.

4.2 Analysis of Victorian Government Curriculum Documents

This section focusses on the second group of documents coded: the Victorian Government curriculum documents, 1975-2005. Curriculum documents inform teachers of the content and skills of specific subjects that they are expected to teach to their students. Although published in 2005, the *Victorian Essential Learning Standards* (VCAA, 2005) were not introduced until 2006 and therefore fall outside the timeframe of this study.

A number of curriculum documents were also remarkably difficult to locate. As Yates, Collins and O'Connor (2011) note:

> The late twentieth century and beginning of this century have been an intense period of change and attempted curriculum reform. Report after report has been commissioned by various Ministers and state authorities… an immense array of reports and new guidelines, and new proposals for schools and what and how they should be teaching, as well as where and how they should be assessing students. (p. 10)

Campbell and Proctor (2014) add that the 1980s was an unprecedented decade of Australian schooling reform. The fact that the titles of many documents are so similar can be confusing. The reports and curriculum changes would have encouraged schools and libraries to make archival choices, and not all curriculum documents of the period have been digitised. Although the *CSFII* (Curriculum and Standards Framework II) documents were found through the *MGSECPP* (Yates et. al., 2013), the documents prior to the introduction of the *CSFII* have proven elusive to access. The *Curriculum & Standards Framework: Studies of Society and Environment* (Board of Studies, 1995) was not archived where it might have been expected in Victoria, but was later located through the NLA. I found no evidence to explain this, except for the rapid re-write of the *CSF*s and re-release as the *CSFII* in 2000. The *CSFII* preface notes the overcrowding of the curriculum and the document explains the number of learning outcomes and indicators within the SOSE section - but there is no reference to the

war (VCAA, 2000). There is a possibility that some documents which referenced the Vietnam War are missing from my study although the search was extensive.

Along with the word 'history', terms and words relating to the topic of history or historical method including 'archaeology', change and continuity', 'over time' and 'artefact' are also included in the coding tally. Victorian curriculum documents for subjects other than History, such as Political Studies and International Studies, were also read for any reference to these words and phrases. Similar to the Victorian Government Education Department policy documents, so few curriculum documents mentioned the Vietnam War as a topic, that only eight documents from the entire thirty-year period were able to be included in the inductive coding section of the data analysis.

The coding of the eight curriculum documents reveals notable topic inclusions, absences and thematic similarities, rather than major shifts. Read chronologically, the documents demonstrate a level of sameness in language and content throughout the period, regardless of the political party in government at the time. The earliest document, *Secondary Historical Education Project: (SHEP). Resource Document Approaches to History Teaching: Year 9 Australian History* (Ed. Dept., 1982) is the striking anomaly, including a news item titled, "Viet hero goes bush to await N-War" (p.5). As there is no further commentary about the news item, the language assumes that the reader will bring previous knowledge about how the war affected Vietnam veterans. There are no other mentions or discussions of the Vietnam War itself in this document, and the use of such an arguably negative stereotype of a veteran retreating from society is unique in any education document analysed in this study. Nine years later, following a lengthy time gap, the *Study Design: History* (VCAB, 1990) introduces the first reference in the curriculum documents of Vietnamese boat people, and continues to include the previously mentioned topics of Cold War and decolonisation. However, the themes of colonial rebellions and "anti-war activity" (p.24), along with the focus on protest against Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War (aligning with associated social movements), show a shift of focus towards Vietnamese experiences. The *International Studies Study Design* (1990) takes a different perspective, because the Vietnam war was referenced in topics discussing nationalism and Indochina power relationships (p.13) rather than the Australian home front or a predominantly socio-cultural lens.

By 1994, the "introduction of Key Learning Areas (KLAs) as curriculum organisers across all Australian States and Territories" (Harris & Marsh, 2007, p.1), being a shift from the term 'Learning Areas', saw "the traditionally separate disciplines of history, geography and economics… in all States excepting New South Wales (NSW) subsumed into the Studies of Society and Environment (SOSE) KLA" (Harris & Marsh, 2007, p.1). *Studies of Society and Environment - a Curriculum Profile for Australian Schools* (Australian Education Council and Curriculum Corporation, 1994), an Australian curriculum document rather than Victorian, includes reference to the Vietnam War, in a combination of various topics. For example, one annotated work sample, that shows what leading national education authorities wanted teachers to direct their students to know and do, asks the students to examine "recent events in Indo-China" (Australian Education Council and Curriculum Corporation, 1994, p.126), and also includes reference to ideologies, the Domino Theory, current relationships with USA, China, and Agent Orange. The topic of conscription is included in a focus on the Australian home front, however, *Studies of Society and Environment - a Curriculum Profile for Australian Schools* (Australian Education Council and Curriculum Corporation, 1994) is the first of the coded documents to mention the relationship between Australia and the US developing a nuance not exhibited in previous documents.

The introduction of the *Curriculum and Standards Framework* (*CSF)* in 1995 and the updated *CSF II* versions of 2000 and 2001 were implemented to clarify further the expected learning standards for Victorian students. Within the *Curriculum Frameworks P-12: An Introduction* (Ed. Dept., 1985), there is a list of the key curriculum areas (as introduced in *Ministerial Paper No. 6* (Victorian Ministry of Education, 1984)) including *The World and its People*. However, there is no elaboration, no mention of History as a subject, or as a curriculum study within another subject, and no mention of the Vietnam War. The *Curriculum & Standards Framework: Studies of Society and Environment* (BOS, 1995) includes one reference to the Vietnam War, briefly noting the changing attitudes of Australians towards the war at the time. The document includes, under the heading, "Explain why cause and consequence can vary in significance" (p.28), that "This will be evident when, for example, the student: … explores and evaluates the factors that have changed people's attitudes (changes in attitudes to the Vietnam war, migration to Australia)" (p. 28). There is no elaboration as to which period of changing attitudes might be the focus; during the war, or in the post-war years and greater acceptance of refugees. The *Curriculum and Standards*

Framework: Sample Programs: Study of Australia, Levels 1-7 (Verma, 1996) expands more on the subject of the war, including a section on the decolonisation of Asia (p.51) within a study of popular sovereignty (p.50). Following the earlier International Studies Study Design (VCAB, 1990), the *Study Design: International Studies* (Board of Studies, 1999) extends the topics of the ANZUS Treaty (p.26), first and second Indochina wars (p.35) and the "changing nature of ANZUS" (p.37). It also includes a list of related readings (p.47), however the major focus is on the ANZUS Treaty and politics of the Indochina wars.

As previously noted, the Victorian *CSFII* was an important curriculum document, however it is omitted from this study due to the lack of relevant topics. Within the *Studies of Society and Environment Curriculum and Standards Framework II* (BOS, 2000) structure, the study of History was listed as part of Studies of Society and Environment (SOSE) alongside Geography, and Economy and Society. The study was separated into 6 levels, with Levels 3-4 and 6 all having "Learning outcomes and Indicators" *(*BOS, 2000, p.2) that included local or Australian History and could accommodate the teaching of the Vietnam War. However, none included any mention of the Vietnam War specifically. For example, "Level 3" (BOS, 2000, p. 21) explores "Australia's People and Places" (BOS, 2000, p.21) and writes the Learning Outcomes and Indicators with open possibilities of topics the teacher could explore. Specifically, Outcome 3.1 is written as, "Explain the contribution of different cultures to the growth of Australia's diverse society" (BOS, 2000, p. 21). The indicators include, "construct a timeline showing the arrival of different cultural groups or communities in Australia" (BOS, 2000, p. 21), "describe the contribution of one or more cultural communities in Australian society" (BOS, 2000, p. 21) and "illustrate ways in which different cultural communities have affected the unity and diversity of Australian life" (BOS, 2000, p. 21). All three of these indicators could include analysis of post-Vietnam War migration, however the onus was on the teacher to choose it.

The level 4.3 outcome is to "Describe significant events and people in the recent history of an Asian country" (BOS, 2000, p. 23). The indicators are to "construct a timeline of significant events in the history of the selected country, explain the importance of significant events in the development of society in the selected country, explain the way of life of the people, including their social and political structures, and to recount some of the important stories of the society and identify the values in them." (BOS, 2000, p. 23). These indicators could easily

lead to a study of Vietnam, including various wars if the school or teacher chose to study the topicy, however, again, the onus was on the teacher to choose this emphasis. In the area of the document, "History: Curriculum Focus" (BOS, 2000, p. 22), the possibility of the study of the war as a topic is more directly encouraged: "At Level 4, students investigate the history and culture of another country in the Asian region, such as China, Indonesia, Japan or Vietnam. Students investigate significant people and events in that country's recent history and way of life" (BOS, 2000, p. 22). This heralds the shift towards the more Asia-inclusive curriculum, also evident in the textbooks and *Agora* of the period (See chapters Five-Nine).

At Level 6, there are various opportunities for the introduction of the Vietnam War. Outcome 6.2 is to "Analyse the continuing significance of major events and ideas which shaped Australian Society. This is evident when the student is able to identify significant events and ideas which shaped Australian society, including Federation, World War I, 1930s Depression, World War II and post-war migration" (BOS, 2000, p. 37). Although this indicator does not mention the Vietnam War specifically, a teacher could introduce it through the study of post-war migration. At 6.4 there is a specific mention of a topic that could bring in the study of the Vietnam War. The entire outcome and its indicators are as follows:

> Analyse the impact of significant events and ideas in shaping world history in the twentieth century. *This is evident when the student is able to:* (italics present in original text)
>
> § Identify significant events and ideas which shaped world history in the twentieth century, including World War I, the Russian Revolution, the 1930s Depression, World War II, the Chinese Revolution and the Cold War and its Aftermath.
>
> § Discuss the ideas and people associated with the events.
>
> § Evaluate the impact of the events and ideas on people, values and structures.
>
> § Analyse the ways in which a significant event has been represented in cultural forms. (BOS, 2000, p. 37)

Within the "Curriculum Focus" (BOS, 2000, p. 34) section of the documents, there is an explanation of the aims of this section of the *CSFII*. However, there is no mention of the Vietnam War within the section regarding Australia and the "significant people and events" (BOS, 2000, p. 34). The onus was again on the teacher.

In the "Twentieth Century World History" section of the *CSFII*:

> Students investigate the key ideas, events and people of the twentieth century. They learn about the significant changes in the twentieth century in political systems brought on by modern ideas in politics, such as liberal democracy, nationalism, fascism, socialism, communism and fought out in revolutions, civil wars and the Cold War. (BOS, 2000, p. 37)

This provides scope for the Vietnam War to be studied, but there is again no explicit reference to the war. The *CSFII* also includes, "In learning about significant events, ideas and people, students will learn about: How the events and ideas of the twentieth century affected groups in society differently – in particular, social and/or ethnic groups, such as Native Americans/European settlers, industrial working classes/ruling elites: men/women: blacks/whites" (BOS, 2000, p. 35). The framework allows for the individual choices of the school and the teacher in the creation of their units, but it also does not have a specific focus on the Vietnam War as a topic, even within the Cold War topic.

The final curriculum document coded, *History: Victorian Certificate of Education Study Design* (VCAA, 2004), includes seven references to the Vietnam War. Initially, the topic of the Vietnam War does not appear. One theme is "conquest and resistance" (p.25), with a reference to Indochina, and the Cold War, acknowledging that "some newly independent nations such as Korea and Vietnam became the battlefields of the Cold War" (p.42). The documents also include "guerrilla" (p. 52) as a term to understand, as well as a task for students to "research the life of two political leaders who held opposing ideological views" (p. 52), with possibilities including "Ho Chi Minh and Ngo Dinh Diem" (p.52). Similar to earlier documents, the *VCE Study Design* also incorporated the topic of changes in Australians' support of the Vietnam War in the "Debating Australia's Future" (p.89) section, along with attitudes to immigration mentioning Vietnamese boat people.

In summary, as depicted above, the dominant topics with references to the Vietnam War of the complete set of coded curriculum documents from 1975 to 2005 were Cold War, Colonisation and Indochina. Numerically, the ANZUS Treaty and conscription to the Vietnam War only had one major reference each.

4.3 Analysis of the Victoria Education Gazette and Teachers' Aid 1960-2005

This section focusses on how the Vietnam War was depicted in *Victoria Education Gazette and Teachers' Aid* (in early periods known as *Education Gazette and Teachers' Aid*) from 1960-1991, published under the authority of the Minister of Education, (henceforth, the *Gazette(s)*). The *Gazette*, published monthly with some special editions, was used by the Victorian Education Department to disseminate policy and curriculum information to teachers. For the purposes of this section, the starting date of 1960 provides a wider historio-cultural context of references that include previous C20th wars, before focusing on representations of the Vietnam War. Considering that 1960 was only 15 years after the conclusion of WWII, references in the *Gazette* to 'the war' tend to refer to WWII and not the Vietnam War. The aim of this section is to explore not only the shifting language and perspectives on the Vietnam War, but also to ascertain how the *Gazette* content contributes to understanding the final research question; *How can these shifts be explained?*

By situating this analysis within my study's conceptual framework of social constructivism supported by content analysis, it is possible and important to understand the *Gazette* latent content. Abductive reasoning supports understanding of the social-political context established by the content and interpretation of which topics and themes are being included, and which are omitted. It has been important to begin the coding in the era prior to the Vietnam War itself, as well as before the study's 1975 focus commencement date, to examine the established context of reporting and teaching of war history narratives overall.

I sourced the yearly publications of the *Gazettes* from a private collection. The thematic, topic and chronological analysis that follows demonstrates clearly the shifts in quantity of references as well as qualitative analysis of war history representations. All up, 384 editions of the *Gazette* have been coded, from 1960 until the cessation of publication at the end of 1991. The coding sheet was adapted from my inductive method to include the topics of;

- References to Wars
- References to Vietnam War
- Topics and Themes Referenced
- Description of Language (Positive, Negative, Ambivalent)
- Description of Latent Content.

Victorian teachers did not use the *Gazette* as a significant classroom resource text, as opposed to textbooks and *Agora,* since it was a professional information resource. However, when examined for references to WWI, WWII and the Vietnam War, the *Gazettes* offer an understanding of how Victorian Education Department personnel presented C20th war narratives overall and Departmental perceptions of the significance of Australia's role in these conflicts.

My analyses of the *Gazettes* included items with headings including 'Notices of Books', 'Audio-Visual Aids', 'Film Strip Lending Library' or 'Film Catalogue'. The 'Notice of Books' and 'Audio-Visual Aids' headings included the majority of references to Australia's engagements in C20th warfare, because they recommended items appropriate to various subjects. In my study, History and English are most relevant. Every notice for professional development opportunities (often referred to as 'in-service') was also checked. These notices often referred to the National Gallery of Victoria (NGV) and Melbourne Museum education services which were closely connected to education in Victoria at a time when fewer institutions were providing education support to teachers and students. These notices also provided an indicator of professional development being offered to teachers. Yet over the period, these services offered only one direct reference to the war.

Also, beginning in 1977, the student resource journals of *Pursuit, Challenge, Explore* and *Comet* were advertised in the *Gazettes*. The advertisements for these journals listing the

topics presented in each edition have also been included because they reveal which Vietnam War topics and themes were presented directly to students through the journals. Again, over the entire period coded, these journals did not include any references to the Vietnam War.

War, Death, Vietnam, and Conscription were the initial search keywords in the *Gazette* coding sheets. They did not cover all the war-related inclusions, so WWI, WWII and the Cold War were added. Also added were quantitative and qualitative coding of every reference to commemorative as well as contemporary war-related topics of The Battle of the Coral Sea (first mentioned in March 1960), Anzac Day (first mentioned in March 1965), Remembrance Day and Poppy Appeal (first mentioned October 1966). Cumulatively, this offers a better understanding of how the Vietnam War fitted into the bigger C20th warfare narrative presented by the Victorian Education Department, 1960-2005.

Finally, there were very few visual representations in the *Gazette*, and none featuring images of war-related topics. Thus, unlike the textbooks and *Agora*, (chapters 5-9) there was no coding of visual representations. The *Gazette* language was usually neutral and bureaucratic, often simply listing entries with little detail; therefore, topic and theme inclusions and omissions often display latent content. Out of the 384 coded editions of the *Gazette*, 222 included no mention of any C20th wars at all. The following sections explore the context of how the Vietnam War was presented in the *Gazettes* through the dominant topics revealed by the deductive coding process (See Methodology Chapter section 3.7); WWI, WWII, Cold War, USSR, South-East Asia and the Vietnam War, and focus on the Australia/US relationship and defence, 1969-1972.

4.3.1 World War I

My assumption that a Victorian Government-produced journal may have viewed WWI and the Anzac Legend as significant aspects of History education for young Victorians led to my inclusion of it as one of the keyword searches in the initial coding of the *Gazettes*. However, for the period 1960-1991 there are relatively few entries, in comparison to WWII. The references note WWI's omission from the "Fifth Year - Modern History" (Ed. Dept., 1963, p. 260) course, include mentions of ANZAC History and the Anzac Legend (Ed. Dept., 1965b; Ed. Dept., 1971; Ed. Dept., 1972) and of John Simpson Kirkpatrick (Ed. Dept., 1965a), and

recommendations of general WWI histories for teachers or students in the notice of books section (Ed. Dept., 1969; Ed. Dept., 1974). Few entries give details on the content of the item. One audio visual aid slide set collection mentioned in 1975, 1985 and 1987 details WWI recruitment and WWI support propaganda (Ed. Dept. 1975; Ed. Dept., 1985a), a series of war cartoons (Ed. Dept., 1987), and "Study prints - Conscription 1916-1917… Gallipoli (Ed. Dept., 1987a, p. 59). The former draws attention to WWI recruitment and WWI support propaganda two years after the last Australian troops left Vietnam and shows that the Education Department was not entirely averse to Victorian teachers confronting difficult topics in the classroom, albeit if the event was decades old. The final WWI reference (Ed. Dept., 1990) pertains to the "Museum of Victoria Education Service. History Programs. *World War One* (years 10-12)" (p. 364). In summary, the Education Department also had little to say about the WWI programs of other institutions because the offerings were so few.

4.3.2 World War II

From 1960-1991, excepting the almost-yearly Anzac Day mentions, the *Gazette* focusses more on WWII than any other conflict, with WWII entries concentrated in the period 1963-1979. The *Gazettes* mainly include book and film strip notifications for WWII European theatre political overviews (Ed. Dept., 1963a; Ed. Dept., 1965; Ed. Dept., 1967; Ed. Dept., 1969a; Ed. Dept., 1971a; Ed. Dept., 1973), interspersed with the Nazis' rise to power (Ed. Dept., 1963b; Ed. Dept., 1966). In contrast, less focus is on the Pacific theatre, only mentioned seven times. The highest number of mentions (four a year on average) occur from 1969-1976, with the references displaying a shift from WWII in Europe to the US role in WWII (Ed. Dept. 1969b; Ed. Dept., 1970). This draws attention to the prominent role of the US alongside Australia in the Pacific theatre, while the references coincide with the rise of anti-Vietnam War sentiment (discussed further in chapters Eight-Nine). In particular, the 13 October 1969 edition includes a notification of the book focused on Vietnam; "*From Isolation to War*…(which) shows how the American desire for peace amounted to an obsession and affected United States' actions abroad during the inter-war (sic) period" (Ed. Dept., 1969b, p. 544).

In 1971, during the period of the Vietnam War moratoriums (Edwards, 2014), the *Gazette* includes many WWII references such as, "Time to Remember Series: (Time of the Monster,

1933)" (Ed. Dept., 1971c, p. 343), "Time to Remember Series (The Reluctant Warriors, 1939)" (p. 343), "The Second World War" (p. 346), "Hitler" (p. 624), and "World War II" (p. 624). The concentration on WWII narratives is presented during a time of intense anti-Vietnam war sentiment. And, as Moore (2012) states, Victorian teacher involvement in the anti-war protest movement possibly suggests that the Department was actively reminding educators about WWII, rather than focus on the Vietnam War, all the more when considered with the specific 1971 directive discussed in a later section of this chapter (4.3.5.2 Evidence of opposition to the Vietnam War 1966-1973).

4.3.3 Cold War

A review of the *Gazette* references to the Cold War was important to identify the extent of references to the Vietnam War. Fear of Communism, and the period of geopolitical tension between the US and the USSR and their respective allies, the Western Bloc and the Eastern Bloc, which began following World War II, was also manifest in South-East Asian politics and the Vietnam War. Australia aligned itself with the anti-Communist Western Bloc, particularly through its relationship with the South East Asian Treaty Organisation (SEATO) (1954) nations and the ANZUS Treaty (1951). This Treaty was one of the series that the United States formed in the 1949–1955 era as part of its collective response to the threat of Communism during the Cold War. Australia was simultaneously navigating the emerging decolonisation of parts of South-East Asia (Edwards, 2014), thus the complexities of Australia's geographical position in Asia and political relationship with the US stimulated political and public discussion on Australia's strategic position (McLean, 2001). In 1950, Prime Minister Robert Menzies' government agreed with the British Labour Party and American Democratic administrations that, "Indochina had to be seen primarily as a theatre in the Cold War rather than an exercise in decolonization" (Edwards, 2014, p. 35). The Australian Government's support of the Republic of Vietnam extended to hosting President Ngo Dinh Diem on an official trip to Australia in 1957. These events provide context to the *Gazette* standpoints during the period 1960-1991 and, considering that there have been no previous studies of *Gazette* representations of the Cold War through the period 1960-1991, I include discussion here of how Victoria's Education Department referred to Australian views of the Cold War at this time. The majority of Cold War references occur during the 1960s, with the final specific entry in 1974.

The first edition of the coded *Gazette*, dated January 25, 1960, directly references the Cold War with the recommendation of "*Modern World History, Book Two*" which "deals with the period from the years leading up to World Imperialism, China, Japan, WW1, the Russian Revolution, WWII, the post war world and the "'cold war'" (p. 28). This confident referencing of the Cold War as a topic tends to demonstrate its perceived contemporary relevance to the classroom. Three years later, and eight months after the Australian Army Training Team Vietnam (AATTV) arrived in Vietnam (Edwards, 2014), the *Gazette* recommends the pamphlet, "*The Berlin Wall – A Defiance of Human Rights"* (International Commission of Jurists, 1962). The *Gazette* states that the pamphlet is "concerned with the human rights aspect of the Berlin problem and mentions political events merely to provide historical background" (Ed. Dept., 1963a, p. 223) foregrounding the importance of understanding the conflict's human aspect.

Almost two years later, in 1965, and one year after Prime Minister Menzies had announced the National Service draft, the *Gazette* again highlights the Cold War in an international context, yet omits any reference to the Vietnam War. Although at the time the "initial (public) opposition to conscription was… predominantly moderate in tone", there were vocal members of the public opposing the scheme, including the "Youth Campaign Against Conscription (YCAC)" (Edwards, 2014, p. 124). As the only specific Cold War *Gazette* reference between 1963 and 1967, the January 27, 1965 edition mentions the textbook *The Last Hundred Years*, stating that:

> This is an illustrated history book dealing with Europe, America, Russia, and the two world wars. The final chapters discuss the world of today, especially the "cold war", the United Nations Organization, the New Nationalism and the Far East, and the Post-war World and the Future. (Ed. Dept., 1965, p. 26)

Here, the *Gazette's* focus is the European War in WWII, with the phrase 'cold war', being written without capital letters and in inverted commas, alluding to it being an emerging concept, not yet established as an event or era specifically for classroom coverage.

The *Gazette'*s Cold War focus shifts in 1967 to a specific analysis of the relationship between the USSR and China, but there is no reference to Australia in the entry. The book notice for *The New Cold War: Moscow v. Peking* (Crankshaw, 1964), states, "this account of the ideological conflict between the Russians and the Chinese was first published in 1963 and was reissued in 1965 with a postscript covering events up to March 1965" (Ed. Dept., 1967a, p. 276). Again, there is no mention of the Vietnam War in the review, almost a year after the Battle of Long Tan (further discussed in Chapter Nine). However, the reference in the September, 1967 edition is more direct because it refers to the work of Horowitz who problematizes the Cold War:

> *From Yalta to Vietnam* by David Horowitz… Is America largely to blame for the Cold War? That is the question posed by this closely documented analysis of American foreign policy since the death of Roosevelt. This is a revised edition of a book which was published as *The Free World Colossus,* by MacGibbon and Kee, in 1965. (Ed. Dept., 1967b, p. 404)

Not only does the review show how classroom material could, at times, include detailed critiques, but it raises the question of whether or not the U S was 'largely to blame" (Ed. Dept., 1967. p. 404) for the Cold War. The book's publication in 1965 and revision in 1967 shows development of authors' questioning of the US role, and the Education Department 'giving permission' for such questions to be posed in classrooms.

References to the Cold War continue in 1968 (the year of the Tet Offensive) and 1970 (the year of the first moratorium march, and when Prime Minister John Gorton announced a reduction of soldiers in Vietnam) (Edwards, 2014). The September 1968 edition shifts focus back to the USSR and US with reference to the book "World History in the Twentieth Century: U.S.A. and Russia" (Ed. Dept., 1968, p. 364). The March, 1970 edition includes reviews of Eppstein's (1969) book:

> *The Twentieth Century World: How the World Changed, Volume 1 1900-1939; How the World Changed, Volume 2 1939-1968…* the two World Wars and their main economic and political consequences; the Russian Revolution and the development of

> Communist power; and the rise of the United States of America as a world power. (Ed. Dept., 1970, p. 120)

This focus on the USSR and US continues to omit any reflection on the Cold War's effects on Australia. There is no mention of the ANZUS Treaty, Australia's role in Cold War related conflicts, or how the Cold War affected Australians on the home front.

4.3.4 USSR

The years 1960-1963 saw several important Cold War events including Cuba aligning itself with the USSR, the Bay of Pigs invasion, the construction of the Berlin Wall, and the Cuban Missile Crisis (Edwards, 2014). However, although the *Gazettes* specifically mention the USSR seven times, the entries avoid reference to international conflict. The *Gazette* references suggest a benign desire to educate more broadly on USSR culture and geography, rather than continually link it to the Cold War frame or the relationship between the USSR, the Cold War and the Vietnam War. Some details follow.

The first reference to the USSR focusses on Russian internal politics, "*Khrushchev's Russia*, by Edward Crankshaw" (Ed. Dept., 1960a, p. 100). This non-conflict focus continues later in 1960 with attention given to "agriculture, food, cities, housing, natural resources, schools, transportation and communication" (Ed. Dept., 1960b, p. 187). In 1961, the Gazette lists the publication, "*Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*… Charts covering five aspects of the present Russian scene- government, physical features, agriculture, industry, and foreign relations" (Ed. Dept., 1961, p. 68), and *"The Land and Peoples of the U.S.S.R.* by Kathleen Taylor" (Ed. Dept., 1961b, p.387).

A Geography textbook mentioned in the April 1963 edition, *Europe and the U.S.S.R.*, by Martin Simons introduces the geography of the region. By this point in 1963, the *Gazettes* situate the study of the USSR in the subjects of History, Geography, Social Studies and Politics before the final USSR reference in 29 July, 1963. The edition mentions "*Additional*

Reference Books: History, Second Series, Book 6-- *The Three Great Powers,* Vol. 1--*China and Russia,* Vol. 2--*The United States"* (double hyphens were included in the text) (Ed. Dept., 1963c, p. 259), concluding the *Gazette* references to the USSR in the period under investigation that do not specifically relate to conflict. In summary, the *Gazette* appears at this time to have more often focussed on the Cold War in Europe than Australia's regional neighbours of South-East Asia.

4.3.5 South-East Asia and the Vietnam War

All up, the *Gazettes* include very few specific references to the Vietnam War when compared to WWII. Nevertheless, there is a strong focus on the South-East Asia region, with book suggestions covering geographies, cultures and histories. References to South-East Asia begin in 1960, peaking in the years 1968-1970 inclusively, before petering out after 1976. There are only three mentions of South-East Asia or the Vietnam War in the period between 1976 and 1991, suggesting that the Department no longer perceived such content as important as at other times. Inductive coding of the *Gazettes'* South-East Asia references revealed seven major themes,

- Strong focus on South-East Asian Geography, History and Culture
- Evidence of pro-colonial and Euro-centric bias in the years 1960-1967
- Evidence of anti-Communist bias in the years 1960-1965
- Regular omission of Vietnam and Vietnam War in South-East Asian references (pre and post-Vietnam War)
- Evidence of opposition to the Vietnam War 1966-1973
- Emerging focus on Asia in general and Australia's relationship with Asia (including focus on immigration)
- Focus on Australia/US relationship and defence 1969-1972.

Beginning in April 1960, the *Gazette* displays a strong focus on South-East Asian Geography (Ed. Dept., 1960c), History (Ed. Dept. 1964; Ed. Dept., 1965b; Ed. Dept., 1966a; Ed. Dept, 1969c; Ed. Dept., 1970a) and Culture (Ed. Dept., 1969d; Ed. Dept., 1965c). For example, a book notice for *An Introduction to the History of South-east Asia* (Ed. Dept., 1964) "traces

the history of the various states and countries of the area from earliest times to 1957 A.D. The political problems and the differing races are fully discussed, together with modern trends and differences of opinion" (p. 393). Later, in 1969, the *Gazette* includes a descriptive chart for the exploration of Indochina with:

> *Visual Aids;…* Development of French Indo-China… This two-colour chart shows the countries and territories absorbed into French Indo-China in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, with the dates of acquisition. Thailand is also shown on the chart as a French "sphere of influence". The chart can be used with the "discovery" method of teaching history and is also valuable if used as an illustration. Subject: History. Level: Forms IV and V Asian history". (Ed. Dept., 1969e, p. 577)

Evidently, the topic of French colonialism in Indochina was available as an option for History teachers at the time. However, there is no data available to ascertain how many teachers included the topic in their lessons including, at their discretion, specific reference to the Vietnam War.

4.3.5.1 Evidence of Pro-colonial and Euro-centric Bias in the Years 1960-1967

In mid-1960, the *Gazette* displays the first example of Euro-centric (Western) views on the South-East Asian region, with no mention of the perspectives of the peoples of Indochina. It offers comment on the politics of Indochina through a summary of the following film strip:

> Indo-China (No. 2159) Life-Time Inc. of America have produced this black-and-white film strip depicting the unsettled political conditions in the three States of Indo-China--Cambodia, Vietnam, and Laos. Numerous frames show the struggle of the French against the infiltration of the Communists and the supply of foreign aid at that time. A few frames show the cultural background of the country, particularly in regards to Indian and Chinese influence. Suitable for secondary and senior technical school social studies. (Ed. Dept., 1960d, p. 140).

The Department displays some political bias in favour of colonial powers in Asia, and strong anti-Communist sentiments are evident in 1967, when the *Gazette* describes South-East Asia

as geographically far, and culturally 'foreign' in the book notice for, *Modern European History 1789-1963*, by Herbert L. Peacock (Ed. Dept. 1967c, p. 97). Yet, other reviews also mention the books "Far East" (Ed. Dept., 1967c, p. 97) and "*The World beyond Europe*, by George Alexander Lensen" (p. 98). The reviewer states that the book provides an

> …introduction to the history of Africa, India, South-east Asia, and the Far East and has the subject-matter arranged so as to supplement the standard histories of Western Civilization (sic). It covers the history of the areas mentioned in the age of exploration; in the age of imperialism; and since the Russo-Japanese war. (p. 98)

The book reviewer requests the reader to conclude that the dominant Euro-centric viewpoint should be challenged, however promotes 'Western Civilisation' to be at the centre of the narrative, with the book including reference to the 'age of exploration' and 'age of imperialism'. Similarly, in 1969, the *Gazette* references the "advance of and adaptation to Westernisation" (Ed. Dept., 1969d, p. 591), being evidence of how the Department was realizing the importance of teaching about Vietnam, if not the war, at a time when the 8RAR was returning to Australia and not being replaced (Edwards, 2014).

4.3.5.2 Evidence of Opposition to the Vietnam War 1966-1973

In 1967, when 62% of Australians were in favour of continuing the war in Vietnam (Gallup poll, cited in Triolo, 1996), the January edition of the Gazette, indicates a dramatic shift to examining Australia's relationship with Vietnam:

> From University Study Group of Vietnam; *Vietnam and Australia - History, Documents, Interpretations*, by the University Study Group of Vietnam… This book discusses the history of Vietnam from 207 B.C. to the current year, with special emphasis on the present war, its causes, and Australian participation therein (which the group opposes). Relevant documents and statements by Mr. Hasluck, Mr. Calwell, and an ex-diplomat, Mr. G. Clark, are also included. (Ed. Dept., 1967d, p. 27)

This is the first evidence of the *Gazette* publishing a review of a group specifically opposed to Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War. The *Gazette* editor chooses with authoritative tone to include this publication with this knowledge, and names prominent individuals whose "documents and statements" (p. 27) have been included in the book. Here, the *Gazette* commentary contrasts with the conservative tone presented in the Education Department Direct Comments or Directives (Ed. Dept., 1962). Although no Department directives in the *Gazette* mention the topics of History as a subject, war history narratives, or the Vietnam War specifically, the Department published several directives that suggest underlying tensions or concerns between the Department and Victorian teachers. The first directive of the period (Ed. Dept., 1962) is present in the majority of the *Gazettes* (it was also present in a *Gazette* preceding the period coded for this study):

> Political or Religious Comment: The Education Department has consistently required that teachers should avoid comment upon controversial political issues or upon religious matters in the course of their teaching. In such matters, where the convictions of various sections of the community are involved, parents have a right to expect that teachers will conscientiously refrain from any deliberate acts or words that may be construed as attempts to impose upon children, or to use the children for propagation of, their own beliefs or opinions. (Ed. Dept., 1962, p. 4)

However, the February 1971 edition repeats this directive, then adds a bolder comment under "Schools and Political Statements" (Ed. Dept., 1971d, p. 61) stating that posters or pamphlets of a "controversial political nature" (p. 61) are not to be distributed to parents "through the agency of the pupils" (p. 61). The Department chose to publish this directive during the period of the anti-Vietnam War moratoriums, and although there is no mention of the war specifically, the timing cannot be ignored, suggesting that there may have been teachers, students and parents involved at the very least, in the distribution of political pamphlets. Here, the *Gazette* shifts from being a bureaucratic, guiding, administrative representation of the Department, to assuming a more forceful, authoritative tone.

Subsequently, the May 1972 *Gazette*'s "Notices of Books" (Ed. Dept., 1972a, p. 212), states that, "The following notices are not book reviews. In these columns we only acknowledge the books sent to the Editor and summarise the information supplied by the publishers or indicate the nature of the contents" (p. 212). This disclaimer raises the possibility of there being some

discussion within the Department or its schools regarding some of the books being reviewed or chosen in terms of Government censorship as there had been no similar disclaimers included in earlier editions from the period.

Finally, in the 11 October, 1968 edition, the *Gazette* includes a book solely focusing on Vietnam:

> *Vietnam,* by Mary McCarthy. In this volume the author reports on what she saw in the villages, camps, hospitals, and schools during her recent visit to Vietnam, and gives her opinion of the situation - America fighting a war it cannot win in a theatre it will not leave. (Ed. Dept., 1968b, p. 413)

The bluntness of the author's intention appears to be shared by the reviewer, bringing in a first-person narrative, infusing the review with an emotional connection and providing a level of critical commentary that had not been evident in any reference in earlier *Gazettes.*

The anti-war sentiment continues in the Gazette for September 1970, revealed in two recommended student texts, "*Vietnam-History, Documents, and Opinions"* (Ed. Dept., 1970b, p. 453) and "Greene - *Vietnam! Vietnam!*" (p. 453). The former is a collection of views and writings of high-profile Vietnam War-related individuals such as politicians, and the latter is a controversial pro-Communist view of the war. Although this study cannot ascertain how many students used these resources, the *Gazette*'s references to them are significant, especially the pro-Communist reference, since this reveals a shift in resources being recommended that provided an alternative view.

4.3.5.3 Emerging Focus on Asia

From 1966, a shift emerges in the *Gazette* towards including more perspectives on Asia and Australia's relationship with Asia, and one example is the book notice for, *Living with Asia*, (Ed. Dept., 1966b, p. 296). Written by Jim Cairns, who was then an Australian Labor politician and later Deputy Prime Minister in the Whitlam Labor Government, it includes his decision to write the book as a reaction to his time living in The Celebes (now Sulawesi, Indonesia). He later stated in an interview:

> Now the one thing that impressed me about that, more than anything else, was that the Asian people were less aggressive, more peaceful, more friendly with one another, less likely to fight, less likely to kill one another than anyone here in good old Melbourne or Sydney. I came away feeling that they were not an inherent force of war getting ready to invade Australia. (National Film and Sound Archive of Australia, 1998)

While positive about a group of people from Asia, the book's title nonetheless uses the word 'with' rather than 'in', reflecting still a perception that Australia was attitudinally separate to Asia, even in the mind of someone who was an early proponent of closer ties between Australia and Asia. The book's inclusion in the *Gazette* also reveals the Department's willingness to include different voices and opinions in recommended resources. Similarly, the use of phrases such as "inquiry into the origins and the causes of current turbulence in that area, and a suggestion on future courses of action" (Ed. Dept., 1966c) display an emerging questioning and a prominence of the topic in the classroom.

The relationship between Australia and its neighbors receives more explicit focus in 1968 *Gazette* book notices. The *Gazette* includes two examples referencing "the growth of the nation through two world wars and a major depression of the twentieth century to Australia's present position as an important major influence in the Pacific and eastern Asia" (Ed. Dept., 1968c, p. 127), and "more recent thinking towards immigration that has developed in Australia since the Second World War… a valuable reference for students of Australian history" (Ed. Dept., 1968d, p. 244). Simultaneously, the *Gazette* situates this shift within the context of the "gradual liberalization of the 'White Australia' policy" (Ed. Dept., 1968e, p. 437), and the prominence of South-East Asia in international politics in a book review:

> *The Changing Face of Southeast Asia*, by Amry Vandenbosch and Richard Butwell. Since the authors' first analysis of south-east Asia a decade ago, many fundamental changes have taken place and the region has now become the centre of East-West confrontation. The present study focuses attention on Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Burma, and Thailand. The authors examine

> the cultural and colonial backgrounds of the countries and trace their recent emergence as independent States. (Ed. Dept., 1968e, p. 437)

The detailing of the colonial backgrounds of each of the countries, including Vietnam, is significant. Whether or not the book was used widely in classrooms cannot be ascertained by this study, however, the acknowledgement of the author and reviewer that "the region has now become the centre of East-West confrontation" (p. 437) is important. Furthering the exploration of French colonial Indochina and directly relating it to the Vietnam War, the 14 March 1969 *Gazette* adds through another book review:

> *Cheshire Modern History Monographs; Indo-China Tragedy 1945 – 1954…* This book discusses the Indo-Chinese attempt to throw off re-imposed French colonial rule in 1945. The discussion concerns the course of the conflict from 1945 to 1954… The adult reader should critically examine this investigation and search for further answers, for this is the aim of the series-to present problems of modern history in an informative yet thought-provoking way. (Ed. Dept., 1969c, p. 99)

Here, the *Gazette* offers the reader the historical context to understand "present problems of modern history" (p. 99), alluding to the Vietnam War. Using the word 'tragedy' in the title, rather than 'war' or 'conflict', shows the author's empathy for the region's people. This empathy continues later in 1969, as the *Gazette* editors include a travel book, arguably an odd choice in 1969, with the Vietnam War raging, nevertheless showing a desire to incorporate a wide range of reading material for students, including commentary on the peacetime lifestyles and environments experienced by residents and travellers:

> *A Sunset Travel Book: South-east Asia…* This publication deals with an area that features prominently in Australian thinking. It is not so much a textbook, though the facts are there, as a travel book with a difference. It takes the reader on a tour of the countries of S.E. Asia, a tour which guides, suggests, and advises on places of merit that the actual traveller should visit. A pictorial publication that fully reveals the fascination of this area. (Ed. Dept., 1969c, p. 99)

The latent content here is potentially of the 'exotic other' but perhaps also to remind readers that there was increasing interest in South-East Asia as a travel destination.

4.3.5.4 Focus on the Vietnam War

The analysis of the *Gazettes* exposes a conspicuous absence of direct references to the Vietnam War, in spite of the timeline of Australia's involvement in the war; evidence of a contemporary selective omission. Although Pennebaker, Paez, and Rim (1997) refer to the importance of historically important events in the creation of collective and personal memory, the *Gazettes'* omissions occur in real time.

One *Gazette* reference presenting Australian war experiences draws comparisons in the readers' minds other conflicts, by including visual representations from each war. The summary of "*A Pictorial History of Australians at War*," (Ed. Dept., 1971e, p. 153) includes "over five hundred black-and-white and colored (sic) illustrations covering the story of Australia's military forces from the time of the First Fleet to Vietnam, and a supporting text …(a) valuable book" (p. 153). Yet there are no more direct references to the Vietnam War until the February 1972 Gazette mentions the "*Wide World Series"* (Ed. Dept., 1972b, p. 97), which includes *"World Problems*, by Sheila Gordon" (p. 97). The book is described as an "introductory study that presents a broad survey of various aspects of the contemporary world scene" (p. 97), including the Vietnam War as a topic. The same edition includes the first instance of the *Gazette* referring to the Vietnam War as a revolution. The book review of *"Revolution*, by Peter Lane" (p. 97) shifts the *Gazette*'s narrative focus from Australian military involvement to focusing on "understanding the politics and problems in the modern world through a study of the revolutionary changes that have determined the pattern of society in Britain, France, the United States, Russia, China, Egypt, Indonesia, Vietnam, Algeria, Cuba, and Kenya" (p. 97).

After Australia's military commitment in South Vietnam ended officially in December 1972 (Australian War Memorial (AWM), n.d.-h), references in the *Gazettes* to South-East Asia and Vietnam begin to dwindle. The December 1973 edition includes, "History 1917-1967, Crisis in Asia" (Ed. Dept., 1973, p. 539), yet does not specifically mention the war. Similarly, in 1974, the inclusion of "For the Senior Student - History- Australian, European, Asian

(Radio)" (Ed. Dept., 1974b, p. 95), mentions WWI, WWII, China, India, and 'the Renaissance' but not Vietnam, reverting to the earlier trend of not mentioning Vietnam and teacher discretion being the determinant of whether or not the topic was addressed. Two years pass, and over a year since the Fall of Saigon (AWM, n.d.-h) before there is another Vietnam War reference in the 1976 *Gazette,* with a film reference for *Sad Song of Yellow Skin* (Canada, 1970):

> This documentary film reveals much about the people of Saigon as seen through the experiences of three young American journalists. The film deals only marginally with the Vietnam War: the aim of the journalists is rather to probe… the effects on the people who, for thirty years, have lived on the perimeter of war. The young reporters find that the most revealing parts of the city are those where the numbers of refugees and war orphans have swollen the population to the point where every inch of habitable space is covered. The attitudes of the South Vietnamese towards the U.S. occupation and the resultant influx of American money are also clearly shown. A Vietnamese folk-song heard in the film provides the title. (Upper-secondary humanities). (Ed. Dept., 1976, p. 448)

The film was made while the Vietnam War was in progress, so there was at least a five-year gap between the film being made and the reference in the *Gazette*, which was after Australian involvement in the war had ended, and a year after the Fall of Saigon. Here, the *Gazettes* include topics not previously discussed, such as refugees, war orphans, the contemporary ramifications of the war, and South Vietnamese attitudes towards the US These inclusions display a shift in the *Gazette* to empathy for victims of the conflict and attribution of responsibility for their suffering to the politics of different countries.

Following a nine-year hiatus, the final *Gazette* reference to the Vietnam War in 1985 specifically mentions correspondence school material being posted to students stating, "Secondary School correspondence school tuition History, Year 11. *Twentieth Century History*... covers First World War, Second World War and Vietnam, their causes and social impact" (Ed. Dept., 1985b, p. 798), indicating that the Vietnam War was a topic being taught and supported by curriculum resources in 1985, although exactly what resources of those recommended or, indeed, any others, were being posted to students cannot now be known.

4.3.5.5 Focus on the Australia/US Relationship and Defence, 1969-1970

In March 1969, the *Gazette* foregrounds the Australian-US relationship:

> *The Australian-American Alliance-Costs and Benefits*… Australian defence policy and security revolves around the Australian-American alliance, and this in turn orientates foreign policy. The author explores the development and trends of this recent phase in Australian foreign policy, and points out that the strongest links are the intangible ones, those not strictly and legally defined in treaties… An up-to-date discussion, most valuable for senior high school students doing history or social studies, or for university students. (Ed. Dept., 1969c, p. 101)

The reviewer's comment that "Australian defence policy and security revolves around the Australian-American alliance" (p. 101) is presented as fact, and the *Gazette* is forthright in affirming Australia's defence shift from Britain to the US The entry notes that soft-political relationships are increasingly important, stating "the strongest links are the intangible ones" (p. 101).

