



Western Australian Certificate of Education Sample Examination, 2016

MODERN HISTORY

DOCUMENT BOOKLET

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Document Set 1: Australia 1918–1955

Source 1

(Photograph of John Curtin and General Douglas MacArthur at an Advisory War Council meeting at Parliament House, Canberra, on 26 March 1942.)



Source 2

(Extract from an Australian history textbook written in 1998 by Barry Cohen.)

When he first became leader of the Labor Party in 1935, Curtin was thought of as a sincere and genuine person, fairly quiet and thoughtful but not at all dynamic or exciting. Throughout the remaining years of the 1930s he did not seem to be a convincing leader but he did what he set out to do - held the Labor Party together and healed some of its wounds ... It had split into fragments in 1931 and the bitterness was long lasting. Emotions were still running high in 1935 and Curtin had to tread very carefully if he were to hold the party together and make it attractive to voters.

At times, this conciliatory role made some of Curtin's, and Labor's, policies and actions look weak ... With the coming of the war in the Pacific, Curtin rose in stature as a person and as a leader. In the minds of most Australians he became a genuine national figure, above day to day politics. Curtin's dedication to the job won him many supporters inside and outside the party: he was widely respected and admired.

Source 3

(A 1949 pre-election advertisement promoting Chifley's number one political opponent, Robert Menzies.)



'Socialism ... or a free Australia?'

Source 4

(An extract from an account of the life and career of Joseph Chifley, published in 2000 in Australian Prime Ministers.)

[A] challenging issue for Prime Minister Chifley was the 1949 coal strike ... Chifley readily acknowledged the hardships of a miner's life, but concluded that such a strike at such a time was unjustified. He felt it smacked of ingratitude after what his government had done for the miners, and also of calculated communist-inspired disruption ... (and certainly) the Communist Party did involve itself in this strike more fully than it had in any previous large Australian dispute ... Special legislation was passed, which led to jail sentences for miners' union leaders and other prominent communist unionists. Many Labor enthusiasts were appalled, but by consulting widely Chifley kept ALP dissent within acceptable limits even after the decision to send in the army to revive coal production. This highly controversial decision - the use of the armed forces in industrial disputes was specifically forbidden in the ALP platform - ... was justified as unique action in unique circumstances to counter a political strike engineered by enemies of Labor. Soon afterwards the strike collapsed ... Two months later Chifley called an election ... [and] the result was a devastating defeat for Chifley and his government.

Document Set 2: Russia 1914–1945

Source 1

(A Soviet propaganda poster featuring Lenin (1870–1924), published on the fifth anniversary of his death in 1929.)



Source 2

(Extract from a history textbook published in London in 2002.)

Lenin had a strong streak of ruthlessness and cruelty, [he] was vitriolic about the peasants, ordering the hanging of a hundred kulaks as a lesson to others ... Lenin believed that revolutionaries had to be hard to carry out their role, which would inevitably involve spilling the blood of their opponents. Although hard and tough on others, it seems that Lenin was not personally brave. He was not a revolutionary who rushed to the barricades. He left the fighting to others.

Lenin's domination of the party is one of the key factors in his success. There were many disputes and splits in the party, such as the serious split over the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, right into the 1920s. But in the end he always managed to bring the party behind him and keep it united ... His personal magnetism and charisma are not in doubt But he also had tremendous political skills - of knowing when to persuade, when to cajole, when to give in, when to threaten to resign and when to get really tough and demanding. Above all, Lenin was convinced of his role and his destiny. He never had any doubt that he knew the right path and could lead the party along it.

See next page

Source 3

(A cartoon published by Russian exiles in France in the late 1930s. The text reads, 'Visit the USSR's pyramids'.)

**Source 4**

(Extract from a pamphlet written in Moscow just after Stalin's fiftieth birthday in 1930.)

Since the great Lenin, there has been no name in the world so dear to the millions of the working people as that of our great leader, Comrade Stalin ... Comrade Stalin: his name is uttered with fervent gratitude by the working masses of the People's Democracies, who have entered upon the building of Socialism; it is cherished by the workers and peasants of China, who have cast off the yoke of colonial oppression.

