



Western Australian Certificate of Education Examination 2010

MODERN HISTORY

Stage 3

DOCUMENT BOOKLET

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Document Set 1: Australia 1880s – 1920s

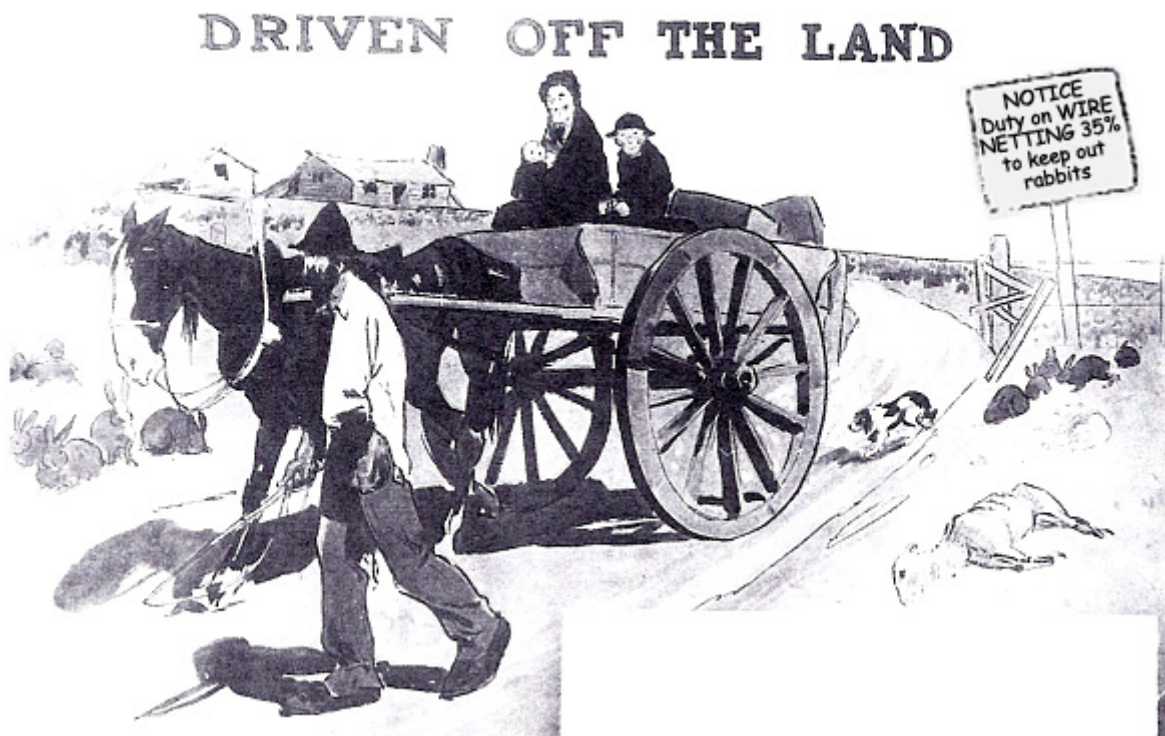
Source 1

(Extract from a speech made by Prime Minister Alfred Deakin to a meeting in Adelaide in March 1906.)

... the adoption of a well-thought-out and scientific system for the development of our native industries is the first foundation ... The circumstances of our situation have made [tariff] protection indispensable. It is a primary and permanent necessity. The circumstances of the present time make it essential to us here and now. Until this country is placed upon a sound economic basis by its means the discussion of other great problems pressing upon us can never receive our undivided attention ... we hold every man who claims to represent the working classes in this community false to his trust when he fails to take the first steps necessary to protect them and their labor either against occasional dumping or continuous invasion by underpaid, overworked, or uncivilised labor elsewhere.

Source 2

(Cartoon published in the Bulletin in 1908, the year in which the Commonwealth Government adopted the Customs Tariff Act providing for high customs duties to be levied on many goods imported into Australia.)