The *Gazette* continues to present the Australia/US relationship in a positive frame in 1970, assigning importance to a resource by Australian historian and political scientist T.B. Millar (1969). Of his *Australia's Defence*, the Gazette explains:

> This new and revised edition of a book that was first published in 1965 directs attention to areas of growing importance in Australian defence policy--the Pacific islands, the Indian Ocean, and Papua New Guinea-- and discusses the future Australian role in Singapore and Malaysia and the question of an Australian nuclear weapon. (Ed. Dept, 1970c, p. 98)

Moreover, this review draws attention to the Cold War topic of nuclear weapons, not previously raised in the *Gazette*.

The *Gazette* continues in the same year to expand on Vietnam War perspectives, with the 25 May entry including a book by Noam Chomsky that offers a distinctly negative view of the U.S., displaying the Education Department's willingness by this time to present texts that stimulate debate:

> "*America and the Power of the New Mandarins* … A study on what makes America's continued intervention in Vietnam possible. It claims that American power is wielded not by napalm-crazy reactionaries but by an elite of liberal experts who profess to analyse problems in a scientific, value-free language, but who are really governed by an unconscious bias that systematically distorts their view of the world, from Vietnam today to historical events such as the Spanish Civil War". (Ed. Dept., 1970d, p. 295)

To include a synopsis with such value-laden words as 'bias' and 'distorts', as well as mention of the Spanish Civil War in such close company to the Vietnam War, suggests that the Department was more prepared than it had been to encourage teachers' use of thought-provoking, alternative and potentially controversial material to spark classroom discussion, alongside more traditional textbooks.

Further details of the Australia/US relationship are offered in 1970 in the review of:

> *The American Alliance- Australia, New Zealand and the United States: 1940-1970,* edited with an introduction by John Hammond Moore. Articles by a number of prominent historians and journalists are included in this analysis of the Australian and New Zealand alliance with the United States over the past thirty years. The writers discuss such topics as the beginnings of the alliance; ANZUS and SEATO; and the present state and possible future development of the relationship. (Ed. Dept. 1970e, p. 549)

This is the first detailed account of the alliance, and the first to reference the ANZUS Treaty in the *Gazette*. The summary also reveals a high level of detail available to teachers and students.

Overall, the *Gazette* presents a positive view of Australia's political and military alliance with the US through a strong focus on the relationship during WWII and ANZUS, yet offers little critique or opinion on the implications of this relationship and Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter demonstrates that throughout the period 1960-1991, the Victorian Government education policy documents, curriculum documents and *Gazettes* present a very limited narrative of the local and global socio-cultural context of the time relating to Australia's role in the Vietnam War. There are few depictions or representatives that would have influenced teaching and learning about the Vietnam War in schools. The Victorian Education Department made conscious editorial decisions about what was included in the Gazettes WWII narratives dominated the early Vietnam War years, with the focus on South-East Asia growing moderately later in the period in both quantity of mentions and depth of content, framing the Vietnam War years in a context of cultural learning, rather than direct focus on the war. Yet, there is some direct focus on the Vietnam War in the years 1962 to 1973. The Australia/US alliance was given some importance, with both educational materials and Department directives focusing on the relationship. Notwithstanding this, the *Gazettes* display a shift from an openly pro-US narrative in the early 1960s, to a more critical evaluation by 1970. The Cold War and USSR are also prominent topics, with the USSR being discussed, probably as a result of the legacy of World War II and as part of Cold War coverage before the commencement of the Vietnam War. Cold War references cease in 1968. From the outset of the period, the latent content in policy documents, curriculum documents, and *Gazettes* reflect avoidance of the Vietnam War. The *Gazettes* especially include pro-US and Pacific-centric content relating to WWII during the Vietnam War years. Overall, the *Gazettes* rarely reflect what was happening in Australia at the time, supporting the hypothesis that Victorian Government-produced educational documents focused on the Vietnam War were not closely reflective (in content) of the period in which they were written.

Chapter Five: Textbooks - 1970-1984

Introduction to Chapters Five, Six and Seven

Chapters Five, Six, and Seven discuss how textbooks published between 1975 and 2005, that were used in Victorian classrooms, depict the Vietnam War. Using inductive and deductive coding methods, these chapters explore the textbook data chronologically, to discuss the shifts in language, topics and themes. A coding sheet originally collated the data and included the categories, 'Frequency of References to Wars (chapter, paragraph count)', 'Frequency of References to Vietnam War (chapter, paragraph count)', and 'Topics and Themes Referenced (Deductive)'. This coding sheet interpreted the first stage of coding, as outlined in the methodology chapter (Chapter 3). The second stage of the coding process, as stated in the methodology chapter, included a second coding sheet following the inductive method and included the categories, 'Topics Referenced', 'Themes Referenced', 'Description of Language (Positive, Negative, Ambivalent)', and 'Description of Latent Content'.

The analysis of twenty History, Humanities, and Studies of Society and Environment (SOSE) textbooks produced and used in Victorian classrooms between 1975 and 2005 captures their inclusion of C20th Australian war histories. These three textbook chapters predominantly focus on the first two research questions: *How has the Vietnam War been depicted in Victorian Government education policies, curriculum document, textbooks, and education resources across the period 1975–2005?* and *To what extent have there been shifts in language and perspectives in these documents across this period?* The textbook chapters include some exploration of question three, '*How can these shifts be explained?'* relating to what authors have included in both manifest and latent content. The concluding discussion in Chapter Ten focuses on exploring how shifts in the dominant topics and themes through all the documents can be explained. The third coding sheet analysed visual representations of the Vietnam War experience and, with the headings, 'Visual Representation', and 'Description of Visual Representation', drew on the work of Mayring (2000), Hsieh and Shannon (2005) and

Corrigal-Brown and Wilkes (2012). In the following section, I include scans of images from some of the textbooks to highlight shifts in topics and themes over time. However, the quality of the scanned images varies. Some are poor quality by today's standards and are from older textbooks with less durable paper qualities or are deteriorating. As some textbooks (especially early in the period) include acknowledgements in blocks rather than individual citations, I include all available reference information for visual representations. When no further information is included in the textbook, (or it is unclear) I have acknowledged this in the figure's citation.

The inclusion of one textbook published before 1975 offers a starting point to demonstrate the shifts from 'during' to 'after' the Vietnam War. In chronological order, the textbooks include:

Asia's Modern Century (Rich, 1970)
The Changing Australians (A Social History) (Fabian, 1978)
The Land They Found – Australian History for Secondary Schools (Second Edition), (Laidlaw, 1979)
The Changing Vision: Seven Themes in Australian History (Willis & Pryor, 1979)
Inquiry Australia: Reviewing Australian History through Maps, Charts, Graphs and Commentary (Bereson, & Rosenblatt, 1979)
The Twentieth Century (Hamer, 1980)
Experience of Nationhood – Australia and the World since 1900 (Second Edition), (Mason, 1983)
Was it Only Yesterday: Australia in the Twentieth Century World (Coupe & Andrews, 1983)
Investigating Our Past (Coupe, 1984)
A History of Asia (Rajendra, Rajendra & Lower, 1984)
A Guide to HSC History (Johnston, 1985)
World Conflict in the Twentieth Century (Harrison, 1987)
Australia Then and Now (Disher, 1987)
Australia and the World in the Twentieth Century (Kerr, & Webb, 1989)
Experience of Nationhood, Australia and the World Since 1900, (third edition) (Mason, 1992)
Focus of Australian History (Anderson, & Ashton, 1993)
Exploring Asian Histories (Sutherland, 1993)

The Australian Experience (Triolo, 1996)
History: Australia in the Twentieth Century. (Darlington, Hospodaryk, & Carrodus, 1998).
SOSE 2: Studies of Society and Environment (Tudball, 2001)

Some decisions in terms of my numerical findings regarding word counts are important to note. In my study, 'a paragraph' is counted as ten lines. Therefore, I counted paragraphs over ten lines as two; and I combined paragraphs of sequential content less than ten lines and count them as one. Visual representations of the war experience with captions are analysed as part of the visual representation, therefore not included in the quantitative numerical tally of how many Vietnam War references each document includes. The tally includes mentions of WWI, WWII and the Vietnam War written by the author in not primarily war-related chapters, including each textbook's introduction, because their inclusion implies the topic's prominence in the author's mind. The contents page, appendices or indices have not been included in the word counts. Some textbooks mention the Cold War 'era' and events in sections relating to the aftermath of WWII. These are still not included in the Vietnam War word tally when their focus is on social change generally not connected directly to the Vietnam War. Similar to the *Gazette* coding sheets and tally, as the volume of written data is vast, I include the relevant quantitative and qualitative data through written analysis rather than charts or graphs. Some of the visual representations' figure descriptions and citations are extensive however I have reprinted them as they are presented in the textbooks.

The initial textbook coding and analysis displayed changes in tone, author perspectives, curriculum focus and teaching methods through the period, falling into three distinct 'eras', 1970-1984 (as stated, one textbook from 1970 is included, thus the period is extended), 1985-1990 and 1991-2005. Cross-referencing the textbooks with successive curriculum changes and external evidence from academic works, along with mainstream media reporting and Vietnam War writings at the time, reveals in the following the correlations between the shifts in textbooks and three significant curriculum changes in Victorian schools (see also Chapter Ten). The three 'eras' in the textbooks coded reflect three major changes in the Victorian curriculum. The first era (Chapter Five) coincided with the end of the Vietnam War (excepting the 1970 textbook) until the implementation of the *Curriculum Frameworks P-12* (Ed. Dept., 1985). The second (Chapter Six) was the 1985 enactment of the *Curriculum Frameworks P-12*, until the 1992 introduction of the Victorian Certificate of Education

(VCE), and the third era (Chapter Seven) was from the introduction of VCE onward (1992-2005). Each textbook was analysed in turn to display the author's manifest and latent content, and emerging shifts through each era.

5.1 Textbooks in the 1970-1984 Era

Chapter 5 focuses on the era before the introduction of the *Curriculum P-12 Frameworks* (Ed. Dept., 1985) and the subject of SOSE, with all but one of the textbooks written after the end of the Vietnam War. The textbooks of this era reflect elements of the changing Australian political conversation towards the war, especially growing conversations regarding Vietnamese refugees. Although there are exceptions, textbooks in this period follow a 'traditional' history teaching and learning style where teachers and students were presented with the story or synthesis of facts and students provided with comprehension questions, without the textbook offering or prompting many diverse perspectives on the Vietnam War or documentary evidence to consider.

The following section discusses the following textbooks:
Asia's Modern Century (Rich, 1970)
The Changing Australians (A Social History) (Fabian, 1978)
The Land They Found – Australian History for Secondary Schools (Second Edition), (Laidlaw, 1979)
The Changing Vision: Seven Themes in Australian History (Willis, & Pryor, 1979)
Inquiry Australia: Reviewing Australian History through Maps, Charts, Graphs and Commentary (Bereson, & Rosenblatt, 1979)
The Twentieth Century (Hamer, 1980)
Experience of Nationhood – Australia and the World since 1900 (Second Edition), (Mason, 1983)
Was it Only Yesterday: Australia in the Twentieth Century World (Coupe & Andrews, 1983)
Investigating Our Past (Coupe, 1984)
A History of Asia (Rajendra, Rajendra & Lower, 1984)

5.1.1 *Asia's Modern Century* (Rich, 1970)

> Napoleon is said to have remarked, 'China, there lies a sleeping giant. Let him sleep, for when he wakes he will shake the world'. Now the giant has awoken and certainly what happens in China is important to us all. We need to know why China is a Communist country, why it is so hostile towards America, what its relations with Russia are, what people mean when they talk of the 'yellow peril' and whether we have anything to fear from the giant. (Rich, 1970, p. 2)

Written during the Vietnam War, and published at the time of the moratorium marches (Edwards, 2014, p. xxvi), this textbook displays a view of the history and contemporary politics of Asia, with the Vietnam War being current rather than historic. Written by an Australian lecturer in the "History Humanities Department Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology" (Rich, 1970, cover page), I include it in the analysis to demonstrate how Vietnam War-related content in textbooks changed over time. The textbook does contain some political commentary in the form of quotes and inferences related to Communism and colonialism, and comments that "China gave aid to Communist-influenced insurrections in Asia, especially the Viet Minh forces" (p. 53) during the 1950s, verifying for readers the view of the Domino Theory as a real risk. A statement attributed to an American economist that suggested at the time that the strategic focus on Vietnam was misguided accentuates this fear. Rich (1970) writes:

> In strategic terms it is far more important whether Indonesia remains stable and anti-Communist than whether we will win in Vietnam. Yet the West, reluctantly, is making available to Indonesia only 1 percent of what the US spends each year in Vietnam. (p. 103)

Figure 3. China – Provinces of China (Rich, 1970, p.1) (original source unclear from document's acknowledgments)

Early on, the textbook presents a political map of China (p. 1) bordering "Indo-China" (p. 1), referring to the region's collective name rather than Vietnam as a singular nation. Rich (1970) only mentions Vietnam in reference to other countries, for instance, "North Vietnam" (p. 2) as bordering China. Chapter 10, "Foreign Affairs" (p. 53), contextualises Vietnamese history through the relationship between China and the U.S., including: "In the early 1950s, China gave aid to the Communist-influenced insurrections in Asia, especially to the Viet Minh forces in Indo-China who, under Ho Chi Minh, were trying to throw off colonial rule" (p. 53).

In Chapter 11 focused on Indonesia, again, there is a reference to the geographical position of "South Vietnam" (p. 58). Later, Rich (1970) frames Vietnam in the US context with, "Opposition to U.S. control of Okinawa increased when it was found that the island was being used as a base for B-52 raids against Communist forces in Vietnam" (p. 151). At a time when Australian schooling was in "a period of radical educational reform" (Campbell & Proctor, 2014, p. IX), and broader Australian popular culture and the press was awash with references to the Vietnam War, *Asia's Modern Century* (Rich, 1970) focuses on international politics, but is largely silent on the topic of the Vietnam War.

5.1.2 *The Changing Australians (A Social History)* (Fabian, 1978)

> Australians have always had a fear of invasion, whether by hordes of 'coloureds' or the 'next worst thing' – the 'Commos'. The Communist party was not very strong after the war, and although unions were powerful in making their demands heard, there were more people opposed to the idea of Communism than in favour of it. (Fabian, 1978, p. 205)

Published three years after the Fall of Saigon (Edwards, 2014, p. 255), *The Changing Australians (A Social History)* (Fabian, 1978) represented a shift in its value-laden tone and inclusion of reference to communism, Australian politics, protest, and the Australian/US relationship. Fabian's (1978) textbook situates itself in the broader context of the "new politicisation of the curriculum" (Campbell and Proctor, 2014, p.232) promoted by politicians who realised that there was "capital to be gained from attacking curricula that appeared to undermine traditional values" (Campbell and Proctor, 2014, p. 233).

Two sections in Fabian's (1978) textbook mention the Vietnam War, the first under the heading, "Australians in Asia: The Nightmare of Communist Invasion" (p. 205), and the second being "Tolerant Australians: Australian attitudes to war" (p. 232). This topic increases in coverage in the textbook. A photograph of an Australian Vietnam War protest accompanies the first section.

Figure 4. "Marchers Opposed to Australia's Involvement in the Vietnam War" (*Advertiser Newspapers Ltd*. (n.d.), as cited in Fabian, 1978, p. 206)

The section uses value-laden language to depict Australia's relationship with the U.S., such as, "Big Brother USA" (p. 205), and it references Communists as "commos" (p. 205), a term which Fabian derides. Her personal condemnation of the war continues where she states that: *"*The USA found itself committed to a most disastrous task – that of fighting the Vietcong in South Vietnam" (p. 206) and "a government that was supporting an increasingly bloody war lost public support" (p. 206). Nevertheless, she notes that the fear of the Communist north encouraged some Australians to adopt political positions in support of Australian involvement.

Fabian was a socially critical and politically minded teacher-historian, who had a clear position on the Vietnam War. Students of different year levels would have used the textbook in various schools throughout Victoria, possibly including Years 9 and 10, but not Year 12, because the HSC Australian History examination did not include the Vietnam War (Victorian Institute of Secondary Education, 1977). Therefore, her textbook does provide evidence of a shifting depiction of the war since it offered the opportunity for teachers to discuss perspectives omitted in earlier textbooks. Overall, the textbook condemns the war itself. However, there is no aggressive or negative commentary towards the Australian people or troops involved, demonstrating some of the nuances and complexities that Australian teachers

needed to consider if they wished to broach what Hiddlestone (2003) refers to as Vietnam issues.

5.1.3 *The Land They Found – Australian History for Secondary Schools (Second Edition),* (Laidlaw, 1979)

Laidlaw (1979) introduces the Vietnam War in the chapter titled "Postwar Australia: The Era of Chifley and Menzies" (p. 258), just after the paragraph on "Beatlemania" (p. 269), contextualizing the war from a perspective of social and cultural movement. The section entitled "Vietnam: A Fateful Decision is Made" (p. 269) sees Laidlaw re-visit the topics of Communism and Australia's relationship with the U.S.:

> We have seen how Menzies feared the spread of Communism in Asia, and how he favoured close ties with the United States. Menzies was an enthusiastic supporter of a large American and allied commitment in South Vietnam. He believed this would enhance Australia's security. (p. 269)

After briefly re-counting Australia's entry into the war, Laidlaw (1979) states that, "Menzies' announcement was an important one, historically speaking… (The Vietnam War) was to divide Australian society, as well as American society, and contribute to the eventual fall of the Liberal-Country Party government" (p. 269). His language situates the narrative in the traditional History education frame in Australian schools of simple syntheses or telling students what to think rather than offering opportunities by which to form their own opinions. Because the topic is being taught in Australian schools, Laidlaw (1979) focuses on Australia first, then the U.S., and follows this by specifically mentioning their internal politics and political parties, drawing attention to the Australia/US political relationship, but there is no initial focus on the mood of the people, including voices of protest. These matters are considered more closely under the heading and subheading, "Federal Politics, 1996-1983 - The Vietnam Issue" (p. 269), with the word 'issue' centred on the politics rather than the conflict itself. Laidlaw presents his readers with simple facts:

> Australians were told they should be prepared to go 'all the way with LBJ' in South Vietnam. Some Australians were opposed to this idea. Among them were pacifists;

> they objected to war of any kind. Some objected to conscription, which had been re-introduced by Menzies in November, 1964… Some believed the war in Vietnam was an unjust war. They did not think Australia should be involved in such a war. Before going any further, it will be necessary to sketch the troubled history of Vietnam. (p. 271)

Here, Laidlaw demonstrate that there were conflicting Australian views on the war, displaying his desire to capture the contrasts of the time. Yet, he later refers to President Ngo Dinh Diem (Diem) Diem as "a right-wing nationalist" (p. 272), as a negative connotation. Although there is negative commentary regarding Diem throughout this study's collection of textbooks, this is the only reference to Diem as right-wing.

This textbook is a second edition, suggesting popular and wide use in schools. Written after the Vietnam War, Laidlaw (1979) conveys an authoritative tone. The preface includes his desire to "attempt to capture the students' imagination by providing some of the details which make history interesting" (p. vii). Laidlaw (1979) conjectures that the Vietnam conflict was doomed to failure from the start. Promoting the ideas that the war divided Australian society, and belief in the war's irrevocable catastrophe, he situates the blame for the division firmly in politicians' hands. There is little mention of public support for Australia's intervention in Vietnam, and by excluding the voices of Australians who supported the war, the latent content supports a 'politicians vs the people' narrative.

5.1.4 *The Changing Vision: Seven Themes in Australian History* (Willis & Pryor, 1979)

By 1979, History as a subject was embroiled in debate. Many "progressive educators" (Taylor, 2012, p. 31) believed the standalone subject of History "had been reshaped from its earlier form as a relatively neutral learning area to now being categorized as a politically regressive, culturally stultifying and socially elitist subject that did not deserve a place in the new progressive curriculum" (Taylor, 2012, p. 31). Discussions around the inclusion of History within social studies and Studies of Society and Environment (SOSE) a "curriculum framework unique to Australia and New Zealand" (Taylor, 2012, p. 28) led teachers in some

schools across Australian states to incorporate different approaches to teaching History that included more integrated or thematic approaches.

In response to curriculum in their time, Willis and Pryor's (1979) textbook follows thematic ideas rather than events, including, "Theme 1: Discovery and Adventure" (p.1) and "Theme 4: Making a Living" (p.96). Within this thematic context, Willis and Pryor (1979) introduce the Vietnam War in "Theme 7: Australia and the Wider World" (p.170) under the topic heading, "World War II to the Present" (p.182).

This textbook refers to both the ANZUS pact and SEATO. However, in referring to the ANZUS pact, Willis and Pryor (1979) state that "Great Britain was not included in this pact" (p.184) demonstrating the shift at this time in Australia's foreign policy's primary relationship from the UK to the US. The section titled "The Vietnam Crisis" (p. 187) juxtaposes different political viewpoints on the war. It includes Menzies' view that, "There is ample evidence to show that with the support of the North Vietnamese regime and other communist powers, the Vietcong has been preparing on a more substantial scale than hitherto insurgency action" (p. 187). This contrasts with the Jim Cairns' quote that, "Since Australian troops were sent to Vietnam, nearly one million Vietnamese, mostly civilians, have been killed, as many maimed… many of its people have been corrupted and turned into prostitutes" (p. 187). Here, Willis and Pryor (1979) add to the construction of the Vietnam War narrative in Victorian textbooks on international and home front politics rather than battle-related events or individuals.

Willis and Pryor (1979) follow "Vietnam Crisis" (p. 187) with a section, "Immigration" (p. 187) that focuses on the difference of opinion of Australia's two major political parties, the Liberal and Australian Labor Parties. Although the textbook presents no specific link, by 1979, Australia was accepting Vietnamese refugees, and teachers and students would have been able to make the connections.

5.1.5 *Inquiry Australia: Reviewing Australian History through Maps, Charts, Graphs and Commentary* (Bereson & Rosenblatt, 1979)

Continuing the shift towards presenting history thematically, Berenson and Rosenblatt (1979) state that their textbook "offers a fresh approach to Australian history for secondary schools. Rather than giving a merely narrative account of Australia's past, the authors focus on a series of themes and develop each theme chronologically" (p. 1). The foreword further explains how the textbook's richly visual format supports a different approach to learning other than just the retelling of events. Excluding a few instances, the authors' exploration of the Vietnam War is conspicuously neutral.

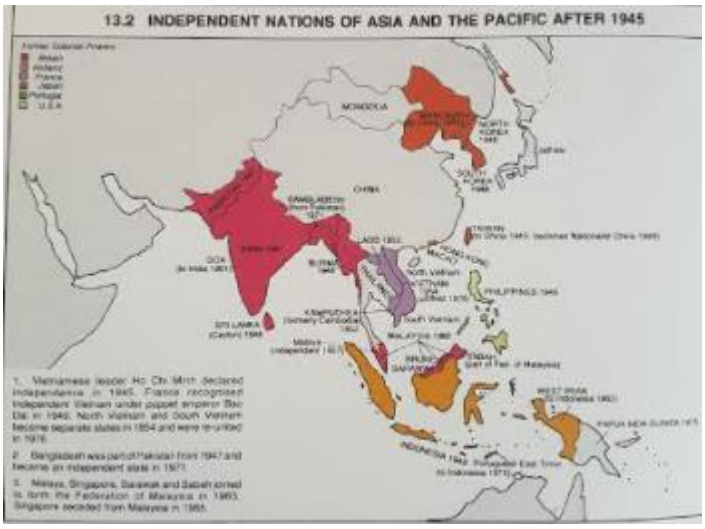

Figure 5. "Independent nations of Asia and the Pacific after WWII" (Berenson & Rosenblatt, 1979, p. 34) (original source unclear in document's acknowledgments)

The first reference to the Vietnam War is the map of "Independent nations of Asia and the Pacific after WWII" (p. 34). There is brief reference to Ho Chi Minh's declaration of independence and separation, and then the reunification of North and South Vietnam, exploring those geo-political situations without commenting on the war itself. Shortly after, a reference to the ANZUS pact emphasises the foreign policy shift away from Britain, explored by Willis and Pryor (1979), adding, "while retaining a sentimental attachment" (p. 35). The textbook specifies that SEATO was as "anti-communist alliance" (p. 35) before listing the signatories. Thus, although Berenson and Rosenblatt (1979) mention ANZUS and SEATO

briefly, their allusion to the previous relationship between Australian and Britain shows the nostalgic thinking of many Australians. By contrast, the foregrounding of the "anti-communist alliance" (p.35) is political. In a time-line, the Vietnam War is presented neutrally as a succession of 'facts', excepting the final entry that alludes to the duration of the conflict, "1975 The war is finally over" (p.35). Here, Berenson and Rosenblatt (1979) have possibly sought to reflect the exasperation and war fatigue for the wider Australian public by that time.

5.1.6 *The Twentieth Century* (Hamer, 1980)

Sourced from an Australian History teacher and said by the collection owner to have been widely used in Australian schools, this textbook lacks references to the Vietnam War relative to other C20th conflicts. This is almost certainly the case because the textbook was a United Kingdom publication. Hamer's first mention of Vietnam is the First Indochina War: he states that, "Formerly part of the French colony of Indo-China, they (the Vietnamese) had fought against the Japanese occupation forces, and then against the returning French" (p. 214), and, "the French army was defeated at Dien Bien Phu" (p. 214). Hamer's inclusion of the famous General MacArthur quote, "Anybody who gets himself involved in a ground war in Indo-China needs his head examined" (p. 214) seems to summarise Hamer's (1980) opinion.

The narrative includes references to "guerrillas" (p. 215), as well as the Gulf of Tonkin incident as an "unprovoked attack" (p. 215) according to the American Government. Here, Hamer (1980) lends a skeptical tone to the US version of the event. The textbook mentions the anti-war protest in the U.S., stating that, "protests against the war became louder in the United States" (p. 216). Of note, Hamer (1980) includes reference to US casualties in the war, stating that, "As the slaughter continued and American casualties mounted towards their final total of nearly 350,000' (p. 216), including the total without a source. This is an important quote to note, because the reader cannot be certain as to whether Hamer (1980) means American forces killed or wounded in action, or possibly the number of Vietnamese casualties caused by American soldiers. Either way, the number appears to be inaccurate. The US National Archives state that as of April 29, 2008, there were 58,220 US casualties (National Archives, 2019), whereas Hirschman, Preston, and Vu (1995), state that "approximately one million (plus or minus 175,000) Vietnamese died either as military or civilian casualties, on both sides, from 1965 to 1975" (abstract). The possibly incorrect assertion of

350,000 casualties leads Hamer (1980) to conclude that this number lead directly to "protests against the war become(ing) louder in the United States" (p. 219). Although the rising number of American troop casualties did influence protest, the number's amplification distorts the Vietnam War narrative. In his concluding comments in the Vietnam War section, Hamer bluntly mentions the end of the war, "South Vietnamese resistance gradually crumbled. Vietnam was reunited under a communist government in 1975" (p. 216).

5.1.7 *Experience of Nationhood – Australia and the World since 1900* (Second Edition), (Mason, 1983)

The textbook *Experience of Nationhood* (Mason, 1983) represents a substantial shift in emphasis on the Vietnam War. The first edition was published in 1975; however, I was unable to source it for comparison. Mason's textbook, first published 46 years ago, has become a staple textbook for History teachers and, according to the collection's owner, can still be found on desks throughout Australia. The author, considered also a respected teacher, continued to publish new editions through to 2014 that included teacher and student resources and learning activities. Mason wrote the second edition at the time when several Vietnam War-related books were entering the mainstream market, including US journalist Stanley Karnow's influential "*Vietnam. A History- The First Complete Account of Vietnam at War"* (1983), and King's (1983) *Australia's Vietnam: Australia in the Second Indo-China War*, encouraging public interest in the Vietnam War and emerging tendency to engage in more complex narratives instead of the blunt early post-war accounts of events. In his preface, Mason records his awareness of writing the textbook "at a time when there is an increased questioning of the role and relevance of History as a study in our schools" (p. xiii), also demonstrating Mason's intention to posit and 'resource' History in a positive way. Being a teacher as well as an author, Mason writes with an understanding of how to make choices about important and relevant knowledge emphases, and how to break down topics and ideas to facilitate students' learning. The index of *Experience of Nationhood* (Mason, 1983) reflects this wisdom through an extensive list of Vietnam War-related topics:

> "Australia and Fear of Communism"
> "Australia and the Vietnam War"
> "Cold War"

> "Conscientious Objectors"
> "Conscription in the 1960s"
> "Diem, Ngo Dinh"
> "Dien Bien Phu, Battle of"
> "Domino Theory"
> "Ho Chi Minh"
> "Ho Chi Minh City"
> "Indo-China"
> "South-East Asian Treaty Organisation (SEATO)"
> "United States and Vietnam"
> "USSR Since 1962"
> "Viet Minh"
> "Vietcong"
> "Vietnam Moratorium"
> "Vietnam War. (pp. 347-352)

This strong representation of Vietnam War topics contrasts with textbooks produced at a similar time with 63 references in Mason's (1983) text, 3 which is 9 more than the previous high of 24 in Laidlaw (1979). This surpasses some textbooks published later in the period. While earlier textbooks examined some of these topics, none included such an expansive index listing. The section titled "The War in Vietnam" (p. 280) is situated within the broader chapter "Australia and Asia Since 1945" (p. 267). Following an introductory paragraph on Vietnamese history, Mason (1983) includes a section on Ho Chi Minh and the Viet Minh's formation. This inclusion of the conflict's historical background develops the textbooks' narrative of the war, by discussing the motivations of Ho Chi Minh and the Viet Minh and the actions of the South Vietnamese government in a balanced way:

> Ho regrouped his forces to create the Viet Minh (the Revolutionary League for the Independence of Vietnam), determined to free Indo-China of both the French and the Japanese. In this sense the Viet Minh was a nationalist movement… These elections were never held. America, which was backing the Diem government in the South, feared that Ho Chi Minh would win such elections and unify all of Vietnam under a communist government. In the years following 1954, the government in South

> Vietnam failed to win the support of the people. Little was done for the rural population while the government actively destroyed the remaining Viet Minh fighters in the South. (p.280)

By including how the Diem government affected the people of Vietnam, especially the rural population, Mason (1983) develops a more complex understanding of how Vietnam moved into conflict and the consequences for Vietnamese people. By the early 1980s, the people and their experiences are beginning to emerge in the textbook historical record.

Under the section heading "The Australian Involvement" (p. 282), Mason (1983) mentions Menzies' position and the differing attitudes of the Australian people. "Menzies was repeating established Australian beliefs, the same beliefs which had taken Australian forces into Korea and Malaya. Chinese communism was again seen as the aggressive force", and "forward defence" now demanded Australian participation in another war" (p.283). Again, Menzies' political attitudes are being foregrounded. Mason (1983) quotes Menzies in Parliament,

> (T)he game is on. We have cast the die. We have shown the whole world that there can be no doubt where we stand and on whose side we are. We have recognised aggressive communism exists and we are going to fight it side by side with our great American allies. (p.283)

By including such a dramatic Menzies' quote, and including the word 'aggressive' twice in relation to Menzies' view of Communism, Mason makes explicit the Australian Government's attitude to both the US and Communism and, at the same time, exposes traditional patterns of belief benefitted by hindsight.

The chapter also includes sections titled, "President Johnson in Australia*",* "Opposition to the War", and "The End of the War*"* (pp.284-289). The incorporation of both the Australian Government's belief in the Domino Theory and the importance of the post-WWII-world alliance with the US demonstrates Mason's (1983) intention for readers to understand the multiple reasons for Australia's committing of combat forces to the conflict.

Mason (1983) uses the following images and graphics in the textbook to illustrate what is written in the text. These visuals not only highlight changes in Australian views of the Vietnam War throughout the wartime period, but Mason's (1983) view of which events, issues and changes are most important to highlight. The images include a map of Indo-China (sic), South Vietnamese troops, Australian national conscripts, Australian troops, and a conscientious objector.

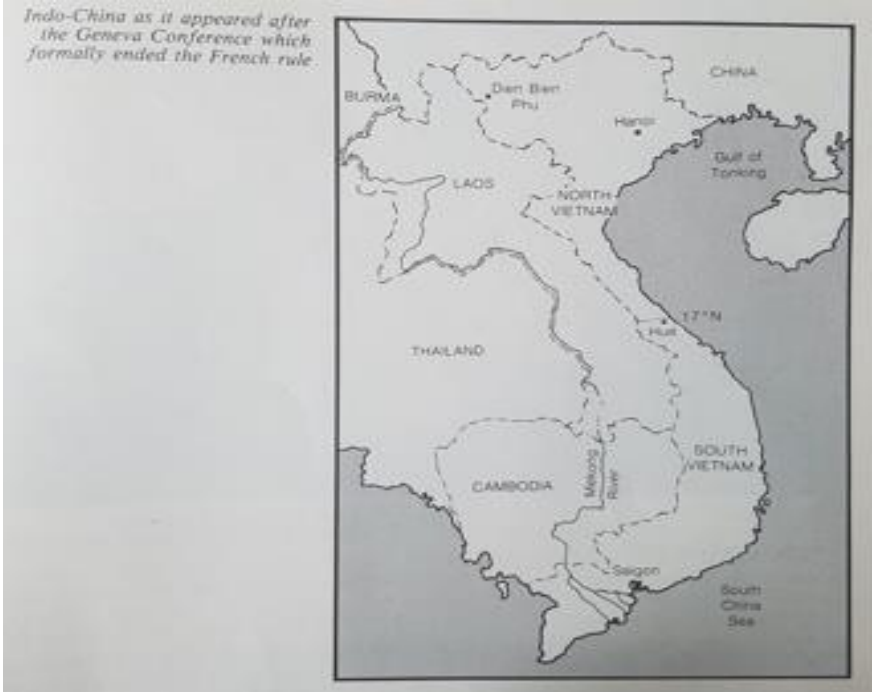

Figure 6. "Indo-China as it appeared after the Geneva Convention which formally ended French rule" (Mason, 1983, p. 281) (Original source unclear from document's acknowledgements).

Figure 7. "South Vietnamese troops on patrol on the Mekong River, 1966. The South Vietnamese army was heavily backed by troops from the United States, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, and Thailand" (Mason, 1983, p. 282). (original source unclear from document's acknowledgments).

Figure 8. (left) "National Service: Conscripts entering camp for two years in the army. Every young man had to register for National Service when he reached his twentieth birthday" (Mason, 1983, p. 284) (Further citation unclear in original text)

Figure 9. (right) “Australian troops on patrol in South Vietnam, 1966” (p. 284) (right). (Further citation unclear in original text)

Figure 10. “The strong arm of the law. A conscientious objector is arrested in 1966” (Mason, 1983, p. 285). (original source unclear from document's acknowledgments)

Figure 11. "Australia's Prime Minister Harold Holt visited President Johnson in Washington in July, 1966" (Mason, 1983, p. 286). (original source unclear from document's acknowledgments)

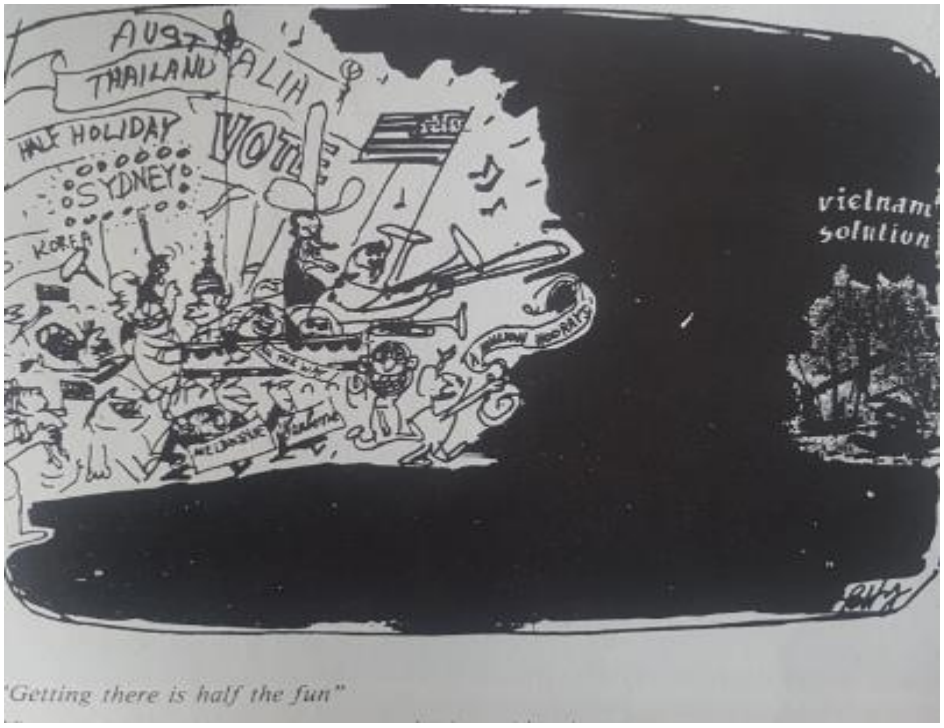

Figure 12. "Getting there is half the fun" (Mason, 1983, p. 287). (original source unclear from document's acknowledgments)

Figure 13. "A Vietnam moratorium in Melbourne, May 1970" (Mason, 1983, p. 288). (original source unclear from document's acknowledgments)

Through selecting and discussing these images, Mason (1983) provides pivotal insights into the shifting events and perspectives on the VW and Australian's involvement. Mason (1983) has chosen to present diverse perspectives and in visual form, neither evident to such degree in the other textbooks analysed to this point in time. Although previous textbooks highlight global political perspectives, Mason gives greater prominence to opponents' positions to the conflict. The choice to include viewpoints of individuals such as Labor leader (1960-1967) Arthur Calwell, Prime Minister Gough Whitlam, and Government Deputy Prime Minister Dr Jim Cairns, (each being figures in the anti-war movement) and representatives of the Liberal Party (who supported military action in Vietnam) Prime Minister Menzies and his successor Prime Minister Harold Holt, creates a more complete political narrative. Holt's famous "*All the way with LBJ*" (p.284) is given prominence in the section related to the Australian tour of Johnson.

Figure 14. "The Australian prime minister, Gough Whitlam, meets Chairman Mao Tse-tung in Peking, November 1973" (Mason, 1983, p. 290). (original source unclear from document's acknowledgments)

The textbook chapter's final visual representation shows Prime Minister Gough Whitlam sitting with Chairman Mao Tse-tung during his visit to China in 1973. It attests to Mason's resolve to present a more complete picture than most previous authors. Teachers and students are presented with staggering changes to Australian Government policy and attitudes to Asia. This includes the end of the White Australia Policy that dated back to 1901, and restricted non-white immigration to Australia. The Whitlam government also ended policies which had sought primarily to exclude relationships with China other than trade at a distance, and defused the Domino Theory related to fears about communism sweeping down through the countries of South-East Asia. Mason (1983) concludes the text with a powerful impression of how Australian political ideology has shifted dramatically across the period.

5.1.8 *Was it Only Yesterday: Australia in the Twentieth Century World* (Coupe & Andrews, 1983)

From the outset, in their text, Coupe and Andrews (1983) "… have taken the view that the voices of the people provide a babel or chorus that places the individual and history in a comprehensible relationship" (p. i). This provides a message to their readers of the importance to them of oral history: The introduction also states that, "Many voices speak in this book. Some real, some fictional, but all authentic" (p. i), forewarning the reader to

distinguish between the voice types and understand that all, nevertheless, are presented to portray features of life at the time.

Coupe and Andrews (1983) broaden North Vietnamese perspectives further than previous authors by including additional notes on Vietnamese pre-war history, such as their explanation that, “The country of Vietnam has been invaded many times” (p. 130). Ho Chi Minh and his “guerrilla fighters” (p. 130) are first introduced as fighting the Japanese during WWII, with the text accompanied by a photographic portrait of Ho Chi Minh and the caption below stating that “he was a skilled guerrilla fighter” (p. 130).

Figure 15. “Ho Chi Minh, the North Vietnamese leader. He was a skilled guerilla fighter” (Popperfoto, London, as cited in Coupe & Andrews, 1983, p. 130)

Although the text comments on Ho Chi Minh’s fighting skills, the photograph casts him as statesman-like.

More than any previous authors, Coupe and Andrews (1983) use visual representations to delve into Vietnam’s history of colonisation, “After the French troops left, Vietnam was divided into two zones” (p. 131). The authors also develop the textbooks’ narrative of Australia’s initial role in the conflict, including the first reference in all textbooks to ‘The

Team', through noting that, "In 1962 Australia sent equipment and a group of thirty army instructors to Vietnam to support the Americans there" (p. 131). Accentuating Australian perspectives of the war, Coupe and Andrews (1983) include photographs of Australian soldiers with a tank in Vietnam, and "helicopters landing Australian soldiers in a paddy field." (p. 130), highlighting Australia's transition from a simply advisory role transition to forceful military engagement.


Figure 16. (left) "Australian soldiers in Vietnam." (AWM, n.d., as cited in Coupe & Andrews, 1983, p. 134).
Figure 17. (right) "Helicopters landing Australian soldiers in a paddy field. Their task was to search for Viet Cong bases and destroy them" (AWM, n.d., as cited in Coupe & Andrews, 1983, p. 130).


Figure 18. (left) "A North Vietnamese Soldier. He is carrying a Russian missile launcher" (Coupe & Andrews, 1983, p. 131). (no additional citation in the original text)

Figure 19. (right) “These North Vietnamese men are sheltering in one-person bomb shelters. Many thousands of these were built in the cities of North Vietnam. More bombs were dropped on North Vietnam than on Germany and Japan together in World War II” (EUPRA Press Service GMBH, Munich as cited in Coupe & Andrews, 1983, p. 131).

Coupe and Andrews’ (1983) inclusion of a sketch (*Figure 18)* rather than a photograph, possibly indicates that fewer North Vietnamese images existed or were publicly available with permission to use; since all other of the textbook’s photographs have publishing citations. The authors have chosen to comment that a Russian missile launcher is being carried, explaining (or perhaps intentionally reminding) the reader that Russia was supporting North Vietnam with arms as well as finance. To give students no doubt as to the intensity of American firepower and the experiences of Vietnamese soldiers and civilians, the authors comment in the latter picture’s caption that “More bombs were dropped on North Vietnam than on Germany and Japan together in World War II” (p. 131).

Other images (see next page) included by Coupe and Andrews (1983) reflect Vietnamese people and perspectives, such as a sketch of a Vietcong soldier, a photograph of a South Vietnamese woman, and an illustration of a Vietcong bamboo spike trap, each only referenced most briefly, if at all, by earlier authors:

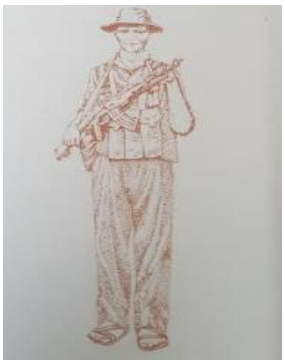

Figure 20. (left) "A Vietcong soldier. He is carrying a Russian gun. His sandals were probably made from an old truck tire" (Coupe & Andrews, 1983, p. 132) (left) (no additional citation in the original textbook acknowledgements

Figure 21. (centre) "A South Vietnamese woman weeps as she is taken from her home" (The United Nations, n.d., as cited in Coupe & Andrews, 1983, p. 133)

Figure 22. (right) "Traps like these had been used for hundreds of years… The Vietcong used them to wound enemy soldiers" (Coupe & Andrews, 1983, p. 133). (no additional citation in the original textbook acknowledgements)

The caption under the sketch of the Vietcong soldier includes the second mention of Russian support of the North Vietnamese army. This is significant, because Russian support of the war had not been addressed substantially in earlier textbooks; rather Russia had been named within the context of the Cold War context or ideologically with reference to Communism, not as an active supporter of the North.

The second photograph, "A South Vietnamese woman weeps as she is taken from her home" (p. 132), is the first emotive image of a crying Vietnamese person in any of the coded textbooks. The sketch of the bamboo spike trap (known as punji sticks), cited by Coupe and Andrews (1983) as, "Traps like these had been used for hundreds of years… The Vietcong used them to wound enemy soldiers" (p. 133) is the first representation in the textbooks of the use of a booby trap. The three images appearing alongside text, offers students more palpable and diverse representations of Vietnamese experience than prior textbooks that surely seek to provoke emotional responses in viewers.

Later in the same chapter, Coupe and Andrews (1983) include a photograph of an Australian anti-war protest and a cartoon sketch depicting the Domino Theory.

