Government of **Western Australia**
School Curriculum and Standards Authority

MODERN HISTORY

ATAR course examination 2023

Marking key

Marking keys are an explicit statement about what the examining panel expect of candidates when they respond to particular examination items. They help ensure a consistent interpretation of the criteria that guide the awarding of marks.

Section One: Source analysis–Unit 3 25% (25 Marks)

Note: When marking a candidate's work in this section:
1. Not all points necessarily need to be in an answer for the candidate to gain full marks.
2. Reward each salient point made by the candidate. Candidates may make different valid points of interpretation not specifically mentioned in this mark scheme.
3. Candidates are expected to refer to relevant supporting evidence from the sources.

Question 1 **(25 marks)**

(a)   Compare and contrast the messages of Source 1 and Source 2.   (4 marks)

Description	Marks
Reference to the messages in Source 1 and Source 2	1–2
Points of comparison of the message(s) in Source 1 and Source 2	1
Points of contrast of the message in Source 1 and Source 2	1
Total	**4**
Markers' notes: Evidence should be drawn from the sources to support the message. Candidates may choose to structure their response according to the grid above. Candidates may choose to incorporate the identification of message within their compare and contrast.	

Elective 1: Australia 1918–1955
- Compare: Both sources acknowledge that Hughes and Australia 'was given her place' (S1) at the Versailles Peace Conference, illustrated in S2 by Hughes joining the 'Big Four' in deciding upon the 'recipe' for peace. Both sources refer to countries having their own agenda at the conference with 'National Sentiment' being added to the 'Melting Pot' of ideas in S2 and S1's reference to countries' 'clashing interests'.
- Contrast: Hughes is portrayed as a mere onlooker with little influence on the 'Peace Soup' ingredients in S2, with just a little seasoning to add, whereas in S1 Hughes claims he played a prominent role, with his influence being felt, securing 'the fruits of victory'. USA leader President Wilson is shown adding the oil of 'Brotherhood' in S2, suggesting cooperation between countries. Whereas Hughes refers to Wilson jeopardising the peace process with his 14 points in S1.

Elective 2: Russia and the Soviet Union 1914–1945
- Compare: Both source messages are that Bolshevism, within Lenin's ideology, is the only legitimately acceptable form of government. In S1 Lenin argues that power should not be in the hands of capitalists, but 'the people … united in the Soviets, must run the state'. While S2 illustrates Lenin's ultimate goal of a 'permanent (global) revolution', with Bolshevism ruling 'the earth'.
- Contrast: In S1, Lenin consistently references 'the people' as the central force and how they 'must run the state', whereas S2 portrays Lenin himself as the new Tsar, complete with crown and throne, as the central, and only, force. In S1 Lenin stresses that Russia should be 'more democratic' in contrast to an autocratic 'King Lenin' in S2. S1's message refers to who should be leading Russia, whereas S2 extends Bolshevik rule to the entire 'Earth', therefore highlighting the local nature of S1's message versus the global nature of S2.

Elective 3: China 1935–1989

- Compare: Both sources focus on Mao's ambitions and visions and his desire to defend China at all costs. In S1 Mao is determined to defeat the Japanese invaders, 'ready to stand side by side with the Guomindang and other political parties and groups' and 'unite with them'. The development of the hydrogen bomb, featured in S2, has strengthened China's defence making them 'big and strong'.
- Contrast: S1 focuses on Mao and the CCP's efforts toward defeating Japan that will benefit the people, creating 'a new China which is independent, happy, and free. Whereas S2 is critical of Mao and the regime for developing an expensive new weapon at the cost of the people, with Mao being portrayed as well fed in contrast to the 'under-fed millions'.

Question 1 (continued)

(b)   Discuss how useful to a historian Source 1 and Source 2 are as evidence of the impact of the leader/s represented. (6 marks)

Description	Marks
Discusses how Source 1 is useful as evidence of the impact of the leader/s represented	1–2
Discusses how Source 2 is useful as evidence of the impact of the leader/s represented	1–2
Discusses the usefulness of the sources including reference to the limitations of the sources	1–2
Total	6
Markers' notes: Candidates do not have to refer to specific historians in their answers to access full marks in any section. Candidates could legitimately look at the respective strengths and weaknesses of these sources, provided the answer is relevant to the impact of the leader/s represented.	

