



Western Australian Certificate of Education Examination, 2013

MODERN HISTORY Stage 3

DOCUMENT BOOKLET

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Document Set 1: Australia 1880-1929

Source 1

(An extract from a speech by Sir Henry Parkes at the Australasian Federal Conference debate in February 1890.)

... I believe [the Chinese] on the whole to be a law-abiding, industrious, frugal, and peaceable people. I have never opposed the Chinese on any ground derogatory to their character as members of a civilized community, but I have opposed their entrance into Australia, because I believe it is my highest duty and ... I believe it to be the duty of every one to endeavour to preserve these Australian lands which were acquired according to the rights of nations, for a people modeled on the type of the British nation; and it is on that ground, and on that ground ... alone, that I have opposed the introduction of the Chinese.

I wish to refer to the question now in a much higher light. I cannot lose sight of the fact that these people number upwards of 400,000,000, that they are a hardy race, that they are an adventurous race, and ... they are an imitative race. What we can do they will try to do, and they will, with greater or less success, accomplish it ... [P]opulation alone ... gives the foundation of power in every structure of government under the sun. And I say ... it may be necessary to the security, to the integrity, and to the honour of Australia, that there should be a central power to do what is wise and fitting ... in regard to these multitudes of Asiatics.

Source 2 (A painting by Frederick McCubbin, entitled 'The Pioneer', completed in 1904.)



(An Australian historian commenting in 2001 on Australian attitudes at the time of Federation.)

The federation of the Australian colonies was accomplished by men seized by a different kind of nationalism [to the outback battler]. They were urban professionals for whom Australian nationhood was entirely consistent with imperial loyalty ...

Among the first acts of the first parliament was a law to exclude non-European settlers. Strictly the Immigration Restriction Act did not create the White Australia Policy, for that had been secured already by the colonies ... White Australia was not the object of federation but rather an essential condition ... the Commonwealth was meant to embody. Hence Alfred Deakin's insistence that

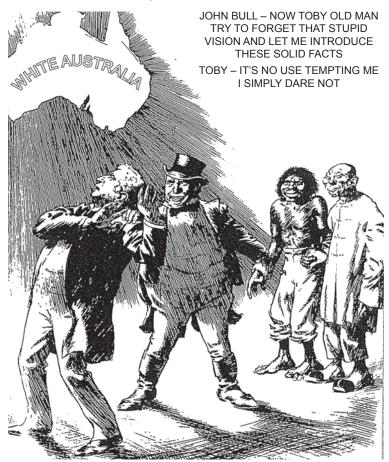
The unity of Australia is nothing, if that does not imply a united race.

All of the Anglophone¹ settler societies of the Pacific basin moved during the early twentieth century to restrict non-European immigration. Australia was distinctive, however, in its declaration of racial purity as a national ideal.

... White Australia was a denial of the country's first people. They were absent from the ceremonies that marked the advent of the Commonwealth. They were eliminated from the art and literature that served the new national sentiment ...

¹Anglophone – believes in keeping strong ties with Britain.

Source 4 (A Bulletin cartoon from 1902 commenting on Edmund Barton's vision of a 'White Australia').



See next page

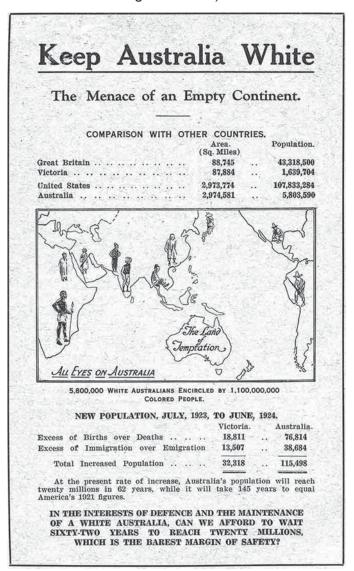
(An extract from the Official History of Australia in the war of 1914–1918 – Volume 1 by Charles Bean on the character of soldiers in the Australian Imperial Force.)

