



Western Australian Certificate of Education Examination 2010

MODERN HISTORY

Stage 2

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Document Set 1: Australia 1880s-1920s

Source 1

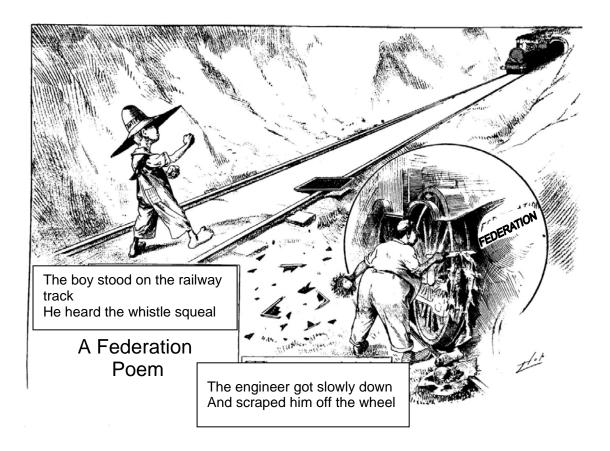
(A speech given by Alfred Deakin prior to the 1903 Federal election.)

A continent of 3,000,000 square miles, containing nearly 4,000,000 people scattered in a fringe upon its outer rim - a country whose increase in the matter of population is extremely small; a country whose birth rate at present is low; a country which we hold, but of which we occupy only a fraction, and of which we as yet use but a minute fraction, these are fundamental facts to be burnt into our memories and maintained there for the purpose of interpreting what the Commonwealth is, and suggesting what Australia ought to be.

Less than three years ago Australia was sub-divided into six small communities within separate territories completely independent of each other, and these subdivisions still remain for many purposes. A great deal of local feeling still persists, but we have now entered into a political union, and we are trying to make, and mean to make, it a real union.

Source 2

(Cartoon, entitled 'A Federation Poem', which was published in the Bulletin magazine in 1898. Bursting out of a tunnel labelled provincialism¹, the train labelled Federation runs down the small boy labelled Anti-Federation.)



¹ **provincialism** – local (e.g. State) interests and issues.

(This document was created directly after the failure of the 1890s strikes, when the union movement found that it was not only fighting the employers but also the police, the army and the government. This is the response of the NSW union movement to its defeat.)

A still more important lesson, learnt in the hour of defeat is this: That whilst we must go on ever increasing our capacity for fighting as we have fought before, the time has come when Tradesunionists must use the Parliamentary machinery that has in the past used them ... [before] we can radically improve the lot of the worker we must secure a substantial representation in Parliament ... The Parliamentary weapon is ready to our hand ... Too much stress cannot be laid upon its importance ... The next general election must yield us the balance of power; future contests must give us an absolute majority in Parliament ...

This, then, is over and above all others the greatest lesson of the strike – that our organisations must become a means of education and constitutional power. Already it is half learnt. We have come out of the conflict a United Labour Party, destined amid all the hypocrisy of political life to brighten the lot of our children - if not our own lot.

(Photograph of Anderson Dawson. Dawson served as Premier and Chief Secretary of the

Source 4

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(Seats won by each political party at selected elections for the Commonwealth House of Representatives between 1901 and 1928. A 'dash' [-] in a box indicates either that the party did not exist or that it did not contest the election in question.)

Political Party	1901	1903	1906	1913	1917	1919	1925	1928
ALP	14	23	26	37	22	26	23	31
Liberal Protectionist	31	25	21	-	-	-	-	-
Free Trade*	28	26	26	-	-	-	-	-
Fusion	-	-	-	38	-	-	-	-
Independent	2	1	2	0	0	1	2	2
Nationalist	-	-	-	-	53	37	37	29
Country	-	-	-	-	-	11	13	13
Total	75	75	75	75	75	75	75	75

^{*} The Free Trade Party was renamed the Anti Socialist party in 1906. It ceased to exist after 1909.

Source 6

(The views of a modern historian, published in 1997, on the impact of World War One on Australian society.)

