WACE
Western Australian Certificate of Education

Western Australian Certificate of Education
Examination, 2015

MODERN HISTORY
Stage 3

DOCUMENT BOOKLET

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Document Set 1: Australia 1880–1929

Source 1
(A cartoon published in The Bulletin *on 16 February, 1895 entitled 'The Federal Child'. The toddler has the word 'federation' on their belt. Henry Parkes is on the right, while George Reid is on the left.)*

Long Lost Mother: Gimme back my che-ild!
The Foster Mother: Your child! Why, I took 'im out of the gutter, where you left 'im to starve, an' now that I've washed 'im, an' fed 'im, an' made 'im respectable like, you want to claim 'im.

Source 2
(Reid's call to Federation. A circular sent to the Premiers of the Australian colonies in August 1894.)

Sir, I have the honour to invite the special attention of your Government to the position of the federal movement. In some of the colonies, if not all, political vicissitudes[1] and the stress of urgent local questions seem for a considerable period to have endangered the continuity of the movement. In this colony there are at the present moment, perhaps, a larger number of urgent reforms pressing for settlement than in any other. But my colleagues concur with me in the opinion that methods for promoting federal union can be adopted without prejudice to the performance of those pressing obligations … Indeed, it appears to us that even from the most strictly provincial point of view the establishment of a federal compact is of commanding interest to every Australian State, for it is clearly impossible that any one of them can have full scope for the development of its resources until the whole continent is freed from provincial trade restrictions …

[1]vicissitudes – unexpected changes

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Source 3
(Adapted from election results for the Commonwealth House of Representatives, 1913–1922.)

Month/Year	Seats in House of Representatives		Victorious leader
31 May 1913	ALP Liberal Party	37 38	Joseph Cook
5 September 1914	ALP Liberal Party Others	42 32 1	Andrew Fisher
15 May 1917	ALP Nationalist Party	22 53	William Hughes
13 December 1919	ALP Nationalist Party Miscellaneous rural parties Others	26 37 9 3	William Hughes
16 December 1922	ALP Nationalist Party Liberal Party Country Party Others	30 26 5 14 1	William Hughes

See next page

Source 4
(A cartoon entitled 'The High Jump', from the Daily Telegraph *of 24 November, 1908, featuring Andrew Fisher and William Lyne. The head of Fisher's horse displays a caricature of Alfred Deakin's face.)*

Lyne: 'Whoa Andy, whoa! Don't try to make him jump all that at once, or you'll come a cropper.'
Words on the horse jump read: 'Nationalisation of Industry, Land Tax, Compulsory …'

Source 5
(Extract from an election speech delivered by William Hughes on 30 October, 1919.)

[The Opposition] broke their solemn pledge; … they refused to do that which patriotism and honour alike demanded of them; [in so doing] they proved themselves utterly unworthy and degenerate; that they put party first and the lives and liberties of their fellow-citizens and the safety of their country last. …

Fellow citizens, I appeal to all of you who love your country to forget your ancient party differences and stand side by side in this crisis. I appeal to you to be guided by that spirit of Australian nationalism which animated our soldiers through the long hours of terrible trial and led them at length to victory. On the welfare of Australia depends the welfare of every citizen, producer and consumer, employer and employee. Let our watchword be Australia, and as our splendid boys have fought for it and saved it let us all live and work for it. In this spirit the war was won; in this spirit and in this spirit only can we win the peace … The [times] call for leadership, for sagacious[1] statesmanship. The issue before the electors is clear. I have already stated it in plain words. The Commonwealth stands at the crossroads. The electors are to choose who shall lead them, by what manner of men they will be governed. …

[1]sagacious – wise or astute

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Source 6
(A newspaper article from October 1916 which explores Hughes's personality and style of leadership.)

The Prime Minister's outward appearance may be inconspicuous … but then the sword is not judged by its scabbard. The long, thin nose is a striking feature of an intellectual face, lit up by eyes … that gleam … with the fire of the element that men call genius …

Referring to the subject of conscription most people say he should have introduced it immediately he came back from England; that he had the ball at his feet and would not kick it because he feared to divide the Labour Party. The foregoing was not only the opinion of the man in the street, it was that of nine-tenths of the public, the politicians, and the Press of Australia. The morning following his memorable declaration that the matter would be put to the vote of the people, such a storm … was let loose. … An avalanche of criticism and derision assailed him. 'What are you going to do now?' asked the reporters fearfully in Sydney. 'Why I'm going on, of course; what did you think I was going to do?' And with these words he ignored and dismissed all the things that had been said of him by [the] press and public as though they had never been uttered. That is another characteristic of [Hughes] – his contempt of convention, his profound audacity, his unflinching determination in any emergency or crisis. He leaves useless discussion to others, and just goes on with his mission.