Elective 1: Australia 1918–1955
- S1 is useful to a historian as evidence of the peace process at Versailles, specifically Wilson's promotion of fourteen points and how Hughes battled to push Australia's perspective. As an election speech it is also useful as it illustrates how Hughes was happy to capitalise on his international role in order to promote the Nationalist Party's electoral success.
- S2 is useful for providing a contemporary viewpoint of Hughes' role at Versailles, the strength of the 'Big Four' and an acknowledgement that all leaders were striving for 'National Sentiment' as a priority.
- Consider the nature of the speech (to secure re-election) as a means of promotion with possibly Hughes exaggerating his role at Versailles.
- S2's usefulness is limited as the cartoon has an exaggerated symbolism of the role of leaders at the Versailles Conference, with Hughes portrayed as a mere onlooker along with underplaying the role of other countries, not featured in the cartoon, merely focusing on the power of the 'Big Four'.

Elective 2: Russia and the Soviet Union 1914–1945
- S1 is useful to a historian as evidence of how Lenin used his oratory skills to promote his ideology and gain support, using phrases such as 'Comrade' to connect with the soldiers and the inclusion of anti-capitalist, anti-Tsar arguments to urge the soldiers to join the 'revolution'. The speech also informs the reader how Lenin actively sought military support as he deemed it crucial to consolidating his leadership within the Bolshevik Party and aiding their revolution to bring down the Provisional Government.
- S2 is useful as evidence of the impact of leadership, being created during the Civil War, portrayed by Mars on a leash, when the imposition of War Communism had essentially 'tamed' the Russian people, it highlights Lenin's desire for 'Permanent Revolution', the expansion of communist revolution and his leadership globally.
- S1's usefulness is limited as it is a propaganda speech, with Lenin's goal to amass support and consolidate his leadership of the Bolshevik Party, having just returned from exile. Lenin is exaggerating the role 'the people themselves … united in the Soviets' will play in his future government, as his motive was to secure 'the state' for the Bolsheviks. The source is also limited as it fails to provide evidence on how well received Lenin's words were or its impact upon subsequent events.
- S2 has limited usefulness as evidence of Lenin's impact as it is a cartoon created for USA readership and biased against Lenin. Amidst the American fear of the spread of communism, it exaggerates the threat Lenin had internationally in 1920, during the Civil War, portraying him as King, a threat to American democratic ideals.

Elective 3: China 1935–1989

- S1 is useful to a historian as it demonstrates how critical Mao's leadership was as the CCP leader but also nationally. It provides evidence of how Mao rallied the people and CCP cadres, despite an extended period of suffering during the Long March at the hands of Jiang Jieshi and the GMD. The statement also informs the reader how Mao was prepared to put the needs of the nation and its people before his own leadership ambitions and political rivalries.

- S2 is useful as evidence of how Mao's leadership style changed once the CCP had gained control of China, putting his own agenda and ambitions above the good of the people. The development of costly weapons at the expense of people's welfare displays his egotistical leadership, focused on presenting a particular image of China and himself to the world.

- Consider that it is a statement from Mao and an effective form of propaganda that portrays him in the best possible light. Mao elevates his status and influence and presents himself as a magnanimous leader who puts the people first and his own wishes and desires second.

- S2 has limited usefulness as it is a British/Western perspective of Mao's leadership, so would tend to be hostile to communism, the CCP and Mao. It criticises the authoritarian approach of communist regimes by implying that the leaders are not responsive to the needs of their people. There is a certain hypocrisy evident as Britain already had nuclear weapons, but suggests that communist systems are not able to develop nuclear programs and also feed their people.

Question 1 (continued)

(c) Explain the historical context of Source 3. Include the relevant events, people and ideas depicted or represented in the sources. (4 marks)

Description	Marks
Identifies the focus of the source	1
Provides specific details for the focus of the source: causes/dates/events/people/place/ideas	1–3
Total	4
Markers' notes: This question is concerned with the historical context in which the source is located. For full marks candidates must focus on explaining the context of what is depicted in the source and not a more generic discussion of related historical events.	