The training of the men was never the main difficulty in the Australian Imperial Force. The bush still sets the standard of personal efficiency even in the Australian cities. The bushman is the hero of the Australian boy; the arts of the bush life are his ambition; his most cherished holidays are those spent with country relatives or in camping out. He learns something of half the arts of a soldier by the time he is ten years old – to sleep comfortably in any shelter ... to catch a horse, to find his way across country by day or night ...

... Fires, floods, and even the concentration of sheep for shearing, or the long journeys droving bullocks ... offer many conditions similar to those of a military expedition. The Australian was half a soldier before the war; indeed throughout the war, in the hottest fights on Gallipoli and in the bitterest trials of France or Palestine, the Australian soldier differed very little from the Australian who at home rides the station boundaries every week-day ...

If an Australian soldier wanted to do a thing, he possessed the capacity for acting on his own initiative. He seldom hesitated on the brink of action ...

Source 6 (A poster created by the New Settlers League in 1924.)



(Comments by Australian historian Marilyn Lake in 1988 on the changing nature of mateship in the years after World War One.)

Of the 330 770 Australian men who served overseas in the first world war, almost one in five was killed. Those who returned to Australia numbered 267 607, including over 150 000 sick or wounded. From the middle of 1915, Australia was invaded by men whose social value had come to depend on their capacity for aggression and their loyalty to mates. How were these habits expressed and transformed in civilian society? It has been observed by historians that the digger became a 'divisive' figure in post-war Australia, an elitist whose claims to preference bred resentments and recriminations. It has been observed too that diggers were instrumental in the appropriation of Australian nationalism by conservatives. These processes are better understood if seen in relationship to ... the redefinition of the political meaning of mateship.

By the late nineteenth century, mateship was being reformulated as a socialist ethic ... The profession of mateship became both an assertion of the equality of (white) men and a demand for loyalty between (white) men, both principles that challenged capitalist inequalities and competition ...

Most returned soldiers came home with an intensified belief in the value of mateship and a desire to translate cooperative ideals into practice. The success of the conservative forces was to turn mateship into a trans-class¹, indeed anti-class creed.

¹trans-class – across all classes

Document Set 2: Australia 1920-1959

Source 1

(Extracts from a speech by the Immigration Minister, Arthur Calwell, to the House of Representatives in Canberra in February 1949.)

A total of 15,000 persons were evacuated to Australia from nearby countries and were given sanctuary during the war. All of them knew that they were here for the duration of the war, and for that period only. All of them knew that they must go back to their own countries when the war was over. We were glad in the interests of humanity, to give them refuge in Australia while the war lasted, but there never was any doubt that they were to return to their own countries afterwards. Of the 15,000 persons who sought sanctuary in Australia, 5,473 were non-Europeans. Of these, practically all have returned voluntarily to their own countries.

[In the postwar world] if we allow [such] people to stay we shall open the flood gates to any Asiatics who want to come here ... All of us, and myself in particular as Minister, have a responsibility, not merely to the present generation but also to posterity. We have to hand down this country to our children and our children's children in the same manner as we received it from our fathers and as they received it from their fathers ... I respect Asiatic people ... but they have a different culture and history ... from our own.

Source 2 (Photograph showing General Sir John Monash, the Australian military commander in World War One, leading an Anzac Parade on 25 April 1931.)



(Adapted from contemporary educational documents outlining aspects of the development of Australia Day in the twentieth century as a national public holiday.)
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Source 4 (Cartoon published in The Bulletin, July 1939.)
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Person 1: They tell me things are not too good in Europe, Dave. Person 2: What's wrong? Drought?

—a cartoon by 'Unk' White in The Bulletin, July 1939

(Extract from a report in The Age [Melbourne] of a speech delivered in the Australian House of Representatives by the non-Labor Opposition Leader, John Latham, in April 1930, shortly before King George V agreed to the proposal by the Scullin Labor Government for the appointment of Sir Isaac Isaacs as Australia's first Australian-born Governor General.)