Source 7
(An historian's description of the changing leadership in Federal politics during the early 1920s.)

At the … federal election in October 1922 the Country Party again secured the balance of power and Page forced home his advantage with ruthless precision. He demanded that Hughes resign as Prime Minister and that Stanley Melbourne Bruce … be made Prime Minister. As his business was an importing house Bruce was much more sympathetic to cutting tariffs and to the Country Party line generally. Page struck a deal with him — the government would not be the Bruce government but the Bruce-Page government. The Country Party would have five of the eleven cabinet posts. Page would become Deputy Prime Minister. There would be a joint Senate ticket with the Country Party … This was a hard bargain when one considers that the Country Party held only fourteen seats to the Nationalists thirty-one.

Both Bruce, at 39, and Page, 43, were men of a new generation without a political past. Hughes, then aged 61, and his political colleagues of the war years were seen as corrupt old men who had not fought in the war. The Bruce-Page generation were younger leaders untainted by … the earlier years. They had both served in the armed forces. They both had had successful professional careers outside politics. They were new men who represented themselves as coming into politics to do a practical job of work for the country.

Document Set 2: Australia 1920–1959

Source 1
(Cartoon published in The Bulletin *on 31 December, 1941 and entitled 'Shifting apron strings'. Curtin is holding onto America's apron strings.)*

No offence, mum, but I'm shifting to these here apron strings—at least
for twenty-four hours."

Source 2
(Extract from Prime Minister Curtin's New Year message, published in The Melbourne Herald*, on 27 December, 1941.)*

The Australian Government, therefore, regards the Pacific struggle as primarily one in which the United States and Australia must have the fullest say in the direction of the democracies' fighting plan.

Without any inhibitions of any kind, I make it quite clear that Australia looks to America, free of any pangs as to our traditional links or kinship with the United Kingdom.

We know the problems the United Kingdom faces. We know the constant threat of invasion. We know the dangers of dispersal of strength, but we know, too, that Australia can go and Britain can still hold on.

We are therefore determined that Australia shall not go and we shall exert all our energies towards the shaping of a plan, with the United States as its keystone, which will give our country some confidence of being able to hold out until the tide of battle swings against the enemy.

Summed up, Australian external policy will be shaped towards obtaining Russian aid, and working out with the United States, as a major factor, a plan of Pacific strategy, along with British, Chinese and Dutch forces.

Source 3
(*Adapted from party representation following Commonwealth House of Representative elections,
1929–1943.*)

Month/Year	Seats in House of Representatives		Victorious leader
October 1929	ALP Nationalist Party Country Parties Other	46 14 11 4	James Scullin
December 1931	ALP Nationalist Party Country Parties Other	14 40 16 1	Joseph Lyons
September 1934	ALP Nationalist Party Country Parties	18 33 14	Joseph Lyons
October 1937	ALP Nationalist Party Country Parties Other	29 28 16 1	Joseph Lyons
September 1940	ALP Nationalist Party Country Parties Other	32 23 13 2	Robert Menzies
August 1943	ALP Nationalist Party Country Parties Other	49 12 12 1	John Curtin

Source 4
(Cartoon published in The Bulletin *on 30 November, 1949 during the Federal election campaign. The words on Chifley's car include 'Pluck the fowls', 'Grab the banks' and a number plate 'Marx II' while on Menzies' car the label is 'free enterprise'. The woman is labelled 'Voter'.)*

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Source 5
(Extracts from: (a) a report in The Sydney Morning Herald *on 27 April, 1939 about Robert Menzies' first speech as Prime Minister of Australia; and (b) Menzies' broadcast to the Australian people on 3 September 1939.)*

(a) In the Pacific we have primary responsibilities and primary risks. Close as our consultation with Great Britain is, and must be, in relation to European affairs, it is still true to say that we must, to a large extent, be guided by her knowledge and affected by her decisions. The problems of the Pacific are different. What Great Britain calls the Far East is to us the near north … [and] I have become convinced that in the Pacific Australia must regard herself as a principal providing herself with her own information and maintaining her own diplomatic contact with foreign powers … [though] we must of course act as an integral part of the British Empire.