The Labor Party had been torn apart by the conscription issue, and its long-term strength had been undermined as Protestant conscriptionists, following Billy Hughes, took their membership and their votes away from a party associated with Catholic and radical anti-conscriptionists. The industrial wing of the labour movement, the trade unions, had been isolated by the bitterness of the 1917 strike. In the same year, the defence by the Labor newspaper, the *Worker*, of the gaoled Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) leaders had brought upon the movement even greater hostility from the loyalist majority. From 1917 Labor's opponents had accused it of disloyalty, a cry that would be echoed for many years after.

The war, which had at first submerged national divisions in a wave of patriotism, had in its last years deepened those divisions, increasing the gulf between Catholics and Protestants, radicals and conservatives, those eligibles who had fought and those who had not, and adding new divisions between pro- and anti-conscriptionists and between strikers and 'loyalist' strike-breakers. At the war's end many radicals were inspired by the Russian Bolshevik Revolution; conservatives were strengthened by the ANZAC legend and horrified by the apparent disloyalty of Irish nationalism, and what they saw as the evil influence of Bolshevism. The changes in society brought by the war were the seeds of much conflict in its aftermath.

Document Set 2: Australia 1920s-1950s

Source 1

(Extract from a study of J. T. (Jack) Lang and the Australian Labor Party between 1891 and 1949.)

The process of Depression wage cuts had been dramatized on 22 January 1931 when the Commonwealth Court of Conciliation and Arbitration ordered a 10 per cent cut in twenty-six Federal [wage] awards. In New South Wales [by contrast] Lang had persisted in paying award rates and ignoring cost-of-living wage reductions; a policy that actually increased the real wages of those in work (but aggravated budgetary problems and increased unemployment). In this way [Lang] projected himself as the only one to stand firm against [lowering] the living standards of those lucky enough to retain jobs.

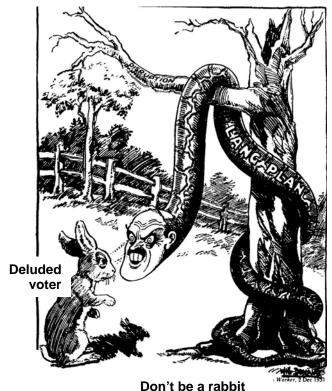
Likewise, his emphasis [in the so-called 'Lang Plan'] on the need to repudiate² payment of overseas interest and reduce its rate in Australia, gave some apparent hope to pensioners and other recipients of social benefits, especially those on the dole, that they would not sink further into the morass³ of poverty and degradation.

But it was impossible for the Lang Plan to be implemented - no State premier could dictate the economic policy of Australia.

- aggravated made worse
- ² repudiate refuse to meet an agreement or commitment
- ³ **morass** a chaotic or miserable situation

Source 2

(Cartoon with the caption 'Don't Be a Rabbit!' from the Australian Worker, 2 December 1931. The branch around which the snake is coiled is labelled 'Disruption'. The snake is labelled 'Lang Plan'.)



See next page

(Extract from a newspaper report in April 1930 of comments by the then leader of the Federal Nationalist (Opposition) Party, John Latham, objecting to reports that the Labor Prime Minister Scullin in London was seeking the approval of King George V for the appointment of the first Australian-born Governor-General.)

The question which arises is ... whether it is wise or right to change, particularly at present, the relations between Great Britain and the Commonwealth. The members of the present Federal Ministry, it is only fair to say, have never possessed any real enthusiasm for the British Empire or for Great Britain. The proposal to insist upon the appointment of an Australian is due to this lack of enthusiasm ... It has always appeared to me to be a rather childish view that one cannot be a loyal Australian without being either anti-British or at least suspicious of the connection with Great Britain.

What can the people of Australia gain by such an appointment? The work of the Governor-General would be done no better than in the past ... [and] a great deal will be lost to Australia by making such an appointment ... It will sever an important link with what the great majority of Australians are still proud to call 'the Mother Country' ... No other Dominion¹ has taken a similar step.

Dominion – A term for the self-governing nations within the British Empire at that time, e.g. Canada.

Source 4

(Sir Isaac Isaacs, the first Australian-born Governor-General, appointed in 1930, poses for a photo with his wife.)



(Seats won by each political party at elections for the Commonwealth House of Representatives between 1925 and 1943. A 'dash' [-] in a box indicates either that the party did not exist, or that it did not contest, the election in question.)