The proposal that the Federal Government should insist upon the appointment of an Australian citizen as the next Governor-General ... raises a question of profound importance to the future of the Commonwealth ... The members of the present Federal Government, it is only fair to say, have never possessed any real enthusiasm for the British Empire or for Great Britain ... What can the people of Australia gain by the appointment of an Australian as Governor-General ... No substantial body of considered opinion in Australia really desires the change to be made. It has never been a real issue before the people ... [and] a great deal may be lost to Australia, by making such an appointment, especially at the present time. It will sever an important link with what the great majority of Australians are still proud to call the mother country ... [and] remove from Australia the most visible sign of our membership of the British Empire.

Source 6

(The cover page of the magazine of the Big Brother movement for the sponsorship of child migrants issued in January 1929.)



(Extract from a chapter headed 'The common bond? Australian citizenship' in a text published in 2005 analysing themes and debates in Australian history'.)

It was not until after World War II that the legal category of 'Australian citizen' came into being ... [and] without fanfare. Indeed, on 26 January 1949 the majority of the Australian population was officially designated Australian citizens (and British subjects simultaneously until 1984) without knowledge of the fact ... The civil and political rights associated with being a 'natural born British subject' were simply rolled over when citizen status was officially bestowed with the passing of the *Nationality and Citizenship Act* in 1948 ...

Coinciding as it did with the drive to lift Australia's population after 1945, the Nationality and Citizenship Act was primarily concerned with the naturalisation of non-British migrants, mostly refugees and others from war-torn Europe (90% of the population were of Anglo-Celtic descent in 1947 when the first government-assisted 'alien' immigrant arrived in Australia). The Act differentiated between British subjects ... and all others who were defined as 'aliens'. It gave preferential treatment to the former and demanded assimilation of the latter.

As a doctrine of national unity, assimilation rested on assumption of race and nationality which promoted sameness and homogeneity. Migrants 'New Australians' were ... expected to leave their old cultures and allegiances behind and absorb 'the Australian way of life ... and until April 2002, Australian citizens were prevented from holding dual nationality.'

Document Set 3: Australia 1950-1999

Source 1

(Extract from her maiden speech in the House of Representatives by The Honourable Pauline Hanson Tuesday 10 September 1996, 5.15 pm.)

... Immigration and multiculturalism are issues that this government is trying to address, but for far too long ordinary Australians have been kept out of any debate by the major parties. I and most Australians want our immigration policy radically reviewed and that of multiculturalism abolished. I believe we are in danger of being swamped by Asians. Between 1984 and 1995, 40% of all migrants coming into this country were of Asian origin. They have their own culture and religion, form ghettos and do not assimilate. Of course, I will be called racist but, if I can invite whom I want into my home, then I should have the right to have a say in who comes into my country. A truly multicultural country can never be strong or united. The world is full of failed and tragic examples, ranging from Ireland to Bosnia to Africa and, closer to home, Papua New Guinea. America and Great Britain are currently paying the price ...

Abolishing the policy of multiculturalism will save billions of dollars and allow those from ethnic backgrounds to join mainstream Australia, paving the way to a strong, united country.

Source 2

(Photograph of two of several small wooden fishing vessels in Darwin harbour on 2 November, 1977. These vessels brought 259 Vietnamese refugees to Australia who were taken in on humanitarian grounds.)



(Extract from a memorandum about immigration to the Secretary, Department of External Affairs, 7 July 1954.)

At the meeting of Section Heads on 6th July, a short discussion arose ... on Australian immigration policy. A suggestion was made that a departmental committee should bring together our thinking on this question. Several people with experience in South Asia spoke of the difficulties caused by our present policy and the need to make some gesture which would at least have the appearance of removing racial discrimination from our policy. There was some talk of the merit of a quota system for Asian immigrants ...

I suggested that it would be helpful if Political Intelligence were to produce a draft setting out the present position and the attitude taken by our overseas representatives if faced with criticism. In addition I suggested that Central section do a note on possible alterations in administration which might counter propaganda against Australian immigration policy while safeguarding the fundamentals of that policy ... The Minister and Department of Immigration will, of course, have strong views.

Source 4 (A cartoon in a children's history book published in 2010 commenting on Aboriginal rights in the 1950s.)



(Extract from an Australian history educational textbook published in 1994.)

The image of the Australian which is still too often presented abroad is that of a sun-tanned six-footer who spends most of his time in the saddle ...