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Source 6
(Extracts from The Sydney Morning Herald *on 18 August, 1947.)*

The Federal Government's decision to nationalise Australia's private banks has shocked the business world.

Leading industrialists and others said yesterday that the proposed banking monopoly would endanger the nation's economy and threaten private enterprise and individual liberty … Having been thwarted by the High Court last week in an attempt to coerce local government bodies into transferring their banking business to the Commonwealth Bank, the Chifley Government now casts moderation to the winds by deciding to abolish independent banks entirely. Politically, financially and economically, this move to set up a close banking monopoly is one of the most revolutionary in the history of the country. Yet the Prime Minister with casual or contemptuous unconcern for the opinions of the public, contents himself with a curt announcement of Cabinet's astounding and unexpected decision, without condescending one word to explain or justify it …

At no stage has there been the faintest pretence of consulting the wishes of the people. When the country returned Labour to office in 1943, it did so in response to Mr Curtin's fervent appeal to ignore party issues and to select a government solely with a view to leadership in the war.

Source 7
(Extract from an article written by an Australian historian on the life of James Henry Scullin and published in the Australian Dictionary of Biography *in 1988.)*

Scullin's reputation as a prime minister has suffered at the hands of polemicists[1] who ignore some of the financial problems, problems not of his making. Much of the damage to the economy had been done before he entered office. Had the Bruce-Page government followed his earlier advice about curbing overseas borrowing and reducing the trade deficit Australia would have been better placed to face the world-wide economic catastrophe. Scullin had always known that a borrower nation could not afford to repudiate overseas obligations, but he also opposed cuts in social welfare and wages. By mid-1931 these twin aims had become incompatible because the Commonwealth Government's London creditors refused to extend further credit unless Scullin made the cuts needed to achieve a balanced budget … Scullin took deficit budgeting to the limit of what was politically possible. The Premiers' Plan was politically inevitable … and it was overwhelmingly endorsed by voters in the 1931 election.
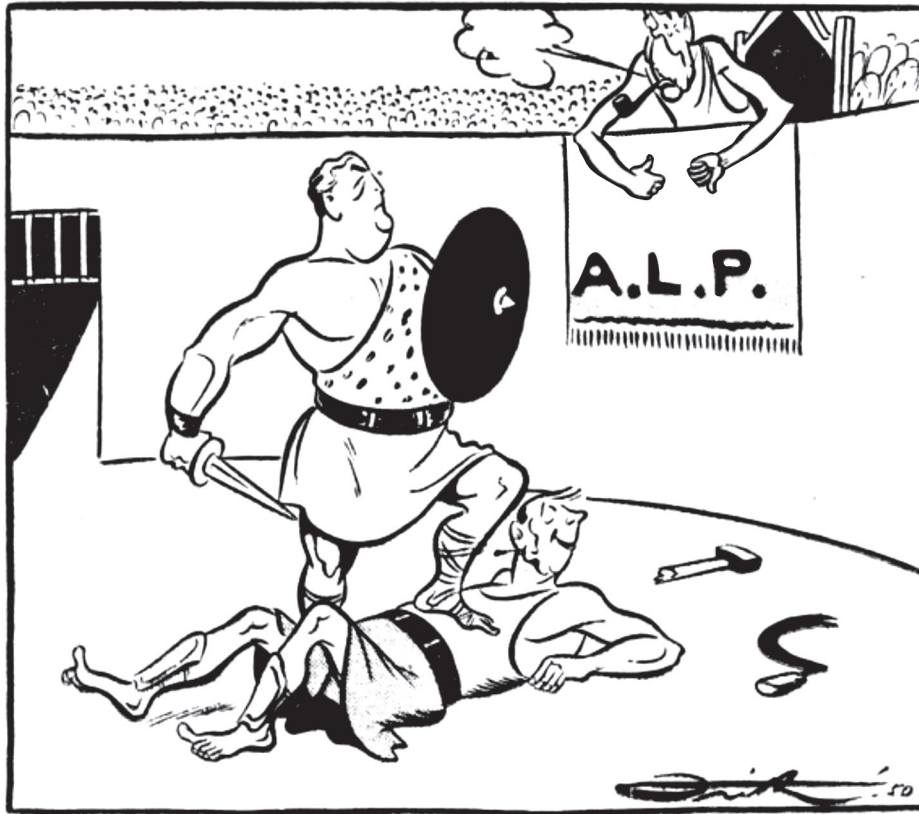
Seven who had been ministers, … lost their seats at this election. No one in caucus could challenge Scullin's leadership. As an Opposition leader he was weakened by small numbers and the battle with Lang.