See next page

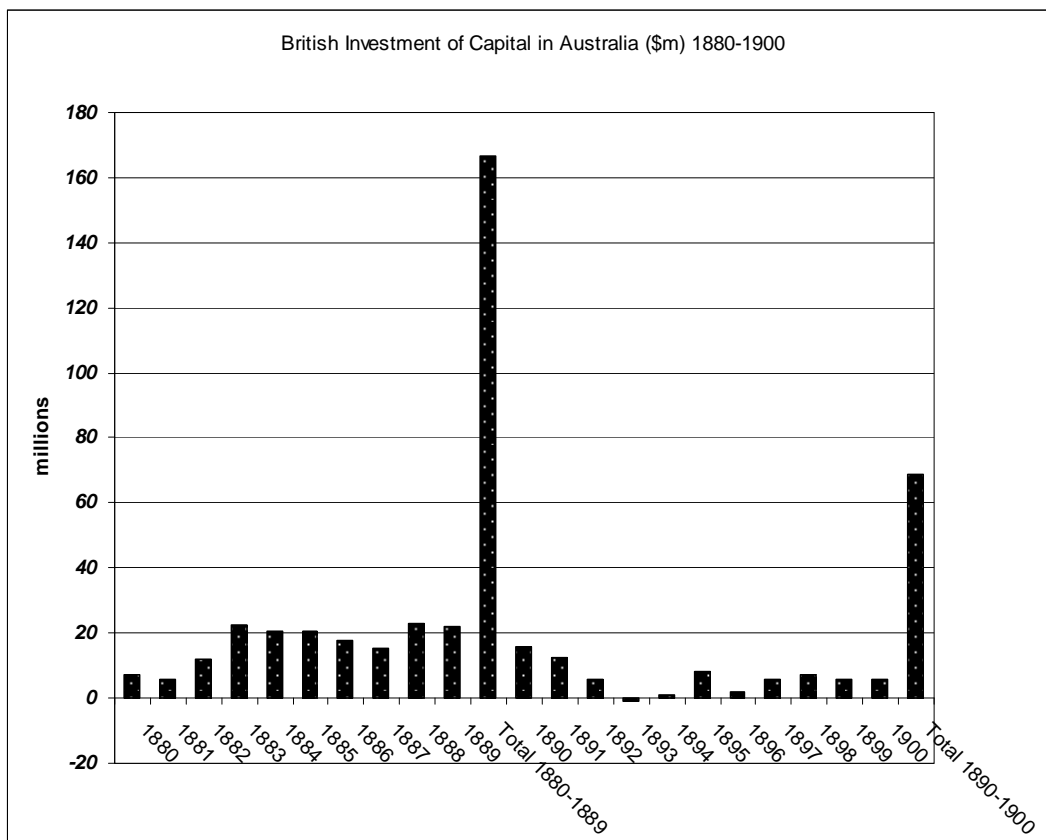
Source 3

(Photograph taken in 1920, five years after the Newcastle Steel works were opened and showing workers making rail lines for use on the recently completed Trans-Australian Railway.)



Source 4

(Graph showing the total amount of capital invested by Britain in Australia between 1880 and 1900.)



See next page

Source 5

(An Australian historian's overview of Australian economic development in the 1880s, leading into the 1890s.)

The 'seventies and 'eighties were a time of great material development. London financial houses subscribed readily to colonial government loans for large projects and developmental works. Private capital flowed in as readily to colonial banks and land, building, and finance companies.

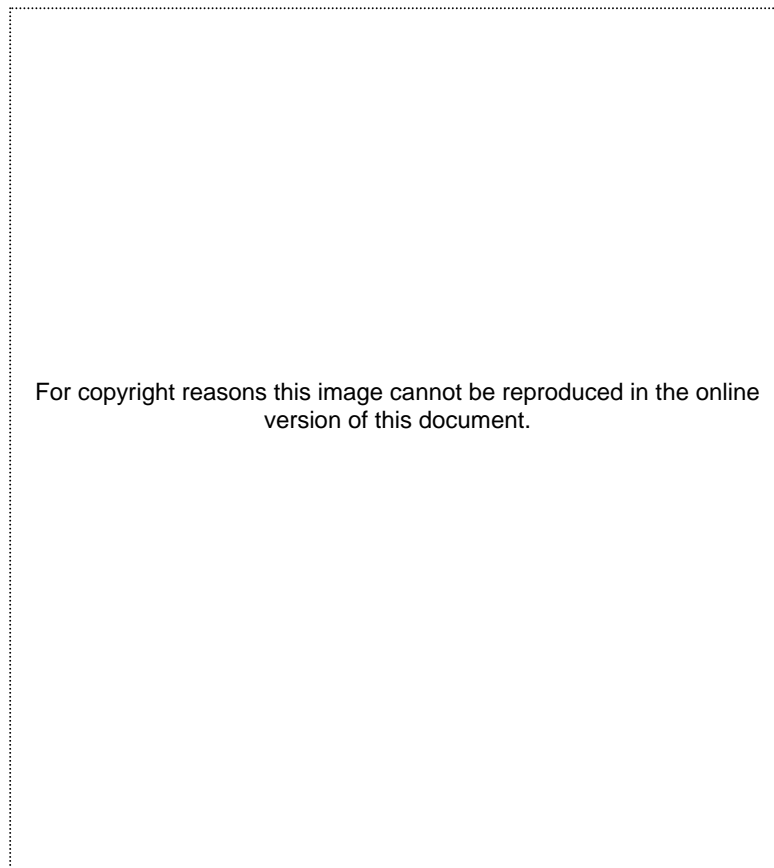
Well into the eighties this inflow of overseas capital [continued] ... but easy money bred carelessness in both government and private enterprises ... [and] between 1886 and 1890 a larger proportion of government expenditure went into unnecessary and unremunerative¹ works while private capital fed a frenzy of speculation ...

Building, buying, lavish entertainment and speculation rested on the assumption that the great prosperity of the time was normal and would continue. But that prosperity was underpinned by three insecure props—high export incomes, the continuance of public loans and works on a large scale, and the continuing ability of the colonists to pay inflated prices for the lands and houses and services that were being offered. At the beginning of the 'nineties, all three props collapsed

¹ **unremunerative** – not worth the money and time spent on them.

Source 6

(Cartoon published in the Bulletin in 1914, just after a week had been spent in promoting goods manufactured in Australia.)



RESUMING BUSINESS
Australian manufacturers' week being finished, importers' 51 weeks start again.

See next page

Source 7

(Extract from a general history of Australia in the first half of the twentieth century written by an Australian historian.)

Australia was bound to Britain by ties of law, economics and sentiment. The head of state was the British monarch ... [and] the Commonwealth [of Australia] had no power to declare war or peace, [and] no diplomatic status in foreign countries and its external relations outside the Pacific region were conducted almost exclusively through representations to London. These arrangements were as natural to the founding fathers as the national anthem 'God Save the Queen' ...