Figure 23. "As the Vietnam war (sic) dragged on and more Australians were sent to fight, many people at home felt that Australia should leave Vietnam. Demonstrations like this became common" (News Limited, Sydney, n.d. as cited in Coupe & Andrews, 1983, p. 134)

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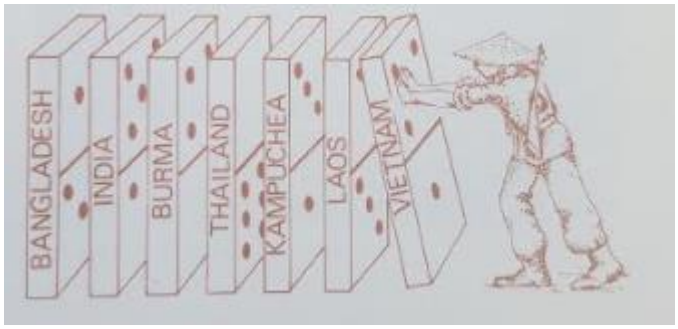

Figure 24. "The Domino Theory. If Vietnam falls, what will happen next?" (Coupe & Andrews, p. 135) (no additional citation in the original textbook acknowledgements)

Coupe and Andrews (1983) add to the power of the visual representations and develop readers' considerations of the experiences of individuals with an activity that includes three stories of fictional people; "(T)heir experiences were similar to the experiences of many people who fought in the Vietnam War" (p. 132). Written in a generally passive tone, the stories include details of the lived experiences of war but are infused with Coupe and Andrews' (1983) views and questions. The stories are those of a North Vietnamese soldier, a

Viet Cong member, and an Australian conscript. That the voices of the Australian Regular Army soldier, the American soldier, a civilian, or any politician are omitted are worth noting, because the authors are consciously or unconsciously developing latent content by including visual representations of individuals or groups with whom they believe the reader should identify. The Australian conscript story includes Coupe and Andrews' (1983) version of the conscript's viewpoint. They write the conscript's view to include points on Australian soldiers' role in fighting the Viet Cong, the Viet Cong's use of Russian anti-aircraft guns, the drudgery and difficulties of jungle warfare, and the Australian anti-war movement: "When I got home I was surprised to see all the demonstrations and protests that were going on about the war" (p.135). The Australian conscript's commentary finishes with the question, "(T)he communists took over South Vietnam in 1975. Laos and Kampuchea are communist countries now as well. I wonder if it was worth it?" (p.135). Coupe and Andrews (1983) choose the final element of the section to be a question through an Australian (albeit fictional) soldier's voice, a question to linger in the reader's mind.

The corresponding activity asks the students to "Think for yourself" (p. 135) and poses questions for the reader, "Why did Pete Davis go to Vietnam? Do you think he really wanted to go?" (p. 135) alongside two other questions relating to jungle warfare and the Domino Theory. Echoing sentiments and personal narratives beginning to emerge in wider literature such as *Desperate Praise: the Australians in Vietnam* (Coe, J., 1982), the questioning of whether or not conscripted Australian soldiers wanted to be there continues a theme of the validity and morality of conscription. Coupe and Andrews' (1983) decision to conclude with such potent questions lends *gravitas*, provoking students' questioning of any benefit of the conflict, and demonstrating the authors' own questioning of the worth of the conflict overall.

5.1.9 *Investigating Our Past* (Coupe, 1984)

The narratives of Australia's veterans of the Vietnam War also begin to emerge in general public literature in the early 1980s, such as in Frazer's (1984) *Nasho*, a national serviceman's memoir. The Australian experiences begin then to be reflected in the textbooks. Coupe (1984) includes activities and primary sources to provoke the reader's interest, and activities that require students to form different points of view on the war and its aftermath.

By situating the Vietnam War in the context of the ANZUS Treaty, Coupe's (1984) final chapter, "Australia and the world" (p. 119) treads the familiar territory of the threat of Communist China and provides a brief chronological and statistical summary:

> Fear of communism and support for the United States led to Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War… This involvement began in 1962… reached a peak in 1968 when more than 8000 Australians (many of them conscripts) were serving there and ended when Australian troops were withdrawn in 1971-72. (p. 119)

However, there is also mention of the policy change concerning the party in power, "In December 1972 there was a major shift in foreign relations when the Labor government officially recognised the government of Communist China" (p. 119). This develops the focus on Australia's changing home front politics previously introduced by Fabian (1978), Laidlaw (1979), and most prominently, by Mason (1983).

The section, "Why Australia was there" (p. 122) is accompanied by an activity requiring students to read Holt's reasons for Australia's involvement in Vietnam, then answer a series of questions such as, "Imagine you were a supporter of Australia's fighting in Vietnam. Explain each of the reasons put forward by the prime minister" (p. 122).

Figure 25. "On Patrol in Vietnam" (Public Relations Dept. Department of Army (FOR/66/819VN, n.d.) as cited in Coupe, 1984, p. 122).

Another set of questions accompanies a picture of an Australian soldier on patrol in Vietnam. Coupe (1984) asks, "What special problems would warfare in these conditions cause?" (p. 122). The final visual representation of the section, and the textbook, depicting two Vietnamese refugees arriving to be greeted by a male Australian sitting on a deck chair asks, "All we were after were your hearts and minds – not your bodies*."* (p. 122). This leaves the reader with the pointed comment that Australia's involvement in Vietnam did not extend to the war's repercussions, specifically Vietnamese refugees arriving in Australia.

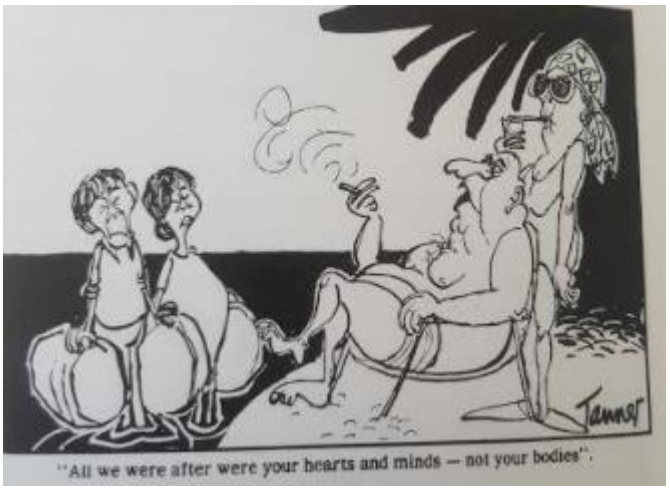

Figure 26. "Refugees – an aftermath of the Vietnam War" (Les Tanner, *The Age*, 1977, as cited in Coupe, 1984)

Questions accompanying this picture include, "Why have many thousands of refugees left Vietnam since the end of the Vietnam War? Does this cartoon express a general Australian attitude towards the arrival of Vietnamese refugees?" and "Does Australia have a *duty* to accept refugees from Vietnam? Why?" (p. 122). Collectively, these questions prompt young Australians to welcome and better understand the extremely challenging experiences of refugees at the time they were settling in Australia. Here is a textbook doing more than recounting facts; it is prompting a moral response.

5.1.10 *A History of Asia* (Rajendra, Rajendra & Lower, 1984)

The introduction to *A History of Asia* (Rajendra, Rajendra & Lower, 1984) states:

> Asian history is a rich and fascinating subject. Our primary aim was to produce material to enable the history of four major countries of Asia to be studied in depth and breadth, at a level appropriate to middle secondary school students… The links and contrasts between Asia and Australia have been developed further in the last section of the book so that Australian students may achieve a clearer perception of our Asian neighbours and of Australia's relationship with these countries. (p. vii)

The textbook includes topographical maps and references to religion, culture, ancient history, and a short C20th history of each nation. Vietnam is not one of the four nations in the South-East Asia section and a reader might be left asking why. Was the textbook in progress while the war itself was in progress, and so a conclusion could not be assured, especially not a positive one in so controversial a war? Even if the war had concluded, was the content too challenging and repercussions still too raw? Nevertheless, Vietnam receives three large mentions throughout the textbook and is the focus of the case study in the section "Australia's Place in Asia" (p. 269). Also, because the chapters relate to nations, not themes or events, the references to wars occur throughout the textbook, mostly with reference to WWII.

A section at the end of the textbook titled, “Focus Topics” (p. 268), relates to nations not deeply explored earlier in the textbook. Four questions proposed for students wanting a further understanding of the South-East Asian region are:

> When was the Vietminh formed, and what were its main aims at that time? What were its aims in the 1960s *or* (italics were present in the text) In what way was the battle of Dien Bien Phu (April-May 1954) significant in Vietnamese history? *or* Why did the government of Ngo Dinh Diem become so unpopular in South Vietnam? *or* Why did the Viet Cong ignore President Minh’s offer to hold peace talks in April 1975. (p. 268).

The four questions require a research-based approach from students, and mark the first of any of the coded textbooks’ attempts to explore the motivations of both the Vietminh and Viet Cong.

The authors also place Australia’s involvement in the Vietnam War as a direct result of the Domino Theory: “to prevent the fall of the first domino with its subsequent events. Involvement in the war in Korea and also Vietnam are examples of Australia’s commitment to this belief” (p. 287). At the end of the textbook under the heading “Foreign Policy in the 1960s and 1970s” (p. 287) “Case Study: The Vietnam War” (p. 288) begins with a straightforward retelling of Vietnamese history, starting with French occupation, then mentioning the cooperation with, “Japanese military commanders” (p. 288) during WWII. It explains briefly how these events led to growing nationalism and independence, including the rise of the Viet Minh. Interestingly, this section mentions how, after WWII and before the First Indochina War, “the Vietminh worked steadily to win over the population with education programs, land reforms and projects aimed at raising the peasants’ standard of living” (p. 288). This facilitates readers’ understanding of the Vietminh’s motivations as required by the earlier research questions (p. 268). In the text, Rajendra, Rajendra & Lower (1984) do not provide detail as to what means the Vietminh used to carry out land reforms. Edwards (2014) states that, “many peasants (were) wrongly condemned as ‘landlords’ or ‘rich peasants’, leading to between 5000 and 15 000 deaths” (p. 60), revealing selectivity of topics and emphasis on behalf of Rajendra, Rajendra & Lower (1984).

Significantly, this is the first textbook to detail US strategy and fighting tactics, and the suffering of civilians as a result. The authors explain that, "Search and destroy missions were undertaken in which villages where Communists were thought to be hiding were searched house by house. Often the peasants, who were supposed to be protected by the soldiers, suffered more than the enemy" (p. 289). The authors also describe the highly creative and clever ways the Viet Cong fought back against the US troops: "Initially (American) dogs were used very successfully to sniff out the hiding men. The Viet Cong soon foiled the dogs by using American-made soap" (p. 289). Readers encounter other guerrilla war tactics, as well as the first reference of any textbook in this collection to the use of Agent Orange, explaining that "in an attempt to deny the guerrillas (sic) forest cover, a defoliant called Agent Orange was used to destroy the vegetation" (p. 290). Moreover, under the heading "Australian Involvement" (p. 290) and in more explicit terms than previous discussions, the textbook declares, "Australia became involved in this war through its alliance with the USA" (p. 290).

Because the textbook forefronts histories of Asian nations, it differs in perspective from other textbooks which lead with Australian viewpoints. In summary, Rajendra, Rajendra and Lower (1984) highlight in the introduction that it is "important to see each of these countries in their regional context: in their geographical and socio-cultural setting" (p. i). However, the authors have also noted the importance of understanding Australia's relationship with Asia stating that "the links and contrasts between Asia and Australia have been developed further in the last section of the textbook so that Australian students may achieve a clearer perception of our Asian neighbours and of Australia's relationship with these countries" (p. i).

Rajendra, Rajendra and Lower's (1984) textbook is one early element of the shift in wider Australian society and school history towards more Asia-centric content and perspectives. The shift would extend further in the early 1990s. They claim more directly than any previous textbooks that the US attitude to Ho Chi Minh changed completely because of the 1949 Communist victory. This is also the first textbook to explain Diem's rule in any detail, or his relationship with the US Rajendra, Rajendra and Lower (1984) comment that, "The USA, seeing how successful the Northern Communists had been with their reform programs and activities to gain the support of the ordinary people, encouraged Ngo (Diem) to do the same in the South" (p. 289). More telling is the authors' open assessment that; "Instead of

attempting to win the people of the South to his rule, Ngo adopted an autocratic style of government, using repression and imprisonment against his opponents. He and his family, many of whom occupied government positions, were widely hated" (p. 289). Previous textbooks analysed in my study had barely mentioned Diem, and there was no detail on South Vietnamese domestic policy. The authors do not hold back, noting that, "He persisted in his methods because he believed he could depend on the American fear of communism to keep him in office regardless of his domestic policies" (p. 289). Indeed, this is a more loaded assessment of any political individual, since earlier textbooks (Laidlaw, 1979; Mason, 1983) tended to include broad statements regarding the various nation states' approaches to their countries' involvement in the war, with mildly negative references to individuals.

Yet, Rajendra, Rajendra and Lower (1984) do not absolve the US of responsibility in regard to Diem's actions, observing that, "Statements by America's President Kennedy in January 1961 gave (Diem) much encouragement. The President said that the USA would pay any price to support any friend or oppose any foe to assure the survival and success of liberty (anti-communism)" (p. 289). The following paragraph states that: "Ngo (Diem) was murdered on 1 November 1963" (p. 289), a strikingly blunt comment on the assassination. The weighted commentary concludes that, "the Communists had made many gains inside South Vietnam, aided by the fact that Ngo's regime had alienated many of his former supporters" (p. 289). Again, the authors' politicised comment is anomalous with textbooks to this point (aside from Fabian's (1978) value-laden remarks on Australian politics and the home front) and reveals a distinct choice in delivering loaded commentary rather than simple descriptions.

Without differentiating between North or South Vietnamese people, or specific groups within Vietnam, the authors' note that the Vietcong "had grown up among the people, who resented the way their government was treating them" (p. 289), laying the blame for the emergence of the Vietcong directly at the feet of the South Vietnamese Government. This commentary is also noteworthy, since the authors believe that due to the lack of land reforms by the South Vietnamese Government, "President Johnson therefore had little choice but to take General Westmoreland's advice and send not just advisors but American troops to fight the Viet Cong" (p. 289). There had been no comments regarding South Vietnamese land reforms, General Westmoreland, or their connection to the American deployment of troops in any

previous textbook. Indeed, there had barely been any explanation of the origins of the US decision to escalate its involvement in the war. Only one textbook (Hamer, 1980) had previously mentioned the Gulf of Tonkin incident, and certainly not in the context presented here, "The excuse (Johnson) needed was North Vietnam's firing on a US ship on an information-gathering mission in the Gulf of Tonkin on 6 March 1965. Two days later the first American troops landed at Da Nang" (p. 289). The authors chose to take the specific position that the US' decision to escalate was based on dubious circumstances, indeed, a very contentious incident. In doing so, the authors have presented the escalation of the war, and US involvement, as being led by the South Vietnamese Government's mismanagement.

Unlike the textbook's previous section on the South Vietnamese Government and US involvement, the authors outline in a straightforward manner the presence of the Australian Army Training Team Vietnam (AATTV), although not by name. They then contend that, "The sending of conscripts to fight a war that had not actually been declared aroused considerable hostility in Australia" (p. 290). This simple assessment is significant, because it focuses on the lack of a formal declaration of war being the main driver of the hostility. The references to protests on the Australian home front and the later Vietnamisation policies of the US and Australia, along with the end of the war, are somewhat perfunctory, contrasting with the overtly political assessments elsewhere.

As McPherson (2003) concludes, "History is a continuing dialogue between the present and the past. Interpretations of the past are subject to change in response to new evidence, new questions asked of the evidence, new perspectives gained by the passage of time". Rajendra, Rajendra and Lower's (1984) book provides evidence of a text that includes new evidence and perspectives and encourages debate

5.2 Conclusion

Without there being an explicit connection to the Vietnam War in curriculum documents between 1970 and 1984, the textbooks surveyed above are commence in the 'big picture' outlook period of the Vietnam War in international politics. These textbooks initially present an international politics focus (Rich, 1970; Berenson & Rosenblatt, 1979; Hamer, 1980) fore-

fronting Communism (Fabian, 1978) and colonialism with few personal narratives. They then develop towards the introduction of limited first-person Vietnamese civilian perspectives (Coupe & Andrews, 1983; Mason, 1983), and a focus on the Australian political home front (Fabian, 1978; Laidlaw, 1979; Willis & Pryor, 1979; Mason, 1983; Coupe, 1984). The portrayal of US involvement in the war becomes increasingly detailed, with a negative tone in the textbooks from 1970-1984, displaying some authors' (Coupe & Andrews, 1983; Rajendra, Rajendra, & Lower, 1984) questioning of the moral validity of the U.S.', and in turn Australia's, entry into the war.

By 1978, Australian wartime politics and the Australian/US relationship are being discussed (Fabian, 1978; Laidlaw, 1979; Willis & Pryor, 1979; Mason, 1983; Coupe & Andrews, 1983; Coupe, 1984). There is little commentary on the relationship between Australia and Vietnam, and minimal focus on Vietnamese perspectives. The development of SOSE begins a shift towards textbooks focusing on themes rather than chronological coverage and names of people, places and events, with the Vietnam War sometimes being situated in 1960s and post-war wider cultural contexts than discussions of the war in isolation.

The faces of soldiers, civilians and refugees appear in the early 1980s (Mason, 1983; Coupe & Andrews, 1983; Coupe, 1984), at the time that Vietnam War-related literature begins to enter mainstream reading and Vietnamese refugees begin to settle in Australia. Simultaneously, following Fabian's (1978) explicitly negative language towards the Australian Government's solidarity with the US and derision of anti-communist beliefs, more subtle arguments emerge against Australia's involvement in the war. These positions are displayed through authors' positioning their narratives as being 'for' or 'against' Australian, Vietnamese, and US political figures. Some examples include, Robert Menzies (Laidlaw, 1979; Mason, 1983), Jim Cairns (Willis & Pryor, 1979), Arthur Calwell (Mason, 1983), Prime Minister Harold Holt (Mason, 1983), Prime Minister Gough Whitlam (Mason, 1983), President Lyndon Johnson (Laidlaw, 1979; Willis & Pryor, 1979; Mason, 1983), Ho Chi Minh (Mason, 1983; Coupe & Andrews, 1983) and President Diem (Mason, 1983).

Laidlaw (1979), Mason (1983), Coupe and Andrews (1983), and Coupe (1984) develop more in-depth analysis of the Australian political decisions that lead to Australia's involvement in the war, situating their narratives in the shifting socio-cultural volatility of the 1960s. Fabian (1978), Laidlaw (1979), Mason (1983), Coupe and Andrews (1983) also advance the topic of Australian protest against the Vietnam War, bringing a sense of the moral responsibility

many Australians felt in the anti-war movement. Alongside this sense of moral responsibility, Willis and Pryor (1970), Hamer (1980), Mason (1983), Coupe and Andrews (1983), Coupe (1984), and Rajendra, Rajendra and Lower (1984), include representations (quotes, photographs, and/or sketches) of Vietnamese civilians, with more focus on how the war affected their lives. Only Coupe (1984) includes reference to Vietnamese refugees, highlighting an almost complete absence of the topic in these early years. And although several authors include representations of Australian soldiers during the war (Mason,1983; Rajendra, Rajendra, and Lower, 1984), including conscripts (Coupe and Andrews, 1984: Coupe, 1984; Rajendra, Rajendra, & Lower, 1984), no textbook from this era discusses Australian veterans of the war. The lack of references to Vietnamese refugees and Australian veterans of the war in the textbooks is an indication that they were not expected to be included in an Australian secondary History unit at this time, since publishers try to provide resources that are aligned with curriculum.

Chapter Six: Textbooks - 1985-1992

Introduction

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 discuss how textbooks published between 1975 and 2005, and used in Victorian classrooms, depicted the Vietnam War. (See chapters 3 and 5 for the methodology specific to the textbook coding and analysis.) Chapter 6 examines the textbooks coded from the second period (1985-1992), from the 1985 enactment of the *Curriculum Frameworks P-12*, until the 1992 introduction of the Victorian Certificate of Education (VCE). Chapter 6 primarily focuses on the first two research questions: *'How has the Vietnam War been depicted in Victorian Government education policies, curriculum document, textbooks, and education resources across the period 1975–2005?',* '*To what extent have there been shifts in language and perspectives in these documents across this period'.* It includes some exploration of question three, '*How can these shifts be explained?'* relating to what authors have included in both manifest and latent content.

6.1 Textbooks of the Era 1985-1992

The textbooks included in this chapter are:

A Guide to HSC History (Johnston, 1985)
World Conflict in the Twentieth Century (Harrison, 1987)
Australia Then and Now (Disher, 1987)
Australia and the World in the Twentieth Century (Kerr & Webb, 1989)

Throughout the period 1985-1991, shifts and trends emerge in Vietnam War content, perspectives on the war, and pedagogy in the texts, often mirroring changes and continuities in wider public Vietnam War literature, as well as changes in Australian school student demographics, and to a lesser degree, changes in curriculum documents. More nuanced discussion of the Vietnam War emerges from the mid-1980s in the topic of U.S involvement in the war which is increasingly depicted in a negative light, reflecting growing contemporary discussion of Australia's alliance with the U.S., and emerging negativity at Australia's

involvement in the U.S.-led coalition in the First Gulf War. There is also increased attention on topics such as Australian conscription, protests against the Vietnam War, and the influence of television, film and music on, and representing, Australian and US wider public views of the war. Towards the late 1980s, the inclusion of Vietnamese perspectives (including Viet Cong and Buddhist) increases in response to increased immigration to Australia from Asia. This era's textbooks also include more confrontational visual depictions of the conflict and colour photography, and discussion of the impact on Vietnam War narratives in the public domain of US popular culture focused on the Vietnam War. Overall, textbooks in this era increase the use of primary sources, with deeper questioning of the perspectives within. There is also a growing number of Vietnamese and US soldiers' personal narratives. By the early 1990s, there is an advance of thematic rather than predominantly chronological presentation of content, with a global narrative emerging in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

As discussed in Chapter Four, in 1985, the *Ministerial Review of Postcompulsory Schooling* (Blackburn, 1985) (commonly known as the *Blackburn Report*) made 45 recommendations, including the introduction of the VCE (Blackburn, 1985). The report noted that "52.6 per cent of students (had) no systematic exposure to history" (Blackburn, 1985, p. 7), and recommended prioritising a move to more socially inclusive studies, including History (Blackburn, 1985). In the same year, the Victorian Education Department released the *Curriculum Frameworks P-12: An Introduction* (Ed. Dept., 1985) elaborating on the *Blackburn Report*'s (1985) proposals and exploring the ramifications for different subjects (Blackburn, 1985). History was to be incorporated into the 'Social Education' learning field, comprising History, Geography, Economics, Politics, Psychology, Sociology and Anthropology (Ed. Dept., 1985). The textbooks analysed in this chapter display elements of this more thematic Social Education approach while following Vietnam War-related literature trends and the changing Victorian demographic.

6.1.2 *A Guide to HSC History* (Johnston, 1985)

The first textbook analysed from this era, *A Guide to HSC History* (Johnston, 1985) is totally silent on the Vietnam War. The absence of the Vietnam War contrasts strongly with the textbook's ample content on "The Great War and World War II" (p. 221), and the inclusions

of the Vietnam War in textbooks analysed in the last chapter, such as Mason (1983), published two years prior. Johnston's (1985) appendices include copies of Victoria's 1981 and 1982 Australian History accredited examinations for the Victorian Higher School Certificate (HSC). Neither includes any question related to the Vietnam War. However, the "*Higher School Certificate Examination 1980* (Victorian Institute of Secondary Education [VISE]) *Themes in Australian History: Monday, 17th November 1980* (VISE, 1980) includes the question,

> *Conscription: The Australian Debate, 1901 - 1970"* (p. 40). (Italics present in original text) "The Australian Prime Minister, Harold Holt, claimed in March, 1966: … 5A. i.) What reasons did Holt give for his decision to 'increase the size of the Australian force in Vietnam?... ii.) In what ways did this decision contribute to the dissensions in Australian society in the late sixties and early seventies? (p. 40)

This shows that the Vietnam War was a topic being taught in some regard and covered in at least one HSC examination very soon after the Vietnam War.

6.1.3 *World Conflict in the Twentieth Century* (Harrison, 1987)

Two years later, *World Conflict in the Twentieth Century* (Harrison, 1987) provides greater coverage on the Vietnam War than pre-1985 textbooks. Harrison (1987) delves further into the First Indochina War, including perspectives of diverse individuals such as three US soldiers relating their experiences, and a "communist veteran" (p. 341). He further includes a strong focus on US involvement, and contrasts the conflict with the Korean and Afghanistan Wars under the heading "Theatres of war: Korea, Vietnam and Afghanistan" (p. 328), viewing the three conflicts individually through a Cold War lens, but providing little real comparison between them. Comparisons of war, especially when there are no specific criteria, are fraught (Gray & Martin, 2008) by the possibility of oversimplification. In the case of the Korea and Vietnam conflicts, comparisons can be reduced to a Cold War lens, without the conflicts' extending variables (Park, 1975). By adding the Soviet "invasion of Afghanistan" (p. 342) to the trio of conflicts, Harrison (1987) collects the wars into the Cold War 'Proxy War' basket.

Harrison's (1987) inclusion of the Korean War is rare, as that war had almost no attention paid to it in Victorian curriculum documents prior to 1987 (and Afghanistan, none), with Harrison noting, "Although the Korean War was of great significance in modern world history, it has been largely eclipsed by events which took place in Vietnam" (p. 333). In this first textbook to include comparative commentary on the two wars, Harrison (1987) presents the background to the conflicts through key dates, places, people and perspectives. The economic cost of war has been largely overlooked in all textbooks analysed to-date, yet Harrison notes, "As in the case of Korea, other powers became involved. After 1949 the communist Chinese gave aid to the Vietminh, and the USA gave aid to the value of $3 billion to the French" (p. 333). Here Harrison (1987) decides to reference different alliances and financial support during the first Indochina war. This extends the scope of Vietnam War complexities in the textbooks, at a time when Vietnam War histories for a general readership (Karnow, 1983, King, 1983, Palmer, 1984, Chanoff & Doan, 1985, Kolko, 1985, Lunn, 1985) were becoming more common as the wider public sought more in-depth discussions of the war.

Later in the textbook, there are simple descriptions of the battle of Dien Bien Phu, the conference at Geneva, Bao Dai (the last Emperor of Vietnam and South Vietnam), and President Diem. However, the author then elaborates on the election fraud committed in Vietnam during the referendum and includes a primary source of a voter's recollection:

> (The officials) told us to put the red ballot into the envelopes and threw the green ones into the wastebasket. A few people disobeyed, as soon as they left the agents rounded them up. They poured pepper sauce down their nostrils and forced water down their throats. They beat one of my relatives to pulp. (p. 333)

This is the only primary source reference in the textbooks from a Vietnamese civilian's perspective relating to events of the election. At a time when the Australian Parliament was debating the rights of South Vietnamese veterans who had settled in Australia (Nguyen, 2014), the stories of South Vietnamese suffering that had driven so many Vietnamese people to emigrate were becoming public knowledge.

Harrison (1987) mentions the National Liberation Front (NLF) for the first time in all textbooks analysed to-date, stating that, "from 1960 they (the Viet Cong) were allied with other groups such as the Buddhists, in the National Liberation Front" (p. 334) He follows with, "the NLF called for democracy, reform and a united Vietnam" (p. 334). However, he does not draw readers' attention to the fact that the NLF was a Communist organisation, with some non-Communists within it. Harrison (1987) is displaying the NLF in a positive light, arguably because he believes the NLF might end Vietnam's suffering.

The following paragraphs include the first significant mention in the textbooks of the strategic hamlets program. Harrison (1987) explains, "40 percent of the Vietnamese population was resettled within barbed wire compounds where they could be separated from the Viet Cong enemy - or so it was thought" (p. 335). Intriguingly, the following paragraph briefly mentions the assassinations of Diem and Kennedy, however, uses slightly differing phrases to describe the events: "(B)y 1963 it was evident the war was not being won. Diem was blamed, and with US encouragement, he was overthrown with his generals. Three weeks later, Kennedy was assassinated" (p. 335). By using the word 'overthrown' rather than 'shot', 'killed', or 'assassinated' to describe what happened to Diem, Harrison (1987) downplays the violence of the event in contrast to the Kennedy assassination.

Harrison (1987) is also the first textbook writer to specifically mention the US Congress passing the "Tonkin resolution" (p. 335), as well as Johnson's approval of "Operation Rolling Thunder" (p. 335). His is also the first to detail the Tet Offensive, "a coordinated assault on many south Vietnamese towns and cities" (p. 335). And it is the first textbook to detail the influence of television on the opinions of Americans on the war: "There, on colour screens, dead bodies lay amid the rubble and rattle of automatic gunfire as dazed American soldiers and civilians ran back and forth" (p. 336).

Further, Harrison (1987) is the only author in the textbooks analysed to reference the bombing of Haiphong, where, "the Americans dropped 100 000 bombs… in an attempt to 'bomb them back to the stone age" (p. 337). By naming the town, Harrison (1987) gives it an identity that embraced the fact that people lived there, rather than simply adopting the usual number or tonnage of bombs throughout the entire war. The final paragraphs on the Vietnam War move quite rapidly, mentioning the fall of President Richard Nixon, congress' rejection

of President Gerald Ford's request for more support in Vietnam, and the American evacuation of Saigon, without the gravity of detail Harrison (1987) adopted when featuring the US bombing program at Haiphong.

The visual representations in the section include "A lone Vietnamese ranger amongst the bodies of fallen comrades after an action against Viet Cong guerillas, December 1964" (p. 334), which is the second photograph of a South Vietnamese soldier in any textbook (the first being Mason (1983). There is also a photograph of several soldiers and helicopters captioned "GIs with helicopter gunships in support" (p. 334), explaining a feature of US support in the region. Harrison is one author committed to diversity of representation and perspective, facilitated by the information, media forms, ease of access and lessening of censorship available to him by 1987.

Figure 27. (left) “A lone Vietnamese ranger amongst the bodies of fallen comrades after an action against Vietcong guerillas (sic), December 1964 (Topham Picture Library, n.d., as cited in Harrison, 1987, p. 334)

Figure 28. (right) “GIs with helicopter gunships in support” (Peter Newark Western Americana, n.d., as cited in Harrison, 1987, p. 334)

Harrison (1987) includes a basic map of Vietnam and the surrounding countries, a photograph of "GIs on patrol in hostile territory, 1966" (p. 336), and a graph depicting

"Trends in support for the war in Vietnam" (p. 336). By including these three visual representations together, Harrison draws together geographic and human visuals of the Vietnam War, but the first example (the only other one being Triolo, 1996) of peoples' reactions against the war itself, in this case, the American public.

Figure 29. "The war in Vietnam" (Harrison, 1987, p. 335) (no additional citation in the original textbook acknowledgements)

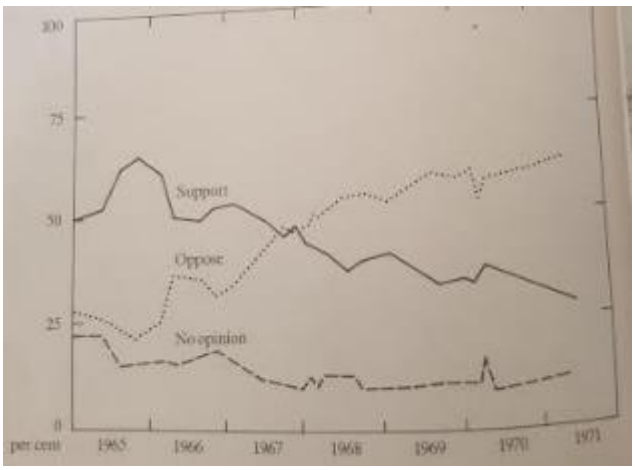

Figure 30. “Trends in support for the war in Vietnam” (Harrison, 1987, p. 336) (no additional citation in the original textbook acknowledgments) (Poor quality of visual representation due to broken book)

The following page includes a photograph taken from a different angle to the one that is usually published, being one of the most famous photographs taken during the Vietnam War, the picture depicting two children, one naked, running down a road. The photograph is recognisable to many Westerners and an extremely powerful image, showing the author's intent to depict the brutality of the war on children. Two more photographs follow, one being of two soldiers in the field, and another of "Hue, once a beautiful city, destroyed in the battle for control of South Vietnam" (p. 340), possibly included by the author to further accentuate the destructive nature of the war.

Figure 31. “Escaping from Napalm, Trang Bang, 1972” (Popperfoto, as cited in Harrison, 1987, p.337).

"(M)any teachers are now encouraging their pupils individually or in groups to participate in the processes and skills of the professional historian" (Harrison, 1987, p. 5). The textbook

uses many rich primary sources. Of note, the textbook was published in Britain and is primarily responding to the curriculum need of the "National Criteria for History for the General Certificate of Secondary Education" (p. 5), however, the textbook was located in a Melbourne private collection and was used widely in Victorian classrooms or as a teacher resource according to the collection's owner. This British frame almost certainly explains the limited length of the Vietnam War section when compared with other conflicts that directly involved Britain, yet the content remains rich and diverse compared to others of the other and locally-produced textbooks immediately preceding it.

Harrison (1987) includes very negative entries on two prominent Vietnam War-related individuals. Firstly, Diem is described as "certainly unsuitable for the role of the standard bearer of democracy" (p. 333) and, "Worse still, he was very wealthy in a poor country, a Catholic in a mainly Buddhist country, and he had very little time for the Vietnamese people" (p. 333). Secondly, Harrison (1987) offers President Johnson's direct quotes for why Johnson decided to stay and fight in Vietnam, as if to allow Johnson's own words to condemn him. Examples include, "If I left that war and let the communists take over South Vietnam, then I would be seen as a coward and my nation seen as an appeaser" (p. 335), and "a destructive debate that would shatter my presidency, kill my administration, and damage our democracy" (p. 335). And although not relating to Vietnam, Harrison includes Johnson stating, "the most beautiful vision that the eyes ever beheld was the flag of our country in a foreign land (referring to US intervention in the Dominican Republic)" (p. 335). The author's choice of these quotes out of the multitude that exist in the public record, and his descriptions of Diem, suggest specific intent to present both in a negative light and as complicit in the escalation of the war.

The main Vietnam War narrative of the textbook is followed by some straightforward reading comprehension questions for students, a section on the "nature of the war in Vietnam" (p. 338), and a section titled "Using the evidence: why did the USA lose the Vietnam War?" (p. 339), all of which include quotes from the different viewpoints of writers, politicians and American soldiers. The section elaborates on specific events as well as the chaotic and brutal nature of the war. Here, too, is the first mention in any of the textbooks of the My Lai massacre, with the author including a quote from American Lieutenant-Colonel George Walton describing it as "sadistic" (p. 339). The final paragraph describes the self-immolation

of a Buddhist nun in her mid-fifties. Afterwards, her associate or friend "appeared to distribute to the foreign correspondents' copies of a letter that the nun had addressed to President Johnson condemning America's irresponsible support for the Saigon regime" (p. 342). This is the first detailed account, in any textbook, of any Buddhist's self-immolation, and it is noteworthy that the section on the war finishes with so powerful an image. Of note, there is no mention of Australia's involvement in the war at any point in the entire Vietnam War section, although this is not necessarily surprising given that the textbook is British (akin to Hamer (1980) (see Chapter Five) and that Australia was a relatively small player

6.1.4 *Australia Then and Now* (Disher, 1987)

The second textbook from 1987 includes the first reference to the Vietnam War in a chapter titled "The Menzies Era - 1950-1966" (p. 155) under a topic heading "Relations with Asia" (p. 162), situating the war in an Australian political frame. The subheading "Anti-Communist Policy" (p. 162), references the war in context alongside the Korean and Malayan conflicts. After small sections relating to "Relations with China" (p. 162) and the Korean and Malayan conflicts, Disher (1987) mentions the ANZUS and SEATO treaties with brief explanations of their signing and some of the resulting factors. He states that they "may have helped dispel Australia's fears about the threat of communism, but, in addition, the treaties strengthened Australia's ties with America" (p. 163).

As with Harrison (1987), the work of Disher (1987) embraces diversity of representation and perspective, facilitated, too, by the information, media forms and ease of their access available to him. "The Vietnam War" (p.163) paragraphs neutrally introduce the conflict through the "thirty army advisers (deployed) to train the South Vietnamese in jungle warfare" (p.163) in 1962, an event rarely specifically mentioned in previous textbooks. The text, supported by a sketched map of Vietnam and surrounding countries prior to 1975, mentions the sending of Australian troops and the National Service Act, before concluding the section with the introduction of the anti-war movement and protest. Disher (1987) states, "The Labor Party, trade unions, students, church groups and many others began to protest" (p. 163) before introducing the first specific statement in the textbooks to this point, explaining "They claimed that the war in Vietnam was a civil war" (p. 163).

According to Disher (1987), some other of the catalysts for Vietnam War protests were, Australia's involvement in general, including "conscripting young men who were too young to vote, and for following America in foreign policy matters" (p. 171). Here, too, Disher (1987) includes comments regarding some Australians' difficulties with the Australian/US alliance, and the author echoes one other offered by Harrison (1987) in the importance of television in forming public opinion on the war. In this instance, however, the focus is on Australian, not American, views. In the same paragraph and context, Disher (1987) mentions the use of napalm: "People read, with horror, about the use of napalm bombing in Indo-China, and saw graphic scenes of the war on their television sets" (p. 171).

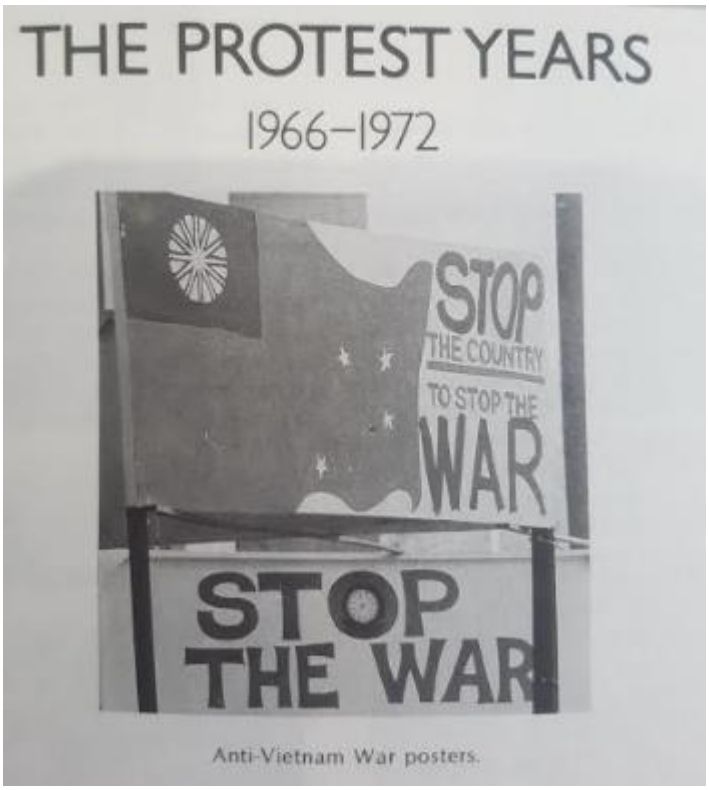

Figure 32. "Anti-Vietnam War posters" (Private Collection, n.d. as cited in Disher, 1987, p. 171)

The visual representation in this section is of two somewhat banal anti-war protest signs, possibly due to limited copyright options or poor design choice, which do not really have any dramatic effect on the reader. The section under the topic heading "Liberal Leaders 1966-1972" (p. 172), highlights that post-Menzies governments carried on Menzies' "commitment to the Vietnam War and maintaining close links with America" (p. 172). The section

introduces for the first time in the collection of textbooks analysed the "various defence facilities, controlled and staffed by Americans… built in Australia in the 1960s" (p. 172). The paragraphs that follow focus on Harold Holt and his "all the way with LBJ" quote (p. 172), as well as the escalation of Australia's involvement, the prime-ministerships of Sir John McEwen and John Gorton, and the anti-war marches of Gorton's time in office. Disher (1987) also demonstrates a willingness to offer an opinion and multiple perspectives, developing what Bentrovato (2017) deems an important pathway to a conciliatory and inclusive critique of war in post-conflict societies. Disher (1987) expands on the presence of different opinions at the time, offering the opinion that "(Prime Minister William) McMahon and other members of his government seemed to be confused and embarrassed by switches in American policy" (p. 173).

Figure 33. (left) "President Johnson of America (centre) with long-term Victorian Liberal Premier Henry Bolte (left) and Prime Minister Harold Holt (right) in Melbourne, 1966" (Herald & Weekly Times Ltd, n.d. as cited in Disher, 1987, p. 172)
Figure 34. (right) "Australian soldiers near Bien Hoa air base in South Vietnam, 1969" (AWM, n.d., as cited in Disher, 1987, p. 172)

These paragraphs are accompanied by photographs of President Johnson with Victorian Liberal Premier Henry Bolte and Prime Minister Harold Holt, a photograph of "Australian soldiers near Bien Hoa air base in South Vietnam, 1969" (p. 172), and photographs of Prime Ministers John Gorton and William McMahon. All the photographs, including the picture of the soldiers (which is presented in the section on Prime Ministers) seem to be included as basic illustrations of whom is spoken of, not to rouse interest in the student or any emotional response to the war. However, the laughing politicians juxtapose strongly with the image of soldiers in a battle zone, creating a jarring effect on the viewer.

Figure 35. (left) “Prime Minister John Gorton, 1970” (Herald and Weekly Times Ltd., n.d., as cited in Disher, 1970, p. 173)
Figure 36. (right) “Prime Minister William McMahon, 1972” (Disher, 1970, p. 173) (original source unclear from document's acknowledgments).)

The most dedicated section on the Vietnam War, under the heading "Protest Against the Vietnam War" (p. 174) goes into more topical detail than previous textbooks. Relative to other textbooks, it is an in-depth analysis including subheadings such as "Reasons for the Protest" (p. 174), "Types of Protest" (p. 174), "Anti-American Feeling" (p. 175), "Role of the Labor Party" (p. 175), "The Police" (p. 175), and "The End of Australia's Involvement" (p. 175). An overview of the protest movement in Australia, gives the reasons for the protests as, "Australian and American involvement in the war in Vietnam was unjust" (p. 174) and that "Protesters argued that Australia should adopt an independent foreign policy and not follow America's lead because America was wrong to interfere in the affairs of another country" (p. 174). These comments tie back to the belief that Vietnam was experiencing a civil war, and Australia should have no part in it. Although earlier textbooks offer their commentary (Fabian, 1978; Hamer, 1980; Mason, 1983; Coupe & Andrews, 1983; Rajendra, Rajendra & Lower, 1984), it has been briefer. Disher (1987) also gives voice to the topic of national service, and to the list of associated issues against which people were protesting. He uses the term 'nasho' for the first time in the textbooks to-date, details the national service process, and includes one of the only textbook references to women (Australian or Vietnamese), with a comment on the 'Save Our Sons' group, a strong force in the protest movement.

Disher (1987) also explains how the police force at the time "had been given great powers to break up demonstrations" (p. 174), and that "new Acts of parliament and… council by-laws had given the authorities the power to declare demonstrations illegal" (p. 174). Previous

textbooks had not referenced the police force or Acts of parliament stifling civilian activity. Disher (1987) adds, "some policemen used unnecessary violence when arresting demonstrators" (p. 174) and that "authorities did not allow freedom of speech and censored and banned books and pamphlets that criticized the war" (p. 174). Few other textbooks used such condemnatory language, tone, or described such home front experiences at all.

The seven paragraphs on civil disobedience detail the different types of protest as rallies, marches, propaganda, teach-ins, sit-ins and street theatre. The references to the teach-ins, sit-ins and street theatre are the first of their kind. Disher (1987) includes four visual representations. Two photos are of anti-Vietnam War moratoriums, one showing police intervention, and two anti-Vietnam War posters, one being a Save our Sons anti-war protest sign with two women, presumably mothers, one wearing a *non la* (Vietnamese conical hat) and another wearing Western dress.