Political Party	1925	1928	1929	1931	1934	1937	1940	1943
ALP	23	31	46	14	18	29	32	49
Lang Labor	-	-	-	4	9	-	4*	-
Nationalist (UAP from 1931)	37	29	14	40	33	28	23	13
Country Party	13	14	11	16	14	16	14	11
Others & Independents	2	1	4	1	0	1	1	1
Total	75	75	75	75	74	74	74	74

^{*} Known as the Non Communist Labor party in 1941.

Source 6

(Extracts from a recently-published study of John Curtin as Prime Minister by an Australian economist and historian.)

In some accounts...Curtin was not only an accidental and reluctant Prime Minister, but even as Prime Minister [and Minister for Defence Coordination] was responsible for only a narrow – though admittedly vital – part of national leadership.

There is another way of thinking about Curtin, however, that places him as the central figure in the creation of modern Australia ... My argument is that the key to understanding Curtin and his place in Australian history is that he was a politician gifted with insight into the significance of events, that he came to power just as Australia's structure and its relationship with the rest of the world were ready to change, and that he grasped the authority to move the country in the direction he wanted to go... his primary intellectual interest was economic policy rather than defence policy and the biggest influence on his thinking was not Australia's experience of war against Japan in the 1940s but its experience of the Great Depression in the 1930s. His enduring achievement was not saving Australia from Japan but in creating modern, postwar Australia...

Commonwealth control over income tax and the central bank, and central bank control over the private banks, all pillars of the postwar economy, were laid down within months of Curtin coming to office.

Document Set 3: Australia 1950s-1990s

Source 1

(Sir John Kerr publishes his statement of reasons, 12 November, 1975.)

I HAVE GIVEN careful consideration to the constitutional crisis and have made some decisions which I wish to explain.

Summary

It has been necessary for me to find a democratic and constitutional solution to the current crisis which will permit the people of Australia to decide as soon as possible what should be the outcome of the deadlock which developed over supply between the two Houses of Parliament and between the Government and Opposition parties. The only solution consistent with the Constitution and with my oath of office and my responsibilities, authority and duty as Govenor-General is to terminate the commission as Prime Minister of Mr Whitlam and to arrange for a caretaker government able to secure supply and willing to let the issue go to the people... The result is that there will be an early general election for both Houses and the people can do what, in a democracy such as ours, is their responsibility and duty and theirs alone. It is for the people now to decide the issue which the two leaders have failed to settle.

Source 2

(This cartoon by Ron Tandberg appeared in The Age newspaper in November 1975.)



(Extract from a description of the ALP – DLP split by an historian writing in 2007.)

Within the Labor Party there was a moderate right-wing group, many of them Catholics, who feared the spread of communism, particularly in the trade unions. They also began to question [Labor leader] Doc Evatt's judgement and leadership of the Labor Party, particularly on the issue of communism. Some of these Labor Party members supported a group called the Movement ... led by a young Melbourne lawyer, Bob Santamaria, who believed communism represented a very real threat to Australian society.

The divisions within the Labor Party over communism were deep, and when Dr Evatt wrote an article in the *Sydney Morning Herald* attacking what he called 'a small minority group of Labor members' who he claimed were 'disloyal to the Labor movement and the Labor leadership', it began a process which split the Labor Party. Right-wing groups within the Labor Party either resigned or were expelled and in 1957 they formed their own political party, the Democratic Labor Party (DLP), a party which was strongly anti-communist. The communist issue had split the Labor Party, and it was a major reason why the Labor Party lost the next six Federal elections, before it finally returned to power in 1972

Source 4

(A photograph taken at the ALP Federal Conference held in Hobart in 1955. It shows the Anti-Communist Victorian State ALP members [linked to the Movement] standing outside the venue after being locked out on the orders of the Labor leader, Dr Evatt.)



(Seats won by each political party at elections for the Commonwealth House of Representatives between 1954 and 1972. A 'dash' [-] in a box indicates either that the party did not exist, or that it did not contest the election in question.)

Political Party	1954	1955	1958	1961	1963	1966	1969	1972
ALP	59	49	47	62	52	41	59	67
Liberal Party*	47	57	58	45	52	61	46	38
Country Party*	17	18	19	17	20	21	20	20
DLP**	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Others	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Total	123	124	124	124	124	124	125	125

^{*}The Liberal Party and the Country Party remained coalition partners during this period.