Comrade Stalin: his name inspires the peoples of the ... oppressed countries in their just struggle for national freedom and independence ... Comrade Stalin's life and work are so majestic, so many-sided, that years of study will be required for their proper illumination ... Comrade Stalin's activities in whatever sphere, are imbued with a great creative mastery of theory, going hand in hand with tremendous organising ability, with the capacity to inspire the Party and the millions of the working people with one united will ... The victory of Socialism in the USSR and the salvation of human civilisation from the onslaught of fascist barbarism: such is mankind's debt to Comrade Stalin.

Document Set 3: China 1935–1989

Source 1

(Poster published in China in 1950 entitled 'The Chairman leads the building of the new China'.)



Source 2

(Excerpt from a general history of eastern Asia by Colin Mackerras, published in Australia in 1997.)

At the time it set up the PRC [People's Republic of China], the CCP [Chinese Communist Party] was a highly revolutionary party. Apart from strengthening its control over the whole of China, its first tasks lay in implementing measures for revolutionary socioeconomic change. Among these, the most important were land reform, which involved the destruction of the landlords and rich peasants as classes, and the takeover of the major foreign-controlled industries ... In addition, the CCP instituted marriage reform ... to move towards equality between the sexes.

... the CCP's first years also saw some major successes. Inflation was controlled and the economy stabilised. The social fabric which had been torn apart by wars and invasions lasting intermittently for well over a century was undergoing renewal. A new political system was set up.

See next page

Source 3

(A cartoon depicting 'Deng Xiaoping, the new leader of China', published in the New York Times Book Review. Note that the figures at the bottom of the cartoon are Chinese people.)

**Source 4**

(Extract written by an international socialist organisation in 1997.)

The career of Deng Xiaoping demonstrates the transformation of the Chinese Communist Party from an organization based on the working class and fighting for its liberation from capitalism and imperialism into an organization which is the principal instrument for the development of capitalism in China and the suppression of the working class. Deng Xiaoping, whose political awakening coincided with the May Fourth Movement of radicalized Chinese youth, will go down in history as the butcher of Chinese youth and workers at Tiananmen Square, mowed down by machine guns as they sang "The Internationale".

Deng's legacy is a China riven¹ by social contradictions: as many as 200 million workers and peasants have abandoned the provinces in the interior in search of jobs and better living standards in the booming coastal areas; the gap between the cities and the rural areas is the widest it has ever been; the economy is in the grips of a boom-and-bust cycle, with periods of runaway inflation followed by the tightening of credit and mass unemployment; official corruption, gangsterism, drug addiction, prostitution and other social evils are flourishing on a scale not seen since the worst days of Chiang Kai-shek.

¹ riven – torn apart

Document Set 4: The changing European world since 1945

Source 1

(Photograph of Norwegian United Nations troops on their way up 'Sniper Alley' in Sarajevo, November 1995.)



Source 2

(Extract from a speech by Mikhail Gorbachev to the United Nations General Assembly in New York, December 1988.)

... It is evident, for example, that force and the threat of force can no longer be, and should not be instruments of foreign policy.

The compelling necessity of the principle of freedom of choice is also clear to us. The failure to recognize this, to recognize it, is fraught with very dire consequences, consequences for world peace. Denying that right to the peoples, no matter what the pretext, no matter what the words are used to conceal it, means infringing upon even the unstable balance that is, has been possible to achieve.

Freedom of choice is a universal principle to which there should be no exceptions. We have not come to the conclusion of the immutability¹ of this principle simply through good motives. We have been led to it through impartial analysis of the objective processes of our time. The increasing varieties of social development in different countries are becoming in ever more perceptible feature of these processes. This relates to both the capitalist and socialist systems. This objective fact presupposes respect for other people's views and stands, tolerance, a preparedness to see phenomena that are different as not necessarily bad or hostile, and an ability to learn to live side by side while remaining different and not agreeing with one another on every issue ...

¹ immutability – unchangeable

Source 3

(Cartoon by Victor Weisz in a British Newspaper, the Daily Mirror, published on 15 November, 1956.)