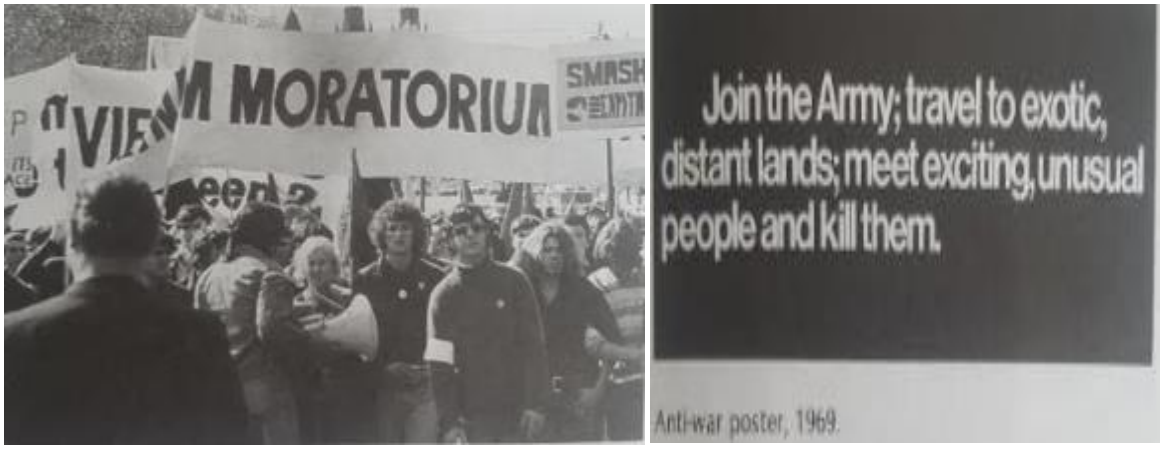

Figure 37. (left) “Front line of Adelaide moratorium marches, 1970”, (Private Collections, n.d., as cited in Disher, 1970, p. 174)
Figure 38. (right) “Anti-war poster, 1969” (AWM, n.d. –a, as cited in Disher, 1987, p. 175)

Figure 39. (left) (Disher, 1987, p. 175) (Further citation unclear in textbook acknowledgements)

Figure 40. (right) “police halting moratorium march, Adelaide, 1970” (Private Collections, n.d.-b, as cited in Disher, 1987, p. 175).

The final two paragraphs titled "The End of Australia's Involvement" (p. 175) candidly describe the negative treatment of veterans on returning home: "many people reviled them" (p. 175), and "some later suffered from psychological distress or the effects of chemicals like Agent Orange" (p. 175). Disher (1987) finishes the section with a paragraph on Prime Minister Whitlam which differs dramatically in tone to paragraphs written about the police force or the Liberal Party, commenting that "His Labor government abolished the National Services Act, established diplomatic relations with China and North Vietnam, and became more independent than the Liberal government in foreign policy" (p. 175). By mentioning these points in isolation and without further explanation, especially the comment regarding the Whitlam Government's foreign policy with China, Disher (1987) intends for students to accept these outcomes positively.

Disher (1987) discusses the Vietnam War in more detail under the chapter titled "The Protest years - 1966-1972" (p. 171). It is notable that the author has specifically chosen to group various major topics including the Vietnam War under the theme of protest, and although previous textbooks had focussed on protest also, this is the first time a textbook had foregrounded it so prominently. This shifts the context of the war from frames such as colonialism, the Cold War, or South-East Asian relations with Australia, as it had been in preceding textbooks, to a strong focus on protest within other movements of the time. The

author comments that protests regarding conscription and Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War "were part of a much wider movement of change… look(ing) for answers to the problems of racism, inequalities in human rights, rights for women, pollution, and how one should lead one's life" (p. 171).

Disher (1987) does not lack criticisms of the Labor Party. He states that although the party opposed the Vietnam War in general, and the sending of conscripts, they "were reluctant to take an active role until the latter part of the war years" (p. 175), and that "this reluctance is one reason why students, academics and trade unionists led the protest movement" (p. 175). That said, Disher (1987) makes it very clear he approves of "Dr Jim Cairns, who led the 1970 Moratorium marches in Melbourne" (p. 175), even noting that Cairns "was an effective and popular speaker" (p. 175). Other authors (Laidlaw, 1979; Willis & Pryor, 1979; Mason, 1983) to this point rarely comment on any Australian politicians' popularity unless referencing how a person was voted out of office.

Three large paragraphs titled, "The Police" (p. 175) begin with, "Police brutality was a common complaint made by demonstrators" (p. 175). Although Disher (1987) does not state whether the complaints were justified, he chooses to include the view as the paragraph opener. He continues that police were:

> also accused of removing their identification badges, harassing journalists and photographers from the media, using agents to provoke violence or disturbances at rallies and marches, keeping photographs of and files on people who regularly attended demonstrations, raiding homes or offices of radical groups, and damaging property when they made searches or arrests. (p. 175)

Disher (1987) views the police negatively as 'the criminals' who are working mindlessly or working unethically as they carry out authorities' orders. Here is the most negative depiction of Australian police in all textbooks analysed.

Disher's (1987) political opinions also creep into the text in the final reference to the topic of the Vietnam War. In the section titled "Asian Immigration, Multiculturalism and the Blainey Debate" (p. 194), he details the experience of refugees and migrants from Indochina to Australia. He includes numerical data regarding the refugee intake of the post-War period to

1981, and various governments' immigration policies. "Problems for Indo-Chinese Immigrants in Australia" (p. 194) are also detailed, including difficulties with language and the attitude that "many Australians believe that Asian immigrants arrived in a 'flood' and that they make a high proportion of the population" (p. 194) before declaring directly that "this is false" (p. 194). This is an interesting inclusion because, similar to topics mentioned earlier, the experiences of Vietnamese post-War refugees and migrants had not been referred to in detail in any previous textbook. Here is a significant shift in writing about the topic.

Disher (1987) concludes with comments on difficulties experienced by the different political and ethnic groups of the Vietnamese-Australian community. He comments that, "Conflict exists between the Chinese from Vietnam and the indigenous Vietnamese, and between pro- and anti-Communist sympathizers" (p. 194), which had certainly not been raised by any textbook in this collection previously, displaying a new, albeit limited, shift towards inclusion of Vietnamese narratives.

6.1.5 *Australia and the World in the Twentieth Century* (Kerr & Webb, 1989)

Chapter Ten of *Australia and the World in the Twentieth Century* (Kerr & Webb, 1989) introduces the 1960-1980s with a summation of the entire period, including statements such as, "These years have seen the development around the world of 'trouble spots' – the Middle East, Cuba and Northern Ireland, as well as Vietnam" (p. 151). Chapter Ten is subtitled "The War in Vietnam" and the background to the war is presented with a question and answer section entitled, "Think about it." This section includes questions such as "Why would it be easy for China to support North Vietnam?" (p. 152) and "Look at the Mekong River on the map (opposite). Which would be the most fertile farming area in Vietnam?" (p. 152). These questions offer the students a chance to explore geo-political aspects of the war (in the case of the geographical closeness of Vietnam and China), but to develop more in-depth understanding of Vietnam.

Kerr and Webb (1989) advance the coverage of several topics only briefly referenced in earlier textbooks, including religion and the number of Australian soldiers deployed to Vietnam until 1968. The paragraph titled, "American Involvement" (p. 152), includes points rarely included in other texts, such as "Diem and his supporters were Catholic (although

mentioned by Harrison (1987)), and they failed to get the support of the Buddhist majority. Buddhist monks burnt themselves in protest against Diem's rule and his cruelties. Diem was assassinated in 1963" (p. 152). By including reference to the Buddhist monks' protests so close to Diem's assassination, Kerr & Webb (1989) display a boldness in their commentary, a shift facilitated by the information, media forms, ease of access and lessoning of censorship available by 1989. Kerr and Webb (1989) include five notable visual representations in this section, two of which are the first colour photographs of the Vietnam War printed in any textbook to-date.

Figure 41. (left) "Australian soldiers disembarking from a Chinook" (AWM, n.d. –b., as cited in Kerr & Webb, 1989, p. 154)
Figure 42. (right) "US B-52 bomber over Vietnam" (NLA n.d., as cited in Kerr & Webb, 1989, p. 155)

Figure 43. "Two Viet Cong soldiers being escorted back to battalion headquarters for questioning" (AWM, n.d. – c, as cited in Kerr & Webb, 1989, p. 156)


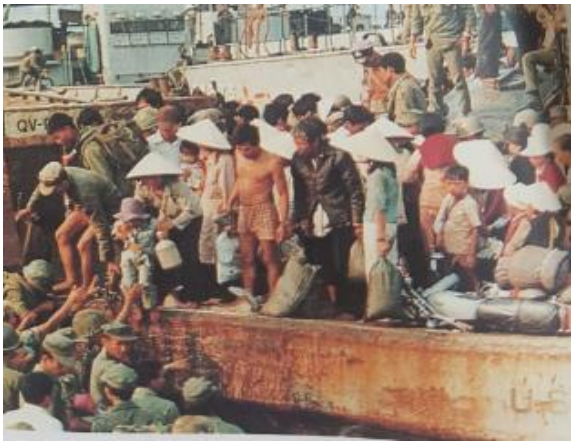

Figure 44. (left) "The ruins of a hamlet, north-east of Saigon, after an air attack" (Australian Associated Press [AAP], n.d., as cited in Kerr & Webb, 1989, p. 156)
Figure 45. (right) "South Vietnamese fleeing from Hue after a Viet Cong advance in March 1975" (AAP, n.d. – b., as cited in Kerr & Webb, 1989, p. 156)

All display the brutality of war, including that it is industrialised with the cruel consequences for victims, especially the innocent, and develops the narrative of the human costs. This is in stark contrast to the faceless descriptions of war found in the sweeping general commentaries of the earliest textbooks.

Later, in the section on 1960s protest movements, there is inclusion of the Bob Dylan song "With God on our Side" (p. 175), which is one of the few references (in the coded textbooks and *Agora*) to powerful popular individuals within anti-war protest movements, as well as a reference to the inclusion of songs as sources in History education. And finally, in a section titled "Personalities 1960s - 1980s" (p. 190) Kerr and Webb (1989) include an extended biography of Ho Chi Minh presented in the form of a diary entry, accompanied by various photographs of Ho Chi Minh at different stages of his life. This inclusion furthers the emerging shift from earlier brief references to his involvement in the Vietnam War (Rich, 1970; Berenson & Rosenblatt, 1979; Rajendra, Rajendra & Lower, 1984), to more detailed entries regarding his involvement (Mason, 1983; Coupe & Andrews, 1983) and his motivations. The latter textbook authors project more confidence in how they portray Ho Chi Minh because, in the years just following the war, any positive reference to his leadership would have been unlikely.

The authors have used a markedly visual format with maps and photographs, as well as activities for the students, demonstrating their understanding of the practical side of teaching with a textbook. Chapter 10 of the textbook titled, “Events 1960-80s” (p. 152) contains a section that includes the Vietnam War. This textbook boasts many more photographs and maps related to the Vietnam War than other textbooks.

6.2 Conclusion

The textbooks of this era (1985-1992) provide a more nuanced discussion of the Vietnam War narrative, by including not only more Vietnamese perspectives on the war, but mentions of how the conflict related to other non-WWI or WWII conflicts, including Korea and Afghanistan (Harrison, 1987). There is evidence of a developing diversity of representation and perspective, facilitated by the information, media forms, ease of access, and lessening of censorship available to the authors by the mid-1980s and early 1990s. Yet, a more Australia-centric critique of the war also develops, with authors (Disher, 1987; Kerr & Webb, 1989) offering a more open critique of events on the Australian home front, particularly relating to why many Australians chose to protest against Australia’s involvement in the war.

The omission of the Vietnam War in the HSC textbook (Johnston, 1985) contrasts with the integration of perspectives in others, such as US soldiers’ and Vietnamese Communists’ (Harrison, 1987), and topics including the contrast of Vietnam with other Cold War-related conflicts (Harrison, 1987), and US involvement (Harrison, 1987; Kerr & Webb, 1989).

Yet, the rise in number and impact of visual representations of the war is especially powerful in this era, with Harrison (1987), Disher (1987), and Kerr & Webb (1989) shifting the textbooks towards a style more recognisable by today’s textbook standards. Harrison (1987), Disher (1987), and Kerr and Webb (1989) bring early evaluations of the power of television, visual imagery of the war, and popular culture, commenting on how these elements influenced some Australians’ views on Australian involvement and commitment to protest.

Chapter Seven: Textbooks – 1992-2005

Introduction

Chapter Seven discuss how textbooks published between 1992 and 2005, and used in Victorian classrooms; depict the Vietnam War (see Chapters Three and Five for the methodology specific to the textbook coding and analysis). Following the second era of textbooks (see Chapter Six); Chapter Seven examines textbooks from the introduction of VCE (1992) until the end of the era (2005). As with the earlier chapters, each textbook is analysed in a standalone section to display the author's manifest and latent content, and emerging shifts through each era.

7.1 Textbooks of the Era 1992-2005

Following on from previous textbooks' (Chapter Six) introduction of the perspectives of individuals (US and Vietnamese soldiers' and Vietnamese civilians) on the Vietnam War, Textbooks published between 1992-2005 display shifts towards greater questioning of biases and different perspectives, and more strident criticism of US involvement in the Vietnam War, correlating with contemporary public discussion on Australia's involvement in the U.S.-led Invasions of Afghanistan in 2001, and Iraq in 2003.

The textbooks included in this chapter are:
Experience of Nationhood, Australia and the World Since 1900, (third edition) (Mason, 1992)
Focus of Australian History (Anderson, & Ashton, 1993)
Exploring Asian Histories (Sutherland, 1993)
The Australian Experience (Triolo, 1996)
History: Australia in the Twentieth Century. (Darlington, Hospodaryk, & Carrodus, 1998).
SOSE 2: Studies of Society and Environment (Tudball, 2001)

7.1.2 *Experience of Nationhood, Australia and the World Since 1900, (third edition)* **(Mason, 1992)**

The first textbook analysed in this era (1992-2005) demonstrates elements of the emerging learning area, Studies of Society and Environment (SOSE). The preface mentions that this is the third edition of the book, and that it is "intended as both a textbook and as a resource book and offers students the opportunity to explore the main themes that have shaped the pattern of modern Australian History since Federation." (p. ix)

The main section regarding the Vietnam War titled, *"*The Vietnam Conflict*"* (p. 219) is included in chapter seven, "The Postwar World" (p. 193), and begins with a slightly different approach to previous textbooks on the conflict's background. It highlights the US and the USSR's Cold War relationship and emphasises President Kennedy's role in the escalating conflict:

> It was during the Kennedy era that the United States began to commit ground forces to Vietnam. For the rest of the 1960s and into the 1970s the United States involvement in the war in Vietnam not only divided the nation but also prevented any real improvement in relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. (p. 219)

Later, chapter eight, "Australia and the World 1945-72*"* (p. 237) begins with a photograph of three Australian troops, smiling and relaxed while shirtless but with machine guns.

Figure 46. "Australian troops on service in South Vietnam, 1968." (AWM, 1968, as cited in Mason, 1992, p. 237)

This is the first time a textbook analysed in this study has presented a photograph of relaxed Australian soldiers with the pair clearly smiling, knowing that they are being photographed, in contrast to earlier textbooks' photographs of Australian soldiers on tense patrol (Figures Nine, 16 and 25) or escorting Viet Cong soldiers (Figure 41). A quote from George Johnson's '*My Brother Jack'*, accompanies the photograph and displays Mason's (1992) confidence to include a comparison with WWI:

> The adventurous Australian has been obliged to look elsewhere for the great adventures, the necessary challenges to the flesh and spirit. This is why his wars must be fought for other causes than his own – and often for strange ones – and always in faraway places." (p. 237)

Mason's (1992) textbook demonstrates a focus on the pre-Vietnam War history being on the US and the USSR rather than China and Vietnam, or the French Indo China War. The war, itself, is then discussed from a predominantly US viewpoint, not the case in previous textbooks, thus, Mason (1992) displays confidence and freedom to offer a more critical view of the Vietnam War compared to textbooks of the late 1970s and early 1980s. This

confidence, afforded by the passage of time since the war, and acceptance by the Australian public of more openly critical views of the US also supports Mason's (1992) use of the literary device comparing WWI Australian soldiers to those who fought in Vietnam. This comparison shows a supportive reflection on the men's situation, at a time when Australian Vietnam War veterans' stories had not yet become prominent in public literature and had only one prominent depiction in Hollywood film in the film *Born on the Fourth of July* (Stone, 1989).

7.1.3 *Focus of Australian History* (Anderson & Ashton, 1993)

Under the chapter heading "International Relationships and Overseas Conflicts" (p. 110) the first reference to the Vietnam War in *Focus of Australian History* (Anderson & Ashton, 1993) is prefixed with two main titles and questions following them (capitalisation and punctuation as is in the text);

> INQUIRY FOCUS
>
> - Why did Australians participate in overseas conflict?
> - How and why have our international relationships changed?
> - In what ways have Asian countries influenced Australia?
>
> YOUR INVESTIGATION
>
> - Individual colonial and Commonwealth participation in the 19th and 20th century conflicts
> - Nationalism
> - Empire and Commonwealth loyalties and changing alliances
> - Recruitment, conscription and participation in wars
> - Opposition to participation in wars
> - Propaganda and censorship
> - Gallipoli and the ANZAC tradition
> - Communism and anti-Communism
> - Immigration

- Economic issues
- Dismissal of political leaders
- Popular culture. (p. 110)

The inclusion of a research task that focuses on themes including colonialism, nationalism, loyalties and alliances, political theories and economic issues amongst others, displays a shift in textbooks' activities and t pedagogical approaches that engage students in exploring themes themselves, rather than using a textbook as the primary and sometimes sole source of synthesised information to be accepted.

Furthering the emphasis on students working with, and drawing inferences from, key terms and data, there is also an historical glossary related to "Australian Participation in Overseas Conflicts" (p. 111) and a numerical table of all the Australians killed, wounded or prisoners of war, and overall numbers for each conflict mentioned in the textbook. The glossary and data activities are the first of their kind in all textbooks analysed and rich inclusions for facilitating students' research and learning overall.

The main section of *Focus of Australian History* (Anderson & Ashton, 1993) that includes the Vietnam War is an "Inquiry Study" (p. 114) titled, "Nationalism, recruitment and participation" (p. 114). The Vietnam War content reflects a group of Vietnam War-focused works from the time that explore differing perspectives (Grey & Doyle, 1992) and regional examinations of the conflict (Edwards & Pemberton, 1992). Written as an overview of various conflicts in which Australia has participated, the inquiry study demonstrates a shift of emphasis towards a broader global understanding of the impact of war in general and compares casualties, including death toll, for the Vietnam War compared with other conflicts in which Australia has been involved.

The textbook was written for the then recently introduced New South Wales Curriculum. However, it has been verified as having been used in Victorian classrooms by the owner of the collection from which it was sourced. Because the textbook follows a specifically written curriculum, the chapters, questions and activities follow suit. Overall, the textbook shifts into the more modern idea of being a resources book, that includes activities where the student is expected to research information not included in the text, rather than the book being merely a

teacher resource. This is the first time that more thematic outcomes and inquiry learning strategies are a focus in a chapter. The influence of the theory and practice of inquiry-based learning in History education has been much-discussed including the socio-political aspects (Wilschut, 2010) and the practical applications (Bain, 2011; Levy, Thomas, Drago & Rex, 2013; Voet & De Wever, 2017). In addition to its inclusion of Vietnam War content, this textbook published in 1993 is evidence of a major shift in History education practicum and pedagogy.

7.1.4 *Exploring Asian Histories* (Sutherland, 1993)

The first mention of the Vietnam War in *Exploring Asian Histories* (Sutherland in Hoban & Lewis, 1993) is in the chapter titled "Vietnamese Voices" (Sutherland, 1993, p. 77), written by Ian Sutherland, who also features prominently in the *Agora* chapters. The opening sentence foregrounds Sutherland's (1993) focus on Vietnamese perspectives of the war, as well as highlighting the dominance of US perspectives, primarily through film and television documentaries. Sutherland (1993) states: "Our view of the Vietnam War is shaped by many sources including books, magazines, films such as *Born on the Fourth of July* and *Platoon,* or by television shows such as *China Beach*" (p. 77). By 1993, many Vietnam War based films and television series had been produced (Cimino, 1978; Coppola, 1979; Stone, 1986; Kubrick, 1987; Stone, 1989) therefore Sutherland (1993) shows how textbooks and wider public conceptions were being influenced by film depictions. He continues with the fresh observation: "These sources, coming as they often do from the United States of America, develop great sympathy for the experiences of the American soldiers during the war, whilst largely ignoring the impact of the war on the Vietnamese people" (p. 77). These are the first direct authorial comments on the influence of US biases, including their shaping of views in Australia and how Vietnamese experiences have been largely overlooked. Sutherland (1993) uses two examples to display how US perspectives had been accepted without question in Australia:

> The names used about the conflict indicate our attitude: we refer to the Vietnam War and discuss the Fall of Saigon; the Vietnamese now living in Vietnam refer to these same events as the American War and the Liberation of Saigon. (p. 77)

The first primary source is from an ex-Viet Cong soldier, Huong Van Ba, included in a paragraph titled “Reactions to the American” (p. 80). After briefly detailing the emergence of the American-supported Diem, the author includes the Huong Van Ba quote taken from “Chanoff & Doan Van Taoi *Portrait of the Enemy*” (p.81): “If the French were colonialists, the Americans were neo-colonialists, financial exploiters who were out to force our people into their own kind of enslavement” (p. 81). This is the first direct quote from a Viet Cong soldier. Sutherland’s (1993) choice to include the extended quote, which comments further on how some Vietnamese people felt about Diem, is another ‘first’:

> When they (Americans) brought Mr Diem to Vietnam, the Vietnamese people had never heard of him. What they did know was that Diem was a creature of the Americans… Why didn’t (the Americans) choose some respected and virtuous figure in the South as leader? (p. 81)

Along with this quote, Sutherland (1993) also connects the previously mentioned (Harrison, 1987; Kerr & Webb, 1989) protests and self-immolations of Buddhist monks to Diem’s rule, “In 1963, opposition to Diem by Buddhists erupted with a series of self-immolations of Buddhist priests” (p. 81). Here, Sutherland (1993) continues the textbooks’ progression to more candid criticism of Diem’s presidency. The presence of a seemingly formal photograph of President Diem and his family (p. 80) precedes the quote, creating a stark contrast between a family photo and the description of self-immolating monks.

Figure 47. "President Diem and his Family" (Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collection as cited in Sutherland, 1993)

In a shift towards more detail regarding American military strategy, and the third reference to Search and Destroy missions (Coupe & Andrews, 1983; Rajendra, Rajendra & Lower, 1984), Sutherland (1993) moves to the American escalation of its involvement in the Vietnam War by noting the "change in military strategy, with a reliance on heavy bombing, massive firepower and Search and Destroy missions. The effect on the people was devastating" (p. 81). Moreover, Sutherland (1993) develops the topic of guerrilla warfare, only mentioned twice previously in the textbooks (Coupe & Andrews, 1983; Rajendra, Rajendra & Lower, 1984) under the title "Guerilla Life" (p. 81). Here is the first textbook to offer extensive coverage on the Viet Cong: the leaders, the Ho Chi Minh Trail, and even a passing mention of Cambodia:

> The National Liberation Front (NLF) became the co-ordinating body for the resistance movement in the South, and set up a rival Government ready to take control. North Vietnam increased the aid it was sending along the Ho Chi Minh Trail… (A) long time supporter was Truong Nhu Tang who had been a covert organiser in Saigon during the 1950s… moved to the jungle headquarters of the NLF's Provisional Revolutionary Government, near the Cambodian border. (p.81)

An excerpt from Truong Nhu Tang's *A Viet Cong Memoir* (Chanoff & Doan, 1986), identifies the challenges for the Viet Cong in their guerrilla lifestyle. Quotes such as, "SUPPLIES: Personal items, like toothbrushes, would be bought by one of the unit (sic) making occasional trips to Cambodia" (p. 81) remind readers that basic items were difficult to obtain, and creates an accessible first-person connection to the Viet Cong soldier. Similarly, the section "INDOCTRINATION: Long sessions were held to strengthen their resolve, but for the Southerners there was no marxist indoctrination. Instructors would concentrate on Ho's slogans, such as 'Nothing is more precious than Independence and Liberty'" (p.82). The section on the Viet Cong is accompanied by a caption-less photograph of Viet Cong or North Vietnamese soldiers walking with cargo in North Vietnam (p. 82).

Figure 48. No Title (Marc Riboud/Magnum, courtesy John Hillelson Agency Ltd. as cited in Sutherland, 1993, p. 87)

Sutherland (1993) demonstrates how he, as a teacher, historian, and textbook author, pushes towards better understanding of multiple perspectives of the war by asking, "Can you imagine… why the Northern troops would receive different indoctrinations?" (p. 83).

Exhibiting what Donnelly (2014) argues as broadening students' understanding of historical events through the use of pop culture, Sutherland includes a section on the "Christmas Bombing" (p. 85) with a source written by folk singer Joan Baez, reflecting on her experience of a bombing raid, "Getting caught on that bridge during a raid was my idea of hell" (p. 85). This is an interesting inclusion, as Baez had only previously been mentioned in textbooks' sections on the 1960s counterculture movements, not in direct relation to the Vietnam War or as a witness to a bombing raid.

In "Area of Investigation 2: Australian impact on Vietnamese in Vietnam" (p. 86), Sutherland (1993) begins with a question not previously asked in any earlier textbook: "Was the impact of the war on the Vietnamese people, their villages and their land different in the area under the control of the Australians?" (p. 86). For the first time, there is a question regarding possible differences in military tactics between Australian and American forces. The section also includes the first reference to the most famous battle Australian soldiers engaged in during the Vietnam War, the Battle of Long Tan. It states that "Australia was given the task in Vietnam of pacifying the province of Phuoc Tuy, and removing Viet Cong influence" (p.

87), being the first use of the word ‘pacifying’, commonly used euphemistically in war dialogues, but not in textbooks.

Figure 49. “*Bodies of the Dead in a Battle against Australians”* (Rintoul, 1987, as cited in Sutherland, 1993, p. 87).

A photograph of dead bodies following a battle against Australian soldiers, and several firsthand accounts and reflections from the perspective of an Australian soldier who had later returned to Vietnam after the war, are notable inclusions; Sutherland (1993) does not ‘shy away’ from exploring confronting images or perspectives of the war. He adds to this exploration of more ‘difficult’ aspects of the Australian involvement in the war with a quote from ‘Mrs Xiu’, whose sons had been killed during a battle with Australian soldiers. She exclaims, “What right did you have to destroy my sons? I had never heard of your country before your soldiers came here” (Burstall, T. as cited in Sutherland, 1993, p. 88), which Sutherland (1993) seems to have included as his possible comment on Australian involvement overall. The final source in the section includes the first reference in the textbooks to defoliation of agricultural land and chemically related deaths at the hands of Australian soldiers.

The chapter concludes with a final selection of ten sources, all from Vietnamese perspectives; which wasnot addressed in any depth in previous textbooks, excepting one from a US veteran, and another from the perspective of an Australian soldier. The Vietnamese perspectives include references to how the end of the war and its aftermath affected the Vietnamese. Included, are topics not previously explored, such as Vietnamese belief systems,

"We children knew that our ancestral spirits demanded we resist the outsiders" (p. 90), as well as the ruthlessness of the Viet Cong, "…step up extermination activities against traitors… all those refusing to have rice collected… can be considered as reactionaries and punished like other traitors" (p. 90). Sutherland also includes the only reference to the Museum of the Revolution in Hanoi, which was built after the end of the war. Here, he includes a quote regarding pre-Vietnam War Vietnamese history. The close proximity of the museum photograph and the heroic sentiments of the quote display how post-Vietnam War Vietnamese government presented their history with victorious tones:

> The history of the Vietnam War was presented as one long record of torture, atrocity, killing, suffering and vengeance... the stronger became my feeling that to a Vietnamese it must be almost impossible to distinguish one historical epoch from another... first heroes in the lengthy roll were Trung-Trac and Trung-Nhi - the legendary Trung sisters. (p. 91)

Sutherland concludes with a series of questions for students, as well as his bibliography. His final student task is yet another fascinating and 'bigger picture' global inclusion,

> Find out about the Allied bombing campaign against Iraq in the Gulf War, and look at the similarities and differences with the US bombing of North Vietnam. Would the ordinary citizens of Iraq be affected in the same way as the Vietnamese were? (p. 93)

Clearly, *Exploring Asian Histories* (Hoban & Lewis, 1993), developed and published by the History Teachers' Association of Victoria (HTAV), was written to support teachers and students of histories of Asia. While all textbooks were written for this purpose, the majority of textbooks coded were written by one or two authors as wider histories of Australia and with links where relevant to Asia, whereas this textbook focuses on a few major events and nations in Asia, with a number of authors who are "experienced teachers of Asian Histories from across Australia" (p. introduction) writing each section. Furthermore, the introduction states that "the themes the textbook' explores - the formation of Australian attitudes towards Asia, nationalism, and conflict - were chosen because they are significant themes in most Asian History courses taught in Australia" (p. introduction). Arguably of greatest importance, there is a strong correlation between the publishing of the textbook (1993) and the emergence

in 1992 of the Asia Education Foundation (AEF), an "initiative of Asialink at the University of Melbourne" (AEF, n.d., para. 3). The AEF was created to provide professional learning and resources for Australian educators and students to promote "intercultural learning and global perspectives to navigate a shared future with Asia" (AEF, n.d., para. 4).

The format of the textbook is also interesting, because it is predominantly a collection of primary and secondary sources complemented by classroom activities. Comparatively, other earlier textbooks in this collection offer traditional, synthesised historical narratives and a few reading comprehension questions or slightly different student activities throughout or at the end of the chapter (Rich, 1970; Laidlaw, 1979; Hamer, 1980; Coupe, 1984; Disher, 1987). Only several primary sources, from the many in the fifteen-page section, clearly display new areas and perspectives into which the textbook has ventured are referenced as part of the above analysis.

Sutherland (1993) continues: "by listening to Vietnamese people who have left Vietnam, a different perspective on the war emerges" (p. 77). This shifts the perspective from talking *about* Vietnamese people, which had been done rarely in previous textbooks (Harrison, 1987; Anderson & Ashton, 1993), to *hearing the people's stories more authentically from their own mouths.* The author's specific inclusion of Vietnamese people who have left Vietnam, possibly to live in Australia, rather than Vietnamese people still residing in their country of birth, is also novel. Sutherland asks thought-provoking questions about the expatriate perspective: "What is this perspective? How does it differ from your perspective or that of the films and books you see and read? Does listening to these other voices change your understanding of the Vietnam War?" (p. 77). Sutherland's questions are evidence of the shift by the early 1990s of historians invested in education focused on incorporating a full range of perspectives in their work; in this case bringing Vietnamese people's experiences to an Australian audience.

Sutherland offers further considerations about source bias and in more depth than in any previous textbooks, for example, "…consider whether the accounts that follow are typical of the experiences of all Vietnamese. Many of these people have good reasons to hate the present Government of Vietnam. Does this make them unreliable observers?" (p. 77). The student is, thus, invited to query the sources, furthering the practice of the later textbooks of

having students think of and for themselves as historians, and learning skills that develop deeper understanding of how historical narratives are created. Students are no longer passive learners ingesting synthesized and chronologically ordered events, people and ideologies. Sutherland continues to pose these questions:

> When dealing with any source - be it film, photograph, oral record or the written word - it is important to consider the following issues;
> - What audience do you believe the source is aimed at?
> - Does the source develop sympathy for any particular group?
> - Which characters are realistic?
> - Are the Vietnamese shown as stereotypes?
> - How are the Americans and/or Australians depicted?
> - What understanding of the Vietnam War do you have from this particular source? (p. 77).

This again displays both the author's and others involved in the general trend of a more rigorous scrutiny of diverse sources and their use in classrooms teaching History.

The final section is titled "Area of Investigation 3: Communist Success" (p. 89) and initially focuses on an argument not referred to by any previous textbook, that "US commentators and historians tend to concentrate on reasons for the US defeat, rather than looking at reasons for Communist success" (p. 89). Again, Sutherland (1993) introduces students to not only conjecture regarding historical narratives, but the idea that the US narrative, although it has dominated reporting, is but one of many regarding the war. According to Sutherland (1993), US historians mention such things as:

> - US military strategy, and the decay of the US Army.
> - The anti-war movement in the USA.
> - Interference by US politicians. Ex-President (Ronald) Reagan is one of many who still think that the Army could have won if they had been left alone.
> - Weakness of the South Vietnamese government (sic). (p. 89)

He then reflects on Vietnamese historians who, in contrast,

> …concentrate on reasons for Communist success… the ruthlessness and dedication of Communist forces, arguing that these forces were motivated by patriotism and their dedication was promoted by a very efficient propaganda network. (p. 89)

Here, the textbook introduces students to possible reasons for the outcome of the war, not only from US perspectives, but from Vietnamese.

7.1.5 *The Australian Experience* (Triolo, 1996)

This is a rare companion to the ABC Education television series for schools: 'The Australian Experience'. The textbook presents a series of units that correspond with each episode. However, the units are also self-contained, not needing access to the television series for their use, and are set within the frame of the emerging classroom method of inquiry-based learning. There is no evidence to suggest whether or not Triolo was working from a shift in widespread curriculum focus, or from her own initiative but inquiry methodology was being employed by many notable HTAV authors, for example, in *Agora* articles and their other textbooks at that time. Triolo (1996) prefaces the book by commenting, "History lives best outside books. It exists in the people around you. It has shaped the way you live, the places you will visit today and the places you may visit in the future" (p. vii), placing the textbook within the context of an inclusive understanding of the importance of learning History for reasons beyond schooling.

Similar to the *Exploring Asian Histories* (Hoban & Lewis, 1993), this textbook is considerably more extensive in its Vietnam War unit than earlier textbooks, and begins with the unit title "War on many Fronts: Australia's Involvement in the Vietnam War" (p. 77) positioning the unit to be read specifically from the Australian point of view and its battle front as well as home front dimensions, both rarely taken in detail in previous textbooks. It also raises a point early and one not mentioned by any other textbook, that by the time of the textbook's writing "Vietnam was the setting for Australia's longest ever war commitment, between 1962 and 1972" (p. 77). The inquiry-based learning method is demonstrated immediately after the summary introduction, with the following inquiry questions;

- To what extent has Vietnam's history, including the Vietnam War, been shaped by the beliefs and actions of other nations?
- Why did the Australian Government become involved in the Vietnam War?
- What were the different reactions on the Australian homefront to Australia's involvement? Why?
- What were the outcomes of protest against Australia's involvement for both Australia and Vietnam? (p. 77)

Although some of these questions were covered in other textbooks, they were not presented in so upfront a fashion, and there is one notable progression that only one other textbook had alluded to; the manner in which Vietnam War historical narratives are created. "To what extent has Vietnam's history, including the Vietnam War, been shaped by the beliefs and actions of other nations?" (p. 77) is an important question that shows the shift towards not only understanding the context and content of some of the Vietnam War history from the Vietnam and Australian experiences, but how elements of multiple nations' experiences and narratives must be considered to create a full picture

Following the questions, the textbook continues with a detailed summary of the "history of occupation" (p. 77) which is in turn accompanied by a contemporary map of Vietnam. A significant inclusion is the reference to Ho Chi Minh's earlier activities and views leading him to be "forced to live for several years in the Soviet Union" (p. 78), not mentioned in any other textbooks in the collection. This contextualises the relationship between the USSR and the Viet Minh. This point is taken further in "A Cold War" (p. 79) where Triolo (1996) notes that "the assistance offered on one hand to the Viet Minh by China and the Soviet Union, and to France by the United States on the other, was part of a wider global contest" (p. 79). In a move not adopted by earlier textbooks, these early sections are accompanied by a contemporary photograph of "French architecture in Ho Chi Minh City (formerly Saigon)" (p. 78), and a family rice paddy - road to Vung Tau" (p. 79) each of which adds to students' understandings of what Vietnam looked like in the 'modern-day' and beyond the war context.

The next three sections titled "The Domino Theory" (p. 80), "Australia and Fears of Communism" (p. 80) and "Forward Defence" (p. 81) cover topics that had been explored by earlier textbooks (Rich, 1970; Fabian, 1978; Laidlaw, 1979; Mason, 1983; Coupe &

Andrews, 1983; Coupe, 1984; Rajendra, Rajendra & Lower, 1984; Harrison, 1987; Disher, 1987; Kerr & Webb, 1989; Mason, 1992; Anderson & Ashton, 1993; Sutherland, 1993). However, the sections include details not earlier addressed, including the Gulf of Tonkin incident, only referred to in one earlier textbook (Harrison, 1987). Triolo (1996) describes it here as "Reports in March 1964 that North Vietnamese troops had fired without reason at a United States ship" (p. 80). The sections are accompanied by three cartoons, "The Domino Theory" (p. 80), "Nearer, Clearer, Deadlier…" (p. 81) and "The Red River" (p. 81), each of which the students are asked to analyse. Of note, Triolo (1996) has focussed on Australian propaganda in circulation at the time, a topic only briefly mentioned in previous textbooks.

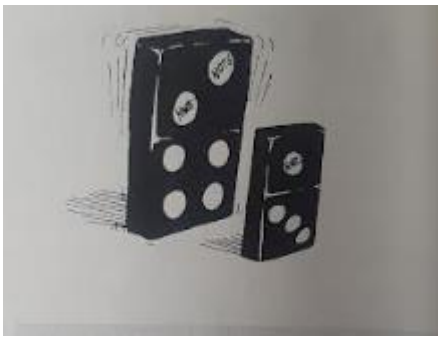

Figure 50. "The Domino Theory" (Petty, 1968 As cited in *The Best of Petty* (Smith, 1968), as cited in *The Australian Experience* (Triolo, 1996, p. 80).

Figure 51. Lindsay, N. (1950). Nearer, Clearer, Deadlier. as cited in *The Bulletin*, as cited in Triolo, *The Australian Experience, 1996*, p. 81).

Figure 52. "The Red River" (Scorfield, 1954, as cited in *The Bulletin* as cited in *The Australian Experience,* Triolo 1996, p. 81).

Following, are sources relating to "Forward Defence" (p. 82), "The need for SEATO" (p. 82) and "In receipt of a request" (p. 83) that support students' understandings of Australia's relationship with the U.S., culminating in "Australia becomes involved in the Vietnam War" (p. 83). The following section, "All the way with LBJ" (p. 84) continues the chronological sequencing of topics with inclusion of written primary sources by Prime Minister Holt (as quoted in *The Australian,* 1966), and part of an article from *The Australian* written in 1966, a quote by President Johnson.

However, it is the visual representations supplementing the commentary and student questions, that present another shift in how the war was depicted across these later years under investigation. There is a photograph of "Paint on President Johnson's car - Melbourne, 1966" (p. 84) highlighting the negative reaction Johnson received in Australia from some protesters. Yet, there is also a photograph of "Australian soldiers on the road, 1969" (p. 85) which shows a group of Australian soldiers sitting on the back of a truck simply being transported with their weapons. This is the second photograph in the textbooks (the previous

being Mason, 1992) of Australian soldiers in Vietnam neither actively engaged in combat, nor resting in the aftermath of combat.

Figure 53. "Australian Soldiers on the Road" (AWM, 1969, as cited in *The Australian Experience*, Triolo, 1996, p. 85).

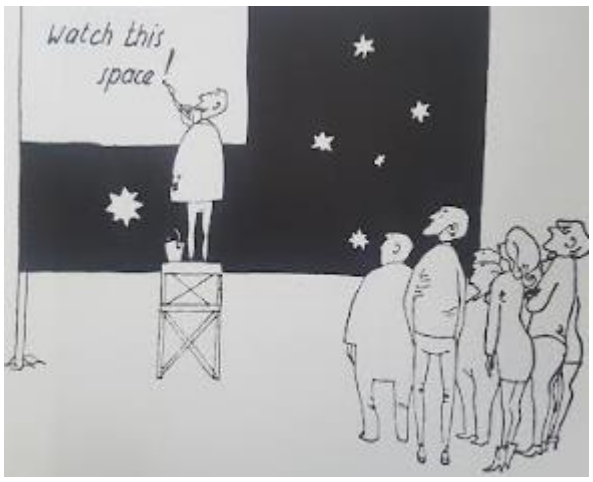

Figure 54. "Watch this Space" (Molnar, 1967, as cited in *Sydney Morning Herald* as cited in *The Australian Experience*, Triolo, 1996, p. 86).

Another standout visual representation is a cartoon titled "Watch this space" (p. 86) drawn in 1967, which has a person standing on a stool in front of the Australian flag with a group of other people watching on. The person on the stool has written, "Watch this space!" in a blank

area where the Union Jack would normally be. This is an interesting cartoon because it highlights the tension for some Australians of Australia's political allegiances since World War II shifting even more at the time away from Britain and towards the U.S.


DIGGERS FIGHT BACK

600 Viet Cong toll, says army

ELEVEN NS MEN DIE

Dead and wounded

KILLED IN ACTION

WOUNDED IN ACTION

DIGGERS FIGHT BACK

600 Viet Cong toll, says army

Figure 55. "Diggers Fight Back" (Stanaway, 1966, *The Herald*, Front Page, as cited in *The Australian Experience*, Triolo, 1996, p. 87)

The next visual representation, titled "Diggers Fight Back" (p. 87), is an article taken from the front page of *The Herald*, 20 August 1966, detailing a major battle in which Australian soldiers fought, were injured and were killed. There are three major points to note here. Firstly, Triolo (1996) has chosen to use an Australian newspaper article for a whole page of text, displaying its importance in the unit's narrative. Secondly, the article lists not only the men killed and wounded, but lists the national servicemen killed before regular army killed. Thirdly, that this is the first time any author has used a full newspaper article as a primary source in a textbook, displays Triolo's (1996) determination to show the prominence of the war in the Australian media as well as how the war was being reported at the time.

The section titled, "Opposition to Australia's involvement grows" (p. 88) details reasons for why many Australians began to feel negatively towards Australian involvement, including

two reasons not raised in earlier textbooks, that "some speakers argued that any agreement between the people of Vietnam and China would probably be short-lived due to the centuries-old Vietnamese dislike of the Chinese, hence there was no threat to Australia" (p. 88), and that the "original reasons for Australian involvement were now less important or had become forgotten causes" (p. 88). Although the author's reasons for including these two points are not obvious, they offer readers a deeper understanding of the history of the war, and are evidence of writers for school audiences presenting more complex versions of the Vietnam War narrative.

Figure 56. "National Servicemen Entering the Army for Two Years' Service" (John Fairfax Photo Library, n.d., as cited in *The Australian Experience,* Triolo, 1996, p. 92)

The following section focuses on the national service scheme, and includes the only photograph in all textbooks analysed of a photograph of a group of "national servicemen entering the army for two years' service" (p. 92), noticeably in their civilian clothes not uniforms. This section is followed by "The power of the people" (p. 92) which, similar to previous textbooks, gives extended focus to anti-war protest in Australia including the moratoriums, accompanied by a photograph of "Conscientious objector, Bill White, arrested by police" (p. 94). Powerfully, the picture has four police officers aggressively dragging White, which contrasts with the smiling faces in the photograph of the civilians marching into national service. The author also uses the results of the "Morgan Gallup Poll: "Do you think

we should continue to fight in Vietnam or bring our forces back to Australia?" (p. 95) which is the only textbook in the collection to do so, showing the author's desire to use data as evidence in support of commentary.

The final section "Vietnamisation and victims" (p. 98) details the final stages of the war and includes a paragraph reporting that "the human cost in death and suffering over the period had been enormous" (p. 99). Triolo (1996) goes on to detail the numbers of each group involved (including American and Australian soldiers killed and wounded, conscripts, Vietnamese soldiers and civilians), and the number of dead, including the oft forgotten point of "the count of civilians" being "extremely high" (p. 98). Moreover, this section comments on the aftermath of the war and provides a contemporary newspaper source discussing a topic focussed on in only one previous textbook (Disher, 1987), the use of Agent Orange and its effects. The editorial from a 1994 edition of *The Age* newspaper titled "Victory for Veterans" (p. 100) highlights veterans' ongoing War-related health issues. The section on the final stages of the war and the aftermath is framed by two photographs, one a "Statue of Ho Chi Minh and child, contrasted with the French architecture of the former town hall in the background - Ho Chi Minh City" (p. 99), and a "quiet street scene - Ho Chi Minh City today" (p. 99). Both pairs serve as bookends to the chapter and show photographs of modern day Vietnam in peace.

7.1.6 *History: Australia in the Twentieth Century.* (Darlington, Hospodaryk & Carrodus, 1998)

This textbook, *History: Australia in the Twentieth Century* (Darlington, Hospodaryk, & Carrodus, 1998) follows closely *CSF* and *National Profile* strands. The section on the Vietnam War is presented in the chapter "Beyond Your Command: The Sixties and Early Seventies" (p. 131) and, akin to earlier textbooks, the authors have framed the war within the context of political and social movements. "The Origins of the Vietnam War" (p. 144) includes sections such as "The struggle against French colonialism" (p. 144), "The First Indochina War" (p. 144), and "Towards a new conflict" (p. 145), all of which follow similar themes and topics as previous textbooks. The topics are accompanied by a map of "North and South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia after the Geneva Accords 1954" (p. 144) which is noteworthy because it includes Laos and Cambodia which, again, have been rarely mentioned

in early textbooks, and a "Vietnamese nationalist cartoon from the 1930s" (p. 145), the first instance of such a cartoon of its age being used by any author.