[1]polemicist – person who makes a strong verbal or written attack against someone else's opinions or beliefs

Document Set 3: Australia 1950–1999

Source 1
(Cartoon published in The Herald *in May 1950, entitled 'Thumbs Down – and Up'. Chifley is sitting in the stands, with Menzies in the arena.)*

Source 2
(Extract from Menzies' 1951 election speech.)

Sixteen months ago I delivered a policy speech upon which you returned us to office. From all my Cabinet colleagues (with a special mention for my friend Mr. Fadden, the Leader of the Country Party), and the splendid body of private members who sit behind us, I have received most generous loyalty, and you have received constant and laborious service.

But we have come back to you, long before our due time simply because the Labour Party refused to recognise the umpire's decision; used its Senate majority to slow down the machinery of government; and did violence to our legislative programme.

We are not able to govern on these terms. That is why, at the very instant that the Opposition fell into a trap of its own devising and, to its horror, found that it had given us the necessary legal cause, we applied for and got a Double Dissolution.

This is not the occasion for a new Policy. What we ask for is a fair chance to carry out our existing policy; in the sound Australian phrase, a 'fair go.'

Source 3
(Adapted from election results for the Commonwealth House of Representatives, 1966–1977.)

Month/Year	Seats in House of Representatives		Victorious leader
26 November 1966	ALP Liberal Party Country Party Other	41 61 21 1	Harold Holt
25 October 1969	ALP Liberal Party Country Party	59 46 20	John Gorton
2 December 1972	ALP Liberal Party Country Party	67 38 20	Gough Whitlam
18 May 1974	ALP Liberal Party Country Party	66 40 21	Gough Whitlam
13 December 1975	ALP Liberal Party National Country Party Other	36 68 22 1	Malcolm Fraser
10 December 1977	ALP Liberal Party National Country Party Other	38 67 18 1	Malcolm Fraser

Source 4
(Cartoon published in The West Australian *on 10 April, 1974, entitled 'Advance Australia Fair'. Members of the Opposition and the DLP have knives in their hands, while members of the government have knives in their backs.)*

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Source 5
(Extract from an election speech by Malcolm Fraser, in 1977.)

Our nation is on the move. We are ready to stride into a new era of prosperity and development. We have broken through in the fight against inflation.

Under Labor, inflation reached nineteen per cent. We have halved that. Inflation is nine per cent and falling. We have reduced taxes, revived incentive and restored fair reward for achievement. Under Labor taxes doubled. We have ended the big tax ripoff. Now Mr Whitlam wants to start it again. Business is being revitalised, profits are up, interest rates have begun to fall, and they will keep on falling. We've been doing the job we were elected to do.

We have been able to reduce inflation, reform the tax system, revive business and start interest rates falling because we have brought Government spending under control; because we have halved Labor's four and a half billion dollar deficit.

We have given Australia reliable and responsible economic Government. We have restored integrity in Government … Our policies have given people the confidence and incentive to invest in Australia's future.

Source 6
(Extract from an opinion piece in The Canberra Times *on 23 March, 1988, by a political correspondent, Paul Malone.)*

One of the more ludicrous suggestions to follow Labor's weekend debacle is that the Treasurer, Paul Keating, should take the job of Prime Minister. The Labor Party should recognise right now that the solution to its problems is not a change of leaders. Paul Keating will never win an election for Labor. There are two obvious points to be made about this.

Firstly, a change to Paul Keating would not represent a change in the direction of the party as far as the general public is concerned. Rightly or wrongly, the current policy direction is seen to have been a Hawke-Keating direction. And if anything, Keating is seen to be the more heartless of the two … Paul Keating has not demonstrated a ready willingness to take notice of the political wind.