[In terms of] the inability of Australians to protect their limited sovereignty ... [the strength of economic pressure is undeniable.] Britain bought half of Australia's exports and provided more than half its imports in the early twentieth century; three-quarters of the shipping clearing Australian ports was British ... the overwhelming bulk of loans was still raised [in the City of London] and of course Australian currency was tied to sterling. Economically, Australia was largely reliant on Britain [though] it was less reliant than it had been even a generation earlier and as the economic recovery gained pace, the degree of dependence declined further ... [as] Australia was finding new markets for its produce and new suppliers for its needs. Other European countries were taking more wool and wheat, while Germany and the USA were providing machinery ... More worrying still in the long term for Britain was the ability of Australian manufacturing industries to finance from local sources much of the expansion during the period.

For all that the ties with the home country were ubiquitous¹ ... 'Society people are very British', remarked Sir Ronald Munro-Ferguson shortly after he arrived as the new Governor-General in 1914 ... Similarly, a visitor to the Melbourne Law Courts found them 'astoundingly like England'. ... [and] the Australian press took its foreign reports from British news services.

¹ **ubiquitous** – found everywhere

Document Set 2: Australia 1920s–1950s

Source 1

(Dr Earle Page speaking to the House of Representatives on 27 March 1924, on Imperial Trading Preferences.)

“What is the most important problem facing Australia today? It is that of securing markets, and when an opportunity is afforded to find an outlet for our surplus produce in the Mother Country, [the Opposition] say that the matter is of such trifling importance...

“The preferences asked for at the present time would but serve to increase the demands for Australian products. Nothing is being done that would interfere with the development of Australian manufactures and industries. In fact, all that is being done is that which would be likely to increase Australia's manufactures and industries. It stands to reason if we increase the number of prosperous settlers in Australia the effect spreads in a beneficial circle, providing work in the factories, increasing wages in the cities and affording increased employment all round. The best basis for the prosperity of the country is an expanding wealth of agriculture.”

Source 2

*(Cartoon entitled **The Ins and Outs of Nationalism** by Dick Ovenden, which was published in Labor Call on 15 January 1915. In 1925 an agreement was made between the British and Australian governments to increase the number of assisted migrants.)*



The Ins and Outs of Nationalism

See next page

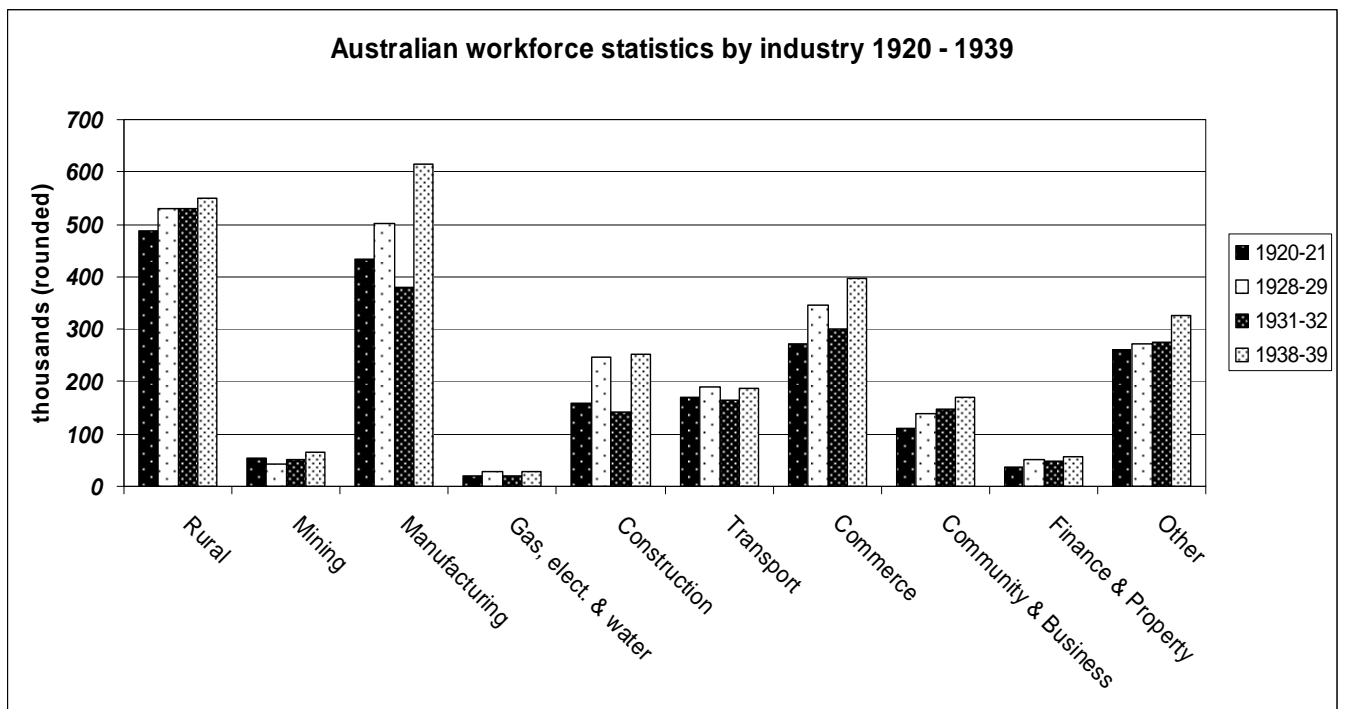
Source 3

(Photograph taken in 1931 of an anti-eviction protest march in Sydney.)