Elective 1: Australia 1918–1955
- Focus of the source is the 1951 referendum, when the Menzies government sought to gain support to ban the Australian Communist Party.
- The causes of the referendum. Menzies was a keen advocate of Forward Defence, with a fear of communism growing in Australia especially with the 'domino effect' occurring in Asia. Initially the Liberal-Country Coalition tried to legislate political changes by passing the *Communist Party Dissolution Act, 1950*. This was later deemed unconstitutional by the High Court which led Menzies to change strategies and opt to try to ban the Communist Party, seeking the electorate's support via a referendum victory.
- Although very close with 49.44% in favour of changing the Constitution, the referendum failed. Dr Evatt, leader of the Labor Party, campaigned actively in support of the 'No' argument, seeing it as an infringement of people's rights. However, many perceived Evatt as pro-Communist and this became a contributing factor to the split of the Labor Party in 1955.

Elective 2: Russia and the Soviet Union 1914–1945
- Focus of the source is the adoption of the new 1936 Soviet Constitution, which fundamentally redesigned the government of the USSR and promoted the successful attainment of socialism.
- The reasons for the new Constitution, designed to promote the success of Soviet socialism and win allies against fascism, currently spreading across Europe. The Constitution aided Stalin's consolidation of power through the centralisation of state roles and functions, creating a hierarchy of minority nationalities and enabled the continued drive to quash national minority independence (e.g. Holodomor in Ukraine 1932).
- The Constitution outlined numerous civil rights for the Soviet people; universal suffrage by secret ballot, social welfare, equality of citizens, including former class enemies, democratic rights and freedoms. However, it was adopted during the midst of Stalin's purges of the Soviet people, censorship, and persecution of minorities. Ultimately, the 1936 Constitution did not democratise the USSR, but increased Stalin's power and did not halt the persecution of any sector of society during the late 1930s.

Elective 3: China 1935–1989

- Focus of the source is the campaign of criticism against Deng. Although candidates may also refer to the ensuing power struggles within the CCP, towards the end of the Cultural Revolution, prior to Mao's death.
- The Gang of Four were Maoists, from the left wing of the CCP, while Deng was a reformer from the right wing of the CCP, who wanted to move away from Mao's ideology. The Premier Zhou Enlai had supported the return of Deng to CCP leadership. However, Zhou's death in January 1976, made Deng vulnerable to attack again. The Gang of Four including Jiang Qing (Mao's wife) and Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan, and Wang Hongwen mounted a campaign to discredit Deng and purge him from the Party, again. Deng was forced to retire from all his positions and was sent to the countryside.
- The death of Mao in 1976, would result in the Gang of Four themselves being purged from the Party, which gave Deng the opportunity to gradually establish himself as paramount leader.

Question 1 (continued)

(d)   Identify and account for the authors' perspectives in Source 3 and Source 4.   (5 marks)

Description	Marks
Identifies the perspective of Source 3	1
Identifies the perspective of Source 4	1
Accounts for the perspectives in Source 3 and Source 4. This may include discussion of: motives, bias, time, place, purpose. For the third mark, candidates should demonstrate a high level of analysis for either or both sources	1–3
Total	**5**

Markers' notes:
Candidates need to use evidence of the perspective from the source and identify how the author/artist shows the perspective in the source.

Elective 1: Australia 1918–1955
• Perspective of S3 is anti-Menzies and his desire to change the Constitution to ban the Australian Communist Party. Menzies is portrayed as fascist, due to his desire to restrict political freedom.
• The perspective could be accounted for as at many organisations, including the Labor Party deemed the proposed referendum as restricting political freedoms. The source is biased comparing Menzies, dressed in a Nazi uniform, to Hitler. The purpose of the source is to persuade readers to vote 'No' in the referendum.
• Perspective of S4 is that unlike Curtin, Prime Minister Menzies was not popular or respected by the Australian public during WW II.
• This perspective could be accounted for by the political leanings of the article appearing on a website devoted to the former leader, John Curtin.