Darlington, Hospodaryk and Carrodus' (1998) textbook differs from earlier textbooks because it demonstrates three shifts across the 1975-2005 period. The authors' display confidence to analyze several 'difficult' aspects of the war, they exhibit how later authors had access to more in-depth understanding of Australia and U.S.' roles in the war, and they reveal one of the main reasons for overall shifts in the textbooks since the end of the Vietnam War; the passage of time.

The section on the Domino Theory includes a rare reference to nations other than Australia who sent troops to Vietnam alongside the U.S., mentioning New Zealand, South Korea and the Philippines and including another oft-ignored strength of the Viet Cong, that they "were led by tough veterans of the fight against the French" (p. 146). Darlington, Hospodaryk and Carrodus (1998) also include the only reference in the textbooks to "the huge US base at Khe Sahn" (p. 147), and one of the most contentious points of the war, which was briefly discussed in the previous textbook:

> "Nixon's other tactic was massive bombing to cut supplies coming from the North and to force North Vietnam to negotiate. In neighbouring Cambodia, where bombing raids were at first kept secret, it is possible that up to a million Cambodian peasants were killed in the bombing" (p. 147).

The next section, "All The Way" (p. 148), centres on Australia's involvement and its relationship with the U.S., conscription, and Australia's decision to send combat troops to the war. A number of visual representations support the section.

Figure 57. "Chopper lowering ammunition to D Company 6th R.A.R. Long Tan, Vietnam, 18 August 1966" (Fletcher & AWM, 1970, as cited in *History: Australia in the Twentieth Century*, Darlington, Hospodaryk & Carrodus, p. 148).

The first is a painting titled "Chopper lowering ammunition to D Company 6th R.A.R. Long Tan, Vietnam, 18 August 1966" (p. 148), and is only the second reference to the Battle of Long Tan (Sutherland, 1993 being the first) in any of the textbooks. It is also the only painting source. The painting itself echoes more famous artworks from WWI, a dramatic authorial choice.

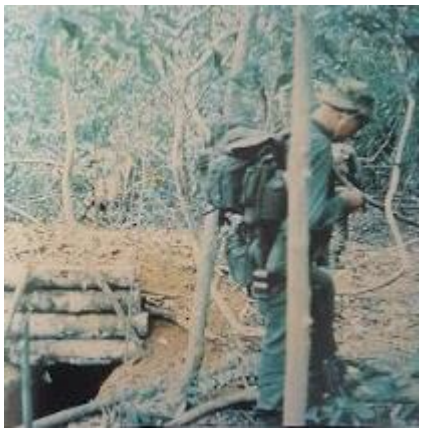

Figure 58. "A Bunker Discovered in a Viet Cong Camp North of Phuoc Tuy Province in 1968" (AWM, n.d.-a, as cited in Darlington, Hospodaryk & Carrodus, 1998, *History: Australia in the Twentieth Century*, p. 149).

The second is "A bunker discovered in a Viet Cong camp north of Phuoc Tuy Province in 1968" (p. 149), and the third is "An Australian patrol boarding an RAAF helicopter at Nui Dat, South Vietnam in 1970" (p.149). The photograph of a seemingly 'orderly' picture of war contrasts strongly with the painting, and although there have been other visual representations of Australian Defence Force personnel in the textbooks they are rare. These visual representations are in colour, again being a change from earlier textbooks' black and white photographs and sketches, with the authors offering a more contemporary format and lens (literally) through which to view the war. They also show the advancements in the types of visual representations now available to them for inclusion in textbooks, and their freedom to do so. Here are major shifts from earlier documents, such as the *Gazettes* (which, by their

administrative nature, included no visual representations of the Vietnam War) and earlier textbooks that were restricted by lack of resources.

Figure 59. "An Australian Patrol Boarding an RAAF Helicopter at Nui Dat, South Vietnam, in 1970" (AWM, n.d.-b. as cited in *History: Australia in the Twentieth Century,* Darlington, Hospodaryk & Carrodus, 1998, p. 149).

Figure 60. "Australian Soldiers and a Vietnamese Interpreter Questioning a Wounded Viet Cong Prisoner Found on the Battlefield after the Battle of Long Tan in August 1966" (Australian War Memorial, n.d.-d, as cited in *History: Australia in the Twentieth Century,* Darlington, Hospodaryk & Carrodus, 1998, p. 150).

On the following page, two more photographs are presented, one of "Australian soldiers and a Vietnamese interpreter questioning a wounded Viet Cong prisoner found on the battlefield after the battle of Long Tan in August 1966" (p. 150) and "An officer of the Australian Army Training Team" (p. 150). The former is the first acknowledgement in any textbook of the working relationship between the South Vietnamese and Australian forces, and the latter is one of only three mentions in any textbook of The Team (Coupe & Andrews, 1983; Rajendra, Rajendra & Lower, 1984). Alongside these is the first detailed inclusion of Australian Defence Force battalions and their roles, and the only photograph of the AATTV. By 1998, textbook authors have access to photographs not previously available in the public space, and more liberty to discuss 'difficult' areas of Australia's history in the Vietnam War, such as the interrogation of enemy soldiers.

Figure 61. "An Officer of the Australian Army Training Team Checking that a Cordon was around a Village before Searching it, in July 1970" (Australian War Memorial, n.d.-c, as cited in *History: Australia in the Twentieth Century* Darlington, Hospodaryk & Carrodus, 1998, p. 150)

The final section, "Anti-Vietnam War Protest" (p. 152), presents explanations of various protest groups and their motives. It is supported by a visual representation of a pamphlet produced by an Australian union, that includes graphic and disturbing content, something that would not have been available or used by textbook authors earlier in the period.

Figure 62. "Produced by the Seamen's Union of Australia in 1966 Explaining Why its Members Refused to Handle Cargoes for the Vietnam War", n.d., as cited in *History: Australia in the Twentieth Century* Darlington, Hospodaryk & Carrodus, 1998, p. 153)

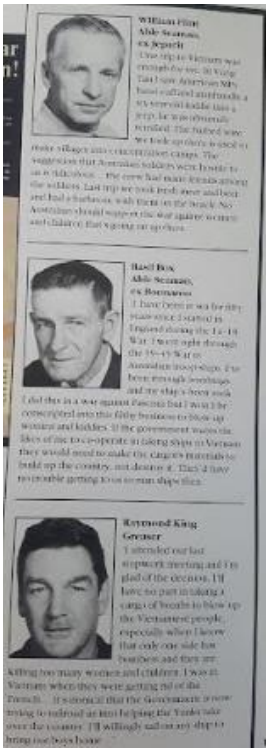

Figure 63. "Two Able Seamen and a Greaser" (n.d. as cited in Darlington, Hospodaryk & Carrodus, 1998, *History: Australia in the Twentieth Century*, p. 153)

The pamphlet shows two severely injured Vietnamese children with the heading, "We cannot support a war against children" (p. 153). The role of the unions in the anti-War protest movement is made powerfully clear. In another first, three photographs of two Australian Able Seamen and a Greaser explain their reasons for blocking the cargo. There have been no first-person explanations for their activity from any union members until this point, in any textbook. The visual representations included in this textbook, especially display how different the 'allowable' content was from earlier textbooks, and how textbook authors were able to include sometimes graphic material, in colour.

7.1.7 *SOSE 2: Studies of Society and Environment* (Tudball, (Ed), 2001)

The introduction to *SOSE 2: Studies of Society and Environment* (Tudball, 2001) states, "SOSE 2 actively engages students in Years 9 and 10 in inquiry and investigations to develop their understandings about Australia and the wider world" (p. v). This is another textbook explicitly adopting the inquiry-based learning approach. The most prominent shift for the period displayed by this textbook is the specific relationship between how the units are presented in the learning area of SOSE, rather than specifically in History. Although early textbooks had followed formats that would lend themselves to creating units specifically for SOSE, this is the first textbook to be easily used in the learning and teaching of SOSE. The introduction mentions this alongside the curriculum document used at the time, the *Curriculum Standards Framework* (*CSF*), stating that "to assist teachers in the task of developing programs that ensure SOSE outcomes are achieved across the standards, the text includes two grids, one for the *CSF* and one for the *National Profiles*" (p. v). The textbook then has two tables, one of the *CSF*s and one of the *National Profiles*, bringing them into prominence. It is the last chapter of the textbook that includes Vietnam as a case study that is most important here. It explores 'unit outcomes' of the SOSE program through a series of smaller sections, and explicitly outlining which outcomes are met in each section, such as "Interpret people's motives and actions from various perspectives" (p. 171) and "Explain various ways of viewing an issue and the information associated with it" (p. 171). The chapter begins with units on Asia as a whole, and the geography of Vietnam. One notable inclusion to the geography section is a source relating to the use of Agent Orange, shifting this topic to the fore of the study of the Vietnam War and introducing an environmental dimension. The following sections are "Early History of Vietnam" (p. 170), "Independence"

(p. 172), "Struggle Against French Domination" (p. 174), all of which are supported by comprehension and inquiry-based student questions.

The first reference to the Vietnam War in "The Protest Era" (p. 42) frames the topic in relation to various protest movements of the 1960s. The paragraphs explaining the Vietnam War in this context describe some of the reasons why "the war was different from previous wars" (p. 42), with the protest movement author (individual author unclear as a group are cited in the publishing notes) making an interesting point that the Australian forces "fought on the side of the United States against a much poorer, badly equipped enemy" (p. 42). The author does not expand on this comment, just that the Viet Cong were "not easily recognisable and were expert at guerilla (sic) war (using ambushes, booby traps, and hit-and-run tactics)" (p. 42). The chapter continues, describing the various reasons why people were protesting, including one reason not previously foregrounded, being "reports of atrocities (extremely cruel acts) against supposed and real enemies. In what were called 'free fire zones' the villages of Vietnamese peasants were bombed with napalm and machine gunned by United States forces" (p. 42). The author continues by referring to one of the most well-known atrocities of the Vietnam War, "the My Lai massacre in which at least 120 defenceless civilians, mostly women and children, were rounded up and killed in a very brutal way by American forces" (p. 42). Here, the textbook is revealing another shift towards not only criticism of the U.S.' or Australia's involvement in the war in a general and political way, but criticism of the behaviour of American combatants whose faces can almost be seen.

One element not fully detailed in previous textbooks (excepting Triolo (1996) who included some detail of Ho Chi Minh's early life), is the inclusion of further examination of Ho Chi Minh's personal history. The paragraph "Did the Vietnamese resist the colonists?" (p. 174) notes that "In 1925 Nguyen Ai Quoc, later known as Ho Chi Minh, established the Revolutionary League of the Youth of Vietnam" (p. 174). Another point of note is the rarely used definition of the "First Indochinese War" (p. 176) and "The Second Indochinese War" (p. 178). The first is within the section "Unity and Division" (p. 176) which explains the lead up to the breakout of war between the North and the South. "The Second Indochinese War" (p. 178) begins by including the rarely mentioned nations of Cambodia and Laos, stating that the "Second Indochinese War began in Vietnam and later spilled over into neighbouring Cambodia and Laos" (p. 178). This point is important because the author presents it

prominently in the opening sentence of the section, and the fact that the US had broached the borders and fought in Cambodia and Laos had been contentious for many years. The written section is supported by two visual representations. The first is, "Cartoon of the time from the American Newark Evening News" (p. 178) depicting an Uncle Sam figure piggy-backing a large man wearing a shirt with the writing "South Vietnam Problem" (p. 178), accompanied by the caption "When I started he was just about so big" (p. 178). The cartoon focus is a rare example in the textbooks of a visual representation of the US' situation rather than Vietnam's or Australia's.

Figure 64. "Cartoon of the Time From the American Newark News" (American Newark News, n.d., as cited in Tudball, 2001, *SOSE 2 Studies of Society and Environment*, p. 178)

The second visual representation is the first inclusion of the very famous photograph of young children running down the road after a napalm attack, and although a version of the image had been included in a previous textbook (Harrison, 1987), this is the first time the more well-known photograph has been included. More important, however, is its graphic depiction of the horrific experience of war on children. Tudball has again focused not just on the impact of the war on civilians, but has forcefully laid blame on the US. Although the US did use napalm during the war, history reveals that this particular napalm attack was the result of a South Vietnamese pilot's bombing (Grice, 2012). Nevertheless, the image and caption leave no doubt of human suffering.

Figure 65. "This Young Girl has Torn off Her Clothes and is Running, Screaming in Pain from the Burns Inflicted by Napalm, a Petroleum Based Chemical which Burns at Extremely High Temperatures and Clings to the Skin. Napalm was used by the United States" (n.d., as cited in Tudball, 2001, *SOSE 2: Studies of Society and Environment*, p. 178)

Tudball (2001) brings the history of the Vietnam War to the contemporary period in the next section "Freedom from foreign rule" (p. 180). It details the Tet Offensive, the My Lai massacre, and reconstruction and recent developments in Vietnam. The paragraph detailing the Offensive and massacre is supported by a photograph of dead Vietnamese civilians, and raises anew the controversy regarding the personal responsibility of the American soldiers, or if they were pawns in a horrific situation with no option but to do horrific things. Enhancing understanding of Vietnam beyond the war, the section "Vietnamese Culture" (p. 182), focusses on food, religion, women, and poetry, none of which (barring some references in earlier textbooks to religion) have been significantly addressed. The final section of the chapter, and the textbook overall, "Relationships with Australia" (p. 184) broaches the topics of how Australians knew little about Vietnam as a nation before the war, Australian involvement in the war, the anti-war movement, veterans in the aftermath of the war, and finally aid and trade. It highlights the relationships of these topics to Vietnamese and US 'relationships with Australia'. Overall, there is little focus in the chapter on Australian involvement, with Tudball choosing to focus more on Vietnamese and US narratives.

7.2 Conclusion

The textbooks of the 1992-2005 era develop multiple perspectives on the Vietnam War, including Australian, US and Vietnamese including Viet Cong soldiers, Vietnamese civilians and refugees, more questioning of biases and different perspectives, more open criticism of US involvement in the Vietnam War, and a rise in visual representations. The role of

Australian soldiers and their experiences of the war develops in coverage through the period (Mason, 1992; Anderson & Ashton, 1993; Sutherland, 1993; Triolo; Darlington, Hospodaryk and Carrodus, 1998; Tudball, 2001), with Triolo (1996) and Darlington, Hospodaryk & Carrodus (1998) including prominent references to national servicemen.

A more critical view of Australia's, but especially the U.S.', involvement in the war develops, as Anderson and Ashton (1993), Sutherland (1993), Triolo (1996) and Tudball (2001) include death tolls, delve into Vietnamese Communists' perspectives, question the inclusion of national servicemen, and give heightened focus to Australian protests against the war.

The third research question, '*How can these shifts be explained?'* is examined in Chapter Ten, however the evidence presented in the textbooks displays one major contributor to how the Vietnam War was presented; time. Hunt (2010) explains how "individual narratives and social discourse" (Hunt, 2010, p. 5) accumulate through years to create collective memory. In the case of textbooks, by passing on narrative threads via teachers to students, they become an important element in placing the Vietnam War in Australia's collective memory of C20th warfare.

Chapter Eight: Agora Analysis – Focus on Wartime Topics

Introduction

Chapters Eight and Nine focus on how the Vietnam War was depicted in the official journal of the History Teachers' Association of Victoria (HTAV), *Agora*, from 1980 to 2005, and which HTAV names in singular or plural forms as *Agora.* Chapter Eight focuses on wartime topics and Chapter Nine on post-war topics. The starting date of 1980 for the analysis has been chosen because HTAV was founded by a group of teachers and incorporated in Melbourne in 1980 (HTAV, 2020). The chapter explores to what extent there have been shifts in language and perspectives in *Agora* relating to the Vietnam War across the period, and provides some reference to other publications where relevant to the discussion of *Agora*.

As with the earlier chapters, the conceptual framework of social constructivism, and the content analysis methodology are utilized to discuss *Agora's* latent content.
Agora (HTAV, 1992) journal is described as:

> "The journal of the History Teachers' Association of Victoria Limited (HTAV). It aims to assist teachers in the methodology of history. It is designed to keep members informed of current trends and ideas relating to the teaching of history and to allow for the interchange of ideas." (p. 1)

The HTAV website states that, "The HTAV is an organisation of people interested in history, at all levels. It promotes life-long learning and respect for the discipline of History in the community" (HTAV, 2020). This ethos is in line with my theoretical framework of social constructivism discussed in Chapter 3; that learning occurs through social interaction and the help of others, often in a group who develop shared meanings. One way that the HTAV works to build its learning culture is through the publication of the *Agora* journal. Learning is always intrinsically connected to the wider culture and society at the time of the learning,

affecting it, and being affected by it, thus, an exploration of how *Agora* contributed to this is important.

Both Chapters Eight and Nine are presented in subsections related to topics highlighted in the deductive coding process (see Chapter Three), from fewest to most mentions. This enables the clear display and discussion of shifts in quantity of references as well as in language and themes. In all, 100 editions of *Agora* have been coded, from 1980 to 2005. As with Chapters Four-Seven, the data has been recorded on a coding sheet based on the inductive method, including the topics; References to Wars, References to Vietnam War, Topics and Themes Referenced, as well as a Description of Language (Positive, Negative, Ambivalent) and Description of Latent Content. Again, abductive reasoning has been employed when establishing the latent content of the documents. During the process, the frequency of the topics was counted to establish relative focus on WWI, WWII, and the Vietnam War in the *Agora* journals. All sections of the journals were included in the analysis, including advertisements, because they also provided evidence. 'Frequency of References' in the coding sheet referred also to either one-word references to the war in a paragraph, or, when an article was devoted to the topic, how many paragraphs were included.

I have continued to use Boyatzis' (1998) definitions of thematic analysis to code the documents, and Mayring's (2000) "Step Model of Deductive Category Application" (p. 5), followed by the "Step Model of Inductive Category Development" (p. 4). As with the textbook chapters (5, 6 and 7), the use of the deductive and inductive techniques has revealed patterns and shifts in both what was written and what was unwritten. And, similar to the textbook coding, I have drawn on techniques adapted from *The Japanese history textbook controversy: a content analysis* (Holt & Kawai, 2007) to establish a list of possible Vietnam War-related focus topics:

- Decolonisation of South-East Asia
- The Cold War including Domino Theory
- North and South Vietnam
- ANZUS Treaty
- Conscription
- Long Tan

- Protest
- Tet Offensive
- Homecoming
- Fall of Saigon
- Aftermath

Other topics were included if words similar or related to the above list were discovered in a high number. In addition, the listed topics are capitalised in this analysis to differentiate them from when the words are used in alternate contexts.

If there is no mention of an edition of *Agora* in this chapter, it can be assumed there was no mention of the Vietnam War. There are a small number of visual representations in *Agora*, therefore visual representation has been included in the overall analysis. Post 2000, *Agora* was digitised on the HTAV website yearly in alphabetical order, therefore volume and page numbers were not available.

A topic keyword search was carried out on *The Age* website, to ascertain whether there had been a focus on the topic in the media, with relevant data and references added to the analysis. The year prior to the mention in any *Agora*, and the year of the mention were entered to discover any correlations, the latter in consideration that an Agora author's thoughts in response to something arising in one year might take a second year to achieve publication. Only articles specifically referring to the topic in question were included to highlight specific foci over time and, if there is no discussion of *The Age* in a section, it can be presumed that no references to that specific topic were found to indicate that the topic had media currency. Topic sections have been included from fewest to most mentioned topics, unless a thematic reason is stated, and subsections are prefixed with a contextual quote relating to that subsection's content. All 2000 – 2005 *Agora* journals are presented on the HTAV website in alphabetical order, and were coded in that order. In cases where the author was not clearly apparent in the document, or when they did not have an obvious title, citations are referred to here as written by the organisation (i.e. HTAV) or the first line of the article/advertisement/public statement, where appropriate.

8.1 *Agora* Analysis

Between 1975 and 2005, there were 1,678 references to WWI, 2,163 references to WWII and 681 references to the Vietnam War in *Agora.* From the most mentions to the least, the number of references to each topic were:
Veterans - 97 (including Veterans' Affairs) (See Chapter Nine)
South Vietnam (South Vietnamese) - 72
North Vietnam - 37
Conscription - 34 (with one mention of Vietnamese conscription)
Colonisation - 27
French - 26
Protest - Moratorium - 19 (with two mentions of Protests in Vietnam)
Long Tan - 15
Nationalism - 13
Tet Offensive - 13
Cold War - 12
Refugees – 12 (See Chapter Nine)
ANZUS Treaty - 9
Domino Theory - 7
Imperialism - 4
Fall of Saigon - 1
Homecoming - 2
Aftermath 0

8.2 Fall of Saigon

> The enduring images of the end of the war were Vietnamese clinging desperately to the skids of an American helicopter leaving a building in central Saigon in late April, and of a North Vietnamese tank crashing through the gates of the presidential palace in Saigon on 30 April, the last day of the RVN. (Edwards, 2014, p. 256)

The dramatic end to the Vietnam War in 1975 played out almost two years after the withdrawal of the last Australian combat troops in what was militarily a failure for South Vietnam. Almost certainly, these factors explain why there is only one reference to the war's end in *Agora* throughout the entire period analysed. The dearth of references to the Vietnam War as an international conflict with its own complex historic multi-national underpinnings, and particularly with regard to the Fall of Saigon in 1975, displays the lack of *Agora* focus on events of the war that did not directly involve Australian troops. On the other hand, the Tet Offensive, and the Battle of Long Tan are referred to 13 and 15 times respectively in *Agora*, both events occurring while Australian troops were still stationed in Vietnam. These could signal either the level of interest of contributors to *Agora* in matters associated with involvement of Australians, and the fact that Australia's withdrawal of troops occurred in 1973.

The *Agora* reference to the Fall of Saigon in "Teaching Asian History Unit 2: Nationalism: Why Not Try Japan or Vietnam?" (McNabb, 1999, p. 68), focusses on some possible questions and topics for teachers to use when teaching the Vietnam War. McNabb suggests that "In considering 'the establishment of an independent government' students could draw up a timeline of Vietnamese history 1945 to 1985" (p. 68) and "make a case study of an aspect of the war between North and South Vietnam. Topics could include… the role of women, the Vietcong, the Cu Chi tunnels, the Tet Offensive of 1968, or the Fall of Saigon" (p. 68) highlighting the possibilities for students to choose topics from a wide variety of perspectives. As with Sutherland's 1990 *Agora* piece, McNabb (1999) includes topics scarcely mentioned in Agora, such as The Fall of Saigon and The Tet Offensive, however the two writers are anomalous in their wide-ranging topic selections.

8.3 Domino Theory

On April 7, 1954, US President Dwight Eisenhower and reporter Robert Richards engaged in a press conference exchange that introduced a wide audience to the Theory that would lead the U.S., Australia, South Korea, Thailand and New Zealand into combat roles in the Vietnam War; the Domino Theory. The following text provides excerpts from this news conference relates to the Theory:

Following the least mentioned topic on the tally, The Fall of Saigon, the topic with the second fewest references in *Agora* is the above Domino Theory. Between 1975 and 2005 there were seven references to the Domino Theory in relation to the Vietnam War. As "one of the most popular and influential ideas of the Cold War years" (Guan, 2001, p. 109), its prominence might be expected, however, the Domino Theory was the second least mentioned topic in *Agora*, 2000-2005, having not been mentioned in the preceding decades. There were also very few academic articles in a Trove search from the period 1975-2005 specifically focusing on the Domino Theory, excepting Guan (2001) and Fraser (2001).

The first mention of the Domino Theory is in the 2001 collection of *Agora* in "*Projects/Class Activities on the Vietnam War.* Kylie McKinley, Assistant Director, Commemorations, Department of Veterans' Affairs" (DVA) (McKinley, 2001, p. 1) describes how DVA was producing educational materials, some of which were published in *Agora*. The activities in *Agora* are developed as classroom units, and broken into accessible lesson plans that teachers would be able to deliver in their classrooms. The activities include references to Australian support of the US in sending troops, Sir Robert Menzies, and the closeness of the Australia/US relationship. McKinley (2001) further mentions the 'threat of Communism' as described by President Eisenhower's Domino Theory, and asks the students "to pick a South East Asian country and to review this theory in the light of the outcomes of the Vietnam War and the current political institutions of their chosen country" (p.2). This is a type of activity not previously mentioned in *Agora* with regard to the war, which required students to demonstrate research skills and an ability to form arguments based on evidence. The inclusion of the Domino Theory displays a shift in how Vietnam War related topics were included, and their portrayal, as the students are asked to "review this theory in light of the outcomes of the Vietnam War" (McKinley, 2001, p. 2).

In the Agora article, "Vietnam: A Reappraisal 30 Years On" Sieminski (2001), states that the article is an examination of "debates and divisions within Australia by looking at the impact of the Vietnam War on Australian society and the role of the governments of the day up to 1972" (p. 1). Here, the Domino Theory is referenced in an article specifically focusing on "debates and divisions" (p. 1), alluding to the controversies over the Theory and its impact on

the Australian Government decision to become involved in the war. In this regard, the shift to teaching about the Theory during the 2000s might be explained as the consequence of enough years having passed, to have refuted the Theory, and more primary and secondary sources becoming available on this topic.

The references tally moves from the Domino Theory into the ANZUS Treaty. This suggests the topics were mentioned, but without the depth or analysis of others, as perfunctory explanations for the war, without a large amount of debate or discussion.

8.4 ANZUS Treaty

In 1951, the Australian Federal Government Department of External Affairs (replaced by the Department of Foreign Affairs in 1970), committed Australia to the Security Treaty between Australia, New Zealand and the United States of America (Department of External Affairs, 1952), commonly referred to as the ANZUS Treaty, which came into effect in 1952, to protect the security of the Pacific.

Between 1975 and 2005, there were nine references to the ANZUS Treaty in *Agora,* making it one of the less mentioned topics. However, the Treaty was the second most prominent topic during the 1980s collection of *Agora,* after South Vietnam, in a period with few references to the Vietnam War relative to the latter decades. There were no references to the ANZUS Treaty during the 1990s, before a moderate increase in prominence during the 2000s. The aim of this analysis is to determine possible reasons for why these shifts of prominence and language changed throughout the period.

Analysis of Victorian printed media publications (see introduction earlier) throughout the period 1975-2005, sheds light on the importance of cultural context at different times, and how that may be reflected in the topic and theme shifts in *Agora*. Multiple academic articles and books on the ANZUS Treaty were written during the period, notably during the 1990s, when there were no mentions of the Treaty in *Agora* (McLachlan, 1985; Williams, 1987; Donnini, 1991; Pugh & Findlay, 1991; Baker & East-West Center, 1991; Donnini, 1992; Young, 1992; Baker, & East-West Center, 1994; Baker & Hawke, 1994; McIntyre, 1995). Yet, reviewing public media sources (via keyword search) rather than just academic articles

was important during the coding phase, in line with the social constructivist theoretical framework on how educational topics related to war narratives, may or may not be informed by wider societal conversations.

A review of the patterns of references in *The Age* to the ANZUS Treaty (via keyword search on Trove and *The Age* digital collection), reveals trends that support why there were more frequent (or fewer) references to the ANZUS Treaty in *Agora* at different times. The keyword search for references to the ANZUS Treaty via Trove and *The Age* did not reveal any correlation between references found in *The Age* and *Agora* during 1975-2005. However, references to the Treaty in the Australian Federal Government Hansard (found via keyword search) displayed evidence that specific historical events of the time were the link between the trends, including New Zealand's suspension from ANZUS in 1986, the 50th anniversary of the Treaty in 2001, the September 11th attacks in 2001, and the 2001 Invasion of Afghanistan.

1980s: References to the ANZUS Treaty

> On February 4, 1985, the government of the New Zealand prime minister (sic), David Lange, refused to allow the visit of the USS Buchanan and, within days, Washington severed visible intelligence and military ties with New Zealand and downgraded political and diplomatic exchanges. The secretary of state, George Schultz, confirmed the US was no longer willing to maintain its security guarantee to New Zealand, although the ANZUS treaty structure remained in place. (Murphy, 2012, para. 3)

The ANZUS Treaty becomes a focus for the first time in the first edition of *Agora* in 1985. Although not mentioning the Vietnam War, an *Agora* book review of *The Macmillan Dictionary of Australian Politics* (p. 36), states, "The many detailed entries - ANZUS receives nearly two pages - will provide an invaluable reference point for HSC students who are frequently bemused by political concepts such as communism and socialism (oddly enough fascism does not get a mention)" (p. 36). The reviewer (unnamed) focuses on the need to teach conceptual politics, imperative in teaching war narratives, particularly the Cold War and the proxy wars that stemmed from it. This introduction to the ANZUS Treaty as a

topic correlates with the severing of military and intelligence ties between New Zealand and the U.S., supporting the contention that the author of the *Agora* article, and their noting of the two-page entry regarding the ANZUS Treaty, was informed by reference to the Treaty in the public sphere at the time. The prominence of the Treaty in wider public debate is commented on in *Agora* early in 1986 and later in the 1987, in a review of "Norman Harper, *A Great and Powerful Friend: A Study of Australian-American Relations between 1900-1975"* (p. 44), specifically referring to ANZUS, SEATO and Foreign Policy (p. 45).

In the final *Agora* edition of 1987, there is a strong focus on International Politics, and the ANZUS Treaty is discussed in depth in the article *The U.S.A., U.S.S.R., and Australia: International Relations in the Pacific Region* (Quanchi, 1987), which was a report of the United States Information Service) and HTAV Conference. However, this is the last mention of the Treaty in *Agora* until 2001, and it was not mentioned in *Agora* for fourteen years, until a series of events relating specifically to the Australia-US relationship brought it back into sharper focus.

2000s: References to the ANZUS Treaty

Considering that 2001 marked the 50th anniversary of the ANZUS Treaty, and was the time of the Treaty's invocation, these quotes provide historical context for the years of the 2000s:

> As all members of the House will know, 1 September marks the 50th anniversary of the signature in San Francisco of the ANZUS Treaty, which joined in a security alliance Australia, New Zealand, and the United States. – Prime Minister John Howard, 30th August 2001. (Howard, 2001)

> **September 11 attacks**, also called **9/11 attacks**, series of airline hijackings and suicide attacks committed in 2001 by 19 militants associated with the Islamic extremist group al-Qaeda against targets in the United States, the deadliest terrorist attacks on American soil in US history. (Bergen, 2020)

> **October 2001:** One month after the September 11 attacks, the invasion of Afghanistan begins with Australian support after the Government invokes the ANZUS Treaty. (SBS Australia, 2013)

The following extracts from "Viet Nam (sic): Questions and Answers Issued by the Minister for External Affairs, May 1966" (HTAV, 2001) that were included in *Agora*, were not introduced by the editors, and there is no direct citation in *Agora* to the Minister or journalists. However, the questions and answers display some of the views and responses of journalists and the Minister in 1966, including:

> "What right have we to interfere in the domestic affairs of Vietnam or decide what type of government is best for South Vietnam? We do not claim such rights. The right we do claim is that of responding to the appeal from the Government of South Vietnam for help in defending itself against external aggression. We do not seek to keep any particular form of government. We assert two things: first, that North Vietnam and Communist China, for their part, have no right to impose by force their social system on South Vietnam, and secondly, that the South Vietnamese people must be assured of the opportunity to choose and maintain the form of government they themselves wish. (HTAV, 2001)

The inclusion of this text shows that the editors wanted to open up debate about involvement in the Vietnam War by providing a primary source for teachers to use in their teaching. Further extracts provide a commentary on the relationship between Australia and the U.S and clearly represent a pro-ANZUS view:

> Australia has a vital interest in the effective presence and active participation of the United States as a great power in the area of Asia and the Pacific. We have an obligation to support the United States in this role – an obligation arising from our treaty relationships, from our role as an ally in supporting the United States in international diplomacy and politics, and from the fact that out international interests are directly involved in preserving South-East Asia aggression and from communist domination. (HTAV, 2001)

The ANZUS Treaty becomes a focus again in the *Agora* article, "Anzus and Onwards" (Tacey, 2002) by Simon Tacey from Parade College. The article discusses the historical and contemporary impact of the ANZUS Treaty, focusing on the Vietnam and Gulf Wars. Tacey (2002) comments, "These two wars posed no direct threat to Australia, yet we jumped at the chance to become involved. Why?" (p. 2). He uses pointed language in his explanation, noting that, "As the cliché goes, when the US said 'jump', we said 'how high?'" (p. 2). Tacey's wording demonstrates the shift towards encouraging students to ask questions in secondary History and also shows that *Agora* editors allowed writers to express their opinions. He used value laden language, describing the Australian Government's policy decisions during the Vietnam War as mimicking those of the US. His use of the word "mimicked" implies his belief that the Australian Government did not reach its policies through considered discussion or planning, but instead followed the US line. However, Tacey (2002) adds that the "economic benefits of the alliance also shaped Australia" (p. 3) He notes that "In the later period of the 1970s when the Vietnam War was winding down and other Communist threats were no longer as high on the agenda as other issues, trade grew in importance in foreign policy" (p. 3).

8.5 Cold War

> With the advantages of historical perspective, we can see the cauldron of Southeast Asian politics in the late 1940s and early 1950s as a complex interaction between long-standing local rivalries and two of the great historical processes of the post-1945 world – the decolonisation of the European Empires, and the Cold War between the communist 'East' and the 'non-communist 'West', led respectively by the Soviet Union and the United States. Together with their respective friends, allies, and satellites. (Edwards, 2014)

Given its contextual importance to the Vietnam War, the Cold War is only referenced 12 times throughout the editions of *Agora* between 1980–2005 in direct relation to Vietnam. As explained in the methodology, any references to the Cold War that were written as part of 1960s socio-cultural articles were not included in this analysis unless they directly mentioned the Vietnam War.

1980s: References to the Cold War

> Even though we know it involves difficulty for athletes and are sympathetic to that, we strongly have the view that Australia should not send a team to the Moscow Olympics. The Soviet Union has moved a very large and powerful army into Afghanistan. -a small, inoffensive, non-aligned country. (Fraser, 1980)

This view expressed by then Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser is a public statement about the Cold War situation at the time. The first reference to the Cold War in *Agora* is in the *Reviews Supplement,* September, 1980. Although there are references to the Cold War as part of the edition's American History focus, there is only one mention of the Vietnam War in the review of "H.R. Cowie, *Crossroads*, 3 volumes, Nelson, 1980" (HTAV, 1980, p. 35), but offers very little direct correlation between the Cold War and the Vietnam War. The *Reviews Supplement* (HTAV, 1980) was published just five years after the Fall of Saigon, and eleven years before the dissolution of the USSR and the end of the Cold War, therefore the Cold War may have been viewed as current affairs without the benefit of historical hindsight, leading to and, thus, explaining, the fewer references.

The final edition of 1987 has a stronger focus on International Politics, the Cold War, and United States' history. This includes an inquiry unit on the Cuban Missile Crisis (Lewis, 1987). Although there is no comment on the Vietnam War, mention of the Cold War aligns with the contemporary political context of the USSR and US moving towards the end of the Cold War. The article "The U.S.A., U.S.S.R., and Australia: International Relations in the Pacific Region" (Quanchi, 1987), a report delivered at an HTAV conference, mentions WWII "as an example of how difficult it was to study Soviet policy" (p. 30); but again, there is no focus on Vietnam.

There are two mentions of the Vietnam War in the first edition of 1993, beginning within an article "VCE History Representations and Social Memory. Some implications for year 7 to 10" (McDonald, 1993, p. 29). Under the heading for Year 10, McDonald (1993) states that "Our year 10 course consists of two different semesters one focusing on the Cold War and the other covering various aspects of American history" (p. 29). She notes that "Students should

be analysing and evaluating the social and political implications of different representations and supporting their opinions with evidence" (p. 29). Some of the questions included are:

- What do we do when confronted with different views of the same event? (for example, the Cold War, the causes of the Vietnam War)
- How were these social memories created?
- What is the official social memory of these events?
- Why do we have different and changing social memories? (for example, what role have official commemorations had in the creation of the changing social memory of the Vietnam War?)
- What role does the creation of these social memories have in our society?
- How has our view of History been created today - particularly in film? (for example, what has been the effect of films such as Platoon and Apocalypse Now?)
- How do these representations compare with others?
- What type of historical representations are the most reliable and why?
- How do representations change over time? (p. 29)

Here, McDonald (1993) highlights the depth of understanding expected at the time in some classrooms, especially in asking questions related to social memory, a topic rarely discussed in any document analysed in this study. There is also a clear shift towards contextualizing the Vietnam War within the Cold War, as opposed to including the two topics separately. The election of President Clinton, which was viewed by many in the US as the 'true' end of the Cold War, aligns with this shift, and may explain why closer connections between the wars were being made.

Following the Cold War on the tally, the focus shifts to one of the two military-focused topics on the tally, the Tet Offensive. As both are in the bottom third of the tally, the suggestion is that they were not significant topics in the minds of *Agora* authors.

8.6 Tet Offensive

There are thirteen references to the Tet Offensive throughout *Agora* over the period 1975-2005, the first in 1990. The edition's extended focus piece on the Vietnam War, titled, "Teaching about the Vietnam War - A Practical Guide. (pp. 30-32), was another contribution to the discourse by Ian Sutherland, the author of "Conflict in Indo China", reviewed in the previous edition, and later, the Vietnam War chapter in Hoban and Lewis (1993). Sutherland (1990) suggests that students read local newspapers as well as the *Sydney Morning Herald* and *The Australian* for "months such as February 1968 or May 1970" (p. 31). February 1968 may have been chosen as it was the time of Operation Coburg (Edwards, 2014), and the Tet Offensive (Edwards, 2014), also for when there was a rise in negative public opinion in Australia, against the war (Edwards, 2014). May 1970 may have been a focus because it was the time of the largest moratorium march and sit-in in Melbourne (Edwards, 2014), which is discussed later.

In 1999, *Agora* includes an article by Duncan (1999) that provides a detailed analysis of the famous photo of the South Vietnamese Major-General shooting a Viet Cong operative during the Tet Offensive, however he does not include the actual photo. This was the first reference in *Agora* to the photo. In "Nguyen Ngoc Loan and THE Image of the Vietnam War by Garriock Duncan" (p. 9) (Capital letters were present in the original text), Duncan (1999) explores the events leading up to the photo, and the aftermath, by analysing Tim Bowden's book on the photographer Neil Davis. Although Davis did not take the photo in question, he was a photojournalist during the Vietnam War, and discusses the photo in Bowden's book. Duncan writes that "...Nguyen Ngoc Loan died July 1998, age 67… Duncan (1999) adds that "Tim Bowden …wrote: "it was during the Tet offensive that one of the Vietnam War's coldest and most horrific images was photographed and filmed... even now, The Watcher is fascinated and wants the action to stop, recoil and is revolted" (p. 9). This is an explicit reference to the power of visual representations in historical war narratives. It is also the first inclusion of such a horrific photo in *Agora*. The passage of time had softened acceptance of such graphic imagery being reproduced and circulated, including in school contexts. Duncan comments further that the photo is part of "our psyche with regard to the Vietnam War and has been part of the stock for history exam papers" (p. 9). Duncan's (1999) article is driven primarily by the analysis of the photo, the history of it being taken, the participants, and how

photos and media are used to drive certain elements of historical narrative. The power of including visual representations of historical events in history texts and was becoming evident in the 1990s, so the inclusion of this famous image from the Vietnam War in *Agora* was timely

In an article in the same edition, "Teaching Asian History Unit 2: Nationalism: Why Not Try Japan or Vietnam?" (McNabb, 1999, p. 68), mentioned earlier, McNabb is particularly enthusiastic that "Asian history is officially in the year 11 curriculum" (p. 68), hoping that this would lead to a higher number of schools teaching this history. Further to McNabb's earlier topic suggestion, she proposes that, "students could draw up a timeline of Vietnamese history 1945 to 1985" (p. 68) and "make a case study of an aspect of the war between North and South Vietnam. Topics could include… the role of women, the Vietcong, the Cu Chi tunnels, the Tet Offensive of 1968, or the Fall of Saigon" (p. 68). With a similar space in time (1990-1999) as the references to the Fall of Saigon, two of the three articles referencing the Tet Offensive are written by the same authors Sutherland (1990) and McNabb (1999). Here are two teachers with broad knowledge and understanding of the war, and how to teach it. There were no other *Agora* writers who included the Tet Offensive as a topic.

8.7 Nationalism

Many academic works have focused on the topic of Vietnamese Nationalism (Goscha, 1995; Hoskins, 2011; Kelley, 2015; Luong, 2007; Path, 2011; Post, 1989; Vu, 2007), and analyse the topic from C13th perspectives to modern times. However, while nationalism was a force in Vietnamese history during the C20th, and a primary driver of actions against the colonising French and later US and allied forces (Edwards, 2014), it is only mentioned thirteen times in *Agora* during the period 1975-2005.

The first introduction and reference to nationalism is in the *Reviews Supplement*, September 1980 edition of *Agora*. A review of "H.R. Cowie, *Crossroads*, 3 volumes, Nelson, 1980" (p. 35), notes that in "Volume 3, *Asia and Australia in World Affairs",* "Cowie here discusses growing nationalism and competing imperialism in Indonesia, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, China, Japan, Vietnam, (and) foreign interests in Asia are examined and, finally, a survey

made of Australian relations with Asia since 1900" (p. 35). 'Nationalism' and 'Imperialism' are introduced as topics or 'themes' for study. The article also places the nation of Vietnam within the contexts of colonialism and growth of nationalism in the C20th. Cowie approaches the topic from multilateral perspective, focusing on the concept of Nationalism, as well as the practical ways in which it was being applied.

McNabb's (1999) article, "Teaching Asian History Unit 2: Nationalism: Why Not Try Japan or Vietnam?" (p. 68) notes that she had been teaching a since-abandoned unit called 'Technology and Change', with a focus on Japan, but thought that the new 'Nationalism in Asia' unit offers "much more opportunity" (p. 68), especially to teach Vietnam. She proposes activities focusing on "religious beliefs and practices that became elements of nationalism including Buddhism, Confucianism, and the Cao Dai, (and) combining elements of many Eastern and Western traditions" (p. 68), the first time these topics had been examined in *Agora.* She further suggests analysis of significant documents including the *Manifesto of the Communist Party of Indochina*, February 1930, and "Ho Chi Minh's letter establishing the Viet Minh, June 1941" (p. 68) and conducting a biographical study of a "Vietnamese nationalist leader e.g., Ho Chi Minh" (p. 68).

The references to nationalism in *Agora* are therefore present in 1980, 1986 (a perfunctory notation) and 1999, displaying a large thirteen-year silence on the topic. There seems to be no obvious correlation between the years when it was mentioned and the topic's presence in the wider media or academic work. It can be concluded that mentions of Nationalism in *Agora* were only by a small number of writers and educators who included it as vital to understanding the war's beginnings.

8.8 Battle of Long Tan

> On 18th August 1966, 105 Australians and 3 New Zealanders became locked in a battle with 2500 Viet Cong in a rubber Plantation near Long Tan. They fought each other through driving monsoonal rain for more than three hours. The Australians were saved from annihilation by artillery support from the Australian Task Force based at Nui Dat and the arrival of reinforcements in APC's. When the bodies were counted

> after the battle, 18 Australians were dead or dying and two dozen wounded; 245 Viet Cong bodies were recovered and buried. Hundreds more Viet Cong casualties are believed to have been evacuated by their comrades. For this action the Australians were awarded the US Army's highest decoration for a military formation - the US presidential unit citation. (Nichols & Manera, 1996, p. 60)

From 1975 to 2005, there are fifteen references in *Agora* to the Battle of Long Tan (henceforth, Long Tan), being one of the events with a higher number of references. Most mentions are, however, cursory, with only one article pursuing detail of the battle, itself. This continues the trend of relegating topics relating directly to the strategy, battles, and logistics of the Vietnam War to topics noted in a list, which *Agora* authors presume students might investigate if interested.

While there were only passing references to Long Tan in *Agora*, a number of academic texts focusing on the topic were written during the period 1975-2005 (Buick & McKay, 2000; Burstall, 1990; Firkins, 1971; Grandin, 2004; McAulay, 1986; McNeill, & Australian War Memorial, 1993).

The first reference in *Agora* to Long Tan is in October 1982, in a review of "Peter Firkins: The Australians in Nine Wars" (HTAV, 1982, p. 34). Although the article has a strong focus on conscription, there are also two of the few references to Phuoc Tuy and Long Tan. The reviewer (unnamed) specifically notes that, "as a text in school I suggest its value is limited to students seeking specific information on Australians at the battlefront - most Victorian courses look more at the home front" (p. 34). A more detailed analysis of the reasons behind the lack of battlefront content throughout all documents 1975-2005 appears in the 'Overall Analysis' (Chapter Ten).