Source 4

(Graph showing Australian workforce statistics by industry, 1920–1939. The figures are in thousands and rounded.)



See next page

Source 5

(Extract from an historian's analysis of economic recovery in Australia during the late 1930s.)

Economic recovery began with improved export sales and a recovery of manufacturing, both assisted by the cheaper currency ... The public foreign debt stabilised, private investment flowed back into the industrial sector, and there was substantial construction around regional iron and steel centres ... Employment lagged behind increased production, however, and even in the late 1930s, 10% of the workforce remained without jobs. Wage increases were also resisted, and it was only as the unions rebuilt their membership that they could press their demands for improvement. In this process the unemployed activists turned into industrial militants ... They were class warriors, linking the bread and butter issues of working life to the iniquity¹ of capitalist exploitation ... By the end of the decade communists held leading positions among the miners, waterside workers, railway workers, ironworkers and a host of smaller occupational groupings. The radicalisation of the unions was a lasting effect of the Depression. Recovery from the physical and social effects of the Depression was more protracted. The birth rate dropped to a new low, immigration did not resume until the end of the decade, and the population growth slowed.

¹ **iniquity** – gross immorality or injustice

Source 6

(Cartoon drawn by Edward Scorfield and published in the Bulletin during 1947. The cartoon is entitled 'Fuel For the Socialised Ship of State'. Writing on the material that Chifley is about to shovel in to the furnace includes banking, industrial law, free enterprise, referendum, airlines, election pledges, people's rights, insurance companies and democracy.)



See next page

Source 7

(Extract from 100 Years: the Australian Story, by Paul Kelly on plans for postwar reconstruction in Australia.)

During World War II Prime Minister Curtin and Treasurer Chifley had two objectives: to win the war and to plan the peace. The best thing about the Labor Party in the 1940s was Curtin and Chifley, two unusual talents and achievers ... Curtin was Labor's most respected leader and Chifley its most loved. Both men saw they had to avoid the mistakes of Hughes and Scullin: that meant keeping a united Labor Party and averting any repeat of the splits of the Great War and the Depression.

Curtin had a vision of postwar Australia, a 'second Britannia in the Antipodes'. Its ingredients were a new program of immigration from Britain, upholding White Australia, a strong industrial base, a more interventionist Federal Government and a program of postwar reconstruction. In late 1942 Chifley was given the Reconstruction ministry and appointed Dr H.C 'Nugget' Coombs as director general. ... The war had broken the Depression legacy. The nation was mobilized, industrial and munitions production was expanded, women entered the workforce in numbers ...

If there was one uniting philosophy behind the Post-War Reconstruction Ministry it was, in Coombs's words, 'the idea of full employment'. In 1944 Curtin announced the plan for a White Paper on Full Employment to outline the government's commitment to this goal.

The White Paper had to serve a variety of roles: to establish the priority of full employment, to ensure that the depression would not recur and to sketch the new framework to make these pledges credible ... The document began with a declaration: 'Full employment is a fundamental aim of the Commonwealth Government. Australian governments will have to accept new responsibilities and to exercise new functions. Unemployment is an evil from the effects of which no class in the community and no State in the Commonwealth can hope to escape unless concerted action is taken.'

Document Set 3: Australia 1950s–1990s

Source 1

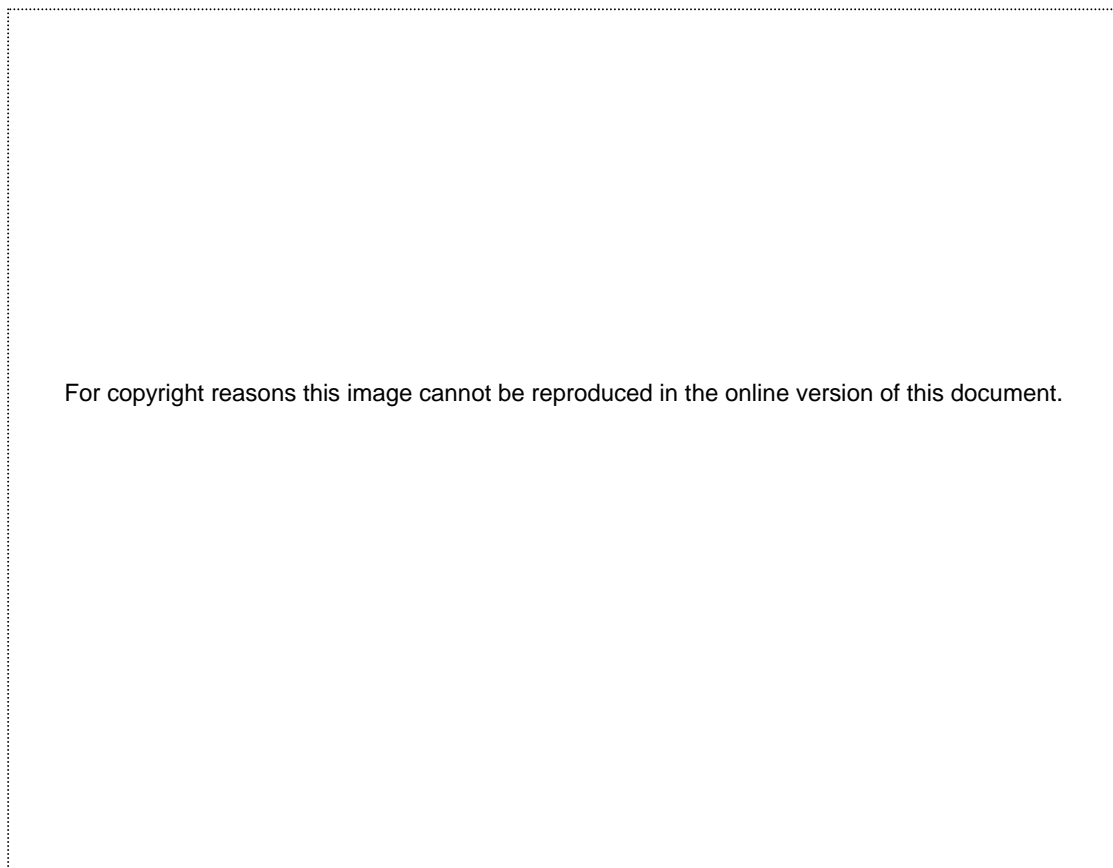
(Extract from the budget speech of the Commonwealth Treasurer, Arthur Fadden, in October 1950.)