**Source 4**

(Extract from Essential readings in world politics, (1986) entitled 'The long peace: Elements of stability in the postwar international system', written by J.L. Gaddis.)

The relationship between the Soviet Union and the United States has not been free from ideological rivalries; it could be argued, in fact, that these are among the most ideological nations on the face of the earth. Certainly their respective ideologies could hardly have been more antithetical, given the self-proclaimed intention of one to overthrow the other. And yet, since their emergence as superpowers, both nations have demonstrated an impressive capacity to subordinate antagonistic ideological interests to a common goal of preserving international order.

...

That such ideological impulses could be muted to the extent they have been during the past four decades testifies to the stake both Washington and Moscow have developed in preserving the existing international system: the moderation of ideologies must be considered, then, along with nuclear deterrence and reconnaissance, as a major self-regulating mechanism of postwar politics.

...

The Cold War, with all of its rivalries, anxieties, and unquestionable dangers, has produced the longest period of stability in relations among the great powers that the world has known this century; it now compares favourably as well with some of the longest periods of great power stability in all of modern history. ... Who is to say, therefore, how the historians of the year 2086 — if there are any left by then — will look back on us? Is it not at least plausible that they will see our era, not as "the Cold War" at all, but rather, ... as a rare and fondly remembered "Long Peace"?

Document Set 5: Australia's engagement with Asia

Source 1

(Photograph of Prime Minister Gough Whitlam and Mao Zedong in China in 1973, published widely in Australian newspapers in October 1973.)



Source 2

(Extract from a statement to Parliament by Dr H.V. Evatt (Minister for External Affairs), June 1949.)

... It is true that all countries of South-East Asia have organised Communist movements whose objectives are the same as those of communism everywhere; but the strength of these movements, and the extent to which they are acting in unison, are apt to be exaggerated. This is a most important fact which I ask Honorable members to consider ...

The fact is that the majority of genuine nationalists in most countries of South-East Asia are not communists; there is plenty of evidence that they resent being identified with communism and are embarrassed by Communist activities that are carried on in the guise of progress towards freedom and independence. These genuine nationalists know well enough that they must look to the established democracies in this part of the world, including Australia, for help in developing their industry and agriculture and improving the lot of their people ...

It has been said in the press and by some people that the Republican movement in Indonesia is communist. That is clearly not so ... No doubt, there are other parts of South-East Asia where the division is different, but it is important to remember that the nationalist movements in those countries are not to be identified with the Communist movement, simply because the communists adhere to them and that the capacity of nationalism to check or to neutralise the growth of communism will depend on the help it gets from outside. Unless it gets that help, real stability and order cannot be expected, and the process of peaceful transition from colonial to independent status, in many cases, will be interrupted.

Source 3

(Cartoon by Geoff Hook, 15 November 1991.)

**Source 4**

(Australian political commentator writing about Australia's 'Great and Powerful Friends' in 2001.)

Australia's transition into an independent, multicultural nation which negotiated its own way with Indonesia, Japan, China and other Asian countries was the major step in its new maturity. This was a choice about national destiny and a response to the changing priorities of Britain and America as they retreated from global entanglements.

Australia seems now to have reached a stage of national maturity defined as accepting responsibility for its own fate and place in the world ... Australia's aim is to integrate its old relations with its new relations – to ensure that it never has to choose between past and future, between the European connection and Asian engagement, between America and China. In short, it seeks to have the best of all options in a shrinking globe.

John Howard [argued] that Australia has a unique vantage point – its European tradition, its strong links to America and its new engagements with Asia. Malcom Fraser, a pessimist, [said] that Australia will be forced eventually to choose between Asia and America, and that its answer must be Asia. Bob Hawke and Paul Keating [were] optimists; they believe[d] that Australia [could] be enduringly international – engaged in Asia, but deeply linked with Europe and North America.

Document Set 6: The struggle for peace in the Middle East

Source 1

(Palestinian refugees making their way to Lebanon from Galilee in October/November 1948.)



Source 2

(Extract from Yasser Arafat's speech to the United Nations, 13 November, 1974.)