Contextualising Australian soldiers' experiences of the war, the 1988 *Agora* states that the Vietnam War could be a possible topic for family member interviews (Butner, 1988), and focusses on the use of interviews in recording Vietnam War historical narratives. A review of *The Soldiers' Story* (Pearce, 1988) by Terry Burstall, with the reviewer, Colin Pearce (Ashwood College) observes:

> Terry Burstall's account of the Battle of Long Tan in South Vietnam in August 1966 is an outstanding example of participant history. Burstall takes us from his enlistment in the army, through relationships between conscripts and enlisted men, to a detailed account of the battle and its aftermath. He has made excellent use of interviews with participants in the battle - admittedly, all of them Australian. The book itself is well-illustrated, with clear maps and diagrams. The book is extremely readable, although since it deals with only a small section of Australia's involvement in Vietnam it is probably more suitable for teacher reading than student use. However, it could be used as an example of the way in which historical research can take place, the way in which Burstall uses evidence to build up a picture is exemplary. To quote from Peter Charlton's foreword: - "For the first time, we have a comprehensive account of the battle, well written and honestly told by one who was there. We can ask for little more. (p. 40).

Not only does this review refer to conscription as a topic, it includes one of the two mentions of Long Tan in the 1980s *Agora*. Pearce notes the lack of Vietnamese voices in the source, again one of the few times bias is reported by any resource commentator. Almost certainly indicating a lack of these types of resources available to teachers at the time, Pearce notes that the resource would be better for teachers' use than in the classroom, for furthering their understanding of historical research methods.

There are no further references to Long Tan until 1996, the 30-year anniversary of the battle. An article based on material compiled by Robert Nichols and Brad Manera (1996) for the Australian War Memorial, titled "Vietnam: The Battle of Long Tan", outlines the battle including the introduction (see opening quote of this section). This is the first detailed mention of Long Tan in *Agora* since a mid-late1988 edition, and the first that includes specifics of the battle itself. It also includes the first mention of Viet Cong casualties and the US military decoration bestowed on the Australians, both inclusions being noteworthy.

Figure 66. "Nui Dat. South Vietnam, 1966-09-02. Soldiers from D Company, 6th Battalion, Royal Australian Regiment, display the dolls and cigarette-cases presented to them by the South Vietnamese government for their part in the battle of Long Tan" (Cunneen, 1966, as cited in Nichols & Manera, 1996, p. 60).

The article focuses on the soldiers with their presents from the South Vietnamese government, lending humanity to the soldiers (noting the certain level of 'gallows' humour' at being presented with dolls). Previously, the soldiers had been presented without individualisation, and often only as statistics. Nichols and Manera (1996) add to the story of South Vietnamese gifting by including the US presidential unit citation text, and comment that:

> It is important to ground history in a discussion of real people: an investigation of Long Tan can focus on the actions of Private Bill 'Yank' Akell who volunteered to try to get a new radio through to a Platoon whose radio had been damaged. Armed with WWII vintage Owen gun and with only a vague idea as to the location of 10 Platoon, he successfully fought his way across several hundred metres of bullet swept plantation through the blinding downpour, killing two Vietcong along the way. Akell

> was mentioned in dispatches and recommended for a decoration for his bravery. He received a souvenir doll. (p. 61)

Later in 1996, O'Callaghan (1996) continued the focus on the Battle of Long Tan in "Commemorating the Battle of Long Tan" (p. 23). The *Agora* article details a school trip to Canberra, which included a specific Vietnam War focus. O'Callaghan reflects that "A class of predominantly Asian students who would come to Australia as a result of battle such as Long Tan (were) learning about and appreciating Australian and Vietnamese history" (p. 24). Here is evidence of Long Tan in broader educational experiences available to some students, and since Australia's population had shifted in cultural compositions, thus education and excursion opportunities had followed suit.

Showing how different war narratives were being discussed by a new generation, including specific battles and personal narratives of refugees, the fourth edition of *Agora* in 2004 includes evidence of a shift towards different war narratives in Cutter's (2004) *National History Challenge Report* (p. 68). The article references student "Matthew Waixel (Eumemmerring College) (who) created a realistic diorama depicting the Long Tan Battle between the Viet Cong and the Australian Army" (p. 68), as well as "Maria Nguyen (MacRobertson Girls' High School) (who) documented the gripping tale of her grandparents' incredible escape to Australia from Vietnam" (p. 68).

Another shift towards inclusion of a wider group of topics, delivered personally by a Vietnam War veteran, is evident in the second edition of *Agora* in 2005. A detailed article on the "Vietnam Veterans' Education Team" (White, 2005, p. 60), by founding member Phil White, includes an extensive list of topics covered by the Vietnam Veterans' Association of Australia Vic. Branch Inc. Education Team (VVET). (See Chapter Nine for details regarding refugees and veterans). Long Tan is also mentioned in a list of topics the VVET might discuss. White includes, "Australian Involvement: When we became involved and why, the soldier and his equipment, the major battles of Long Tan, Coral and Balmoral, areas of operation and much more" (p. 60), displaying a trend towards having war veterans speak directly about their experiences of the Vietnam War battlefield, almost forty years after Long Tan had been fought.

8.9 Protest and Moratoriums

Throughout the period 1975-2005, there are 19 references to Australian protest against the Vietnam War and the moratoriums of the late 1960s and early 70s in *Agora*, with two mentions of protests in Vietnam. Very few academic works focused on protest in Australia during the same timeframe (Langley, 1992; Edwards, & Australian War Memorial, 1997; Chandler, 2004). On the other hand, *The Age* exhibited a much larger number of newspaper articles and letters to the editor related to protest, considering that the protests had played such a significant role in daily Australian discussion and experience at that time. *The Age* also focused on protests about the 2003 Invasion of Iraq (Strangio, 2003; Strangio, 2003a; "Young Actors Take the 70s at Face Value", 2003; AAP, 2003; "Melbourne Rallies to the Call for Peace", 2003; "From Melbourne to Madrid, Protests Roll on", 2003; "Protest Veterans Hand on the Torch of Dissent", 2003; AAP, 2003b), corresponding with the rise in focus on Vietnam War protests in *Agora.*

Many of the *Agora* references contextualize Protest within the frame of veterans' experiences, such as a review of "Desperate Praise" (HTAV, 1983, p. 15) and "a collection of short stories and reminiscences by Australian soldiers who served in Vietnam" (p. 15). In a paragraph focusing on returning veterans, the reviewer comments that teachers who include the Vietnam War in their courses would want to include material that offers opportunities to "understand the depth of bitterness and resentment felt by many soldiers towards anti-Vietnam protesters in Australia... These words reveal much about Australian society which students may well be encouraged to investigate for themselves" (p. 15). The reviewer notes the veterans' resentment towards protesters, however, does not reveal whether 'Desperate Praise' (a collection of Australian soldiers' personal accounts) explores why there was resentment on behalf of the veterans, or protesters' motivations, rather stating the depth of bitterness' as assumed fact.

Following the sole reference to protest in *Agora* 1983, there is a seven-year gap until Ian Sutherland's 1990 piece, "Teaching about the Vietnam War - A Practical Guide (Sutherland, 1990, pp. 30-32), mentions protest. Sutherland (1990) offers a project titled "Using the Local Area" (p. 31) which involves speaking with various groups in the local community, including "veterans, both of the war and of the protest movement" (p. 30). Sutherland's (1990) use of

the term ‘veterans’ when mentioning protesters reveals a unique empathy with the protesters not displayed in other references, and validating the views and experiences of protesters alongside soldiers.

Sutherland (1990) further suggests that students read local newspapers as well as *The Sydney Morning Herald* and *The Australian* for “months such as February 1968 or May 1970” (p. 31). February 1968 may have been chosen as it was the time of Operation Coburg (Edwards, 2014), and the Tet Offensive (Edwards, 2014), and when there was a rise in negative public opinion in Australia, against the war (Edwards, 2014). May 1970 may have been focused on for being the time of the largest moratorium march and sit-in in Melbourne (Edwards, 2014). Possibly Sutherland (1990) suggested reading the two different newspapers to ascertain differing opinions of the war at the time, exhibiting his understanding of the media’s role in reflecting public opinions as well as producing them. This echoes the work of McDougall (1966), who analysed three contemporary newspapers, *The Age*, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, and *The Australian*, to ascertain differing stances in relation to the war. McDougall (1966) determined that:

> Evidence exists to provide a basis for suspicions that distortion is occurring in the reporting of the events of the Vietnam war (sic). The general trend of these suspicions is that Viet Cong successes are played down, while American and Saigonese successes tend to be played up. (p. 303)

Later in the piece, Sutherland (1990) suggests that students undertake a research assignment focusing on an individual, bringing personal historical narratives to the fore. He proposes that students focus on the month of the soldier’s death and then read the local paper for that month. Amongst several questions regarding the soldier, he asks the students to explore “What was happening in Australia, (that month) relevant to the war? Protests?” (p. 31). By including the follow up question, ‘Protests?’ Sutherland guides the student to reflect on whether or not protests may have indeed been present at the time, and notes that protest would be a suitable topic to explore. Again, through guiding questions, Sutherland displays his confidence with Vietnam War content, and how to develop knowledge of the war in the classroom; a level of confidence rarely displayed in *Agora* authors’ references.

In *Agora* January 1991, Peter Cook offers another perspective on the topic of protest in a series of cartoons relating to the war, along with questions for students to answer, in "A Cartoonist View of the Vietnam War: An Analytical Exercise in Twentieth Century History Unit 2" (p. 30).

Figure 67. "The Ratbag Element?" (Petty, 1966, as cited in Cook, 1991, p. 32).

Cartoon D titled "The Ratbag Element?" (p. 32) depicts a group of protesters with placards saying, "Stop war in Vietnam" (p. 32) and "stop murder" (p. 32). In front of the drawn group of protesters, the cartoonist has included an actual photograph of a Vietnamese woman with a bandage on her head, possibly covered in blood, holding her baby, who is also possibly covered in blood. Cook (1991) notes that the "cartoon comes from the source J. King. The other side of the coin. A cartoon history of Australia (letters are bold in the text)" (p. 32). Cook (1991) includes asks students to perform the following:

1. Identify the two different groups in the cartoon.
2. Why do you think Petty has used a photograph of the two people in the middle, instead of drawing them?
3. What is the visual message of this cartoon? How is it linked with the caption? (p. 32).

Including a cartoon that depicts the violence of the Vietnam War is a dramatic shift, not only because it guides students to further analyse the impact of the war on differing groups, but

also this is evidence of the use of non-print sources in *Agora* that includes contemporary media as a source for critically discussing the Vietnam War.

Cook (1991) also notes that teachers can "Consider them now as a set of documents which tell us something about the attitude and values of the cartoonist, and of the society in which he was operating at the time" (p. 32), and suggests:

> Your analysis should cover these questions
> - Who produced these documents?
> - When were they produced?
> - For what purpose?
> - What do they reveal about the cartoonist's attitudes to: -the nature of the war being fought? - the nature of Australian involvement in that war? - protests against the war and conscription? - the impact of the war on Australia?
> - Whose historical experience or voice do these documents reflect?
> - How common or popular were these views and attitudes at the time?
> - How do they compare with other visual and written representations of these aspects of the war from the same time?
> - Do you think these cartoons are good evidence for a historian to use to develop an understanding of the period? (p. 32)

These questions display a developing trend in *Agora* towards including deeper analysis of contemporary media reporting, as well as of protest, and home front attitudes towards the war that Sutherland introduced in 1990. Even so, there would be a ten-year hiatus before protest is mentioned again in *Agora.*

Aside from the length of time since the Vietnam War, another possible reason for the re-emergence of protest as a topic during 2003-2005 may be the public discussion and protest regarding Australia's involvement in the 2003 invasion of Iraq. The final two references to protest in *Agora,* both including protest perspectives not previously developed, were written against a backdrop of articles and letters in *The Age* discussing parallels between Australia's involvement in Vietnam and Iraq, and the relationship, both times, between Australia and the

US. One example of the development of protest perspectives presented in 2004 is one inclusion in *Agora of* women in the protest movement. In January 2004, Wilkins (2004) writes that "women opposed to the war became protesters and activists. 'Save our Sons' was one of the most prominent women's protest movements formed to fight conscription" (p. 16). The topics of protest and conscription return to the conversation, concentrating on women protesters rather than men.

By 2005, Phil White from the VVET was elaborating in *Agora* on several different topics and issues veterans could offer students in presentations (See also Chapter Nine). Within a list of over twenty topics, White included, "Peace: Protests, Moratoriums, marches, strikes, etc. University Involvement Assistance to the North Vietnamese, peace marches" (p. 60), noting for the first time in *Agora*, 'University Involvement Assistance to the North Vietnamese' (p. 60), although White (2005) does not elaborate on what this topic might involve.

8.10 References to France and 'The French'

The topic of the French involvement in relation to the Vietnam War, (references to France and 'The French') is separated from the topics of 'imperialism' and 'colonialism', because there was a delineation between texts that broadly discussed the concept of imperialism, and texts that specifically focused on the French colonisation of Indo-China. The French were mentioned 26 times in *Agora* during the period 1975-2005, placing it sixth on the overall tally, with the first mention in the 1990s, followed by a shift towards its inclusion every two years until 2001.

A number of academic texts were written on French Colonialism in Indochina during the period 1990-2001 (Cooper, 2001; Dommen, 2001; Norindr, & Duke University Press, 1996; Shipway, 1996; Zinoman, 2000) which correlate with the focus on the topic in *Agora*. However, academic texts were also being written prior to the period 1990-2001 (Ngu, 1986 (see Chieu, 1986 in references), Rice-Maximin, 1986) so evidence supports that an academic focus was a contributing factor to the topic's increased prominence in *Agora* from 1991. A search for articles (to expose absences, increases or decreases related to media attention) relating to French Indochina from the period 1975-2005 in *The Age* newspaper proved

unsuccessful, as did a search of the Federal Parliament's Hansard. The aim of this section is to explore why there may have been a shift towards the inclusion of French colonial references in *Agora.*

The first reference to the French in 1990 appears in an extended focus piece on the Vietnam War, titled, "Teaching about the Vietnam War - A Practical Guide (Sutherland, 1990). The article covers many topics, which are examined in other sections of this chapter. Sutherland (1990) introduces the possibility of practical difficulties for teachers when teaching the Vietnam War; the first time I found this focus in any document analysed in this study. He lists 11 topics under the heading "Teaching Problems" (p. 30) including "The complexities of 1945 to 1946 Japanese, British, French, Chinese" (Sutherland, p.30). Sutherland (1990) suggests that knowledge and understanding of the period prior to the Vietnam War is essential to a student's understanding of the subject, "so that students have a good historical understanding before they look at the current effects of the conflict" (p. 31). At this point in *Agora*, Sutherland's (1990) article is an anomaly in both the range of topics he introduces, and awareness of the Vietnam War as a complex subject for teachers to teach. Sutherland's position represents a shift from blind acceptance of a Euro-centric bias to encouraging students to consider the suppression wrought by colonialism, which numerous countries of Asia fought against.

The long form *Agora* article, "A Fatal Collision? European Contact in Vietnam from the 17th to the 20th Centuries. An examination through primary sources" (Burke, 1993, p. 37), includes a thorough presentation of primary sources from the colonial period, and an introduction to various primary documents relating to how Vietnam was perceived by 'The West' during the C17th as well as the C19th. There are seven documents included relating to French colonialism, as well as primary documents relating to the *Vietnamese response to French intervention 1862 to 1874* (p. 42). The inclusion of these documents is in line with a continuing shift towards understanding the lived experiences of the politics of Indochina, and how French colonialism affected people and contributed to events that led to the Vietnam War.

Burke's (1993) article also includes a section titled, "Views of the West from Vietnam - the 20th century" (p. 93), which includes four primary documents, the first authored by Ho Chi Minh "under his nom de plume, Nguyen Ai Quoc in Paris in 1925. Originally, the text was published in three anti-colonial journals - "L'Humanite, La Vie Ouvriere and Le Paria" (p. 93). Significantly, no other *Agora* analysed in this study included such detail of Ho Chi Minh, or the French colonial period. The Ho Chi Minh article comments that "the sadistic acts of colonialism are innumerable and of incredible cruelty" (p. 43). The article also recounts several intensely graphic incidents of violence including the murders of several villagers and the rape and murder of a young girl. By including these primary documents, and almost certainly because of the passage of time, Burke focuses more closely than any article in *Agora* to a correlation between the brutality of the French during the colonial period and the rise of the Viet Minh.

McNabb's (1999) *Agora* article specifically includes the importance of "showing the Vietnamese reaction to French imperialism" (p. 68), which is a rare example in *Agora* focussing on such perspectives. She suggests students watch the film *Indochine*, which is the first time the film, based in the colonial period, was mentioned in any education document analysed in this study. She emphasises that "this will be one of the highlights of the unit" (p. 68). McNabb (1999) suggests an analysis of the Manifesto of the Communist Party of Indochina, February 1930, "Ho Chi Minh's letter establishing the Viet Minh, June 1941" (p. 68), and a focus on pre-World War Two society, including "differing groups such as French colonists… Vietnamese plantation workers, intellectuals, women and urban workers" (p. 68). The different voices of these groups were all previously unmentioned in *Agora*. Amongst other activities, McNabb (1999) includes a biographical study of Ho Chi Minh or General Vo Nguyen Giap. This is the first focus on Giap, who was integral to the defeat of the French. Another suggestion is for the students to "analyse the ideas in and the origins of the Declaration of Independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (September 1945)" (p. 68). McNabb also suggests that students could write an essay "explaining the reasons for the Victory of the Viet Minh over the French in 1954" (p. 68); the first time the topics as essays were mentioned as possible activities.

In the *Agora* article "Vietnam: A Reappraisal 30 Years On" (Sieminski, 2001), Robert Sieminski, a VCE History Teacher from Bayside Secondary College, focusses on the VCE unit "Australian History: Unit 4: Area of Study 2: Towards a Changing Society: 1945-present" (Sieminski, 2001, p. 1), and includes references to the French. Sieminski states that the article is an examination of "debates and divisions within Australia by looking at the impact of the Vietnam War on Australian society and the role of the governments of the day up to 1972" (Sieminski, 2001, p. 1). The article includes ten topics and themes, including French Colonialism and the Battle of Dien Bien Phu, showing the continuing shift towards a broader and deeper overview of the Vietnam War, including the actions of the French.

8.11 Colonialism and Imperialism

The topics of Colonialism (and colonisation) and Imperialism are referred to in *Agora* 27 times throughout the period 1975-2005, with the combined total placing the topics fifth on the list after the topics of Veterans (97), South Vietnam (South Vietnamese) (72), North Vietnam (37), and Conscription (34), indicating a relatively high level of focus. The topics were located and tallied separately during the data collection to note any differentiation between Colonialism and Imperialism, however, have been analysed together in this section because they are so often related.

During the 1980s, colonialism and imperialism were in the lowest three topics mentioned in *Agora*. The first reference to imperialism is in the *Reviews Supplement,* September 1980, which also has a focus on nationalism (see Section 8.7). The review of "H.R. Cowie, *Crossroads*, 3 volumes, Nelson, 1980" (p. 35) notes that in "volume 3, *Asia and Australia in World Affairs",* Cowie discusses growing nationalism and imperialism in East and South-East Asian nations. Cowie's book places Vietnam within the context of colonialism in C20th Asia, contextualizing its specific situation within the broader international movements against imperialism and colonisation.

The colonisation of Vietnam, specifically, is mentioned again in the February 1981 *Agora,* in a review of "Karl Trsek, *The Violent Century"* (HTAV, 1981, p. 2), however the topic is not a main focus in *Agora* until the topic rises sharply to second in the tally during the 1990s, with the first reference again being contextualised in a broader overview. A review of "T. E.

Vadney, *The World Since 1945*. Penguin, 1991" (HTAV, 1993, p. 54), states that Vadney's book focusses on the development of "principal themes that shaped world history" (p. 54). The author (unnamed) focuses on the topic of 'anti-colonialism' having an increased presence in Australian classrooms across the period under investigation, as "analyses of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the developed West are set against the competition of the USA and the USSR for world influence, the forces of anti-colonialism, and the chaos of Indo-China" (p. 54).

Although there is a two-year silence on the topic, it emerges again in *Agora* at the end of 1993. Burke's (1993) article, "A Fatal Collision? European Contact in Vietnam from the 17th to the 20th Centuries. An examination through primary sources" (p. 37), states that the documents "selectively present the observations of a number of European priests, adventurers, journalists, writers, military personnel, and scientists of their encounters with Vietnam and the Vietnamese people over the last four centuries" (p. 37). Included in the article are "observations of the impact of European Colonial activity in Vietnam from Vietnamese sources" (p. 37). Burke (1993) states that the "documents are presented with a view to redressing the great imbalance which exists in materials produced for student use on the history of Vietnam concentrated on the Twentieth Century and, more specifically, the American War" (p. 37). By using the phrase 'American War', as opposed to the 'Vietnam War', Burke shows a desire to focus on Vietnamese voices. However, as the article includes the bulk of the references to Imperialism and Colonialism throughout the period of *Agora* journals analysed, it could be concluded that Burke's (1993) article is an anomaly.

Burke (1993), focusing on the theme of Vietnamese resistance to foreign domination, comments, "these documents reveal a dramatic change in the response that the Vietnamese public (as opposed to its elites) made towards the European presence in Vietnam" (p. 37). Burke (1993) states the intention that "students would arrive at a better understanding of pre-colonial and Colonial Vietnam" (p. 37), and the documents would be of most use "at a year 10 level in a course of dealing with the modern history of Vietnam and also in VCE history Unit 2 Imperialism and Colonialism" (p. 37).

Burke (1993) includes a "document by Ho Chi Minh, *The Martyrdom of Native Women*" (p. 37), and notes that the document "Needs to be treated with care by teachers not simply

because of the graphic nature of much of its content but also because it relies upon the use of secondary sources" (p. 38). Burke (1993) further states that "Most of these documents are concerned with people and events in the south of the country" (p. 38), indicating a lack of sources from the North. The article introduces seven primary documents relating to how Vietnam was perceived by 'The West' during the C17th as well as the C19th. These include primary documents relating to the *Vietnamese response to French intervention 1862 to 1874* (p. 42).

The second extract included in Burke (1993), "*The gentleman in The Parlour: a Record of a Journey from Rangoon to Haiphong*, by W. Somerset Maugham" (p. 44), includes descriptions of Saigon, and the Vietnamese people from a journey in 1928 to 1929. It furthers the understanding of how 'Westerners' perceived the Vietnamese, and, by their inclusion, supports those who joined Nationalist movements against colonial powers. Burke's review of "Lewis, N., A *Dragon Apparent: Travels in Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam"* (p. 45), notes that the book is "a comprehensive account of his journey through the south of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos in 1950" (p. 45). The final extract in the article also relates to the same book and describes Lewis' views on how colonialism had changed the Vietnamese people's demeanour, in the comment; "from the experiences of these few hours I had learned one disturbing thing. This was that as a European I had been invisible... It is most uncomfortable to feel oneself an object of this universal detestation, a mere foreign devil in fact" (p. 45). The final two extracts do not contain any reference to Vietnamese peoples' actual viewpoints, just author observations. Burke (1993) offers a distinct, yet lone voice amongst *Agora* authors who challenged colonialism by using Vietnamese perspectives.

Aside from a 1995 advertisement for an AWM exhibition that includes the word colonialism, there are no references to colonialism after Burke in 1993 until the 1999 article "Teaching Asian History Unit 2: Nationalism: Why Not Try Japan or Vietnam?" (McNabb, 1999, p. 68). Amongst numerous topics, McNabb includes "showing the Vietnamese reaction to French imperialism" (p. 68).

The number of references to Colonialism declines in the 2000s, with the topic dropping to fourth-last on the coding tally. The first article of the 2000s to mention Colonialism (albeit

briefly) is "Vietnam: A Reappraisal 30 Years On" (Sieminski, 2001); an examination of "debates and divisions within Australia by looking at the impact of the Vietnam War on Australian society and the role of the governments of the day up to 1972" (p. 1). Sieminski (2001) includes topics and themes such as post-war Australia in the 1960s, The Menzies Liberal/Country Coalition Government, French colonialism, Ho Chi Minh and the Viet Minh, the Cold War, the Battle of Dien Bien Phu, the Domino Theory, the protest movement including 'Save Our Sons', the media, and the role of trade unions. The inclusion of Colonialism within such a broad range of topics indicates a shift towards the deepening and widening of how the war was being presented by some *Agora* authors by the early 2000s.

The first reference to the war in the second edition of 2005 returns Colonialism to the fore in "The White Man's Burden: Causes, Justifications and Perspectives of Europe's Colonisation of Asia" (Thompson, 2005, p. 37). Thompson states:

> Historians will long debate whether the benefits of economic modernisation injected by colonial powers into some regions was worth the cultural imposition, political dysfunction and denial of human rights that went hand-in-hand with just about all colonial systems. (p. 41)

This depth of analysis of colonialism is the first in *Agora*. Referencing Vietnam, Thompson specifically comments that, "post-colonial states were formed without sufficient political or economic strength to survive alone; ethnic, religious and nationalist issues were overlooked or not accommodated in post-colonialist withdrawals, leading to further conflict (e.g. Kashmir, Palestine, Vietnam, Indonesia)" (p. 41). Following reference to the Cold War, he concludes with an opinion not previously voiced in *Agora* that, "Some former colonies have never recovered from the long period of their domination – perhaps they never will" (p. 41), a view that was almost certainly a product of the 'post-colonial' era.

The shift between silence, then inclusion, relating to colonialism and imperialism during the period 1975-2005 in *Agora* correlates with writers and readers' interest in local and international historical events, such as the 1995 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission's push for constitutional reform, the 1993 Native Title Act, and the beginning of the war in Afghanistan in 2001. Aside from one 2005 article relating a connection between

the contemporary situation of US involvement in the Middle East and the Graeme Greene novel *The Quiet American* (Keane, 2005), no direct links between colonialism and imperialism, and the Vietnam War were found in Victorian mainstream newspapers. Also, the number of academic articles focusing on Colonialism and Imperialism in South-East Asia were spread throughout the period (often with a focus on British or Japanese rather than French imperialism) (Copland, 1986, Kratoska, 2001, Tarling, 2001) with little noticeable link to the references in *Agora.* With decades having passed since the end to the colonial period in Vietnam, a level of objective analysis was beginning to emerge. Arguably, too, History teaching in Victoria had shifted to the teaching of wider units where there was growing use of primary sources and diverse views, in turn influencing depictions of the Vietnam War.

8.12 Conscription

In the period 1975-2005 of *Agora*, there are 34 references to Conscription (including one mention of conscription in Vietnam) making it the fourth-highest on the tally of topic references. Conscription is, thus, a dominant topic in *Agora* during the 1980s and 2000s, noticeably descending the tally numbers to eighth during the 1990s. Throughout the same period, there were two documents written specifically with a focus on conscription in Australia (Saunders, 1982; Scates, 1988). A key word search of *The Age* offered no articles or letters written during the period on the topic of conscription to support understanding of why certain shifts occurred, whereas there were strong correlations to topics such as ‘protest’. It is possible that this lack of evidence from wider sources indicates a dedication on behalf of *Agora* writers, often teachers, to continue to focus on the topic over an extended period, despite the lack of representation in academic works and contemporary newspapers.

During the 1980s, conscription was the third most mentioned topic in *Agora*, however, the first reference (HTAV, 1982, August) to the “conscription issue” (p. 22) is introduced as a Vietnam-related topic in a book review with no further detail given. The October 1982 *Agora* briefly focusses on the topic in a review of “Peter Firkins: The Australians in Nine Wars” (p. 34) and, in 1987, *Agora* notes the topic in a review discussing WWI, briefly mentioning the

Vietnam War (HTAV, 1987, p. 30). It is not until the mid-late 1988 (Pearce, 1988) edition that the topic of conscription is addressed in-depth. Pearce's (1988) review of *The Soldiers' Story* by Terry Burstall, observes that, "Burstall takes us from his enlistment in the army, through relationships between conscripts and enlisted men, to a detailed account of the battle (Long Tan) and its aftermath" (p. 40). Embedded within references to Long Tan, veterans, the aftermath of the war, and the importance of oral history in constructing historical narratives, Pearce's (1988) noting of conscription as a topic develops a shift towards understanding soldiers' differing experiences during the war.

References to conscription in *Agora* fall dramatically during the 1990s to eighth out of the ten topics. The first *Agora* of 1990 begins with the cover title "ANZAC Tribute: Our ANZAC Heritage 1915-1990" (HTAV, 1990, cover page), however, there are noticeably few references to the Vietnam War in the edition. A review of "*Draftmen Go Free: A History of the Anti-Conscription Movement in Australia,* Bob Scates" (p. 58), is one of the two documents focusing on Australian Conscription mentioned in the introduction to this section. The review states that "The author, Bob Scates, spent eight months in Pentridge Prison as a draft resister during the 'dirty, unwinnable war' and his book presents a detailed description of how the anti-conscription movement, with all its splinter groups, formed and grew up until the time of the election of the Whitlam Government in 1972" (p. 58). The reviewer has chosen to include the quote "'dirty, unwinnable war'" (p. 58), as well as focus on Scates' time as a draft resister, displaying empathy for Scates, his position, and his choices relating to the war. This is a rare example in *Agora* of an entry that stands overtly with any political position.

Sutherland's (1990) article, "Teaching about the Vietnam War - A Practical Guide" (pp. 30-32), includes a research task focused on the experiences of a veteran or refugees. Conscription is noted as a possible topic if students are reading local newspapers to gather information; "Find out about the likely experiences of the soldier up to his death. Battalion, training, conscription, travel to Vietnam, Nui Dat or Vun Tau (sic), patrols" (p. 31). Here, Sutherland develops a focus on individual soldiers, emphasizing that the soldier being researched is deceased, adding to the depth of students' understanding of both the soldier, their possible status as enlisted or conscripted, and the finality of their wartime experience.

In 1991, “A Cartoonist View of the Vietnam War: an Analytical Exercise in Twentieth Century History Unit 2” (Cook, 1991, p. 30), (see also section 8.9) mentions Conscription in a series of cartoons students are to analyse. The author offers several questions including:

- What do they (the cartoons) reveal about the cartoonist attitudes to: - the nature of the war being fought? - the nature of Australian involvement in that war? - protests against the war and conscription? (p. 32).

Here, the focus shifts to the point of view of a member of the wider community, in this case a cartoonist, advancing the scope of what had previously been developed in *Agora.* Furthermore, the use of a satirical cartoon facilitates students’ understanding of political motivations underlying some critiques of Australia’s involvement in the war.

After a five -year hiatus, “Commemorating the Battle of Long Tan” (O’Callaghan, 1996) details a school trip to Canberra, which “also investigated such ideas as the anti-conscription movement (p. 23). These perfunctory inclusions, and the lack of any detail regarding conscription after 1991, display a shift away from the topic, at odds with the rise of references to veterans during the same period.

Conscription rises to third-highest in the topic reference tally during the 2000s, coinciding with the continuing rise in references to veterans. In 2001, the article “Projects/Class Activities on the Vietnam War” (McKinley, 2001, p. 1), written by the Assistant Director of Commemorations at DVA, includes comparisons of the experiences of WWI and Vietnam. McKinley (2001) highlights elements such as “causes of war, combat conditions, fighting tactics, support on the home front, conscription issue, results of conflict, and the Spirit of Anzac” (p. 2). By 2001, historical comparisons of conflicts are being given more attention. As the piece was written by a representative of DVA, the inclusions reveal how DVA was developing resources that promoted deeper student understanding of the complexities of the Vietnam War, and drawing parallels and prominence with the legendary Anzac tradition.

McKinley also includes activities incorporating the use of personal memorabilia, and the task of interviewing a veteran. Suggestions for questions include, “What was your understanding of the conflict before you went to war? Did this change due to your experiences? Why did

you enlist (if relevant)? Or how did you feel about being conscripted?" (McKinley, 2001, p. 4). This was a shift towards directly questioning veterans on their personal experiences, including their feelings towards their enlistment or conscription. Again, the author is writing on behalf of DVA, inferring that this organisation knows the sorts of questions veterans might reasonably be asked to comfortably answer, possibly due to almost thirty years having passed since their wartime experiences and veterans' willingness to explore the educational possibilities of their personal narratives.

The 2001 article "Vietnam: A Reappraisal 30 Years On" (Sieminski, 2001, p. 1) examines "debates and divisions within Australia by looking at the impact of the Vietnam War on Australian society and the role of the governments of the day up to 1972" (, p. 1), returning the focus to a wider view of the war, including societal and political perspectives. The article discusses conscription, noting that "the majority of the general public went with the decision to introduce conscription because Australians generally took the attitude that the Government knew best and most people did not go against Parliamentary authority" (p. 4). This previously unmentioned point highlights Sieminski's (2001) focus on understanding a society more accepting of media and authority, shifting perspective towards students' ability to note the differences between their contemporary world and that at the time of the war. Sieminski (2001) concludes: "For a number of reasons, including the Vietnam War issues, the Coalition lost the 1972 Federal election. The Whitlam Labor Government then completed withdrawal and suspended conscription" (p. 9). His work reveals another shift towards classroom analysis of how conscription affected, and was affected by the war, politics and public opinion.

There was one brief reference in the first *Agora* of 2004 which states that 'Save our Sons' was one of the most prominent women's protest movements formed to fight conscription" (Wilkins, 2004, p. 16). Veterans' perspectives of conscription are again included in the detailed article on the "Vietnam Veterans Education Team" (White, 2005, p. 60). Phil White details the presentations offered to schools, mentioning several topics veterans could speak on, including the difference between regular army personnel and national servicemen, and "Conscription: The National Service Draft, how it was conducted and who was eligible. (p. 60). White and the VVET reveal the final shift of the 1975-2005 period on the topic of

conscription, the inclusion of personal historical narratives delivered directly to students. The shift towards including these personal narratives appears to have been determined by the passing of time and some distancing from the war's painful realities, thus, the choices of the veterans themselves to talk, and teachers being interested in seeking these opportunities.

8.13 South Vietnam and North Vietnam

Between 1975 and 2005, there were 72 references to South Vietnam and 37 references to North Vietnam in *Agora,* with the majority of references relating to the geographical location of battles and very few exploring the different areas in any depth. Although the initial search was for South Vietnam and North Vietnam as separate search topics, there are so few in-depth references to North Vietnam specifically, that the two topics are analysed in one section, added to which are references to the NVA or Viet Minh because they are often noted within the context of North Vietnam. Any (non-geographical) references to South or North Vietnamese people are also included. A search of *The Age* from 1980-2005 presented no direct references to either North Vietnam or South Vietnam relating to the Vietnam War (aside from geographical location). However, a number of academic works were published during the period (Dockrill, 1991; Dunn, 1996; Gole, 2001; Luong, 1992; Shultz, 1999; Turner-Gottschang, & Phan, 1998), focussing on aspects of the war not mentioned in *Agora*, including US espionage, Rolling Thunder, and North Vietnamese women in combat. Two articles relating to prisoners of war (Stockdale, 1982) and the relationship of the North Vietnamese economy and socialism (Werner, 1981) were written during the time period studied.

In the 1980s collection of *Agora,* South Vietnam was the most mentioned phrase on the topic tally, however, few references were to anything more than a geographic or geo-political context such as the "leader of South Vietnam" (HTAV, 1984, p. 15) in a multiple-choice question, and "Terry Burstall's account of the Battle of Long Tan in South Vietnam" (Pearce, 1988, p. 40). The topic references then descend the tally to sixth out of ten during the 1990s, yet the authors in those years write with a depth of content not evident in the 1980s collection. Sutherland's (1990) piece, "Teaching about the Vietnam War - A Practical Guide (pp. 30-32) addresses several topics that teachers may find difficult to tackle in the classroom

such as, "Determining who was the enemy - Viet Minh, Viet Cong, NVA, ARVN, Vietnamese?" (p. 31). Although the reference does not note North Vietnam or South Vietnam specifically, this is one of the very few references in *Agora* to North Vietnam-related topics, the Viet Minh, and the NVA, and demonstrates Sutherland's desire to include rarely mentioned aspects of the war.

The 1991 article "A Cartoonist View of the Vietnam War: An Analytical Exercise in Twentieth Century History Unit 2" (Cook, 1991, p. 30), displays the change to including South Vietnamese perspectives through cartoons.

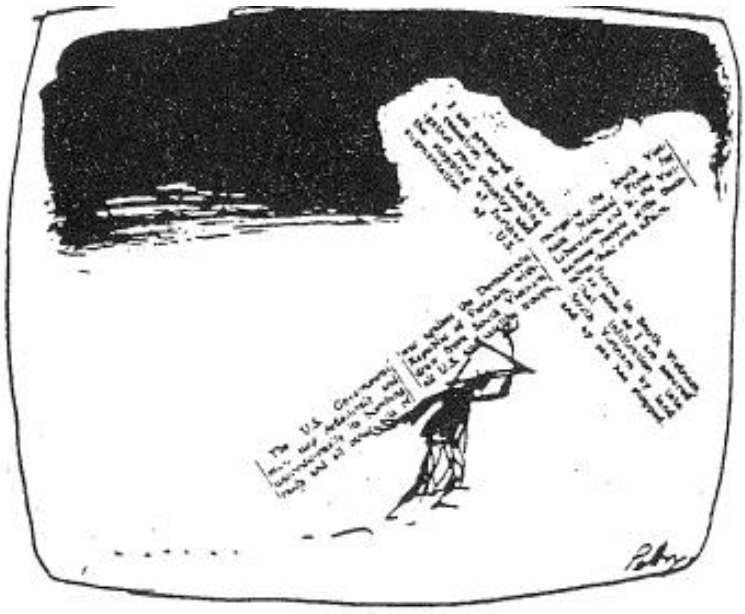

Figure 68. "Words in Form of a Cross" Cartoon by Petty, Reprinted in Smith (ed.), The Best of Petty, as cited in Cook, 1991, p. 30

The first titled, "Words in Form of a Cross" (p. 30) depicts a man wearing traditional Vietnamese clothing including a traditional Vietnamese hat, carrying a Christian cross with English words written on it, including, 'democracy', 'South Vietnam', and 'infiltration' on his back. The author of the article then poses two questions:

1. The first cartoon comments on the peace negotiations. The two lots of words represent the demands of the USA, and those of North Vietnam. What does the single bent figure represent? Why are the words set in the shape of a cross?

2. What is the message of the cartoon? (p. 30).

While interpretation of the cartoon is debatable, its inclusion shifts the Australian soldiers' perspective of 'the enemy' in Sutherland's (1990) article, to the suffering Vietnamese individual carrying the burden of the war, including the demands of various participants. The Christian cross is featured in the cartoon, drawing attention to the difference between North and South Vietnam, as the majority of Vietnamese Christians, during the war period, were either originally from the South, or had migrated there after the Viet Minh takeover of the North in 'Operation Passage to Freedom (Frankum, 2007). Moreover, although Bruce Petty drew the cartoon during the war, its inclusion in the article twenty-five years later seeks to make its point with a wholly new generation.

Following two references in *Agora* to South Vietnam in contexts including the relationship between President John F. Kennedy's assassination and his support of the South Vietnamese Government (Kruse & Louis, 1992, p. 4), and friendly fire incidents between South Vietnamese and American troops (Hastings & Imam, 1994), *Agora* focuses on South Vietnam in a detailed analysis of the famous photo of the South Vietnamese major general shooting a Viet Cong operative during the Tet Offensive. Duncan (1999) shines a light on the lack of comment newspapers gave to Viet Cong atrocities at the time, focusing on another photograph showing a South "Vietnamese soldier carrying a dead child (as) his family had been killed by Vietcong" (p. 11). This inclusion shows a shift in *Agora* from merely mentioning South Vietnam, often from the context of Australian soldiers or the political situation, to a descriptive critique of the violence in South Vietnam, the Australian media's portrayal, and the innocent victims of the Vietnam War.

South Vietnam is second on the tally in the 2000s, possibly due to the enormous jump in references in *Agora* to veterans, with North Vietnam at sixth out of the ten topics. The first significant reference in *Agora* to South Vietnam is in an extended synopsis of the film, *Good Morning Vietnam*, which introduces a number of topics related to the Americans' experience of the South, and the South Vietnamese people. The article extends details of what was happening in the South to include army censorship, "the ARVN and the role of US troops as being part of a 'police action'" (*Good Morning Vietnam Notes*, 2001, p. 1), "racism of the GIs" (HTAV, 2001, p. 1) towards the Vietnamese, the presence of Buddhism, and South

Vietnamese protests against the police. The introduction of these themes shows the shift towards a more complex reading of Vietnam War narratives, especially those related to South Vietnamese people.

Later in 2001, *Agora* includes a reproduction of "Viet Nam (sic): Questions and Answers Issued by the Minister for External Affairs, May 1966" (*Viet Nam: Questions and Answers*, 2001, p. 1). However, there is no introductory explanation for why the editors chose to include it. The questions and answers reveal some of the views and responses of journalists and the Minister in 1966, and display a specific focus on North Vietnam, South Vietnam, and the differences between the two such as:

> "What right have we to interfere in the domestic affairs of Vietnam or decide what type of government is best for South Vietnam? We do not claim such rights. The right we do claim is that of responding to the appeal from the Government of South Vietnam for help in defending itself against external aggression. We do not seek to keep any particular form of government. We assert two things: first, that North Vietnam and Communist China, for their part, have no right to impose by force their social system on South Vietnam, and secondly, that the South Vietnamese people must be assured of the opportunity to choose and maintain the form of government they themselves wish. (*Viet Nam: Questions and Answers*, 2001, p. 1)

The document also comments on the violence towards non-Communist and South Vietnamese people by the hands of the Viet Minh and the NVA:

> The lives of millions of people who have resisted communism, the security of their families and their properties would be in jeopardy and opposition in South Viet Nam would be wiped out. There would be a repetition of the liquidation of the so-called 'class enemies', which occurred when the communists took over the North. (*Viet Nam: Questions and Answers*, 2001, p. 2)

This inclusion reveals the *Agora* editors' decision to include Australian political documents specifically relating to North and South Vietnam, possibly due to the length of time since the end of the war, and a desire to examine aspects of views from the North and South in a deeper way.

8.14 Conclusion

From the first Vietnam War entry in the September, 1980 *Agora*, until 2005, *Agora* includes substantially more references to the war than the policy documents, curriculum documents, and textbooks combined. This shows that the journal editors and writers, who were frequently teachers, and their audience – history teachers – were interested and engaged in teaching the Vietnam War and the diverse perspectives, resources and approaches available. The shifts towards more nuanced critiques of Australia's role and perspectives, and varied Vietnamese perspectives develop across the *Agora* editions with the passage of time, and the concerted effort of the editors and educators, the latter mainly teachers, writing for *Agora*. Although the reasons behind overall shifts in representations of the Vietnam War in all the education documents is the focus of Chapter Ten, some initial conclusions on how the Vietnam War representations shift through *Agora* items on the Vietnam War period can be drawn.

Overall, *Agora* displays a lack of focus on the end of the Vietnam War – excepting McNabb (1999) and Sutherland (1990), displaying an Australian/US narrative of the war. There is less focus on the Domino Theory than the textbooks (See Chapters Five-Seven), and references to the Theory begin in the 2000s, evidence of *Agora* authors' predilection for placing Australian involvement in the war as due to the ANZUS Treaty, rather than Cold War fear. Especially during the 2000s, the ANZUS Treaty references correspond with contemporary international events, including the September 11th attacks on the World Trade Centre and Australia's involvement in the Invasion of Afghanistan.

There is stronger focus than the textbooks on Vietnam War events such as the Tet Offensive (Sutherland, 1990; Duncan, 1990; McNabb, 1999) and the Battle of Long Tan (Pearce, 1988; Nichols & Manera, 1996; O'Callaghan, 1996; Cutter, 2004; White, 2005). The authors have more page-space than the textbook writers to include detailed analysis of focus events than having to provide broad overviews of the conflict.

The *Agora* authors focus on the topic of Vietnam War protest more through the lens of the Australian soldiers and veterans rather than the protesters themselves, and often link the topics of protest and conscription (Pearce, 1988; Sutherland, 1990; Cook, 1991; O'Callaghan,

1996; McKinley, 2001; Sieminski, 2001; Wilkins, 2004; White, 2005). They include more discussion on the topic of protest than the textbooks, displaying empathy towards how the protests affected soldiers returning and veterans after the war ("Desperate Praise", 1983; Sutherland, 1990; Cook, 1991; Wilkins, 2004; White, 2005). The topics of the ANZUS Treaty and protest gain prominence during the time of Australia's involvement in the Iraq Invasion.