Elective 2: Russia and the Soviet Union 1914–1945
• Perspective of S3 is that Stalin has reformed Soviet society into the first successful socialist state of workers and peasants and that the new Constitution is the ultimate manifestation of this transformation, comparable to any in the world in 1936.
• The perspective could be accounted for by the fact it is a state produced propaganda poster, for international distribution, and would therefore be created and sanctioned by Stalin, specifically to promote his role in transforming the USSR. Distributed during the Great Depression when many countries' workers were unemployed and rights were being infringed in Hitler's Germany, Stalin's purpose would be to promote the merits of the socialist state.
• Perspective of S4 is that by the mid-late 1930s Stalin had created the Bolshevik party in his own image, moving beyond his role as Lenin's successor, with the 'liquidation of … Lenin's original party'.
• The perspective could be accounted for by the political inclinations of Bullock, a British, democratically leaning, historian seeking to highlight the ruthless nature of the dictator. The book's title, *Parallel Lives*, suggests it was written with the purpose of comparing the two dictators, Stalin and Hitler, with Bullock highlighting Stalin's desire for ultimate power by purging any potential opponents, similar to Hitler's rise to power.

Elective 3: China 1935–1989

- Perspective in S3 is that Deng Xiaoping is a right-wing deviant who is not loyal to Mao Zedong thought and therefore needs to be criticised and removed from positions of authority within the CCP.
- The biased perspective could be accounted for as it was created by supporters of Mao and the Cultural Revolution, fiercely opposed to Deng and his faction within the CCP. It is political propaganda designed with the purpose of influencing the Chinese people, especially the Red Guards, to turn on Deng. The motive of circulating the posters was to gain support in order to purge Deng from the Party and assist the Gang of Four in consolidating their positions of authority.
- Perspective in S4 is that Deng's leadership economically transformed China.
- This perspective can be accounted for as the author has a bias towards capitalist systems, claiming 'to get rich is glorious' and views Deng's economic leadership as 'remarkable' and that the country's transition cannot be 'overstated'. The purpose of the article is to explore how China became a modern superpower, but also to acknowledge this came at a cost, with Deng's leadership having negative impacts on the Chinese population, referring to the Tiananmen Square massacre.

Question 1 (continued)

(e)   Evaluate the extent to which the **four** sources provide insight into leadership of the
       nation over the period of study.   (6 marks)

Description	Marks
Identifies areas/topics shown in the sources that provide insight into leadership of the nation studied over the period of study	1–2
Evaluates the extent of insight provided into the significant aspects of leadership of the nation studied over the period of study	1–3
Identifies leader/s or types of leadership omitted	1
Total	**6**
Markers' notes: Candidates are not required to consider specific impacts of the leaders, but focus upon the insight the sources provide into leadership over the period of study. Candidates should include their own knowledge of the course studied, as well as the sources provided, to support their point of view. A list of omissions will not suffice for higher marks.	

Elective 1: Australia 1918–1955
- Hughes' leadership post WW I, representing Australia at the Versailles Peace Conference is shown in S1 and S2. Leadership of both Menzies and Curtin during WW II is covered in S4, along with Menzies leadership post war during the Red Scare in S3.
- The sources provide effective insight into leadership regarding Australia during and immediately post conflicts with S1 and S2 referencing negotiations post WW I and leadership during WW II explored in S4. Hughes' leadership during the peace process was extremely significant, it is considered a defining moment in Australian leadership internationally with the Prime Minister advocating for Australia, rather than letting England present her case. The sources provide some insight into domestic policies with Menzies' attempt to ban the Australian Communist Party in S3 and the importance of public perception towards leaders in explored in S4. However, the sources fail to provide evidence of the leadership regarding social and economic policies.
- Leadership omitted from the sources includes Prime Ministers during peacetime, specifically during the Great Depression, along with Chifley's move towards more government intervention, post WW II.