“Australia at the present time is in the midst of a vast and many-sided movement of expansion, to which two strong forces are contributing. Of these forces, one is the need for security ... and the recognition that for security we must have far greater economic strength; the other is the faith, held almost universally in Australia and by many people abroad, that this country is capable of immense progress in the coming years.

“Private firms ... are increasing their present capacity or launching new projects to meet the wider demands of the future they foresee. Immigrants are pouring in from overseas ... Immense amounts of capital are coming here, a great part of it for permanent investment.”

Source 2

(Cartoon entitled ‘The Price of Progress’, published in the Brisbane Courier Mail in 1954.)



Source 3

(Hamersley Iron stockpiling iron ore for export to Asian markets, Dampier, Western Australia, 1971.)

**Source 4**

(Graph depicting the unemployment rates in Australia, 1950–1990.)

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See next page

Source 5

(An Australian historian's overview of Australian economic development from the 1950s to the 1970s.)

The rate of consumption of goods and services per person grew from 100 units in 1948–9 to 136 twenty years later. That is, consumption increased by over one-third for every man, woman and child in Australia.

Unemployment was agreeably low. At the start of the era, in 1950, it was 0.9 per cent and by the end of it, in 1970, it was just 1.7 per cent. Only once during that time did it rise above 3 per cent.

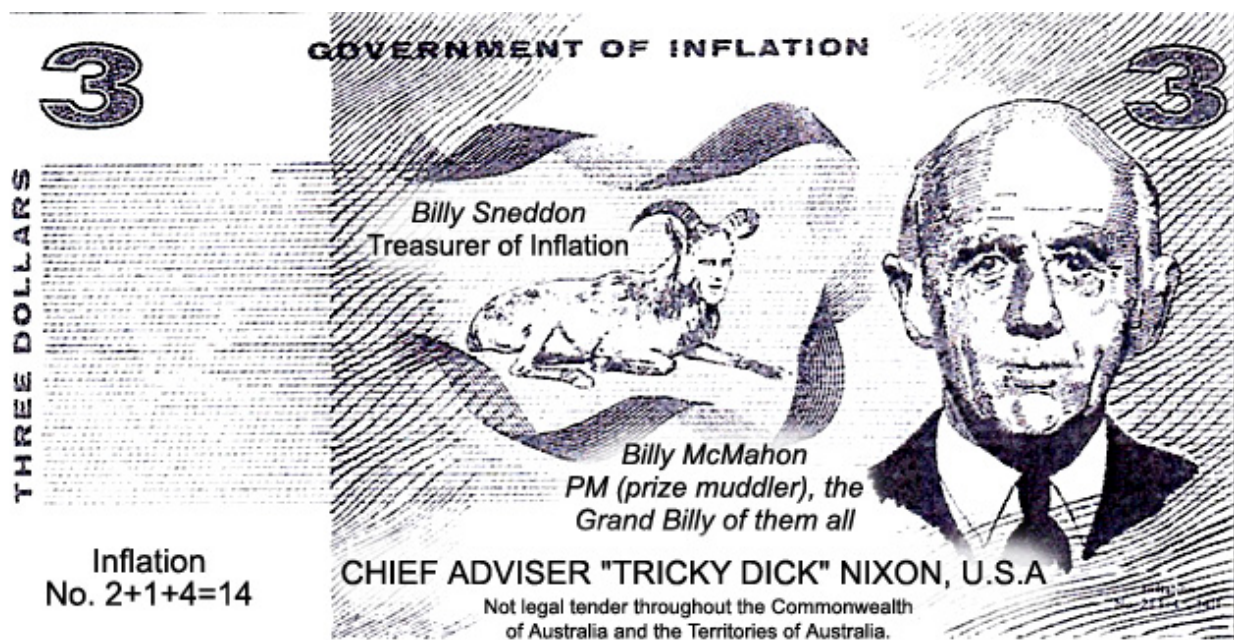
A few observers asked if this was due to good government, the hard work and skills of the average Australian worker, or just good luck. Donald Horne described Australia as the 'lucky country' and the name stuck.