Agora authors also draw attention to the topic of nationalism (McNabb, 1999) and French colonialism in Vietnam (Sutherland, 1990; Burke, 1993; McNabb, 1999; Sieminski, 2001; Thompson, 2005), by exploring in more depth the motivations of the Vietnamese nationalist movement and the events that lead to the Vietnam War. These authors include a more diverse range of Vietnamese voices, such as individuals like Bao Dai and Ho Chi Minh, and differing religious and political groupings (Catholic, Buddhist, non-communist nationalists, and communist nationalists). One author (Burke, 1993) includes sympathetic language towards Vietnamese nationalists through the lens of male and female Vietnamese civilians, however includes fewer references to people from the North than from the South.

As the *Agora* audience is predominantly school History teachers, the journal develops otherwise omitted, or briefly noted topics, such as the Tet Offensive, the Battle of Long Tan, as well as the ramifications of conscription and protest on Australian soldiers of the Vietnam War. And, similar to the textbook authors, *Agora* authors progressively begin to write articles that reflect changes in wider Australian society, such as the rise of Vietnamese-Australian students in their classrooms, and current events such as the September 11th Attacks on the World Trade Centre, and the Invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq.

Chapter Nine: Agora Analysis – Focus on Post-War Topics

Introduction

This chapter focuses on how post-Vietnam War topics were depicted in *Agora*, from 1980 to 2005, exploring the shifts in language and perspectives related to those topics, and providing some references to other publications, where relevant. As with earlier chapters, I have used the conceptual framework of social constructivism to reveal *Agora's* latent content. There is also exploration of how the references change over time, and the context of public documents beyond schooling, such as *The Age*.

This analysis of *Agora* articles is presented chronologically to facilitate discussion of shifts in quantity of references as well as in the language and topics across time. The data has been recorded on a coding sheet based on the inductive method (See Chapter Three – Methodology). It includes the topics: References to Vietnam War, Topics and Themes Referenced, as well as a Description of Language (Positive, Negative, Ambivalent) and Description of Latent Content. Again, abductive reasoning is employed when establishing the latent content of the documents. The frequency of the topics has been counted to establish the relative focus. All sections of the journals are included in the analysis, including advertisements, because they also provide evidence. 'Frequency of References' in the coding sheet referred to either one-word references to the war in a paragraph, or, when an article was devoted to the topic, how many paragraphs were included.

Chapter Nine also uses Boyatzis' (1998) definitions of thematic analysis to code the documents, and Mayring's (2000) "Step Model of Deductive Category Application" (p. 5), followed by the "Step Model of Inductive Category Development" (p. 4). As with the textbooks (chapters Five, Six, and Seven), the use of the deductive and inductive techniques reveal patterns and shifts in both what is written and what is unwritten.

If there is no mention of an edition of *Agora* in this chapter, it can be assumed there was no mention of the Vietnam War. There is a small number of visual representations across

editions of *Agora*; therefore, visual representation has been included in the overall analysis. After 2000, the HTAV website collated *Agora* yearly in alphabetical order, so volume and/or page numbers are sometimes not available. As with Chapter Eight, *Agora* Focus on Wartime Topics, the *Agora* articles here are most often referred to by year and number, because there is not a month of publication cited for all editions.

A keyword search of each topic discovered in the deductive category application related to the Vietnam War was undertaken simultaneously on *The Age* website, to ascertain if there had been a focus on the topic in the media. The year prior to the mention in *Agora*, and the year of the mention, were entered to discover any correlations. Topic sections are included from fewest to most mentioned topics unless a thematic reason is stated. The HTAV website presents all 2000–2005 *Agora* journals in whole-year pages with no differentiation of volume, in alphabetical order; therefore, they are coded in that order.

Since so few Vietnamese refugee and veteran-related articles were found in *The Age* during the period, the NLA Trove website digitised newspaper section was also searched for keywords. Although the references were predominantly from publications beyond Victoria, several articles from Victoria add to Victoria's wider Vietnam war-related narrative in which this *Agora* analysis can be situated.

9.1 References to Refugees in *Agora*

1980s

After the 1975 Fall of Saigon, Vietnamese refugees began to arrive in Australia from 1976, initially by boat and then via a Federal Government refugee program. Between 1976 and 1982, approximately 2000 Vietnamese 'boat people' arrived in Australia (Manne, 2010). With this backdrop, the first reference to the topic of refugees was introduced in an *Agora* article focusing on Asia-specific studies under the heading, "Asian Resources: Recent History and Current Problems" (*Asian Resources: Recent History and Current Problems*, 1981, p. 38). The article outlines the shift towards Asia-focused curriculum by stating, "Australia's relations with its Asian neighbours have in recent years assumed a more important position in our school curriculums" (p. 38). However, the author comments that, "Readily accessible

information to assist both teachers and students is not easily found" (p. 38) revealing that resources were not yet supporting the increasing emphasis in the curriculum. The author introduces *The Capricornia Papers* and their contents stating:

> For this reason we wish to advise you of the publication *Asia and Australia: The Capricornia Papers.* Japan, China, Indonesia, the Indochinese nations, and the Association of the South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) are examined in light of their recent history and current problems. And further, their relationships with Australia are studies over recent years and their problems highlighted. (Papers not related to my study's topic are omitted).
>
> - Australian Government Policy on the Entry of Vietnamese Refugees in 1975 Nancy Viviani
> - Australian Government Policy on the Entry of Vietnamese Refugees 1976 - 1978 - Nancy Viviani and Joanne Lawe-Davies
> - A Statistical Survey of the Vietnamese Population in Australia and Brisbane – Corazon Gatbonton
> - Australian Government Policies on the Entry of Vietnamese: Record and Responsibility – Nancy Viviani. (p. 38)

The author offers background reading for History teachers. Alongside the political relationship between Australia and ASEAN nations, refugees were beginning to become a topic for consideration in the classroom, along with the Australian Government's commission of the Asian language and culture focused *Auchmuty Report* (Auchmuty, 1970). The word 'problems' is mentioned twice and, although there is no detail in the article as to what the 'problems' are, the contents page of *Asia and Australia: The Capricornia Papers* (Viviani, 1980) centres on international relations, with Viviani (1980) focusing on "Australia-Indochinese Relations" (para. 4). The topic of refugees is, at this early stage, presented in the context of international relations.

In the 1980s, *Agora* rarely mentions personal experiences of refugees. Continuing with the focus on Asian Studies, the aforementioned 1981 edition includes reference to the "*Asian Studies Conference*… opening address by Mr Nguyen Drien Dan from the Ministry of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, followed by a report on the experiences of Vietnamese

Children in Victorian Schools" (p. 38). The edition mentions papers presented at the conference including, *"Settlement experiences of the Indo-Chinese in Victoria"... "Vietnamese Children and Studies in Victorian Schools"...* (p. 38).

The August 1983 *Agora* introduces a first-person narrative written by Sue Fabian, a History teacher of the time. Fabian (1983) presents her reasons for teaching the Victorian Gold Rushes, to highlight the similarities in treatment between Chinese diggers and Vietnamese refugees. The article draws on the relationship between teaching History and the socio-political culture of the time, in line with this study's theoretical framework of social constructivism. Jakubowicz (2004) states that Vietnamese refugees "were implicated in the rising paranoia about unsafe cities in the 1980s, and centrally embroiled in the emergence of a politics of race in the 1990s" (p.1), substantiating Fabian's reactive choices. In the article "Year 10 Historical Re-enactment at Richmond High School in 1982" (Fabian, 1983), she writes,

> At Richmond H.S. I decided to focus on Racial Tensions at The Goldfields. Why?
> 1. Racial tension in the community has been reflected in a number of local reminders, e.g. the Greek nightclub singer and the Vietnamese little girl, both found dead at the Richmond Housing Commission flats.
> 2. This tension was reflected in jealousies between students e.g., "Why are the Vietnamese doing so well at school so quickly? Why are they driving 'big cars' if they're refugees? With growing numbers of Indo-Chinese immigrants, the students polarised into new blocks, where in the past they may have seen 'Greeks' vs. 'Turks' or 'Yugos' now it was often a case of the 'European' students combining against the 'Chongs', i.e. the Indo-Chinese, whom they saw as being 'all the same'.
>
> In October 1981 a big swastika was painted on a wall in the school building. No one seemed to know who did it or why it was there. Then a fight between a Vietnamese student and an Australian boy and his national front friends threatened to make things ugly...
> 4. Within the Indo-Chinese groups and the Timorese students there are big differences and conflicts. Some name-call others, branded them as 'Communists' and dissension was common, yet all 'Asian' looking kids were seen to be 'the same'. (p. 35).

Fabian's (1983) focus on the connections between what she chose to teach and her school's student demographics, geography, and social politics of the time, provide insights into how teachers were freer at the time to make such decisions with school communities that were demographically changing. Fabian makes direct links between the racism flaring in her student cohort, as well as in the wider community, with the importance of teaching a topic that, from her point of view, prompts the students into questioning their behaviour as well as the behaviour of the wider community. Fabian (1983) demonstrates her belief in the direct link between the teaching of History, making links to contemporary social issues and society's well-being. By teaching the Vietnam War, but referring several times to refugee children and what they and their families were experiencing post-war, Fabian (1983) displays an understanding and reaction to the events of her time and local surrounds (Richmond, Melbourne in the 1980s), in keeping with the social constructivist framework of this study.

1990s

In 2018, Australia's Department of Home Affairs reflected on shifts in Australian immigration policy at the end of the C20th:

> The composition of the Vietnamese intake changed in the mid-1990s with the implementation of the Comprehensive Plan of Action and streamlining of the Vietnamese Family Migration Program. Thereafter, the number of refugees seeking asylum in Australia declined. (Department of Home Affairs, 2018)

There are 437 mentions of the Vietnam War in the 1990s collection of *Agora,* showing enormous growth in coverage of the war. In the years following the 1980s, however, there are only two references to the topic of refugees, with both articles having a common denominator, the teacher and author, Ian Sutherland.

An Agora book review of "*Conflict in Indo China,* Ian Sutherland" (HTAV, 1990, p. 42), indicates that there had been, to this time, a lack of appropriate resources about the Vietnam War, specifically for 15 to 16-year-olds. The reviewer comments that, "As a teacher for the past two years of a Year 10 course on the Indo-Chinese conflict, I welcomed this book as a

much needed reference that dealt with complex and often emotional issues in a way that was acceptable to this age group" (p. 42). The reviewer points further to the challenges of teaching war narratives to specific cohorts:

> As a majority of my students are from Indo-China, I have found it hard to find information that is not too one-sided, or racist and which is not too vivid in its portrayal of what happened to the civilian population of Vietnam. (p. 42).

The reviewer states, "*Conflict in Indo China* combines a variety of resources that will suit students of varying levels of ability and language" (p. 42), developing the idea of *how* the book might support diverse learners. This displays a shift in acceptance towards teachers' adapting their content choice and delivery of the Vietnam War to their specific socio-political context, and in this instance, to recognising the presence and needs of Indo-Chinese students. The reviewer adds, "(The book) includes a very clear and concise vocabulary of terms and abbreviations used during the Vietnamese war and a list of the main people by nationality" (p. 42). Here is my study's first encounter with a vocabulary of terms and abbreviations specific to the Vietnam War. This, too, is not lost on the *Agora* reviewer, who reflects on the importance of reminding teachers, and students, that cultural and contemporary current affairs change over time, noting that, "many students today have no idea of presidents and politicians that were everyday names twenty years ago" (p. 42). The reviewer specifically notes that, 'twenty years ago', which would have been in the middle of the war. They take a similar position to "Asian Resources: Recent History and Current Problems" (HTAV, 1981a), mentioning that the book includes the history of Vietnam up to "the problems of the refugees in the 1990s" (p. 42). The 'refugee problem' develops by 1990 into a recurrent theme, however, whether the 'problem' is the refugees' suffering or Australians' displeasure at the refugee presence, is not explicit.

Later that year, "*Teaching about the Vietnam War - A Practical Guide*" (Sutherland, 1990), asserts that, "Students are much more interested in social issues such as refugees and the problems of Vietnam veterans" (p. 31). This may, however, be a personal observation of Sutherland's own students. He then indicates how he prepares students for the unit by requiring them to collect news clippings for a file of information, which forms part of their

HSC assessment. He comments that this is so "students have a good historical understanding before they look at the current effects of the conflict" (p. 31).

Sutherland (1990) notes difficulties teachers may encounter when teaching about the war, which, as noted in Chapter Eight, is the first time these types of issues are dealt with extensively in any document analysed thus far. He lists the 11 as:

- Teaching problems: How much background?
- How do you briefly teach the traditions and underline rivalries of the region?
- The complexities of 1945 to 1946 Japanese, British, French, Chinese.
- Appreciate and War (*sic*)
- Reconciling the diverse views of the many people that students can talk to, such as veterans, refugees and parents.
- Understanding Australian society and attitudes of the 1960s.
- Determining who was the enemy - Viet Minh, Viet Cong, NVA, ARVN, Vietnamese?
- Appreciating the extent of the emotional impact of the war on people involved.
- Developing a Vietnamese perspective, as well as an Australian perspective, to the war.
- Understanding how the experiences of Australians in Vietnam differed from the American experience particularly as portrayed in films.
- Dealing with the issue today. What are the issues? How can a student use their historical knowledge to understand them? (p. 31)

Most notable is Sutherland's (1990) focus on the Vietnamese peoples' perspectives, which is scarcely represented in all documents analysed.

Sutherland (1990) supports teachers by suggesting approaches to overcoming any challenges of bias from personal involvement or the influence of Hollywood films. His options include, "Using the Local Area" (p. 31) which involves speaking with refugees and veterans of the war, and also discussions of the protest movement, through the lenses of students, teachers, and their parents. He points out that the "new Victorian VCE has an assessment requirement

that students interview someone over 40 years old" (p. 31). Although there is no explanation for why this age was specifically chosen, one can assume it is because they would have been an adult at the time of the Vietnam War. Therefore, they may have been more 'involved' or 'aware' of what was happening in the news cycle, or may have been personally involved in the war and the context of the time.

A later suggestion is for students to conduct a research assignment focusing on an individual, possibly one of the people they had interviewed previously, or perhaps a veteran or refugee. He adds that the students could try to place 'his' experiences into context. Additionally, although the individual would have been male if the student had interviewed a veteran, that is not necessarily the case if they were a refugee or nurse (or less likely, but possibly, a Vietnamese soldier), showing that women's' experiences of the war were not in the frame.

The second section of the assessment focuses on "The Issue Today" (p. 32), extending the students' knowledge into how the past has affected the present. Sutherland (1990) includes two topics that have had limited attention in previous editions of *Agora*, being the Tet Offensive and the Fall of Saigon, and he extends other topics so students can understand wide-ranging repercussions of war. He includes, "Refugees - adjustment, numbers, country-of-origin, problems, jobs, contribution to the community" (p. 32).

2000s

On the topic of Vietnam War refugees across the period 1980–2005, the early 1980s, and the 1990s, offer few resources for teachers wanting to focus on the Vietnam War in general and on the topic of refugees specifically. After early inclusions of references to refugees, this drops off in the 1990s, except for an article written by Sutherland (1990).

Secondly, there is a discernible change over time from refugees being seen as part of an international relations and political situation, to the inclusion of personal experiences of refugees, shifting from being numbers overseas to faces in Australia. In 1981, an initial shift towards a more Asia-related curriculum was apparent, with the inclusion of an article in *Agora* on *The Capricornia Papers*, providing commentary on the contemporary refugee situation, specifically in Australian Government policy. Later, there was emphasis on changing student cohorts, when Vietnamese refugees entered Victorian classrooms. Here,

Sutherland (1991) offered ways for teachers to teach Vietnam War topics in an inclusive manner, when the teachers had Vietnamese students in their classes. In the 1990s, personal family narratives and the influence of Hollywood films had become recognised, a direct example of social constructivism. This shift was again reinforced in the mid-2000s, when the Australian student of Vietnamese background focused her winning National History Challenge entry on her grandparents' fleeing of Vietnam at the war's end.

Thirdly, there is a shift in how *Agora* presents refugee-themed topics. After an early article by Fabian(1983) relating to continuities over time in racist treatments, firstly of Chinese gold miners, and then of Vietnamese refugees, there is evidence of a correlation between increased acceptance of and interest in Vietnam War history and contemporary socio-political situations and school demographics.

9.2 References to Veterans in *Agora*

Of the 681 references to the Vietnam War in *Agora* between 1975 and 2005, there are 97 related to veterans, placing veteran issues at the top of the tally by a margin of 25. This section focuses on shifts in the depictions of veterans and veteran-related themes over time. However, it excludes depictions of soldiers during the time of the war and closely related topics such as Long Tan and conscription, because these topics feature in Chapter Eight – Focus on Wartime Topics.

Beyond *Agora,* and compared to every other topic analysed in this chapter, many veteran-related academic articles were throughout the 1980-2005 period, with most written from a US perspective. By using a keyword and phrase search (Vietnam War, Vietnam veterans) in academic journals, *The Age* and Trove for each year in the period, as well as the year prior, and checking the first fifty entries of each year, I was able to ascertain key topics and themes, and their occurrence across the period. For example, one early U.S.-based articles related to the psychological impact of the war on veterans (Brende, 1981), and another on alcohol and drug dependence (O'Brien, et. al., 1980). A focus on Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) grew through the mid-1980s into the 2000s (Pallmeyer, Blanchard & Kolb, 1986; Ortega, & Rosenheck, 2000), alongside the effects of pesticides on veterans and/or their children (US Congress urged to back further Agent Orange studies., 1993).

Multiple Australian articles also focused on PTSD (Crowe, 1999; O'Toole, et. al., 1999), and the impact of the use of pesticides during the war (Australia. Parliament. Senate. Standing Committee on Science the Environment, 1982). And, although there was a significant number of US articles focused on historical narrative and memory (Foss, 1986; Palmer, 1988; Wilson, 1990), Australian articles showed a stronger focus on personal reflections of the veterans themselves, and of their wives and children (Moore, & Pleace, 1980; Lewis, & My Vietnam Trust., 2002). Although the search in my study for US and Australian documents relating to veterans cannot be described as exhaustive, there was evidence of a different focus, with references in *Agora* also reflecting this stronger presence - that of veterans' personal experiences.

1980s

Significant extended histories of the Vietnam War were published in Australia by Karnow (1983) and King (1983), developing the contexts from histories of specific battalions and strategy, to overviews of the conflict. Simultaneously, as topic coverage increased, so did public readership. In this context, the topic of Australian Vietnam War veterans was introduced in an *Agora* review of "Desperate Praise" (*Number 3,* June 1983, p. 15), a "collection of short stories and reminiscences by Australian soldiers who served in Vietnam" (p. 15). The reviewer raises several issues in using such a resource in the classroom, stating that there had been "press criticism of the collection that much of the writing is amateurish and stilted, and that the collection does not sufficiently capture the true feeling and the diggers as say, an American oral history programme has done" (p. 15). The reviewer continues that, "The collection does represent at least a first attempt to convey the true nature of the war as experienced by these participants" (p. 15) showing not only the emergence of the theme of veterans and their experiences, but the shift to including their experiences in Australian classrooms.

The author also offers thoughts on what was being taught concerning the Vietnam War, with the comment, "this collection ought to provide a new approach other than the purely political study which is now generally given" (p. 15). The article reveals that at least one teacher in 1983 wanted to further the focus of the Vietnam War beyond it being a traditional exercise of learning dates and events, to incorporating the personal experiences of those directly

involved. The reviewer notes possible difficulties many teachers may have experienced in the early years of teaching the Vietnam War, chiefly with few adequate resources to draw on. The final comment raises another topic that has come under scrutiny through the post-war period, the treatment of returning veterans, specifically noting 'bitterness and resentment' on their behalf. However, investigating this resentment does not seem to be an expectation. The reviewer says,

> I think that any teacher whose course covers the Vietnam War would be pleased to have this material to allow an extension of that... study of the Australian soldiers and their attitude… to understand the depth of bitterness and resentment felt by many soldiers towards anti-Vietnam protesters in Australia... These words reveal much about Australian society which students may well be encouraged to investigate for themselves. (p. 15)

1990s

The 1990s collection of *Agora* shows a steep increase in the number of references to veterans, placing the topic at the top of the *Agora* tally. By this time, Australian Vietnam War literature includes a strong focus on soldiers' narratives (Breen, 1988; Burstall, 1986; Burstall, 1990), extending awareness of the topic, and furthering the discourse relating to veterans' experiences. Sutherland's (1990) "Teaching about the Vietnam War - A Practical Guide" (pp. 30-32) echoes the sentiments of the review of "Desperate Praise" (*Number 3*, June 1983, p. 15), introducing a real-world problem for teachers in how to meaningfully relate veterans' experiences to adolescents. Sutherland comments that, "one of the worries that teachers had was that the syllabus defines the issue today very narrowly, concentrating on international relations rather than on the social effects" (p. 30). Here, Sutherland (1990) refers to the distancing many texts had shown by reporting the history in a sterile and nationally sweeping manner that overlooked the agency of, and consequences for, individuals or smaller groups. This was possibly due to the controversial nature of the conflict or that the war was very recent. Nevertheless, he adds a personal observation, possibly reflecting a wider public consumption of personal war narratives, stating that, as apparent also in Chapter Eight, that "students are much more interested in social issues such as refugees and the problems of Vietnam veterans" (p. 31).

Sutherland (1990) suggests questions, issues and focus points a teacher might include in a unit and, within his list of topics noted earlier, includes points specific to veterans including:

- Reconciling the diverse views of the many people that students can talk to, such as veterans, refugees and parents.
- Appreciating the extent of the emotional impact of the war on people involved.
- Understanding how the experiences of Australians in Vietnam differed from the American experience particularly as portrayed in films.
- Dealing with the issue today. What are the issues? How can a student use their historical knowledge to understand them? (p. 31)

In bringing attention to the role of film in narrative depiction, Sutherland's (1990) differentiation between the experiences of Australian and American soldiers was rare for its time and not examined in any other *Agora* for another decade.

Accentuating the perception that veterans might be reticent to tell their stories, Sutherland (1990) comments that, "The Vietnam war and its effects are a very emotional area for so many people" (p. 31), and highlights a difficulty that some teachers might have experienced, noting that, "this emotion carries over strongly into the teaching of the topic" (p. 31). He suggests a research assignment focusing on a veteran or refugee. Yet, he proposes that students "might focus on one of the soldiers profiled in *The Australian* newspaper in August 1988, in order to be "wary about… students harassing veterans" (p. 31), almost certainly alluding to his awareness of students' lack of sophistication in interviewing, rather than making a comment on all veterans. Drawing attention to the wider reading available on the topic, Sutherland further proposes that students read "some of the many books that deal with this area: A Soldier's Story, Vietnam: The Australian Experience, Australia's War in Vietnam and the Battle of Long Tan are some of the more useful ones" (p. 31).

The second section of Sutherland's article focuses on "The Issue Today" (p. 32), extending students' knowledge into how the past has affected the present. Sutherland includes a number of topics whereby students might gain a broader understanding of the wide-ranging

repercussions of war. He includes, amongst others, "Veterans - Readjustment problems, Vietnam Veterans Association, Agent Orange" (p. 32), being the first mention in *Agora* of the US chemical warfare program, and its effects on veterans. Although wider literature had referred to these issues since the early 1980s (Australia Parliament Senate Standing Committee on Science and the Environment, 1982), they had not emerged in *Agora* until Sutherland (1990) introduced them.

The focus on veterans' personal narratives continues in 1991, in a series of *Agora* book reviews. The first is "*Vietnam Remembered*, by Gregory Pemberton (Ed.)" (p. 58). The reviewer comments that among the "several books currently being used as textbooks for a study of the Vietnam War, this seems to me to be an essential resource" (p. 58), revealing this reviewer's valuing of works that offer a wide range of perspectives. The reviewer also demonstrates a desire for the use of veteran-related academic works in the classroom, noting that, "There are chapters by leading academics on… the veterans' position", as well as a "summary of the most current thinking about our involvement in the war" (p. 58).

Maintaining the emphasis on personal narratives, a review of Stewart Rintoul's 1987 book, *Ashes of Vietnam - Australian Voices* (p. 60), records how it is a "controversial but outstandingly important and useful publication" (p. 60) and that the book is "a collection of interviews with Australian Vietnam vets, and it aroused great controversy when it was published" (p. 60). The article discusses the controversy; that some commentators thought the selected veterans' experiences were atypical, and that some accounts were "undoubtedly from the most violent and severely tormented end of the spectrum" (p.60). However, the author presents a case for the inclusion of the resource in Victoria's teaching, concluding that "their atypically (*sic*) does not negate their right to be heard, or our right to know what went on in Vietnam in our name" (p. 60). The reviewer also rebuts another criticism, that there are "many inaccuracies in their stories" (p. 60), stating that although that might be the case:

> It is also important to remember that what people <u>believe</u> to be the truth is as important to The Historian as what is the truth. These men may not be telling the truth, but they may be revealing what they believed and therefore acted upon. At a time when so many teachers of the new VCE history course are looking at Vietnam, this is a resource which must not be missed". (p. 60)

By including the resource, and a defense of its use, the reviewer opens discussion on the validity of oral history, the disruption and possible distortion of memory, and the difficult line that sometimes arises when historians are seeking the 'truth'.

Six years later, a review of a video titled *Vietnam: The Last Battle* narrated by John Pilger (Josefsberg, 1997) is notably derogatory, stating that, "If teachers of the history of the Vietnam War are looking for a historical context and a real sense of historical development over time, then this is not the video for them" (p. 57). Josefsberg (1997) explains that the film focuses on the aftermath of the war, including veterans' health challenges. In highlighting the consequences of unexploded bombs and the deaths, injuries and contamination they could cause years later, mental health issues, and the after effects of the use of chemicals leading to deformities in babies, which he describes as being "graphically displayed" (p. 57), Josefsberg (1997) notes difficulties in both the resources teachers might choose to use in their classrooms, and the writing of historical narratives that relate to war.

In 1999, *Agora* includes, "Fighting the Endless War by Bernard Clancy *The Age* 22/04/99" (HTAV, 1999, p. 13), an article by the "author of the critically acclaimed Vietnam War novel, 'Best We Forget'" (p. 13). The article refers to the death of a Vietnam veteran, Jim Pearse, and describes him as "a bloke, a rifle man who served his country in Vietnam, and like so many others, came home a very different young man" (p. 13). Clancy (1999) notes, "He wasn't, as the old Redgum song of the 1970s lamented, 'only 19' but he was 'just 51'" (p. 13). The article then discusses the death rate of Vietnam veterans, and their deteriorating health, as well as references to "diseases, disabilities and especially post-traumatic stress disorder experiences, the dreaded PTSD, often showing its ugly face, inverse of anger and violence, are emerging" (p. 13). Here, a veteran's death contextualises the topic of PTSD, rather than a general discussion of the PTSD topic, coinciding with Australian academic articles on PTSD published around the same time (Crowe, 1999; O'Toole, et. al, 1999).

2000s

Veterans remain at the top of the *Agora* topic tally during the 2000s, rising even further in number of mentions comparatively in the 1990s, with 78 references. In 2001, and as noted

earlier, the DVA article “Projects/Class Activities on the Vietnam War” (McKinley, 2001para. 1), describes how the DVA was producing educational material. Early activities ask students to brainstorm what they know about the war, and include if they know anyone who served in the war, the students’ understanding of Vietnam War-related films they might have seen, and what visual images come to students’ minds when they think about the war. These points focus on general knowledge, veterans, and most likely Hollywood films, which assume that, aside from a personal connection to the war, the most likely source of students’ knowledge is US film narratives. Added to this, McKinley focuses on US and Australian music of the time, including, Redgum's “I was only Nineteen” and Cold Chisel's “Khe Sanh”, encouraging inclusion of popular music culture in the classroom, promoted also by White (2002) the following year.

Further activities include the use of personal memorabilia, from the Vietnam War and other conflicts, and interviewing a veteran, with McKinley (2001) suggesting that, “Through contact between generations and listening to the individual stories of veterans, students become closer to understanding the human side of history” (p. 3). Here, she articulates the motive behind focusing on personal narratives. She adds, “A lot of veterans will be very pleased about sharing their wartime experiences” (McKinley, 2001, p. 3), displaying a shift from earlier articles that warned teachers and students of the potential invasiveness of interviewing veterans. Moving the focus from international and national political perspectives of immediate post-war years, to interview questions requiring a level of openness and trust with the interviewee, McKinley (2001) includes a series of questions for the interviewee, such as, “What was your understanding of the conflict before you went to war? Did this change due to your experiences? Why did you enlist (if relevant)? Or how did you feel about being conscripted?” (p. 4).

This development in interviewing veterans is explored further in Mayer’s (2001) article “Survey of Ten Veterans from the Vietnam War”, which extends previously published material by Dr. Jacqualine Hollingworth. Mayer (2001) explains that “Hollingworth completed a survey that appeared in Australians In Wartime in the Twentieth Century (*Agora, Volume 35, Number 2*, 2000)” (p. 1). The article focuses on the use of primary sources, stating that “Three decades after the Vietnam War, it is possible to discuss these issues with the Veterans themselves” (p. 1) indicating that Mayer may have been of the view

that this was not possible earlier. This echoes earlier views that veterans were unwilling, and that it was inappropriate for veterans, to talk about their experiences. The comment also perpetuates the perception that students may not have had the sophistication to interview sensitively, raising the question of whether this attitude, compounded over time, led to assumptions regarding interviewing veterans, and the use of their oral testimony. Nevertheless, earlier *Agora* articles (HTAV, 1983; Sutherland, 1990; McKinley, 2001) had showed veterans' testimony, if managed respectfully, was a possible and worthwhile classroom inclusion.

Furthering the shift from the Australian national experience to the Australian individual's experience, Mayer (2001) notes that when interviewing veterans, "Service occupation is an important category" (p. 1). Mayer also includes the topic of veterans' pensions, discussing the Totally and Permanently Incapacitated Pension and the difficulties veterans and their families encountered in applying for, and receiving, the pension. This inclusion re-connects the personal experiences of veterans during the war with their experiences in the aftermath. Mayer (2001) also adds that, "Indeed, often veterans will 'open up' to young people more so than to others", (p. 2), reinforcing the idea that veterans sometimes had difficulty speaking about their wartime experiences, but could derive comfort if talking in safe settings. By 2001, a high number of Australian veterans' personal narratives and experiences had been published (Frazer, 1984; Giblett, 1990; Pennington, 1992; McHugh, 1993; Pemberton, 1993; Thurgam & Wright, 1988) including new emphases such as homecoming parade photography and nurses' experiences. These support a possible correlation between increased conversation in the public around veterans' experiences, to encourage more teachers to feel confident to broach such experiences in their classrooms.

Later in 2001, *Work Requirement 3: Film Analysis Exercise* (2001) shifts the reliance on textbooks to the inclusion of film as a potential classroom historical resource; a focus also discussed in Sutherland (1990) and McKinley's (2001) articles. While detailing the reasons for inclusion of the film *Platoon,* the article notes that Oliver Stone, the director of *Platoon,* had "served for 18 months as an infantry soldier in Vietnam" (p. 1) and, "He has made 3 films about the Vietnam conflict" (p. 1). Further, the article includes one of the few references in *Agora* to post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), as well as veterans' exposure to Agent Orange. These references are evidence of a shift in focus that recognises the longer-

term personal impacts and include the note that, “During the 1980s Vietnam Veterans increased their lobbying and pressure upon their governments to pay some compensation for the problems” (p. 1). By placing the discussion in the context of Stone’s work, and the author frames the readers’ understanding of PTSD and Agent Orange within an American context. This is not surprising given the dominance of US academic works relating to PTSD and Agent Orange, including in US film, which continues to be used as a resource in Victorian history classrooms; prompting critical debates

In 2002, Vietnam veteran Phil White, wrote an article a for *Agora* titled “An Introduction to Vietnam through Poem and Song” (White, 2002). White asks students to analyse a poem related to the Vietnam War and “write down their interpretations” (p. 1). White argues that, “Songs and poems can be a very powerful tool” (p. 1), suggesting that they might be more powerful than textbook syntheses. He includes examples of contemporary poetry; “Our minds were sanitized, neutralized; Our new lives were organized and militarized. We were de-humanized, patronized, de-sensitized and brutalized” (White, 2002). He notes that students might have different interpretations than veterans, noting that: “Poetry can give you a freedom to express what is in your heart; it can also be very therapeutic” (p. 2). His article encourages students to think about the need for comfort and/or therapy after war experiences. Following this, White (2002) notes that, “As with poetry, music and song are an excellent way to introduce students to Vietnam” (p. 2). He elaborates that, “Many of the songs that we relate to as veterans have nothing to do with war or fighting, they may have been popular at the time” (p. 2) so he introduces a selection of songs deemed appropriate by him for the study of Vietnam including:

> ‘Galveston’, by Glen Campbell, ‘San Francisco’ by Scott McKenzie, ‘Living in the Seventies’ By The Skyhooks, ‘Hair’ the musical, ‘The Ballad of the Green Beret’ by Barry Sadler, ‘Leaving on a Jet Plane’, by Peter, Paul and Mary, ‘ A Whiter Shade of Pale’ By Procal Harum, ‘Sky Pilot’, by The Animals or ‘War’ by Edwin Starr, ‘Eve of Destruction’ by Barry McGuire and the Vietnam Veteran’s anthem, ‘We Gotta Get Outa (*sic*) This Place’ by Eric Burdon and the Animals. (White, 2002, p. 2)

White also recommends songs written directly about Australian experiences of the war such as “Khe Sahn” by Don Walker, “Smiley” by Johnny Young and “Only 19” by John

Schumann (p. 2), all of which were well known in Australian youth culture at the time. White (2002) includes an analysis of sections of the songs and suggests teachers examine their meaning. He later provides some of his own interpretations of the lyrics, adding that although there are songs at the turn of the C21st relating to the Vietnam War, they received no airplay on radio stations. This article provides an important resource for teachers aiming to stimulate student engagement in investigations of the Vietnam War.

The following year in *Agora*, in the article, "Anzacs on Harleys – Remembering the Vietnam War", Manning (2003) discusses the debate and difficulties facing veterans when "the Anzac Day Commemoration Committee agreed to allow members of the Vietnam Veterans' Motorcycle Club (VVMC) to ride their motorcycles in Melbourne's Anzac Day march" (p. 1). This is the only mention in any document analysed in my study that mentions the VVMC, or the debate surrounding their inclusion in the march. It explores various opinions, especially of a previously omitted group, the Returned and Services League, Australia (RSL). Manning (2003) comments that the decision to allow the VVMC to ride "came after five years of campaigning by the VVMC and led to social division in Australian society" (p. 1). Manning (2003) does not explore the 'social division' further, but suggests that, "The following public debate reveals the complexities of history and memory in Australian society, and the nature of commemorations in general" (p. 1). However, she does not elaborate in which forums the public debate took place, who were the participants, or what were the conclusions.

Manning adds historical relevance, noting that the "1995 Anzac Day march attracted record crowds as it marked several anniversaries. It was eighty years since Australian soldiers landed at Gallipoli, fifty years since the end of World War Two and Twenty years since the end of the Vietnam War" (Manning, 2003, p. 1). She includes statements from historians Peter Cochrane and John Pigot, who "argued that this reluctance to march in the traditional way – on foot, be-medalled, and in your unit – was because many Vietnam veterans were uncertain about where they fitted into the Anzac legend" (p. 1). Furthermore, she highlights veterans' possible sensitivities regarding their place in the Anzac narrative and negative perceptions of them by the wider community, observing that the ride's importance is "indicat(ing) that some veterans were now willing to publicly acknowledge their involvement in the war and allow themselves to be honoured as war veterans by fellow Australians" (p. 1).

However, Manning (2003) comments that there were contemporary voices strongly against the ride including "(t)he Victorian President of the RSL and the chairman of the Anzac Day Commemoration Committee, Bruce Ruxton, (who) publicly denounced their involvement" (p. 2). There is also a reflection on the VVMC's symbol, the skull wearing a slouch hat. The author includes a quote from John Pigot that:

> Worn by a grinning skull, the slouch hat acquires a new and contentious meaning: the grim reality of war and the soldiers' willingness to lay down their lives is spelled out with great clarity… pain, anguish and death are as much a part of war as are the traditional ideals of heroism and courage. (p. 2)

Rare in the documents studied, this type of powerful reflection conveys the horror of war directly, rather than through allusion.

In the 2005 *Agora*, the movement towards further inclusion of veterans' deeply personal stories is evident in White's "*Vietnam Veterans Education Team*" (p. 60). White (2005) continues the shift from descriptions of veterans' experiences through textbook sources alone to including the services for school provided by the visiting VVET. White notes that the VVET had been giving presentations in schools for the past 16 years" (p. 60), including "verified information and statistics, visual material and plenty of stories to keep the interest up" (p. 60). White (2005) explains that the VVET "consists of predominantly Vietnam veterans who volunteer their time to bring a human face and perspective to the studies of today's students" (p. 60). He also refers to the inclusive nature of the team, stating that "wives, and in some cases sons and daughters… have their own stories to tell" (p. 60). White (2005) comments on schools' progressive shift towards inclusive war narratives, stating that, "We all have the same common commitment to talk to students about the futility of war. We do not advocate violence; we have first-hand knowledge of what can happen during and after war" (p. 60). He explained how the VVET's message was not just to explain the history, but to use personal reflection as advocacy of peace.

White mentions other possible lines of inquiry for students such as how veterans were rejected by society and the RSL, and the problems of Agent Orange and PTSD. These subjects could be infused with personal reflection because the people delivering the program

had intimate experiences of the war, with most having been to Vietnam. White also notes the rising demand for primary school programs, showing a developing culture of appreciating personal narratives in primary and secondary classrooms.

9.3 Conclusion

The topic of veterans has the highest number of references in *Agora* throughout the period 1980 (first edition of *Agora*)-2005, with a higher level of detail than any other topic. There are similarities between the focus of academic articles and documents written after the war and *Agora*, with the dominant similarity being that several *Agora* articles discuss PTSD and Agent Orange, but have more focus on veterans' personal narratives.

In 1983, the first article in *Agora* concerning veterans focuses on personal reflection, beginning the trend and coinciding with more veteran-related literature in the wider public. In the 1980s, a shift overall in the wider literature from books on specific military units and strategy, to more extensive histories embracing social themes, is reflected in *Agora* articles. In these earlier articles, there is commentary on the predominantly international political focus of the curriculum. A rising number of works in popular publishing focus on soldiers' memoirs and stories open the possibility for *Agora* authors to discuss this content. This shift continues in the 1990s, with *Agora* authors observing how the curriculum still focuses on international relations, rather than the social impact of the war.

In addition, there is a rise in *Agora* authors' encouragements, if not expectations, that students should engage more widely with veterans' spoken and written memoirs. By the late 1990s, references to individual veterans' narratives were facilitating a more inclusive and intimate understanding of the war. Later, in 2002, there is at least one veteran authoring *Agora* articles, not necessarily about their personal experiences but of the wider Australian experience, opening *Agora* to embrace a more inclusive cohort of authors. In the mid-2000s, new issues are raised, such as the Vietnam veterans' involvement in ANZAC Day parades.

A final prominent shift is the change over time in veterans' perceptions of themselves. There are authors' assumptions made early on regarding veterans' bitterness and resentment (*Agora, Number 3*, June 1983), displaying some authors' beliefs that the topic of the Vietnam War is especially emotionally charged for veterans. This continues in the 1990s, however, there is a

succession of shifts in *Agora* authors' language from 'bitterness and resentment', to the belief that veterans might be hesitant to tell their stories, to the fact that some veterans are very keen to tell their stories, even creating formal programs. This sits alongside a perception by some authors that students might not have the sophistication to deal with hearing those stories, let alone personally interview veterans, thus care is needed. Some authors foreground later recognition of the diversity of veterans' experiences, recognising the need to analyse the documents (Sutherland, 1990). By the early 2000s, there is increased authorial confidence that interviewing a veteran could be a good experience for both the student and the veteran, and could offer an exchange of knowledge and intergenerational continuation of the narrative. This coincides with acceptance in *Agora* articles that enough time has passed for more veterans to be ready to 'open up' about their experiences without the previous reticence regarding a veteran interview. The final change in the mid-2000s is one veteran's own perception that relating their story is an important comment on the futility of war (White, 2005), marking palpably the swing over time from complete silence on the topic of veterans, to the beginnings of their desire to share personal narratives in schools.

Chapter Ten: Key Shifts in Depictions of the Vietnam War 1975-2005, and Overall Conclusions

Introduction

This chapter draws conclusions about key shifts in depictions of the Vietnam War in Victorian education policies, curriculum documents, textbooks and education resources 1975-2005. It focuses on shifts in Australian political and public perspectives on the war and what is included as well as the silences in these documents and in the socio-cultural context of the time. The chapter draws conclusions about the shifts from acceptance of the war to later depictions of the growing Australian Anti-Vietnam War protest movements and moratoriums connected to the issue of conscription.

10.1 Key Shifts in Depictions of Vietnamese History and People Preceding the Vietnam War

Much academic research on Vietnamese history preceding the Vietnam War explores Vietnamese nationalism from the C13th to modern times (Goscha, 1995; Holland, 1973; Hoskins, 2011; Kelley, 2015; Luong, 2007; Path, 2011; Post, 1989; Vu, 2007). These academic works highlight the simplicity of the binary Capitalism vs Communism narrative sometimes projected in the public Vietnam War narrative. Tanham (2006) acknowledges the synergy of Communist-inspired doctrine and nationalism of the early Viet Minh philosophies. From the outset, textbooks and *Agora* articles analysed in my study were in line with this understanding of Vietnamese history with regard to sub-topics such as nationalism and the effects of French colonialism, especially the 1990s textbooks and *Agora*.

Multiple textbooks (Mason, 1983; Coupe & Andrews, 1983; Rajenda, Rajendra & Lower, 1984; Triolo, 1996) and *Agora* articles (Burke, 1993; McNabb, 1999) highlight Vietnamese nationalism with a focus on Vietnamese politicians as the primary agents of resistance against French colonial forces, as well as the U.S.-led allied forces (Edwards, 2014). The textbooks

and articles include primary documents from the early Viet Minh period (Mason, 1983; Coupe & Andrews, 1983; Rajenda, Rajendra & Lower, 1984; Burke, 1993), often focusing on the life and motivations of Ho Chi Minh (Mason, 1983; Coupe & Andrews, 1983; Rajenda, Rajendra & Lower, 1984; Burke, 1993; Triolo, 1996; McNabb, 1999) or General Vo Nguyen Giap (McNabb, 1999) as well as Western perceptions of Vietnam (Burke, 1993).

In the early 1990s, these textbooks and *Agora* articles shift towards presenting more of the 'day-to-day' lived experiences of most Vietnamese people in the French colonial period (Burke, 1993; McNabb, 1999). However, these European/Australian authors, who wrote the majority of the documents used in Victorian schools, continue to view Vietnamese history through a Western lens at this point. Burke (1993), a History teacher, also states explicitly in her work that the majority of available Vietnamese history documents "are concerned with people and events in the south of the country" (p. 38), highlighting the lack of sources from the North. McNabb (1999), also a secondary History teacher and writer for *Agora* at the time, comments that the shift towards including more ordinary Vietnamese people's perspectives within a focus on pre-Vietnam War nationalism offers "much more opportunity" (p. 68) for Victorian History teachers. McNabb (1999) continues this shift towards inclusion of pre-Vietnam War Vietnamese people's perspectives by suggesting students watch film, *Indochine*, set before WW11 and the first time a film set in the colonial period is mentioned in education documents. Although the film includes Vietnamese perspectives, including "differing groups such as French colonists… Vietnamese plantation workers, intellectuals, women and urban workers" (McNabb, 1999, p. 68), the film is French, and no films made by Vietnamese people are included in all education documents embraced by this study.

10.2 Key Shifts in Depictions of Australian Political and Public Perspectives of the Vietnam War

Politicians and the wider community in post-WWII Australia viewed Communism as the biggest threat to Australian security (Edwards, 2014) and the main driver for Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War. However, Victorian education documents from 1975-2005 present a narrative that suggests Australian politicians' and many Australian people's *fear of Communism* propelled Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War, and that Communism as a socio-political construct was not as an aggressive force in the lead up to Australian

Involvement. By not presenting the concept of Communism as antagonistic, the rise of protest is presented as a direct result of many Australian people's anger towards the conservative Australian Government, and a separation of its politicians' motives throughout the war period and the views of increasing numbers Australian people become evident.

Protest is one of the most prominent topics in the education documents, with 58 references over the period 1975-2005, displaying those authors' direct intent to foreground how powerful the protests (and marches and moratoriums) were in bringing about an end to Australia's involvement in the war (Sutherland, 1990; Cook, 1991; Sieminski, 2001; Wilkins, 2004; White, 2004; White, 2005). Sutherland (1990) goes further by using language such as "veterans, both of the war and of the protest movement" (, p. 30). Although the above documents generally present a positive view of the protest movement, one entry notes the negative consequences of the movement for returned soldiers, stating that students needed to "understand the depth of bitterness and resentment felt by many soldiers towards anti-Vietnam protesters in Australia" ("Review of 'Desperate Praise'", 1983, p.15).