Australians who are honest with themselves must recognise that they are fast becoming a nation of spectators rather than active participants, in all forms of entertainment including sport. Too many of them watch on television or hear radio commentaries on the exploits of others, whether in tennis or cricket or swimming. As for the 'sport of kings', many do not go to the race-courses, for most, the ... totalisator agency¹ provides sufficient satisfaction for the Australian's highly-publicised sporting instincts.

¹ totalisator agency – a regulated betting facility.

Source 6 (Large poster, probably made for the Federal Government's Office of Multicultural Affairs, which operated 1987–1995. Designed by Micheal Sarah, Randwick TAFE College, Sydney.)	
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(Extract from The Australian, 9 May 2002 entitled 'Hot terms keep debate on the boil', written by Andrew Jakubowicz.)

Multiculturalism refers to a policy developed in the '70s by Australian governments looking for a way of replacing assimilationist policies. It was based upon a belief that society would work better if people felt their cultural beliefs were respected and that they did not have to abandon their values to be considered good Australians. Multiculturalism was put into operation after 1978 with a number of key programs – in the media (SBS), in service delivery (access and equity), in employment (equal opportunity) and in wider social development.

In 1989 a bipartisan agreement was reached to support multiculturalism. It had four main elements – a commitment to Australia with English as the national language, the acceptance of cultural diversity ... productive diversity and social justice.

However, after 1996 the new Howard government backed away from multiculturalism, reflecting the Prime Minister's belief it was not a viable philosophy, and undermined the Australian values he espoused. After a number of years of wide debate, a new statement of Australian multiculturalism was adopted in 1999 with social justice removed, and which called for a lower level of government commitment.

Many conservative groups believe multiculturalism should be abandoned and all programs that support it should be closed. On the other hand, most people recognise the reality of Australia as a multicultural society and are proud of the diversity of cultures and the overwhelming success of different ethnic communities getting on together with little conflict and a great deal of mutual benefit.

Document Set 4: Ideas that shaped the Russian Revolution

Source 1

(An illustration published in the USA in May 1905 shows Nicholas II, Emperor of Russia, clutching against his chest a doll that is wearing a crown labelled 'Autocracy' as he races through the woods in a troika¹ pursued by a pack of angry, ravenous wolves, with a floating skeleton coming out from behind the tree.)



Nearing the end

Source 2

(An excerpt from a letter written by Lenin to the Central Committee, and the Petrograd and Moscow Committees of the Bolshevik Party, 12–14 September 1917)

The Bolsheviks, having obtained a majority in the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies of both capitals, can and *must* take power into their own hands ...

They can because the active majority of revolutionary elements in the two chief cities is large enough to carry the people with it, to overcome the opponent's resistance, to smash him and gain and retain power ...

It would be naive to wait for a 'formal' majority for the Bolsheviks. No revolution ever waits for that. Kerensky and Co. are not waiting either, and are preparing to surrender Petrograd. It is the wretched waverings of the Democratic Conference which are bound to exhaust the patience of the workers of Petrograd and Moscow! History will not forgive us if we do not assume power now.

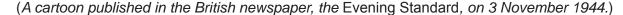
There is no apparatus? There is an apparatus – the Soviets and the democratic organisations. The international situation *right* now, on *the eve* of the conclusion of a separate peace between the British and the Germans, *is in our favour*. To propose peace to the nations right now means *to win*. By taking power in both Moscow and in Petrograd at once ... we shall win *absolutely and unquestionably*.

Note: The italics in the excerpt were used by Lenin.

¹ troika – a Russian vehicle drawn by three horses.

Document Set 5: Ideas that shaped the Chinese Revolution

Source 1



For copyright reasons this image cannot be reproduced in the online version of this document but may be viewed at www.cartoons.ac.uk/browse/cartoon_item/anytext=Low%20on%20Chi na%20and%20Japan?publication=Evening Standard &page=64

The text on the cartoon reads: With the utmost reverence for your excellencies' faultless judgement, may I humbly suggest that the -!! - xx!! -----!!! ----!! --- Jap is --!! over THERE. The newspaper in the right hand lower corner reads: Ops. (operations) against 'The Reds'.