At the time, not many bothered looking for an answer but more critics have joined in since then. Some consider Australia missed out on a great opportunity to make the affluence last longer than it did - perhaps through long-range economic planning or by major development schemes.

Although most Australians were comfortable and contented throughout the 1950s and 1960s, they were not prosperous times for all. Aborigines did not get a share in the new wealth and neither did some white Australians. For example, 4 per cent of all Melbournians lived below the poverty line.

Source 6

(An unusual example of propaganda supporting the ALP in the 1972 federal election.)



See next page

Source 7

(Overview of economic trends in Australia from one historian's point of view, written in 2001.)

Throughout the twentieth century, most Australians regarded Australia as an egalitarian society ... [one wonders how true it is of today] ... economists have shown that since the 1970's the gap between the rich and poor in Australia has grown. The top 10 per cent of money earners have greatly increased their share of the national wealth, while the bottom 20 per cent have lost much of their share ... these changes have much to do with the adoption of 'economic rationalist' policies and the arrival of the global capitalist economy.

In this global economy, national governments of many countries, including Australia, appear powerless to shape the economic future of their own people. Since the 1980s, successive Australian state and federal governments, both Labor and coalition, have embraced 'economic rationalism' restricting their activities and concerning themselves with creating avenues of economic growth and maximum profits. Market forces, they have argued, should ensure that some of the wealth enjoyed by the rich will 'trickle down' to the rest of society.

Many people believe that that economic rationalism is one of the causes of poverty, and that the 'trickle-down effect' has failed. In Australia, by 1993, the top 10 per cent of households controlled 40 per cent of the wealth, and the top 50 per cent controlled 95 per cent of the wealth. Many feared the emergence of an underclass of people who have no hope of participating in the nation's economic activity.

Under the influence of globalisation...and economic rationalism, the nature and organisation of work has changed so greatly that ... as in many countries, vast numbers of manufacturing jobs have disappeared. Permanent, full-time jobs ... have been replaced in many cases by casual, insecure jobs, bringing a growing gap between 'haves' and 'have nots'.

Document Set 4: Ideas that shaped the Russian Revolution

Source 1

(A 1921 poster by the revolutionary Russian cartoonist, Dmitri Moor, depicting a peasant and two stalks of barley. The caption reads 'Help'. Moor was famous for many propaganda posters.)



Source 2

(Speech by Maxim Gorky entitled 'The Day of the Great Lie', given at an Assembly of the Third International in Moscow and published in January 1919.)

Yesterday was the day of the great lie. The final day of its power. From time immemorial, people, like spiders, have carefully spun a strong web of discreet bourgeois life which more and more sustains itself by lies and greediness. The most cynical falsehood is considered to be an unshakeable truth: the individual must live off the flesh and blood of the person next to him. Only yesterday this kind of thinking led to the insanity of the all-European war ... Today the great work of liberation has begun. People are being freed from the great iron web of the past. The work is like childbirth: terrifying and difficult.

It just so happens that the Russian people are leading all other nations in this decisive battle ... With passion and courage they are going either to victory or death... And if upright Russian revolutionaries, individuals who are surrounded by enemies and tormented by hunger, if they are vanquished, then the consequences for this terrible catastrophe will rest heavily on the shoulders of all the revolutionaries of Europe, on the entire working class ...

The Russian worker believes that his brothers in Europe will not allow Russia to be strangled, that it will not permit the resurrection of everything that is breathing its last, that is disappearing and will disappear.

See next page

Document Set 5: Ideas that shaped the Chinese Revolution

Source 1

(Cartoon by David Low published in the British newspaper, the Evening Standard on 26 April 1949. The words on the man's shirt read: 'Corrupt Old Regime'.)

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Source 2

(Excerpt from a biography of Zhou Enlai by Han Suyin on the accession of the Communists to power in China in 1949.)

In 1949, China was a ruined land, a shambles created by continuous wars for over a century, by exploitation on a scale unknown anywhere else in the world ... Now for the first time in more than a century, there was peace. The Communists had achieved their goal, with the overwhelming enthusiasm of the population, but the fruits of victory they reaped were, said Mao, 'an old blanket full of holes'. Their only asset was the fervent patriotism of the Chinese people, buoyed by immense hope that now China would be unified and reconstruction of the beloved land could begin. My generation remembers how, by the million, the people gave the best of themselves to that exalting vision 'The Chinese people have stood up. No one will insult us again' ...