The study also found a strong focus in education documents on 'conscription'. Historians (Brown & Australia. Dept. of the Parliamentary Library. Information Research Services, 1999) and health economists (Johnston, Shields, & Siminski, 2016), compared Vietnam War and WWI conscription debates (Main, 1970). Similarly, Sieminski (2001) includes comparisons of the conscription debates between the two wars. Discussions of conscription are most often in opposition to it. However, there is no evidence in these documents of this negativity being projected onto soldiers who either were conscripted or were regular Australian Army soldiers. Rather, the negativity is projected onto *conscription as a concept*, the politicians and police who supported and enforced it and how conscription is presented as a strong motivator of many protest activities.

The education documents focus also on correlations between Communism, the Cold War, the Domino Theory, and Australia's decision to engage in the Vietnam War. The authors' (Rich, 1970; Fabian; 1978; Laidlaw, 1978; Mason; 1983; Coupe & Andrews, 1983; Coupe, 1984; Rajendra, Rajendra & Lower, 1984; Disher, 1987; Triolo, 1996; McKinley, 2001) specific focus is often on the fear at the time of Communism and of the 'dominoes' falling. This is in opposition to the reality of the volatile political situations in South-East Asia, including the Indonesian Revolution, the Malayan Emergency, the Korean War, and the Laos Crises

(Edwards, 2014) and how those conflicts might spread to endanger Australia's social, political and economic security. The education document authors do not include many references to the beliefs of the mainstream and largely more conservative Australian public at this time, aside from their conceptual fear of Communism and the Domino Theory, strong anti-conscription feelings, and some references to individuals or particular protest groups (for example, SOS). This leads the education document authors to place blame on the politicians, primarily Prime Minister Robert Menzies and Prime Minister Harold Holt for engendering fear. Only Triolo (1996) refers specifically to the Morgan Gallup polls of the time (showing that the majority of Australians agreed to Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War in the early years, with Harrison (1987) including a visual representation of changing public support of the war, but from an American perspective.

10.3 Key Shifts in Australian Views on Political and Strategic Relationships with the US

References to Australia's political and strategic relationships with the US are present throughout the entire period, 1975-2005, are prominent topics in textbooks (Mason, 1983; Coupe, 1984; Rajendra, Rajendra & Lower, 1984) and *Agora* (Sieminski, 2001), and in the *Victorian Education Department's Education Gazette and Teachers Aid* (*Gazette*) entries from 1960, most centring on the ANZUS Treaty's role in Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War. The *Gazette* and some textbooks focus on the strength of the Australia/US relationship, with the cultural and strategic ties between the two nations being a major motivation for Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War, supported also by the shift from Australia's colonial relationship with Britain (Berenson & Rosenblatt 1979; Willis & Pryor, 1979). Nonetheless, several of the textbook and *Agora* authors question the relationship and the repercussions of Australia's reliance on the US. They capture and explain shifts in relationships and the Australian public perceptions of them, especially of international events such as New Zealand's exit from the ANZUS Treaty in 1986, and Australia's entry into the wars in Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003).

Although multiple academic articles and books written during the period focus on the ANZUS Treaty, notably during the 1990s (Williams, 1987; Donnini, 1991; Donnini, 1992; Baker & Hawke, 1992; McIntyre, 1994; McIntyre, 1995), no specific references to the Treaty are included in *Agora* during the 1990s. (Rich, 1970) assumes what McLean (2001) refers to

as Australia's subservience to the US throughout the Cold War period, whereas some *Agora* writers align the Australian Government's decision to enter the Vietnam War with Australia's later involvement in the Gulf War (Hastings & Imam, 1994), Afghanistan and the Iraq invasion. Between 1975 and 2005, there are nine references to the ANZUS Treaty in *Agora,* and it is the second-most mentioned topic in *Agora* during the 1980s. Following no mentions of the Treaty in *Agora* during the 1990s, it emerges again in the early 2000s (Hollingworth, 2005), relating to Australia's role in the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq.

The *Gazette* of the early 1960s reflects the dominant anti-Communist narrative of the time, including a direct comment during a Coral Sea address that states, "our navies continue to work together in that same close comradeship to help preserve the free nations of South-east Asia against the threat of Communism" ("Coral Sea Battle Commemoration", 1960, p. 115). This frames contemporary South-East Asian conflicts, such as the Malayan Emergency, in terms of the Cold War rather than de-colonisation and rising nationalism, and refers to the Australian/US relationship in a positive tone. However, from the mid-1960s, and in line with growing negativity towards Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War from some sections of the community and amongst some politicians, *Gazette* authors begin to include book reviews that question US Cold War politics. This includes a review of *From Yalta to Vietnam* (Horowitz, 1967), which poses questions such as, "Is America largely to blame for the Cold War? That is the question posed by this closely documented analysis of American foreign policy since the death of Roosevelt" (p. 404). Other textbook authors query US strategic decisions in South-East Asia, with Rich (1970) proposing that Indonesia posed more of a Communist threat to the region than Vietnam.

In the years directly following the end of the Vietnam War, some textbook authors become more overtly critical of the relationship between Australia and the U.S., using language such as "Big Brother USA" (Fabian, 1978, p. 205) and focusing on Menzies' desire for a large US commitment in South Vietnam (Laidlaw, 1979). Likewise, several textbooks include Prime Minister Harold Holt's "All the way with LBJ" quote (Laidlaw, 1979; Mason, 1983), referring to Australia's commitment to first offering military training to assist South Vietnamese forces in a move to support United States policy and addressing Australia's own regional concerns, to then later using conscripted soldiers in combat.

The textbook authors begin to include references to public protest against the US position in Vietnam and the close relationship between Australia and the US The narrative shifts when Disher (1987) comments specifically that, "The Labor Party, trade unions, students, church groups and many others began to protest" (p. 163).

The textbooks develop a more in-depth, nuanced exploration of Australia's relationship with the US in the journey between 1975 and 2005, offering more diverse viewpoints from politicians during the war, while continuing to focus on the ANZUS Treaty. Mason (1983) discusses the views and activities of several Labor Party politicians including Arthur Calwell, Gough Whitlam and Dr. Jim Cairns, highlighting their varied political views at different times about Australia's relationship with the US. Mason (1983) contrasts their views by focusing on Menzies and Holt who were greater supporters of the US.

Agora's focus on the Treaty in the context of the war is heightened following New Zealand's 1985 decision to leave the ANZUS Treaty (the US formally suspended its security support of New Zealand in 1986). The Treaty is also prominent in *Gazette* inclusions of public literature ("The Macmillan Dictionary of Australian Politics", 1985; "Peace Education", 1986). Also, the *Gazette* strongly emphasises how the Treaty affected international political relations in the review of "A Great and Powerful Friend: A Study of Australian-American Relations between 1900-1975" (1986), specifically referring to ANZUS, SEATO and Foreign Policy.

Two major shifts in Australia's relationship with the US and the ANZUS Treaty are included in the 1990s. Firstly, *Agora* authors include more depictions and critiques of US strategy and soldiers' behaviour in the war (Anderson & Ashton, 1993). Secondly, the textbook authors focus much less on the topic of Australia's relationship with the US for the entire decade than in the 1980s, except for four authors (Mason, 1992; Anderson & Ashton, 1993; Triolo, 1996; Darlington, Hospodaryk & Carrodus, 1998). The language used by some *Agora* authors is openly critical of the US role in the war and its aftermath, with Sutherland (1990) stating that,

> Students (and adults) find it very hard to understand the attitude of the United States to Vietnam and Cambodia, even when they have studied the history behind the attitudes. They can only be explained to students in very simple terms, even if it means portraying the Americans as 'bad losers'" or that they are still fighting the war but in a different form. (p. 30)

Anderson and Ashton (1993) note a need for students to focus on strategic "communist success" (p. 89) in the Vietnam War, as opposed to US defeat, exposing a dominance of US focus on the Vietnam War narrative in the majority of textbooks and editions of *Agora* analysed in this study. Several textbook authors in the mid-1990s, for example, Triolo, 1996; Tudball, 2001) also display a growing confidence in critique of the US strategy and the behaviour of US soldiers, including the topics that involved discussion of the US use of napalm, machine gunning and the My Lai Massacre (Tudball, 2001).

In the most dramatic shift in the education documents, the topic of the ANZUS Treaty and the Australia/US relationship return in the 2000s, following few 1990s references in the textbooks and after a 14-year hiatus in *Agora.* This resurgence directly correlates with four historical events; the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center in New York, Prime Minister John Howard's invocation of the ANZUS Treaty, Australia's entry into the war in Afghanistan, and Australia's invasion of Iraq. There is a closer focus on Australian support of the US for sending troops to Vietnam (McKinley, 2001; HTAV, 2001), along with the closeness of the Australia/US relationship (McKinley, 2001), shown in quotes such as the following:

> Australia has a vital interest in the effective presence and active participation of the United States as a great power in the area of Asia and the Pacific. We have an obligation to support the United States in this role – an obligation arising from our treaty relationships, from our role as an ally in supporting the United States in international diplomacy and politics, and from the fact that our international interests are directly involved in preserving South-East Asia aggression and from communist domination. ("Viet Nam: Questions and Answers Issued by the Minister for External Affairs, May 1966", 2001)

In *Agora,* Tacey (2002) questions the Australia/US relationship and the ANZUS Treaty (drawing direct comparison between the Vietnam and Iraq Wars, and questioning Australia's response to US actions). Tacey (2002) notes that, "these two wars posed no direct threat to Australia, yet we jumped at the chance to become involved. Why?" (para. 1) and "As the cliché goes, when the US said 'jump', we said 'how high?'" (para. 1).

10.4 Key Shifts in Depictions of Australian Anti-Vietnam War Protest Movements and Moratoriums

As referenced earlier, historian Peter Edwards (2014) notes that in early post-WWII Australia, politicians and much of the wider Australian community viewed Communism as the biggest threat to Australian security (and the main driver for Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War). Yet, Edwards (2014) also suggests that geo-political and anti-colonial conflicts in the South-East Asia region had a powerful impact on Australia's decision to enter the war. By presenting the concept of Communism as less of a threat to Australia and Australians than the actions arising from the *fear* of it, the education document authors promote the rise of protest to being a direct result of the Australian people's anger towards the government, and a continual separation of politicians' motives throughout the Vietnam War period. This presents a shift in the assumed motivations of how Communism affected perceptions of the war, and shows that the relationships between political rhetoric, academic scholarship, and education documents were not congruent through the period

Of academic works written during the 1975-2005 period, (as discussed in Chapter 2), few discussed the different groups and arguments within the Australian Vietnam War protest movement (Langley, G, 1992; Edwards, & Australian War Memorial, 1997; Rabel, 2002; Chandler, 2004). There was limited focus by Australian historians overall on the role of trade unions in the protest movement (Saunders, 1982; Saunders, 1983; Curthoys, 1992, Kuhn, 1997) with few highlighting the role of teachers and education unions. The education documents similarly tend to omit these considerations and, aside from a few references to the arrest of conscientious objectors, (some of whom were teachers), there is an absence of references to many veterans' negative reactions towards the protest movement. Equally, even though women were prominent in the anti-Vietnam War protest movement, especially through the SOS group, few education documents focus on the role of women. There is one reference in the late 1990s Triolo's (1996) textbook (see Chapter 5) and one in Sieminski's (2001) *Agora* article. .

The focus on the protest movement escalates in the education documents, especially in the period 1994-2005, further exposing how certain shifts occurred, as there were direct correlations between world events and how the Vietnam War was represented in the education documents. Some *Agora* authors remark in their articles and units on the correlation between the Vietnam War and Australia's involvement in the Gulf War (Hastings

& Imam, 1994) and Iraq conflicts (Hollingworth, 2005). Hastings and Imam (1994), who are both teachers, seek to examine similarities between Australia's relationship with the United States, and between the protest movements involved in both the Vietnam War and contemporary events of their time.

A rise in number of Vietnam War references between 2000 and 2005, confirm the association between events of that time, and emerging Vietnam War literature and discussion, rather than which government was in power at the time. Similarly, during the early 2000s, *The Age* exhibits a high number of newspaper articles and letters to the editor related to protest, coinciding with another historical event, the 2003 Invasion of Iraq (Mace, 2003, Strangio, 2003, Puleston, 2003, "Young Actors Take the 70s at Face Value", 2003, Green, 2003, Hoffman, 2003, "Finding Peace Through Protest", 2003, "From Melbourne to Madrid, Protests Roll on", 2003, "Protest Veterans Hand on the Torch of Dissent", 2003, Hawke, 2003). These reveal the strong media focus on Vietnam War protest, resulting also in the depictions in Victorian education documents of the time.

10.4.1 Key Shifts in Depictions of the Australian Vietnam War Conscription Debates

The prominence of references to conscription in the education documents reveals an anti-conscription bias and negative view of the process used during the Vietnam War, from the outset of the period 1975-2005. However, there is no evidence in the education documents to suggest that this negativity was projected onto either the soldiers who were conscripted or the regular Australian Army soldiers.

Numerous textbook and *Agora* authors had a strong focus on conscription (Coupe, 1984; Mason, 1983; Coupe & Andrews, 1983; Rajendra, Rajendra & Lower, 1984, Disher, 1987; Anderson & Ashton, 1993; Sutherland, 1990; Australian Education Council and Curriculum Corporation, 1994; Triolo, 1996), predominantly relating to protests and whether or not conscripts wanted to go to Vietnam. Coupe (1984) summarises that "involvement began in 1962… reached a peak in 1968 when more than 8000 Australians (many of them conscripts) were serving there and ended when Australian troops were withdrawn in 1971-72" (p. 119). Some writers early in the period question the morality of conscription, for example, Coupe and Andrews (1983) ask, "Why did Pete Davis go to Vietnam? Do you think he really wanted to go?" (p. 135). The authors include fictionalised voices of Australian conscripts to provoke

students' questioning of the process and Australia's role in the war. Indeed, Coupe and Andrews (1983) make their point exceptionally well in creating a character who posits that, "the communists took over South Vietnam in 1975. Laos and Kampuchea are communist countries now as well. I wonder if it was worth it" (p. 135).

The above education documents develop a direct link between the introduction of conscription and the rise of the Australian protest movement. Authors anchor this argument by including references to the SOS protest movement (Disher, 1987), and statements such as, "The sending of conscripts to fight a war that had not actually been declared aroused considerable hostility in Australia" (Rajendra, Rajendra & Lower, 1984, p. 290), and offer condemnation of the Australian Government "conscripting young men who were too young to vote, and for following America in foreign policy matters" (Disher, 1987, p. 171).

10.5 Key Shifts in Depictions of Vietnamese Peoples' Experiences During and After the War

From 1975 to 2005, the education documents (specifically textbooks and *Agora*) shift away from broad discussions of national politics and leaders towards including perspectives of different facets of the daily lives of ordinary citizens in Vietnam, during the war and in its aftermath. These shifts correlate with the rise of studies of peoples of Asia in Victorian schools, the rising numbers of Vietnamese refugees in Australia and in Victorian classrooms, and the availability of primary sources and of classroom resources incorporating Vietnamese perspectives after the war (including, significantly, those of the N.V.A. and Viet Cong). The document coding method used in my study demonstrates four major thematic focuses; on Vietnamese history relevant to the war, on Vietnamese experiences during the war, on Vietnamese experiences after the war, and the rise of Asia-related content in Victorian schools.

Several challenges became apparent early in the coding process. Firstly, the majority of document references to North and South Vietnam related purely to geographical location, offering limited possibilities for extended analysis of North and South Vietnamese peoples' experiences. Secondly, the lack of North Vietnamese primary sources available in Australia during most of the period 1975-2005 led to the silence of 'the alternative Vietnamese war

view' in the narrative until nearer the end of the period. Numerous academic works published during the period focus on aspects of the war not mentioned in *Agora*, including US espionage, Rolling Thunder, and North Vietnamese women in combat (Dockrill, 1991; Dunn, 1996; Gole, 2001; Luong, 1992; Shultz, 1999). These are significant omissions in the education document depictions.

One prominent shift throughout the 1975-2005 period is the rise in Asia-related content in teaching and learning programs in Victorian schools, largely a consequence of the Asian language and cultural education focus of the Australian Government commissioned *Auchmuty Report* (Auchmuty, 1970), the prominence of the AEF, and Prime Minister Paul Keating's promotion of greater Australian engagement with Asia. Asia-related studies commence in textbooks and *Agora* early in the period 1975-2005, with several authors noting the lack of Asia-related content up to that time and their belief that Australian students would benefit from deeper understanding of the region (Rajenda, Rajenda & Lower, 1984; McNabb, 1999). One author also promotes understanding of Australia's geographic and cultural ties to Asia (McNabb, 1999), correlating with the rise of academic and popular literature, also profiling the views of Keating.

In the late 1999s, McNabb (1999), an *Agora* teacher and writer develops deeper cultural depictions of Vietnam, including discussion of "religious beliefs and practices that became elements of nationalism including Buddhism, Confucianism, and the Cao Dai, (and) combining elements of many Eastern and Western traditions" (, p. 68) discusses the effects of French colonialism in the region (McNabb, 1999). This provides a glimpse into the possible directions History teachers would take in Vietnam War units.

10.6 Key Shifts in Depictions of Australian Soldiers' and Veterans' Narratives

Three major shifts in depictions of Australian soldiers and veterans' narratives are presented in most education documents. Firstly, the rise in use of oral history and veterans' experiences; secondly, changes in depictions of Australian soldiers during the war, from faceless numbers captured in the broad sweep of politics, to individuals with personal experiences; and, thirdly, the developing focus of conscription as a topic, specifically relating to soldiers' experiences of the war in Vietnam as opposed to civilian responses to it on the home front.

Popular and academic historians during the period focus on Australian Vietnam War soldiers' and veterans' personal experiences during and after the war respectively, (Rintoul, 1987; Crowe, 1999; Dapin, 2014). Yet few specific references to Australian soldiers' and veterans' personal experiences exist in the documents prior to the early 1990s, and there is no representation of Australian soldiers' personal experiences in the *Gazettes* from 1960-1991. Nor is there exploration in the education documents of the similarities and contradictions between veterans' oral testimony and collective memory, as explored by Thomson (2015). *Agora* includes the highest number of depictions of Australian Vietnam War veteran experiences by the authors and the veterans, themselves. (see Chapter Nine).

10.6.1 Shifting Depictions of Australian Soldiers During the War

As discussed in Chapter 2, aside from general commentary on the fact that Australian soldiers were sent to Vietnam as members of the Australian Army Training Team Vietnam (AATTV) (Hamer, 1980; Disher, 1987; Darlington, Hospodaryk, & Carrodus, 1998) and Disher (1987), stating specifically that "thirty army advisers (were sent) to train the South Vietnamese in jungle warfare" (p.163), there are relatively few references to individual soldiers or groups of Australian soldiers in Vietnam in the education resources. In the early 1980s, *Agora* reveals authors' and teachers' incorporation of more detailed examples of Australian soldiers' experiences in the war, yet the *Agora* references imply that due to course requirements, students will focus foremost on the Australian home front rather than the Vietnam War battlefield (HTAV, 1982).

In the mid-1980s, a more nuanced narrative develops. Pearce (1988) juxtaposes soldiers' personal narratives with an overarching critique of the role historians (and Australian war writing) play in the construction of narratives of Australian soldier exceptionalism. In a review of *Big Noting, the Heroic Theme in Australian War Writing* Gerster (1988) is recorded as emphasising how the Vietnam War may have "affected the heroic theme in war writing" (p. 41), adding that "perhaps Australia's role in this war, peripheral as it was in so many ways, will mean that we will never truly come to make any concrete judgements about it" (p. 41).

Stronger connections to contemporary military events emerge in the mid to late 1990s. In the mid-late 1990s, some education documents address the similarities of soldiers' experiences in Vietnam with conflicts such as the Iraq War (including friendly fire incidents), and Keating's visit to Vietnam (Hastings & Imam, 1994), which contributed to a shift in Australia's political and strategic view of Vietnam (Thu, 2018). While some documents note the negative outcomes of the presence of Australian soldiers in Vietnam (Sutherland, 1993; Darlington, Hospodaryk & Carrodus, 1998), two authors introduce comparisons between the combat behaviour of Australian soldiers with their American counterparts. These comparisons prompt consideration of how the behaviours and experiences of Australians in Vietnam differed from American experiences particularly as portrayed in films (Sutherland, 1990; Manning, 2003). The number of references to soldiers' and veterans' experiences during and after the war continues to rise in 2001 and some education documents include topics not previously explored. In 2001, the reference in the Victorian Higher School Certificate at Year 11 (Units 1 and 2) to the 'Hearts and Minds' strategy and program, along with the US and Australian Governments' and armies "policy to promote positive relationships with South Vietnamese civilians" ("Work Requirement 3: Film Analysis Exercise", 2001, p.2) displays the emergence of more nuanced depictions of expectations of Australian soldiers' other than battlefield experiences. It also exhibits the Victorian Curriculum and Assessment Authority (VCAA) allowing critical evaluation of the Australia/US relationship during the war.

The most commonly mentioned event of the Australian soldiers' experience is the Battle of Long Tan. Although there are depictions of Australian soldiers 'in the field' in Vietnam in textbooks of the late 1980s to mid-1990s, there are no references to Long Tan in *Agora* from 1988-1996. Descriptive references to Long Tan emerge in the textbooks in the 1990s (Sutherland, 1990; Sutherland, 1993), and, significantly, include the perspectives of Australian soldiers who fought in the battle (Sutherland, 1990) and a Vietnamese and rare female perspective, being that of a mother of sons killed in the battle, who asked the powerful question, "What right did you have to destroy my sons? I had never heard of your country before your soldiers came here" (Burstall, as cited in Sutherland, 1993, p. 88). In 1996, a more developed analysis of the battle is included in an *Agora* article (Nichols & Manera, 1996) written by staff from the Australian War Memorial, as opposed to limited descriptions simply that the battle happened. In 1996, O'Callaghan discusses how shifting classroom demographics played a part in why she chose to write about the battle's commemoration,

since, “A class with predominantly Asian students who had come to Australia as a result of battles such as Long Tan were learning about and appreciating Australian and Vietnamese history” (p. 24).

10.7 Key Shifts in Vietnam Veterans’ Narratives After the War, Including by Veterans

Depictions of Australian soldiers’ lives in Vietnam are comparatively sparse in the education documents when contrasted with other topics. However, the use of oral history, particularly of veterans’ experiences, emerges in classroom teaching documents produced during the 1990s and 2000s. By the 2000s, the veterans were speaking for themselves. Only two curriculum documents out of 17 mention veterans’ issues (SHEP; Australian Education Council and Curriculum Corporation, 1982), with the first depiction (SHEP, Australian Education Council and Curriculum Corporation, 1982) presenting the negative stereotype of the Vietnam veteran shunning society, and neither incorporates oral history. The textbook and *Agora* authors include references to veterans’ experiences (sometimes through elements of oral history) of their own volition.

Just as veterans’ accounts of diverse experiences emerge in public literature and academic works, so, too, do some education documents depict the same, including the negative homecoming experiences of many veterans (Disher, 1987; Pemberton, 1991). Some education documents go further, and critique the evidence presented in popular memoirs that advance these negative experiences as almost universal (Lewis, 1991b). Others note the rise of students studying the Vietnam War in Victoria, yet do not include evidence to support the rise. Also in the early 1990s, Sutherland (1990) comments that not only veterans endured hardships and troubled post-war lives but refugees experienced the same. Later in the period, some education documents begin to discuss specifics of the veterans’ post-war experiences, chiefly the consequences for those affected by Agent Orange (Australian Education Council and Curriculum Corporation, 1994; Rajendra, Rajendra & Lower, 1984; Triolo, 1996).

10.8 The Silences by Comparison

The 'silences' deserve separate attention. There is silence throughout the period 1975-2005 on the topic of the Vietnam War in Victorian Government education policy documents, and near-silence in the *Gazettes*, analysed from 1960 to its end-date in 1991. While WWI and WWII are strongly represented across the period in the policy documents and *Gazettes*, the Vietnam War has limited presence in the Victorian Education Department's publication in the later 1990s and early 2000s, and is not included in the policy documents at all. There are also few Vietnam War references in Victorian Education Department, VCAB, BOS and VCAA curriculum documents 1975-2005, with nine of the 17 not including the Vietnam War at all. This is also the case in other resources of the period not included in the overall coding sheets, but checked for references to the Vietnam War. Only four references to the Vietnam War can be found in the three volumes of *Vision and Realisation: A Centenary History of State Education in Victoria* (Blake & Education Department of Victoria (Ed. Dept.), 1973a; Blake & Ed. Dept., 1973b; Blake & Ed. Dept., 1973c), the centenary history of State schooling in Victoria.

From 1996, 2004, at least 10 inquiries into Australian experiences and other aspects of the Vietnam War were developed in the school magazine resource, *Studies of Society and Environment* (Ryebuck Media Pty. Ltd. and Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT), 1996; Ryebuck Media Pty. Ltd. and DFAT, 1996a; Ryebuck Media Pty. Ltd. and Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT), 1998; Ryebuck Media Pty. Ltd. and DFAT, 2000; Ryebuck Media Pty. Ltd. and DFAT, 2001; Ryebuck Media Pty. Ltd. And DFAT, 2001a; Ryebuck Media Pty. Ltd. and DFAT, 2004; Ryebuck Media Pty. Ltd. and DFAT, 2004a; Ryebuck Media Pty. Ltd. and DFAT, 2004c). *Studies of Society and Environment* was produced by Ryebuck Media Pty. Ltd, operated by Tim Gurry, Robert Lewis and other educators who worked in an inter-departmental collaboration with the Parliamentary Education Office, Canberra, the Department of Veteran's Affairs (DVA), the National Australia Day Council, the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs (DFAT), AusIndustry, and the ANZAC Day Commemoration Committee of Queensland, to develop inquiry-based investigations of issues deemed to be important for young Australians to study. Although the *Studies* do not fit the definition of student textbooks coded in my study, or appear by quote or general recommendation in policies and reports, these journals were available to all schools free for many years and later via subscription. While the *Studies*

magazines fall beyond the scope of my study, they provide rich opportunities for future research on the Vietnam War. The magazines contributed resources that demonstrated shifting approaches to the teaching and learning of history and the Vietnam War, with their use of primary resource materials, visuals and provocative questions, and they redressed many of the silences about topics in my study

10.9 Conclusion

As this study has shown, there were key shifts in the education policies and documents and their depictions and focus on the Vietnam War across the period investigated. The study analysed the ways that the Vietnam War has been represented in policy and documents that included the voices of Australian politicians, soldiers, veterans, pacifists, unionists, newspaper reporters, women, protesters, academics, teachers, students and refugees, across 1975-2005, reflecting changes in historical inquiry and the development of social histories directly relating to the Vietnam War.

The study found that, later in the period, several *Agora* and textbook authors adopted a more critical and questioning view of events and circumstances related to the war. Individual political figures including Australian Prime Ministers Menzies, Holt and McMahon particularly, US President Johnson and South Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem's decisions were viewed more negatively and there were wider discussions of the involvement of the U.S. and Australia in the war.

The Victorian Government education policy documents included very few references to the contents, pedagogies and expectations of History education, and no references at all to the Vietnam War for the whole period. There was no correlation in the policy documents between references to the Vietnam War and the political party in power at the time. Similarly, although the Victorian Government curriculum documents 'did' include the Vietnam War, (without strong correlation between the passage of time away from the war and the increase in references), they were short statements on topics that could be covered, such as the Cold

War, colonisation and refugees (VCAB, 1990; VCAB, 1990a; BOS, 1995; BOS, 2000; VCAA, 2004a).

Significantly, there was a lack of correlation between the growing presence of Vietnam War related references in the Victorian Government curriculum documents on the one hand, and shifts in Vietnam War depictions in other education documents. However, *Agora* and textbook authors had more freedom to assert their own or embrace others' personal or political views, whereas policy and curriculum authors were bound by the Victorian and Federal governments' political persuasions to be compliant in their emphases. *Agora* and textbook authors, and *Gazette* authors to a much lesser degree, managed to capture and reflect external factors such as changing international and Australian political landscapes and shifts in international and Australian public views on the war. Across the period, these *Gazette* and *Agora* authors also demonstrated, and prioritised the rise in interest in veterans' and refugees' oral histories and the expanding and more nuanced academic research on the Vietnam War. They also captured the changing demographics in schools including the rise by the end of the period in the number of students born in Vietnam who were refugees or were first-generation Vietnamese Australians, often descendants of refugees.

This study found that a key driver for shifts in depictions in textbooks and Agora articles after the end of the Vietnam War, was their correlation with the socio-political changes in this period. The post-war period saw growth of the Vietnamese population in Australia from fewer than 700 in 1971 to over 80,000 in mid-1980s. In 1973, the Whitlam government officially ended the White Australia Policy, and the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901 was repealed. This led to the opening up of Asian Immigration to Australia. After the Vietnam War ended, thousands of people who feared the Communist Government began to leave in small boats, driven by the hope of achieving freedom, and a better life for their families. When Malcom Fraser was elected as Prime Minister in 1975, he furthered implementation of the policy emphasis that encouraged multi-culturalism. When the first boats reached Darwin, Australians were made aware of the problems of refugees. By the end of 1979, 2011 Vietnamese 'boat people' as they had been termed by the media, had survived the dangerous journey from Vietnam, but many lost their lives trying. While there was debate in the community about Asian immigration, when Fraser's term as PM ended in 1983, he left a legacy of support for multiculturalism. In the post war period, *Agora* authors including Sutherland (1993) and McNabb (1998) and the writers of other publications such as the

Studies of Society magazines (Ryebuck Media Ptd. Ltd. and Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 1996b), reflected shifting contemporary views about Australia's relationship and connections with Asia and the world. Significantly, from a complete absence of Vietnamese citizens' perspectives and voices early in the war, *Agora* especially, and a smaller number of textbooks, increased the coverage of those peoples' voices towards 2005.

This study revealed the rise of documents written by Vietnam veterans themselves, often with the support of DVA or HTAV. Both organisations encouraged acceptance of the classroom practice of interviewing veterans and refugees. Specifically, representatives of the VVET wrote on two occasions to supplement classroom resources and offer the services of Vietnam veterans to recollect their experiences in schools. Although the representations and voices of Vietnamese people during and after the war increased over time, there was no evidence in the education documents of Vietnamese-Australians writing textbooks or in *Agora*. This was a conspicuous absence, so all first-person Vietnamese narratives found in my study are from external sources.

Complementing the rise of Vietnam War education focus in textbooks and *Agora* in the later period was the desire of teachers, some as *Agora* authors, to include Australian veterans' and Vietnamese voices in their Vietnam War History units. Therefore, many shifts in the published materials and recommended practices related to teaching about the Vietnam War *were driven by the combined work of teachers and veterans pushing for change* – breadth, depth and authenticity - in narratives. Similarly, through *Agora,* authors provided leadership for teachers in how to develop depth of understanding of the Vietnam War, so that future generations of young Australians could explore this conflict in ways that captured multiple voices and points of view. In this regard, teachers became a meeting point between academics and veterans in relation to receiving, shaping and teaching the Vietnam War narratives.

This study demonstrated that the *Gazette,* textbooks and *Agora* document authors consciously or selectively omitted events, people, places, perspectives and voices, predominantly in the years directly following the war until 1990. There was little discussion of the role of trade unions within the Australian protest movement during the period, or of the events and outcomes of Operation Babylift. Certain significant events, such as the Battle of Long Tan, the Fall of Saigon and the end of the war, were rarely detailed. More attention was paid to the end of the Australian and U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War, than the Communist

takeover in 1975, an avoidance of the reality that Australia and its allies had lost the fight against Communism in Vietnam and the Vietnam War overall.

My research demonstrates that there is scope for future research, such as a large-scale content analysis of education documents which compares representations of WWI, WWII, and later C20th conflicts (for example, in Korea, Malaya, Indonesian Confrontation, East Timor, Afghanistan, Iraq).Further research could involve interviewing teachers and students of the period to capture and understand their recollections of teaching and learning about Vietnam War content and factors influencing teachers' choices of what, why, and how they taught or teach topics related to Vietnam War.

Finally, I must comment on limitations encountered during the course of my research – that I did not predict when I commenced the journey. Excepting Triolo (2012), my literature review revealed little academic research on Australian State and Territory war-related curriculum documents focused on wars in which Australia has been involved. Considering that I did not conduct interviews or surveys in this study because its focus is on documentary analysis, my authorial choices and conclusions were formed by interpretations of my readings of the education documents, not explanations provided by the writers themselves; many of whom have passed away. My research was hindered by limited digital and public access to many education documents (especially curriculum documents), although fortunately, some documents were sourced from private collections. Access to public document facilities, such as the PROV, the Royal Historical Society of Victoria, the State Library of Victoria, and the NLA was hindered during the pandemic.

Perhaps of greatest concern is the fact that despite my extensive searches, some Victorian Government education-related documents and Victorian Education Department documents mentioned in sources such as the *Gazette* are not catalogued as existing in public repositories anywhere. They are not only not available for further research pertaining to the Vietnam War, but might well be lost for all time.

As this study draws to an end in this second decade of the twentieth century, the Victorian curriculum includes 'study of significant post-World War II world events and developments on one major global influence that shaped change in Australian society' (VCAA, 2017, p. 'History levels 9 and 10') with the Vietnam War as an example. The Australian Curriculum

includes some emphases on teaching and learning about the Vietnam War. This includes for example, students in Year 10 ‘describing the impact of the Vietnam War on Vietnam and how the Communist victory in 1975 resulted in the arrival of refugees into Australia’ (ACARA, 2022, p. ‘AC9HH10K17’), reflecting how contemporary Victorian History curriculum has changed since the early years of the post-war period. However, there has been no major study focused on how and to what extent the Vietnam War is being taught in Victorian History classrooms in 2022.

The focus on the Vietnam War has continued in a variety of texts and resources developed in the period after 1975-2005 that my research explored. But, my study found that in the years after the end of the war, the need to consider the broader impact of the war and ensure inclusion of multiple perspectives and depictions increased in many forums and in the hands of different educators and learners. Teachers and students could increasingly access primary source articles, poems, and first-hand accounts written by veterans. They could watch documentaries and films and actively engage in deep analyses of these representations, speak to the veterans, and hear their stories to develop deeper understanding of the issues surrounding the war, its aftermath and the deeply personal, social, and political consequences for all those involved. For the current generation, the learning and teaching experiences in these regards, fortunately, continue.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Victorian Government Ministerial Reports and Education Policy Documents Coding Sheet (Deductive)

Document Name	**Author/ Date Published**	**Political Party Affiliation**	**Frequency of References to History Education**	**Frequency of References to Wars**	**Frequency of References to Vietnam War**
Report of the Minister of Education for the Year 1974-1975	Education Department of Victoria (Ed. Dept.), 1976	Liberal Party (LIB)	5	0	0
Report of the Minister of Education and the Minister of Special Education for the Year 1975-76	Ed. Dept., 1977	LIB	9	0	0
Report of the Minister of Education and the Minister of Special Education for the Year 1976-1977	Ed. Dept., 1978	LIB	3	0	0
Report of the Minister of Education and the Minister of Special Education for the Year 1977-1978	Ed. Dept., 1979	LIB	6	1	0
Report of the Education Department for the Year Ended 30 June 1979	Ed. Dept., 1980	LIB	9	0	0
Report of the Education Department for the Year Ended 30 June 1980	Ed. Dept., 1981	LIB	8	0	0

Report of the Education Department for the Year Ended 30 June 1981	Ed. Dept., 1982	Australian Labor Party (ALP)	5	1	0
Report of the Education Department for the Year Ended 30 June 1982	Ed. Dept., 1983	ALP	3	0	0
Report of the Education Department for the Year Ended 30 June 1983	Ed. Dept., 1984	ALP	0	0	0
Curriculum Development and Planning in Victoria. (Ministerial Paper; 6)	Ed. Dept., 1984	ALP	2	0	0
Report of the Education Department for the Year Ended 30 June 1984	Ed. Dept., 1985	ALP	2	0	0
Ministerial Review of Postcompulsory Schooling (Blackburn Report)	Ministerial Review of Postcompulsory Schooling, 1985	ALP	15	1	0
Implementing Ministerial Paper No. 6	Ministry of Education, 1986	ALP	0	0	0
Report of the Ministry of Education for the Period from 1 July 1985 to 30 June 1986	Ministry of Education, 1986b	ALP	0	0	0
Directions in Curriculum: A Review of Curriculum Policy Documents in Victoria 1983-1987	Ministry of Education, 1987	ALP	4	0	0
Report of the Ministry of Education for the	Ministry of Education, 1987a	ALP	2	0	0

Year Ended 30 June 1987					
The School Curriculum and Organisation Framework: P-12	Ministry of Education, 1988	ALP	3	0	0
VCE Policy as at February 1988	VCAB,1988	ALP	1	0	0
Report of the Ministry of Education for the Year Ended 30 June 1988	Ministry of Education, 1988a	ALP	2	0	0
Report of the Ministry of Education for the Year Ended 30 June 1989	Ministry of Education, 1989	ALP	3	0	0
Department of Education 1995-1996 Annual Report	Ed. Dept., 1996	(Liberal/National Party (LIB/NAT)	5	0	0
Annual Report 1996-1997 Department of Education	Ed. Dept., 1997	LIB/NAT	3	0	0
Enhancing their Futures: Report of the Committee of Review on the Victorian Certificate of Education (Dow Report)	Department of Education and Training (DET), 1997	LIB/NAT	8	0	0
Department of Education 1997-1998 Annual Report	Department of Education, 1998	LIB/NAT	1	0	0
Department of Education 1998-1999 Annual Report	Department of Education, 1999	LIB/NAT	0	0	0
2001-2002 Annual Report Department of Education and Training	DET, 2002	ALP	3	0	0
2001-2002 Annual Report Victorian Curriculum and Assessment Authority	Victorian Curriculum and Assessment Authority, (VCAA), 2002	ALP	4	0	0

2002-2003 Annual Report Department of Education and Training	DET, 2003	ALP	0	0	0
Blueprint for Government Schools: Directions in the Victorian Government School System	DET, 2003b	ALP	0	0	0
Annual Report 2002-2003 Victorian Curriculum and Assessment Authority	VCAA, 2003	ALP	4	0	0
Department of Education and Training Annual Report 2003-2004	DET, 2004	ALP	0	0	0
Victorian Curriculum and Assessment Authority Annual Report 2003-2004	VCAA, 2004b	ALP	2	0	0
Department of Education and Training Annual Report 2004-2005	DET, 2005	ALP	1	0	0
Victorian Curriculum and Assessment Authority Annual Report 2004-2005	VCAA, 2005a	ALP	7	0	0

Appendix B: Victorian Curriculum Documents Coding Sheet (Deductive)

Document Name	**Author/Date Published**	**Political Party Affiliation**	**Frequency of References to History Education**	**Frequency of References to Wars**	**Frequency of References to Vietnam War**
Secondary Historical Education Project: (SHEP) Resource Document Approaches to History Teaching: Year 9 Australian History	Education Department of Victoria - Curriculum Services Unit, 1982	ALP	Entire document relates to History Education.	6	2

Curriculum P-12 Frameworks First Draft	Ed. Dept., 1985c	ALP	4	0	0
Curriculum Frameworks P-12: An Introduction	Ed. Dept., 1985	ALP	5	0	0
The School Curriculum and Organisation Framework P-12	Ministry of Education, 1988	ALP	6	0	0
Study Design: History	Victorian Curriculum and Assessment Board (VCAB), 1990	ALP	Entire document relates to History Education	21	4
Study Design: International Studies	VCAB, 1990a	ALP	3	4	1
A Statement on Studies of Society and Environment for Australian Schools	Australian Education Council and Curriculum Corporation, 1994a	LIB/NAT	87	1	0
Studies of Society and Environment - a Curriculum Profile for Australian Schools	Australian Education Council and Curriculum Corporation, 1994	LIB/NAT	115	25	7
Curriculum & Standards Framework: Studies of Society and Environment	Board of Studies (BOS), 1995	LIB/NAT	202	8	1
Using the CSF: An Introduction	BOS, 1995a	LIB/NAT	5	0	0
Curriculum and Standards Framework Sample Programs : Study of Australia, levels 1-7	Verma, S., & Victoria. BOS, 1996	LIB/NAT	239	13	5
Study Design: International Studies	BOS, 1999	LIB/NAT	4	14	12
Curriculum & Standards Framework II Overview (CSFII)	BOS, 2000a	ALP	4	0	0
Introducing the Curriculum &	BOS, 2000b	ALP	6	0	0

Standards Framework II Information Kit					
Curriculum & Standards Framework II	VCAA, 2000	ALP	19	16	0
Studies of Society and Environment Curriculum and Standards Framework II	BOS, 2000	ALP	359	15	0
History: Victorian Certificate of Education Study Design	VCAA, 2004	ALP	Entire document relates to History Education	18	7

Appendix C: Victorian Curriculum Documents Coding Sheet (Inductive)

Document Name	**Date Published/ Author/ Department**	**Quantity of Vietnam War References in Contrast to Other C20th Conflicts**	**Topics and Themes Mentioned**	**Description of Language (Positive, Negative, Neutral, Ambivalent)**	**Description of Latent Content**
SHEP Resource Document Approaches to History Teaching: Year 9 Australian History	Education Department of Victoria - Curriculum Services Unit, 1982	2/4	1979 Moratorium, Vietnam Veterans. Unit of work relates to establishing settlements	Negative	Mentions of protest against Vietnam War (p.2) and stereotype of Vietnam War veteran shunning society "Viet hero goes bush to await N-War" (p.5).
History Study Design	VCAB, 1990	21/4	Vietnamese Boat People The Cold War Decolonisation and Vietnam War	Negative	"Vietnamese Boat People (p.12)." "Anti-war activity" (p.24), written within context of social movements. Vietnam War mentioned within the context of the Cold War (p.23), and as a stand-alone topic (p.25). Vietnam War included within topic regarding wars of unification,

					colonial rebellions and decolonisation (p.86). Foci on refugees and anti-war protest.
International Studies Study Design	VCAB, 1990	4/1	Vietnam War, Nationalism, Indo-China power relationships.		Vietnam War referenced in topics discussing nationalism and Indo-China power relationships (p.13).
Studies of Society and Environment - a Curriculum Profile for Australian Schools	Australian Education Council and Curriculum Corporation, 1994	25/7	Conscription, competing ideologies, Domino Theory, current relationships with US, China, Agent Orange	Negative, neutral	Conscription. "Write a letter to the local politician either to protest against or support the conscription of men to the military services during the Vietnam War, giving reasons" (p.62), Task relating to examine "recent events in Indo-China" (p.126), mentions ideologies, Domino Theory, current relationships with USA, China, Agent Orange (p.126). Foci on conscription and relationship with USA.
Curriculum & Standards Framework: Studies of Society and Environment	BOS, 1995	8/1	Changes in attitudes to the Vietnam War.	Negative	Focus on the changing attitudes of Australians towards the war at the time (p.28).
Curriculum and Standards Framework: Sample Programs : Study of Australia, levels 1-7	Verma, S., & Victoria. Board of Studies, 1996	13/5	Cold War, democracy, justice, popular sovereignty. Vietnam War, cultural diversity, politics, popular sovereignty, democracy. Decolonisation of Asia. Vietnamese refugees.	Negative	Topics were referred to within contexts of popular sovereignty (p.50), decolonisation (p.51) and "Culture, Vietnamese refugees" (p.76).

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Study Design: International Studies	Board of Studies, 1999	14/12	ANZUS Treaty, Vietnam, mentions first and second Indochina wars. Doi Moi and Reference list of Vietnam War related readings.	Neutral	Focus on ANZUS Treaty (p.26), first and second Indochina wars (p.35) and "changing nature of ANZUS" (p.37). Also included list of related readings (p.47). Major focus on ANZUS Treaty and broad scope of Indochina Wars.
History: Victorian Certificate of Education Study Design	VCAA, 2004	18/7	Conquest and resistance, Cold War, guerrilla warfare, change in Australians' support of the Vietnam War, attitudes to immigration that mention Vietnamese boat people	Negative	"Conquest and Resistance" (p.25), mentions Indochina. Cold War, "Some newly independent nations such as Korea and Vietnam become the battlefields of the Cold War" (p.42). Guerrilla warfare. Research two figures who held opposing views, possibilities included Ho Chi Minh and Ngo Dinh Diem (p.52). "Debating Australia's Future" (p.89) includes Change in Australians' support of the Vietnam War. Attitudes to immigration mentions Vietnamese boat people. Framing of topics in context of resistance movements.