Secondly, for all Bob Hawke's faults he is a uniquely popular leader. What is the advantage of changing from a leader who still retains charismatic qualities to one who has all the attraction of an undertaker?

Paul Keating is intelligent. He is generally a good performer in Parliament, and, probably more importantly, he handles the electronic media well. But in the two years to the next election Mr Keating will not easily change what is unquestionably a bad image.

Source 7
(Extract from a text written by an Australian historian in 2009.)

The Howard Liberals were exiles returning to office after a thirteen-year absence, their longest since Federation. It was a new world. During their exile Australia had changed — it had a new Parliament House, expansive ministerial offices, a 24-hour media cycle, a floating currency, a disappearing tariff … John Howard's team was untested and suspicious of Labor's governing system. His victory demanded a new model of Liberal Party governance.

Given such uncertainty, Howard returned with a firm idea. 'He wanted to assert his authority at the start,' Arthur Sinodinos said. 'This was Howard's government,'… This government belonged to Howard from the first day to the last.

Howard built a structure that gave him more power than Menzies or Fraser … He arrived as an outsider, naked but for his credentials - Howard had no mentors, no guiding philosophers, no blueprint for action … The media rightly branded him as 'boring' but Mr Boring knew what he wanted – he created a structure of political management without precedent …

Like an opening batsman under pressure, Howard experienced a first term that was a mixture of ambition and blunder. His government nearly bled to death … Its administration was defective and its performance error-prone … Often he was stubborn rather than strong; too many of his ministers were inept.

Document Set 4: Ideas that shaped the Russian Revolution

Source 1
(The results of the election to the Constituent Assembly held on 12 November, 1917 using figures from a partial count (54 constituencies out of 79) that was published by N. V. Svyatitsky in A Year of the Russian Revolution, 1917–18, *(Moscow: Zemlya i Volya Publishers, 1918). Svyatitsky's data were generally accepted by all political parties, including the Bolsheviks.)*

Party	Votes	Number of deputies
Socialist Revolutionaries	17 100 000	380
Bolsheviks	9 800 000	168
Mensheviks	1 360 000	18
Constitutional Democrats	2 000 000	17
Minorities		77
Left Socialist Revolutionaries		39
People's Socialists		4
Total	41 700 000	703

Source 2
(An historian's interpretation of the events leading to the establishment of the Bolshevik one party dictatorship in Russia by 1918.)

Historians debate the extent to which the speedy rise of one-party dictatorship was due to Bolshevik authoritarianism or to circumstances. There can be little doubt that the Bolsheviks' course of action was powerfully dictated by circumstances such as an imploding economy, a collapsing army …

… At the same time they were never blind instruments of fate. The lesson that Lenin and Trotsky drew from the experience of 1917 was that breadth of representation in government spelt weakness; and in their determination to re-establish strong government - something that millions craved - they did not [hesitate] to use dictatorial methods. By closing the Constituent Assembly they signalled that they were ready to wage war in defence of their regime, not only against the exploiting classes, but against the socialist camp. … The prospects for a democratic socialist regime had by [1918] become very tenuous. True, some 70 per cent of peasants voted in the assembly elections, but they did so less out of enthusiasm for parliamentary politics than out of a desire to see the assembly legalise their title to the land. Once it became clear that they had no reason to fear on that score, they acquiesced in the assembly's dissolution.

Document Set 5: Ideas that shaped the Chinese Revolution

Source 1
(Estimates of economic activity in China from 1974 to 1986, shown as percentages of positive and negative growth. The statistics, published in 1990, were drawn from Nanjing University in China, and the American Central Intelligence Agency figures from 'China Economic policy and performance' [Washington D.C. 1988].)

	Periods of recovery and growth	
	1977	**1978–86**
Industry	14.1%	134.3%
Agriculture	n.a.	67.2%
National income	n.a.	n.a.

	Periods of [relative] decline	
	1974	**1976**
Industry	+0.3%	+1.3%
Agriculture	n.a.	n.a.
National income	n.a.	n.a.

Source 2
(Observations by an Australian academic on changes evident in the Chinese economy during the 1980s.)