Elective 2: Russia and the Soviet Union 1914–1945
- Lenin's leadership prior to the October Revolution, the realisation of Bolshevik ideology, S1, into the Civil War and his pursuit of permanent revolution, is represented in S2. Stalin's leadership in the late 1930s is covered in S3 with the creation of the 1936 Constitution, and removal of any original Bolshevik leadership, is represented in S4.
- The sources provide valuable insight into leadership during the period of study as they examine Lenin's leadership as the driving force for radical change in Russia following the fall of the Tsar in S1. The extent of his perceived international influence even by 1920, and success in subduing the Whites and the peasants made Bolshevism more of a threat in the West, represented in S2. Sources 3 and 4 reference Stalin's success in imposing his ideology and consolidating his leadership, through the use of political power in driving the new 1936 Constitution, and the use of raw autocratic power and fear reflected in the purges, S4.
- Leadership omitted includes Tsar Nicholas II's disastrous rule through WW I, Kerensky's leadership of the Provisional Government in 1917 and Trotsky's significance in the October Revolution, Civil War and post-Lenin leadership struggle. Additionally, the economic leadership of Lenin and Stalin are not considered.

Elective 3: China 1935–1989

- Mao's leadership following the Civil War is shown in S1 and when in power, in S2. The struggle for leadership is explored in S3 with the campaign against Deng, while S4 reviews the impact and significance of Deng's leadership upon the Chinese economy.

- The sources provide valuable insight into Mao's leadership across the period of study, examining his fundamental role during the Civil War in S1 and the impact of the Great Leap Forward upon the population in S2. Mao's leadership was paramount during the Long March, the defeat of Japan, enabling the rise to power of the CCP. Unlike Jiang, Mao made China the priority rather than his own party. His subsequent policies and ideas, such as the Great Leap Forward, 100 Flowers Movement and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution impacted China significantly, illustrating that Mao could neglect his people when focused upon a goal. Deng's leadership was not strong in the early years, though he was still an important figure in the CCP. Deng emerged as the Paramount Leader after Mao's death, developing significant policies and ideas, including Socialism with Chinese Characteristics and the significant economic liberalisation that follows, S4. His authoritarian leadership is considered in S4, with reference to the Tiananmen Square Massacre.

- Leadership omitted includes Jiang Jieshi, Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi, Hua Guofeng and Lin Biao. Jiang is relatively important in the early period, however, none of these leaders are as significant as Mao or Deng. Additionally, the sources focus on political and economic leadership omitting examples of social leadership, such as Mao's significant social changes regarding the role and position of women in Chinese society.

Section Two: Essay–Unit 3   **25% (25 Marks)**

Marking key for Questions 2–10.

Description	Marks
Thesis introductory paragraph	
Introductory paragraph clearly related to the area/topic of the question, containing understanding of focus and key terms of the question, which gives a clear sense of the direction of the essay	3
Introductory paragraph contains a few sentences outlining the theme of the essay and includes a simple proposition	2
The paragraph gives a general indication that the topic is understood and includes a simple proposition. The opening paragraph has a sentence or two outlining the 'who' or 'what' to be discussed in the essay	1
Subtotal	**3**
Synthesised narrative	
Demonstrates an understanding of the interrelationship between events, people and ideas, and continuity and change	4
Demonstrates an understanding of the narrative, for example, that there are relationships between events, people and ideas, and/or continuity and change	3
A mainly chronological narrative with some content about, for example, events, people and ideas, and/or continuity and change	2
A simple narrative, not always showing an understanding of the correct chronology and with minimal reference to events, people and ideas	1
Subtotal	**4**
Argument	
Develops a sustained and sophisticated argument which shows a depth of analysis throughout the essay which is analytical, logical and coherent	5–6
Develops an argument which is analytical, logical and coherent and shows an understanding of the interconnectedness of the narrative	4
Written with a sense of argument using some appropriate language of history	3
The response contains a number of generalisations and statements that lack supporting evidence	2
Disjointed discussion/argument suggests little understanding of the topic and/or historic analysis of changing circumstance or continuity and change	1
Subtotal	**6**
Supporting evidence	
Detailed, accurate and relevant evidence used in a manner that assists analysis and evaluation. In responding to an essay instruction of debate or evaluate that proposition, historical evidence is used to argue for and against a view/proposition. Uses and cites accurately, modern sources to develop or strengthen arguments	9–10
Accurate and relevant evidence used in a manner that assists analysis and evaluation. Attempts to use historical evidence to argue both sides when responding to an essay instruction of debate or evaluate that proposition. Incorporates quotations, sources, statistics as supporting evidence in a mostly coherent manner	7–8
Mainly accurate and relevant evidence throughout the essay. If quotations, sources or statistics are used as supporting evidence, they are cited in some coherent fashion	5–6
Some relevant and accurate evidence is provided	3–4
Limited evidence is provided that is sometimes inaccurate or irrelevant	2
Very limited evidence is provided or is often irrelevant or inaccurate	1
Subtotal	**10**
Conclusion	
Effectively draws the essay's argument or point of view together	2
Summarises the essay's point of view	1
Subtotal	**2**
Total	**25**