Source 2

(An excerpt from the 'Selected works of Mao Zedong' on the Communist tactics against Japanese imperialism, written in December 1935.)

If our government has hitherto been based on the alliance of the workers, the peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie, from now on it must be so transformed as to include also the members of all other classes who are willing to take part in the national revolution ...

At the present time, the basic task of such a government should be to oppose the annexation of China by Japanese imperialism. It will have a broader representation so that it may include those who are interested only in the national revolution and not in the agrarian revolution, and even, if they so desire, those who may oppose Japanese imperialism and its running dogs, though they are not opposed to the European and U.S. imperialists because of their close ties with the latter.

Naturally we cannot expect every section of the broad national united front against Japan to be as firm as the Communist Party and the Red Army. In the course of their activities some bad elements may withdraw from the united front ... [and] good people will come in ... The national united front will live and grow as long as the Communist Party and the Red Army live and grow. Such is the leading role of the Communist Party and the Red Army in the national united front.

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

Source 1 (A cartoon published in the British Daily Mail, in April 1948.)



Pin-pricks Duel

Source 2 (An extract from Derek McDougall, Studies in International Relations, published in 1991.)

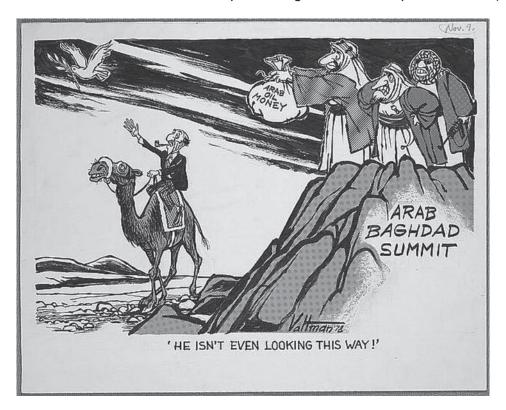
During this first period in the nuclear age it appears that the foreign policies of the US and the USSR were affected in different ways. For the US, the possession of the bomb might have contributed to a perception that she was in a position to exercise a dominating role in international politics. This was certainly the case in more specific situations such as Japan where the use of the bomb effectively enabled the US to exclude the USSR from exerting any significant influence. It might also have contributed to a feeling that the US should be able to have its way in terms of the various conflicts that were arising with the USSR. The fact that it was not always able to have its way indicates some of the limitations of atomic weapons as an instrument for achieving foreign policy goals ...

The main confrontation in the Soviet-American relations during this era of the American nuclear monopoly was the Berlin Blockade of June 1948 to May 1949. It was the airlift to West Berlin based on American air power that enabled the US to achieve her objectives in this conflict. B-29 bombers were moved to Britain and Germany as an indication that the US was prepared to use her atomic bombs if required – in fact, the bombers were not properly fitted at this stage to carry the weapons.

Document Set 7: Ideas that shaped conflict in the Middle-East

Source 1

(Cartoon by an American cartoonist published on 9 November 1978 shortly after the Arab-Baghdad summit that followed the Camp David Agreements of September 1978.)



Source 2

(Extract from a BBC News story entitled, 'On This Day 6 October', and headed '1981: Egypt's President assassinated')

President Sadat of Egypt has died after being shot by gunmen who opened fire as he watched an aerial display at a military parade. A number of other dignitaries including foreign diplomats were killed or seriously wounded ... President Sadat was airlifted by helicopter to a military hospital. He is believed to have died about two hours later.

The precision with which the attack was coordinated has prompted suspicions that the attackers benefited from high-level intelligence and support. A group calling itself the Independent Organisation for the Liberation of Egypt says it carried out the attack but the claim has not been verified.

Reaction to President Sadat's death has been mixed. President Reagan said ... 'America has lost a great friend ... and mankind has lost a champion of peace.'

But many have been celebrating the news. In Libya, Tripoli radio said every tyrant has an end, as thousands took to the streets of the capital in jubilation. Neither has the Palestinian Liberation Organisation condemned the assassination.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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