Source 6

(Historian David Day writing in a book entitled 'The Hawke Government: a critical retrospective', published in 2003.)

Hawke and his ministers can count many achievements to their credit; but remaining true to Labor's tradition was not one of them.

As an editorial in *The Australian* recently observed: "It will puzzle future generations that the most radical free market reforms in Australia's history were effected by a Labor government led by a former trade union chief." Government was made leaner and meaner and Australian workers and businesses were exposed to the transforming force of international competition... By the end, Labor voters were left disillusioned and despairing. It was their desertion of Hawke in the opinion polls that finally led to his colleagues turning against him.

While Keating was able to hold on at the 1993 election he was unable to reverse the idea among working class supporters that Labor had reneged¹ on them. When the chance came in 1996, they deserted the party in droves ...

^{**} The DLP stood as the 'Anti-Communist Labor Party' in 1955, before changing its name to the 'Democratic Labor Party' in 1957.

¹ reneged – to go back on one's word

Document Set 4: Nazism in Germany 1918–1945

Source 1

(A German doctor recalls his views and experiences in Germany during 1933 and 1934.)

Like most people, I took the path of least resistance. I said `Heil Hitler!', like a good boy when it seemed called for, and joined the National Socialist Physicians' Association and a few of the many other Nazi organisations besides - but only as a dues-paying member ... To be honest with you, I wasn't really against the Nazis at that particular time. I often found their methods appalling - their total disregard for the law, and the brutality with which they terrorised innocent people. But I was too afraid of getting myself into political hot water. I avoided all conversations about politics and kept my mouth shut.

The truth is, all that business about the `unity of the German people' and the 'national rebirth'; the sense of a new vitality and purpose in 1933 - that really impressed me. I thought it was high time something was done about the massive unemployment. To my mind, no measure could be considered excessive when it was a question of eliminating poverty and bringing about stability. At the time I didn't realise that most of it was simply propaganda; and, as for the many unpleasant side effects, I told myself they were none of my business. After all, I wasn't Jewish, nor was I a Social Democrat, nor a Communist. So I kept quiet and consoled myself with the thought that this must be a passing phase. I daresay most people felt as I did.

Source 2
(Seats held by political parties in the Reichstag, 1928–1933.)

Political Party	1928	1930	July 1932	Nov. 1932	Mar. 1933	Nov. 1933*
Nazi (NSDAP)	12	107	230	196	288	661
Communist (KPD)	54	77	89	100	81	-
Social Democrats (SPD)	153	143	133	121	120	-
Catholic parties (Centre Party and BVP)	78	87	97	90	93	-
Nationalists (DNVP)	73	41	37	52	51	-
Others (minor parties)	221	122	22	25	14	-
Total	591	577	608	584	647	661

^{*} All political parties except the Nazi party were outlawed in October 1933.

(Nazi poster for the March 1933 election, showing Hindenburg and Hitler, the new chancellor. The caption reads: 'fight for us for peace and equal rights'.)



Document Set 5: Fascism in Italy 1918–1945

Source 1

(Extract from a British historian's account, published in 1998, of the events surrounding the March on Rome in October 1922.)

On 28 October 1922 Mussolini warned that if the Fascists were not given power, they would seize it by force ... [he and his] lieutenants ... were preparing an armed insurrection, the so-called 'March on Rome' by columns of fascists ... Yet Mussolini, even at this late stage, does not seem to have been completely convinced of the feasibility of this strategy. As the quadumvirs¹ prepared to lead the Fascist legions in their march on the capital, he insisted on staying behind at Fascist headquarters in Milan, which would permit him a quick get away across the nearby Swiss border if things went wrong ... [However] all that stood against him were [Prime Minister] Facta's weak, caretaker government and the King ... Both appeared resolved to resist Mussolini by force: Facta had ready a decree of martial law² ...

Then suddenly, the King lost his nerve, refused to sign the decree and instead [dismissed Facta and] summoned Mussolini to Rome to form a government. There remains much speculation about the motives for the king's volte-face³ ... [but perhaps among other concerns he may have] feared that the army would not obey him against the Fascists ... Mussolini's bluff worked.