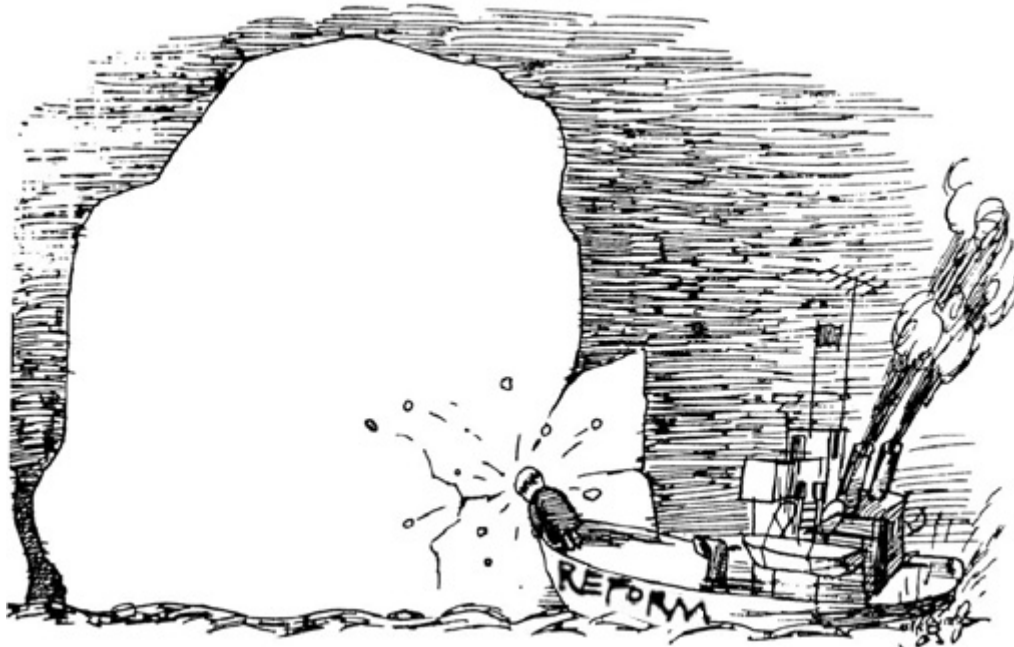
By November (1949), Zhou had established his cabinet, the core of the government, later known as the State Council. Forty-seven per cent of his ministers and vice-ministers were non-Communists, as were half the officials in the various commissions set up. 'All those who can contribute to the rebuilding of China must do so. We welcome them irrespective of politics', said Zhou ... 'These were fabulous days. Life held glorious meaning for us. We truly believed', said a non-Communist scholar, talking nostalgically to me in 1988.

See next page

Document Set 6: Ideas that Shaped the Cold War in Europe

Source 1

(Cartoon by Luis Murschetz on Gorbachev's reforms in the Soviet Union. It first appeared in 1988. Gorbachev is represented at the bow of the ship.)



Ice Breaker Gorbachev

Source 2

(Anatoly Chernyaev was an assistant to President Gorbachev. Excerpt from his diary [5 October 1989] discussing Gorbachev's upcoming visit to the German Democratic Republic to celebrate its 40th anniversary, and Chernyaev's comments on the collapse of the socialist system.)

M.S. [Gorbachev] is flying to the GDR [to celebrate] its 40th anniversary. He is very reluctant. Called me two times. Today [he called and said]: I polished the text (of the speech) to the last letter—you know, they will scrutinize it under a microscope ... I will not say a word in support of [East German leader Erich] Honecker. But I will support the Republic and the Revolution.

Today in Dresden—20,000 demonstrate. Yesterday there was a demonstration in Leipzig. Information is coming in that in the presence of Gorbachev people will storm the Wall. Awful scenes when a special train [with East German refugees] passed from Prague to the GDR via Dresden. West German television shot everything and now is broadcasting this all over the GDR. All Western media are full of articles about German reunification.

Tomorrow the congress of the H[ungarian] S[ocialist] W[orkers'] P[arty] will announce the self-liquidation of 'socialist PRH' [People's Republic of Hungary] ... Not to mention Poland: the P[olish] U[nited] W[orkers'] P[arty] not only lost power—it will hardly survive till its next congress in February.

In a word, the total dismantling of socialism as a world phenomenon has been proceeding ... Perhaps it is inevitable and good ... For this is a reunification of mankind on the basis of common sense. And a common fellow from Stavropol [Gorbachev] set this process in motion.

See next page

Document Set 7: Ideas that Shaped Conflict in the Middle East

Source 1

(Cartoon by David Low published in the Evening Standard on 3 January 1947.)

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Source 2

(Extract from speech by Egyptian President, Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser, to the Egyptian National Assembly on 29 May 1967, on the eve of the Arab – Israeli War.)

The circumstances through which we are now passing are in fact difficult ones because we are not only confronting Israel but also those who created Israel and are behind Israel. We are confronting Israel and the West as well—the West, which created Israel and which despised us Arabs and which ignored us before and since 1948. They had no regard whatsoever for our feelings, our hopes in life, and our rights. The West completely ignored us, and the Arab nation was unable to check the West's course ...

Israel used to boast a great deal, and the Western powers, headed by the United States and Britain, used to ignore and even despise us and consider us of no value. But now that the time has come ... we must be ready for triumph and not for a recurrence of the 1948 comedies. We shall triumph, God willing.

Preparations have already been made. We are now ready to confront them ... We are now ready to deal with the entire Palestine question ... The issue now at hand ... is the aggression which took place in Palestine in 1948 with the collaboration of Britain and the United States. It is the expulsion of the Arabs from Palestine, the usurpation¹ of their rights and the plunder of their property ... The United States and Britain are partial to Israel ... We must treat enemies as enemies and friends as friends.