Elective 1: Australia 1918–1955

Question 2 **(25 marks)**

Examine the impact of the Great Depression on different groups in Australian society.

Markers' notes:
The focus of the answer needs to be the impact of the Great Depression, not its causes. Candidates need to reference a minimum of two groups. More sophisticated responses will point out that not all groups were impacted equally. Answers could include the following:
- Wealthier members of society and middle-class Australians were impacted, but not to the extent of other groups. Many small businesses went bankrupt, however many rich businesses survived and even benefited from the economic situation, exploiting those desperately seeking work, offering lower than usual wages.
- Unemployed Australians, as many as 1:3 of the workforce, suffered extreme hardship, with little relief 'Susso' available. Many families split while males 'jumped the rattler' looking for work and evictions were commonplace, leading to the appearance of homeless camps in many towns and cities.
- Women often suffered the double burden of working, as they were cheaper to employ than men, and being the homemaker, were striving to feed, shelter and keep their family together.
- Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, if in work continued to be underpaid and if unemployed were not eligible for the little help provided through dole payments.
- Candidates may also refer to political groups, as the Great Depression resulted in the ALP split with the Lang Laborites and the Lyons group leaving the Labor Party.

Question 3 **(25 marks)**

Assess the reasons for, and consequences of, the Labor Split in 1931.

Markers' notes:
- Reasons: The main cause of the split was disagreement within the Labor Party regarding how to manage the economic depression. The Melbourne Agreement, 1930 (Premiers Plan) saw leader Scullin and the state premiers accept Niemeyer's (Bank of England representative) deflationary solutions to the Great Depression in Australia. However, factions soon appeared within the ALP of groups opposed to these policies. 'Red Ted' Theodore advocated the inflationary policy of printing more money in order to stimulate economic demand. This policy was halted in the Senate and created further division within the Party. NSW Premier Jack Lang rejected the continuation of interest payments upon British loans. Lyons, former acting Treasurer who supported Niemeyer's solution, resigned from Scullin's cabinet when Theodore was appointed Treasurer in January 1931. Lyons' faction having split from the ALP would go on to join with the Nationalist Party, forming the United Australia Party (UAP).
- Consequences: The ALP would see splits from both the left and right factions of the Party. Lyons and fellow minister Fenton left to join the UAP, but divisions also occurred on the left when Ward, a supporter of Lang was refused entry to the Labor Caucus. He along with five other Labor parliamentarians, left the ALP to form the Lang Labor Party. The Lang Labor group, voted successfully, with the Opposition on a motion of no confidence in Scullin's government, forcing a federal election in December 1931. The ALP were defeated, with Lyons' newly formed UAP claiming victory. Lyons would be the first Prime Minister to win three consecutive elections, holding office from 1932 to 1939. Lyons' economic measures during this time followed the Premier's Plan, with a refusal to accept Lang's argument to cease payments to Britain. The ALP would not return to office until 1941 under John Curtin's leadership.

Question 4   **(25 marks)**

Debate the proposition: 'post-war reconstruction between 1945 and 1955 benefited all of Australian society'.