Source 2
(Italian general election results, 1921 and 1924; before and after the March on Rome.)

Political Groups/ Parties contesting the 1921 election	No of seats won 1921	Political Groups/ Parties contesting the 1924 election	No of seats won 1924
Right Wing (Predominantly Fascists and Nationalists)	47	Right Wing (National List, incorporating Fascists, Conservatives and some Liberals)	395
Centre (Conservative Liberals and other Liberals)	103	Centre (Liberals and Social Liberals)	46
Centre-Left (Democrats and Republicans)	130	Centre Left (Democrats and Republicans)	39
Left (Socialists and Communists)	147	Left (Socialists and Communists)	65
Total	427	Total	545

¹ **quadumvirs** – the group of four men who jointly led the march; men who jointly share power and authority

² martial law – law imposed by military forces when civil authority has broken down

³ **volte-face** – a reversal of opinion or policy; to face in the opposite direction.

(Photograph of Mussolini with German troops in September 1943. Mussolini is seen leaving the hotel on Gran Sasso, a mountain in central Italy, after he had been rescued from captivity by a German commando operation, and from where he was taken to East Prussia to meet Hitler.)



Document Set 6: Civil Rights in the USA 1940s-1970s

Source 1

(Extract from a speech made by Malcolm X, 4 December 1963, discussing the American electoral system.)

According to a *New York Herald-Tribune* editorial (dated February 5, 1960), out of eleven million qualified Negro voters, only 2,700,000 actually took time to vote. This means that, roughly speaking; only three million of the eleven million Negroes who are qualified to vote actually take an active part. The remaining eight million remain voluntarily inactive...

- ... Who are the eight million non-voting Negroes; what do they want, and why don't they vote?...
- ... The eight million non-voting Negroes are in the majority; they are the downtrodden black masses. The black masses have refused to vote, or to take part in politics, because they reject the Uncle Tom¹ approach of the Negro leadership that has been handpicked for them by the white man. These Uncle Tom leaders do not speak for the Negro majority; they don't speak for the black masses ...
- ... The job of the Negro civil rights leader is to make the Negro forget that the wolf and the fox [meaning white conservative and liberal politicians respectively] both belong to the [same] family. Both are canines; and no matter which one of them the Negro places his trust in, he never ends up in the White House, but always in the dog house.
- Uncle Tom –a black person (usually of African-American descent) considered by other blacks to be subservient to, or to go out of their way to be favoured by, whites

Source 2

(Table showing the percentage of adult white and black people who were registered to vote in the southern states in 1964 and 1969; before and after the passage of the Federal civil rights legislation of 1964–1965.)

	19	64	1969		
State	% Whites registered to vote	% Blacks registered to vote	% Whites registered to vote	% Blacks registered to vote	
Alabama	69.2	19.3	94.6	61.3	
Florida	74.8	51.2	94.2	67.0	
Georgia	62.6	27.4	88.5	60.4	
Mississippi	69.9	6.7	89.8	66.5	
Virginia	61.1	38.3	78.7	59.8	
Average*	73.4	35.5	83.5	64.8	

^{*} The average includes additional data from North and South Carolina, Arkansas, Tennessee and Texas.

STAGE 2

(President Lyndon Johnson shakes Martin Luther King's hand after the signing of the Voting Rights Act, 17 March 1965.)



End of Document Booklet

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Document Set One: Australia 1880s-1920s

- Source 1 Stewart, D. & Greenup, E. (Eds). (1986). [Speech given by Alfred Deakin 1903]. Case studies in Australian history. Richmond: Heinemann Educational Australia, p. 92.
- **Source 2** Cartoon: A Federation Poem, 1898. In King, J. (1983). *A cartoon history of Australia*. Adelaide: Savvas Publishing, pp. 300–301.
- Source 3 NSW Labour Defence Committee. (1890). Official report and balance sheet. In Crowley, F. (1980). *A documentary history of Australia. Volume 3 1875–1900.* South Melbourne: Thomas Nelson, pp. 314–15.
- Source 4 Photograph: Andrew (Anderson) Dawson. (1899). Retrieved April, 2010, from http://www.queenslandfirsts.org/01_cms/details.asp?ID=26
- **Source 5** Dennis, L. (1996). Political parties at elections between 1901 and 1928 [table]. *Australia since 1890*, South Melbourne: Longmans, pp. 23, 47, 71.
- Source 6 Darlington, R. (1997). Land of hopes and illusions: Australian history 1901–1945. South Melbourne: Longmans, pp. 171–172.