¹ **usurpation** – wrongful seizure of

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Document Set One

- Source 1** Adapted from: Extract of speech by Prime Minister Alfred Deakin, 1906. In Crowley, F.K. (1973). *Modern Australia in documents*. [Volume 1, 1901–1939]. Melbourne: Wren Publishing, p. 88–89.
- Source 2** Cartoon adapted from: Artist unknown, Driven off the land by the Lyne-Labour Tariff. In Coleman, P. & Tanner, L. (1973). *Cartoons of Australian history*. Melbourne: Thomas Nelson, p. 97.
- Source 3** Australianscreen. (1920). *The Australian steel works c.1920*. [screen shot]. National Film & Sound archive. Retrieved February, 2010, from: <http://aso.gov.au/titles/sponsored-films/australian-steel-works/clip1/>
- Source 4** Data source from: Butlin, N.,G. (1962). *Australian domestic product, investment and foreign borrowing 1861–1938/39*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 424.
- Source 5** Adapted from: Crawford, R., M. (1970). *Australia*. (3rd ed.). London: Hutchinson University Library, pp.122–123.
- Source 6** Low, D. Resuming business [Cartoon]. 1914. In Coleman, P. & Tanner, L. (1973). *Cartoons of Australian history*. Melbourne: Thomas Nelson, p. 99.
- Source 7** Text adapted from: Macintyre, S. (1986). *The Oxford history of Australia: Volume 4 1901–1942 The succeeding age*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press, pp.125–127.

Document Set Two

- Source 1** Australian Government, (1924). *Commonwealth of Australia Parliamentary Debates, Vol. 126, 26 March 1924 to 18 June 1924, Second session of the ninth Parliament, second period*. Victoria: H J Green, pp. 62, 65.
- Source 2** Ovenden, D. The Ins and Outs of Nationalism [Cartoon]. In Senyard, J. (1991). *Labor in cartoons: cartoons of the Australian Labor Party in Victoria 1891–1990*. Melbourne: Hyland House Publishing, p. 56.
- Source 3** Cannon, M. (1996). *The human face of the great depression* [Photograph Anti-eviction protest marches, Sydney 1931]. Mornington, Vic: Michael Cannon, p. 41.
- Source 4** Data source from: Keating, M. (1973). *The Australian workforce 1910–11 to 1960–61*. Canberra: ANU Press, pp. 356–357.
- Source 5** Text adapted from: Macintyre, S. (2004). *A concise history of Australia* (2nd ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.182–183.
- Source 6** Scorfield, E. (1947). Labour Prime Minister Chifley at work [Cartoon]. In Cohen, B. (1998). *Ideals and Reality: a documented history of Australia since 1900*. South Melbourne: Addison Wesley Longman.
- Source 7** Text adapted from: Kelly, P. (2001). *100 Years: the Australian story*. Crows Nest: Allen and Unwin, pp.124–125.

Document Set Three

- Source 1** Text adapted from: Australian Government. (1950). *Commonwealth of Australia parliamentary Debates, House of Representatives*. vol 209, 12 October 1950, pp. 763–5.
- Source 2** Gall, I. (1954). *The price of progress* [Cartoon]. *The Courier Mail*. In Cohen, B. (1998). *Ideals and Reality: A documented history of Australia since 1900*. South Melbourne: Addison Wesley Longman, p. 66.
- Source 3** National Library of Australia. (1971). *Hammersley iron stockpiling iron ore for export, Dampier, Western Australia, 1975* [Photograph]. Retrieved March, 2010, from: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.pic-an24811886>.
- Source 4** Graph from: Cohen, B. (1998). *Ideals and reality: a documented history of Australia since 1900 Book 2*. Melbourne: Longman, p. 54.
- Source 5** Cohen, B. (1998). *Ideals and reality: a documented history of Australia since 1900 Book 2*. Melbourne: Longman, pp. 52–53.
- Source 6** ALP, 1972, The Bill is a phony as the McMahon Government [Image of 3 dollar note]. In Darlington, R. (2001). *Unity & diversity: Australia since 1850*. Melbourne: Heinemann, p. 213.
- Source 7** Darlington, R. (2001). *Unity & diversity: Australia since 1850*. Melbourne: Heinemann, p. 213.

Document Set Four

- Source 1** Pipes, R. (1994). *Russia under the Bolshevik regime*. New York: Alfred A Knopf, pp. 144–145.
- Source 2** Bunin, I. (1936). *Cursed days, a diary of a revolution*. London: Phoenix Press, pp. 144–145.

Document Set Five

- Source 1** Low, D. (1949). *Asked for trouble and I got it*. [Cartoon]. Retrieved February, 2010, from: <http://opal.kent.au.uk/cartoonx-cgi/ccc.py?mode=single&start=111&search=david%2...>
- Source 2** Han, S. (1994). *Eldest son, Zhou Enlai and the making of modern China*. London: Jonathan Cape, pp. 213–214.

Document Set Six

- Source 1** Murschetz, L. (1988). *Icebreaker Gorbachev*. [Cartoon]. Retrieved February, 2010, from: www.ena.lu/cartoon_murschetz_gorbachevs_reforms_soviet_union-2-17330

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www.wilsoncenter.org/index.cfm?topic_id=1409&fuseaction=va2.document&identifier=5034D56E-96B6-175C-9652416FD85F0C0D&sort=Collection&item=End%20of%20the%20Cold%20War

Document Set Seven

Source 1 Low, D. (1947). *The dark mirror*. [Cartoon]. Retrieved February, 2010, from:
<http://opal.ukc.ac.uk/cartoonsx-cgi/ccc.py?mode=single&start=96&search=middle%20east>

Source 2 Nasser, G. (1967). *Speech to Egyptian National Assembly 29 May 1967*. Retrieved February, 2010 from: <http://israelipalestinian.procon.org/viewbackgroundresource.asp?resourceID=1034>

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