Mr. President, I thank you for having invited the Palestinian Liberation Organization to participate in this plenary session of the United Nations General Assembly ...

In my formal capacity as Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization and leader of the Palestinian revolution, I appeal to you to accompany Our people in its struggle to attain its right to self-determination. This right is consecrated in the United Nations Charter and has been repeatedly confirmed in resolutions adopted by this august body since the drafting of the Charter. I appeal to you, further, to aid Our people's return to its homeland from an involuntary exile imposed upon it by force of arms, by tyranny, by oppression, so that we may regain Our property, Our land, and thereafter live in Our national homeland, free and sovereign, enjoying all the privileges of nationhood. Only then can we pour all our resources into the mainstream of human civilization. Only then can Palestinian creativity be concentrated on the service of humanity. Only then will Our Jerusalem resume its historic role as a peaceful shrine for all religions. I appeal to you to enable Our people to establish national independent sovereignty over its own land. Today I have come bearing an olive branch and a freedom fighter's gun. Do not let the olive branch fall from my hand.

Source 3

(A cartoon by 'Mac' (Stan McMurty), published in the Daily Sketch, a British newspaper, published on 10 September, 1970.)

**Source 4**

(An article published in December 1997 by Donald Neff, as it appeared on the website of the Washington Report on Middle East Affairs.)

It was 10 years ago, on December 9, 1987, that the Palestinian intifada, the uprising, erupted in the territories occupied by Israel. The violence was the worst since the fighting of 1948. But in this case the Palestinians had no arms and no help from the neighbouring Arab countries. The uprising would continue until late 1993, with great suffering by the Palestinians and considerable damage to Israel's international image. In the end, the Palestinians gained the recognition of the world community they had so long sought, but failed to get Israel to live up to its commitments.

...

Despite Israel's cruel tactics, the intifada went on month after month, year after year, unarmed youngsters against heavily equipped Israeli troops. Despite Israel's superior power, the unequal struggle was debilitating on the Jewish state, and especially its image abroad. The little country that so long had presented itself as a "light unto other nations" and pleaded for international support because of its small population was now seen as the cruel suppressor of another people.

...

All told during the six-year uprising, 120,000 Palestinians were arrested and spent varying amounts of time in inhospitable Israeli jails. It is these veterans who will likely form the cadre for the next generation of Palestinian freedom fighters if the two sides cannot find an accommodation soon.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Document Set One

- Source 1** Photograph: General Douglas Macarthur and Prime Minister John Curtin at Advisory War Council meeting in 1942 [Image]. Retrieved December, 2013, from www.awm.gov.au/view/collection/item/042774/
- Source 2** Adapted from: Cohen, B. (1998). *Ideals and reality: A documented history of Australia since 1900* (Book 2; 1945–1990). South Melbourne, Vic.: Longman Australia, pp. 6, 13.
- Source 3** Cartoon: Frith, J. (2004). 'Socialism...or a free Australia?'. In B. Carroll, *Australia's prime ministers from Barton to Howard*. Kenthurst, NSW: Rosenberg Publishing. (Image originally published 1949)
- Source 4** Adapted from: McMullin, R. (2000). Joseph Benedict Chifley. In M. Grattan (Ed.), *Australian prime ministers*. Sydney: New Holland, pp. 264–266.

Document Set Two

- Source 1** Poster image: Image of Soviet propaganda poster of Lenin. (1929). Retrieved December, 2013, from <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Lenin-poster.jpg>
- Source 2** Adapted from: Corin, C., & Fiehn, T., (2002). *Communist Russia under Lenin and Stalin*. London: John Murray Publishers, pp. 128–129.
- Source 3** Cartoon: 'Visitez l'U.R.S.S. ses pyramides!' (193?). Retrieved December, 2013, from <http://highfieldmwh.wikispaces.com/1c+-+STALINIST+RUSSIA>
- Source 4** Adapted from: Ordzhonikidze, S. (1930). The 'diehard Bolshevik'. In *The life of Stalin: A symposium*. New York: Workers' Library Publishers, pp. 87–89. Retrieved December, 2013, from <https://archive.org/stream/TheLifeOfStalinASymposium/Stalin#page/n0/mode/2up>