Markers' notes:
Higher marks should be awarded to candidates who provide evidence of which sectors of society benefited as well as examples of those who were disadvantaged during post-war reconstruction. The counter argument does not need to be balanced. Answers could include reference to the following:

- Evidence supporting the proposition: Post-war reconstruction brought economic growth and full employment, boosted by national projects, such as the Snowy River Scheme and the production of the first Australian car, Holden, in 1948. Labour demand was met by new migrants arriving in large numbers, under Calwell's 'Populate or Perish' policy. These workers enabled industry to boom in primary industries, such as mining as well as the manufacturing sector which grew due to domestic demand and increased sales of exported goods. Many families saw an increase in their standard of living, with two incomes making home ownership, including the purchase of home appliances, a reality. This led to the expansion of cities and towns through suburbanisation, stimulated by Chifley's government grants to states for the construction of housing. The provision of social welfare grew during this period, first with Labor subsidising public hospitals and extending social welfare payments and then through Menzies' *National Health Act, 1953*. Access to education was improved with Chifley establishing the Universities Commission.
- Counter argument: Any changes in employment for women due to WW II were reversed, with those working in the civil service being retrenched and the majority leaving work, to return to their traditional role at home. Several strikes occurred during this period, with workers seeking improved conditions and wages. Chifley used the army to end the miners' strike of 1949, which created a precedent with Menzies doing the same during the waterfront disputes. Equal pay for women and Aboriginal and Torres Straits Islanders would not be secured during this period and wartime austerity measures continued, for example, petrol rationing. Furthermore, Aboriginal and Torres Straits Islanders were not eligible for pensions or elements of welfare. Politically, despite the establishment of the Union of Australian Women in 1950, there continued to be little female representation, although Dame Enid Lyons became the first federal cabinet Minister in 1949. The 1949 Citizenship Act extended the vote to just a small section of Aboriginal people, who could now vote in state elections if they had served in the armed forces. Attitudes towards Aboriginal and Torres Straits Islanders' culture and new migrants was unfortunately still one of assimilation.

Elective 2: Russia and the Soviet Union 1914–1945

Question 5 **(25 marks)**

Examine the impact of Stalin's Five Year Plans in transforming Soviet society in the 1930s.

Markers' notes:
Candidates should focus on the impact of societal changes of the 5YPs, not the reasons behind them or predominantly focusing on economic changes. Candidates may emphasise the goal of building a socialist society contained within the plans. For higher marks reference should be made to more than one group in society, candidates may choose to examine peasants, workers, family groups, women, youth and/or the church. While the first 5YP began in 1928, the greatest impact in terms of transforming society, occurred from the early 1930s. Answers could include the following:
- The first 5YP broke down the existing societal structure in both rural and urban areas and laid down the new foundations of Soviet society. The collectivisation of rural peasants is a legitimate part of the first plan to examine, the initial ideal of voluntary collectivisation changing to forced collectivisation as peasants resisted this change to village life. Dekulakisation was a further means of transforming rural society and, as a means of controlling national minority societies e.g. the Ukraine Holodomor 1932–33.
- Industrialisation brought large scale migration to cities as people pursued work, which expanded the proletariat. Initially viewed positively by some, particularly in terms of opportunities for skills advancement, higher wages, higher living standards, improvement in literacy rates and women entering the workforce. This culminated in the Stakhanovite movement of the second 5YP in the mid 1930s where workers were rewarded for exceptional effort, an integral part of inventing the ideal Soviet worker. However, for the majority, standard of living was low in terms of wages, housing conditions, freedom of movement, creation of new categories of people within society, the threat of punitive punishment and extended use of forced labour through the gulag system. This is reflected during the second and third 5YPs, in particular, where fear and terror were motivating factors in society, further eroding families and societal cohesion.
- Impact on groups: Sections of youth grew in influence and impact, particularly through the Komsomol and its use in driving change. Women worked in higher numbers, but generally received lower wages and far fewer opportunities for advancement. Overall, the impact of the 5YPs was to transform society based around industrial scale production of all commodities, which was generally mobile and compliant. Stalin created a new Soviet society. However, for the vast majority of Soviet citizens the impact of this new society was negative.

Question 6 **(25 marks)**

Assess the reasons for the USSR securing victory in World War II.