Document Set Two: Australia 1920s-1950s

- **Source 1** Extract: Nairn, N.B. (1986). *The 'Big Fella': Jack Lang and the Australian Labor Party 1891–1949.* Carlton: Melbourne University Press, p. 224.
- Source 2 Donald, W. (1931). Don't be a rabbit [Cartoon]. In H. Radi, & P. Spearritt, (Eds). (1977). *Jack Lang.* Marrickville: Hale & Iremonger, p. 145.
- Source 3 Extract from newspaper report: (1931). In Crowley, F. K. (Ed). (1973). *Modern Australia in documents, Volume 1, 1901–1939.* Melbourne: Wren Publishing, pp. 466–467.
- Source 4 Photograph: Hood, S. (1934?). Sir Isaac Isaacs and Lady Isaacs. State Library of New South Wales. Retrieved April, 2010, from http://www.flickr.com/photos/statelibraryofnsw/2869624206/in/set-72157607365291312/
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- **Source 6** Adapted from: Edwards, J. (2005). *Curtin's gift: reinterpreting Australia's greatest prime minister.* Crows Nest, NSW: Allen and Unwin, pp. 10–12, 47–150.

Document Set Three: Australia 1950s-1990s

- Source 1 Kerr, John (Sir). (1975). Appendix E: Governor-General's statement of reasons. In Kelly, P. (1995). *November 1975: the inside story of Australia's greatest political* crisis. Crows Nest, NSW, Allen & Unwin, p. 346.
- **Source 2** Tandberg, R. (1975). [Cartoon]. In Gough Whitlam. (1979). *The truth of the matter. Victoria: Penguin*, p. 91.
- Source 3 Extract: Mason, K.J. (2007). Experience of nationhood. Sydney: McGraw Hill, p. 239.
- Source 4 Photograph: ALP conference. (1955). Retrieved April, 2010, from http://moadoph.gov.au/exhibitions/online/petrov/content-37925.html

- Source 5 Australian federal election results 1949–2004 [Table]. (2004–2005). Retrieved April, 2010, from: http://www.aph.gov.au/library/Pubs/RB/2004-05/05rb11.htm
- **Source 6** Extract: Day, D. (2003). Hawke and the Labor tradition. In S. Ryan, T. Bramston. (Eds). (2003). *The Hawke Government: a critical retrospective.* Melbourne: Pluto Press, p. 407.

Document Set Four: Nazism in Germany 1918–1945

- Source 1 Lacey, G. & Shephard, K. (2006). *Germany 1918–1945: a study in depth.* London: Hodder Murray, p. 92.
- **Source 2** Table adapted from: Kitson, A. (2001). *Germany 1858–1990: hope, terror, revival.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 137–153.
- **Source 3** Brooman, J. (1996). [Nazi poster for the March 1933 election] *Germany 1918–1945:* democracy and dictatorship. Essex: Addisson Wesley Longmans, p. 61.

Document Set Five: Fascism in Italy 1918–1945

- **Source 1** Extract from: Pollard, J. (1998). *The fascist experience in Italy.* London: Routledge, p. 45.
- Source 2 Adapted from: Italian general election, 1924. (2009), 1921 and 1924 Italian general election results [Table]. Retrieved April, 2010, from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Italian_general_election,_1924
- **Source 3** Hibbert, C. (1963). *Benito Mussolini: a biography*. London: The Reprint Society, pp. 320–321.

Document Set Six: The Civil Rights Movement in the USA 1940s-1970s

- Source 1 Extract from: Malcolm X. (1963) God's Judgement of White America (The Chickens Come Home to Roost) [Transcript]. Retrieved April, 2010, from http://www.malcolm-x.org/speeches/spc_120463.htm
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- Source 3 Okamoto, Y. R. (1965). Signing of the Voting Rights Act 1965 [Photograph]. Retrieved March, 2010, http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Lyndon_Johnson_and_Martin_Luther_King,_ Jr._-_Voting_Rights_Act.jpg

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