Document Set Three

- Source 1** Poster image: Junsheng, Y. (1950). *The Chairman leads the building of the new China*. Retrieved 2012, from <http://chineseposters.net/themes/early-industrialization.php>
- Source 2** Adapted from: Mackerras, C. (Ed.). (1997). *Eastern Asia: An introductory history* (2nd. ed.). Melbourne: Addison Wesley Longman, p. 330.
- Source 3** Cartoon: Chappatte, P. (n.d.). Cartoon depicting Deng Xiaoping, published in the *New York Times Book Review*. Retrieved December, 2013, from *The Long March to Capitalism* at: <http://globecartoon.com/china/timeline.html>
- Source 4** Adapted from: *Deng Xiaoping and the fate of the Chinese Revolution*. (1997, March 12). Retrieved December, 2013 from *the World Socialist Web Site* at: www.wsws.org/en/articles/1997/03/deng-m12.html

Document Set Four

- Source 1** Photograph: Paalso. (1995). *Norwegian UN troops on their way up Sniper Alley in Sarajevo, November 1995*. Retrieved December, 2013, from http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Opp_mot_Sniper_Alley.jpg
- Source 2** Gorbachev, M. (1988, December 7). [Transcript of speech]. *Mikhail Gorbachev's speech to the U.N., December 7, 1988*. Retrieved December, 2013 from <https://www2.stetson.edu/secure/history/hy308C01/gorbachevatun1988.html>
- Source 3** Cartoon: Weisz, V. (1956, November 15). 'Bah! Counter-revolutionaries!' *Daily Mirror*. Retrieved December, 2013, from [www.cartoons.ac.uk/browse/cartoon_item/anytext=eastern%20europe?personalities_text\[\]=Khrushchev; Nikita Sergeyevich \(1894-1971\) \[Kruschev, Nikita\]&page=67](http://www.cartoons.ac.uk/browse/cartoon_item/anytext=eastern%20europe?personalities_text[]=Khrushchev;NikitaSergeyevich(1894-1971)[Kruschev,Nikita]&page=67)
- Source 4** Adapted from: Gaddis, J.L. (1986). The long peace: Elements of stability in the postwar international system. In K. Mingst & J.L. Snyder (Eds), *Essential readings in world politics* (2nd ed.). New York: W.W. Norton & Company, pp. 33–42.

Document Set Five

- Source 1** Photograph: *Prime Minister Gough Whitlam on his visit to China—Prime Minister Gough Whitlam with Mao Tse Tung*. Retrieved December, 2013, from <http://photos.naa.gov.au/photo/Default.aspx?id=5394622>
- Source 2** Adapted from: Evatt, H.V. (1949, June 21). *Question: International affairs* [Hansard]. Retrieved December, 2013, from <http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/search/display/display.w3p;query=Id%3A%22hansard80%2Fhansardr80%2F1949-06-21%2F0098%22>
- Source 3** Cartoon: Hook, G. (1991). *The Santa Cruz massacre*. Retrieved December, 2013, from www.geoffhook.com/archive/get_archive.cgi?image=1991/11/jeff151191&ref=politics/asia
- Source 4** Adapted from: Kelly, P. (2001). *100 Years: The Australian story*. Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, p. 241.

Document Set Six

- Source 1** Photograph: Csasznik, F. (1948). *Refugees in Galilee*. [Image of Palestinian refugees]. Retrieved December, 2013, from http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Refugees_in_Galilee.jpg
- Source 2** Arafat, Y. (1974, November 13). *United Nations General Assembly twenty-ninth session: Official records* (Address by Yasser Arafat). [Transcript of speech]. Retrieved December, 2013, from <http://unispal.un.org/unispal.nsf/0/a238ec7a3e13eed18525624a007697ec?OpenDocument>

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- Source 4** Adapted from: Neff, D. (1997, December). The intifada erupts, forcing Israel to recognize Palestinians. *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, pp. 81–83. Retrieved December, 2013, from www.wrmea.org/wrmea-archives/190-washington-report-archives-1994-1999/december-1997/2780-middle-east-history-it-happened-in-december-.html

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