During the 1980s, the muscle-power of society and the economy grew at the expense of the muscle-power of the Communist party and the state. The party lost some of its authority not only over the world of ideas, but over individual enterprises and other vanguard[1] forces of the economy. The party reminded people of failure and yesterday, while the new economic forces suggested success and tomorrow. The world of individual enterprises (interestingly called 'individual household', – *ge ti hu*) was so removed from Maoist values that in Chongqing, for example, half of these small businessmen were former criminals or former labour camp inmates, the core outcasts and victims of the Mao era.

The threefold strength of the Chinese economy under Deng lay in the decollectivised countryside, small business, and industrial enterprises that enjoyed injections of foreign money. All three realms were distant from the official values of Communist China.

[1]vanguard – leading

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

Source 1
(Extract from a history text published in 1991.)

The Berlin Blockade can be related to the debate between traditionalists and revisionists about the origins of the Cold War. In general terms, the traditionalist interpretation is similar to the way in which Western governments saw the situation at the time. That is, the USSR was seen as an expansionist power very much under the influence of Communist ideology. The USSR was not content with its sphere of influence in Eastern Europe but was intent on expanding into Western Europe as well.

Revisionists have argued, however, that the USSR had limited objectives. It was mainly influenced by a desire to protect its own security and Communist ideology was not a major factor … the revisionists argued that the United States was the major expansionist power. The United States was influenced by ... its objective of a liberal-democratic world order … desirable if the United States were to achieve its goal of maximising American exports.

 … The failure of the blockade is seen as a testimony both to American strength and to Soviet caution.

Source 2
(Cartoon by the British cartoonist Leslie Gilbert Illingworth that appeared in The Daily Mail *on 9 September, 1948. Stalin has blocked the mouse hole, and toys with a mouse labelled 'Berliners', while the 'western powers' scuttle around in alarm.)*

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

Source 1
(*Extract from '*The 1973 Arab-Israeli War*' written in the United States Department Office of the Historian under the heading 'Milestones: 1969–1976'.*)

The 1973 Arab-Israeli War was a watershed for United States foreign policy toward the Middle East. It forced the Nixon administration to realise that Arab frustration over Israel's unwillingness to withdraw from the territories it had occupied in 1967 could have major strategic consequences for the United States. The war thus paved the way for Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's 'shuttle diplomacy' and ultimately the Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty of 1979 …

[As it was] the 1973 war … ended in an Israeli victory but at great cost to the United States. Though the war did not scuttle detente, it nevertheless brought the United States closer to a nuclear confrontation with the Soviet Union than at any point since the Cuban missile crisis. The American military airlift to Israel, moreover, had led Arab oil producers to embargo oil shipments to the United States and some West European countries, causing international economic upheaval. The stage was set for Kissinger to make a major effort at Arab-Israeli peacemaking.

Source 2
(*Cartoon by the American cartoonist Steve Greenberg and published in the* Los Angeles Daily News *on 15 March, 1979 in the month of the signing of the Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty foreshadowed in the Camp David Accords.*)

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Source 2   Curtin, J. (1941, December 29). Australia's stand: 'Looks to America free of traditional links: Mr Curtin outspoken. *Mercury*, p. 1. Retrieved April, 2015, from http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/25894272

Source 3   Data source: *List of Australian federal elections*. (2015). Retrieved April, 2015, from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Australian_federal_elections
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Source 4   Scorfield, T. (1949, November 30). Going my way–on a full petrol tank? [Image]. *Bulletin*. Retrieved April, 2015, from www1.curriculum.edu.au/ddunits/units/ms1fq2acts.htm

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(b) Menzies, R.G. (1939, September 3). Declaration of war [Transcript of radio broadcast]. In Menzies Foundation. (2015). *1939: Sir Robert Menzies.* Retrieved April, 2015, from http://www.menziesvirtualmuseum.org.au/1930s/1939.html

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Source 7   Robertson, J.R. (1988). James Henry Scullin (1876–1953). In G. Serle & C. Cunneen (Eds), *Australian dictionary of biography* (Vol. 11; 1891–1931). Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, p. 556.

Document Set 3

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Source 1   *Constituent Assembly (Russia)*. (2013). Retrieved April, 2015, from www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Constituent_Assembly_(Russia)#Election_Results_.28November_12.2C_1917.29
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Document Set 5

Source 1   Data sources:
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Source 2   Greenberg, S. (1979). *Camp David success* [Image]. Retrieved April, 2015, from www.greenberg-art.com/.Toons/.Toons,%20political/CampDavid.html