Markers' notes:
More sophisticated responses may acknowledge that German tactics and external aid contributed to USSR victory. The Great Patriotic War began in 1941 and the initial response of the Red Army, combined with German forces' tactics and rapid advances, led to over 2.5 million deaths, 3.5 million prisoners and many Soviet cities put under siege, e.g. Leningrad.
Answers could include the following:
- Economic reasons: The focus of the third Five Year Plan was on military production. The relocation of over 1500 factories eastward, with over 25 million workers, enabled production to continue. Advances in railway infrastructure through the 1930s aided the transportation of troops, supplies and resources. Food supplies were maintained due to agricultural collectives, rationing and grain collection along with contributions from the American Lend-Lease, Atlantic convoys.
- USSR Military: After an initial lapse, Stalin was willing to collaborate with his Generals (Zhukov, Antonov, Chuikov and Vasilevsky) on strategy, e.g. Stalingrad pincer movement, recalling troops from the east and holding in reserve. The implementation of Order No.227 'Not One Step Back' and Blocking Battalions behind main troops were also effective. The impact of Lend-Lease was significant in securing victory, with trucks, jeeps, and planes provided, along with railway resources.
- Propaganda: Stalin mobilised all of society, already compliant due to changes of the 1930s to focus upon the war effort. The cult of Stalin propaganda promoted him as the rallying leader for USSR, calling upon Russia's pre-Soviet history to rouse the population to fight for the Motherland in their 'Great Patriotic War.' There was a relaxation on the assault of the Russian Orthodox Church, enabling Stalin to use the ongoing popular support of religion, declaring a 'Holy War'. Furthermore, Stalin's refusal to leave during the Moscow Panic, was significant in bolstering loyalty the State.
- Other considerations may include: The size of USSR army compared to the Germans, geographical impacts with Russians acclimatised to the harsh winters, the scorched earth policy used upon infrastructure when relocating to the east severely impeded German advancements. The Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact,1939 was crucial, providing time to prepare armaments for an inevitable Nazi invasion and secured the provision of an extra buffer zone to USSR.

Question 7 (25 marks)

Debate the proposition: 'The Bolsheviks did not seize power in 1917; the Provisional Government was always doomed to fail'.

Markers' notes:
Candidates who effectively debate both sides and make a judgement as to the validity of the proposition should be awarded higher marks. Answers could include the following:
- Provisional Government's failures: Not setting an early election date, meant the PG never truly validated its authority and so was doomed to remain 'provisional'. Failure to tackle the three key issues: continuation of the war, demands for transfer of land to peasants, and a failing economy, meant population grievances continued. The Provisional Government was heavily reliant upon international support of loans and investments from the Allies. The few reforms that were enacted made it easier for opponents to criticise them, e.g. freedom of speech, release of political prisoners. The existence of Dual Power with the Petrograd Soviet undermined the PG's position and political mistakes, such as Kerensky's decision to mount a military offensive, resulting in the Kornilov Revolt and then choosing to arm the Bolsheviks, further eroded their support.
- Counter argument: The Bolsheviks did seize power. They were the only political party to refuse to work with the Provisional Government, therefore the Bolsheviks stood apart from any competitors for power. Lenin's leadership was a large factor in seizing power, his use of slogans 'Peace, Land and Bread' spoke directly to the people, his insistence of non-accommodation of the Provisional Government, use of the Soviets as a power base, benefiting from Order No.1 which secured the loyalty of the army for the Soviets not the PG. Trotsky's role within the organisation was paramount, effectively organising the defence of Petrograd during the Kornilov Coup seemingly saving the revolution from a Tsarist General, and his leadership of the Petrograd Military Revolutionary Committee, provided the force used in the October Revolution.

Elective 3: China 1935–1989

Question 8 **(25 marks)**

Examine the impact of the Great Leap Forward on Chinese society.

Markers' notes:
Candidates may consider social, economic, and political impacts and/or consider impacts on different people/groups. The Great Leap Forward or Second Five Year Plan (1958–1962), was an attempt to rapidly increase agricultural and industrial production to the level of more advanced nations in a short period of time. Answers could include the following:
- Economic impacts: Forced collectivisation did bring some economic success. By 1962 industrial production had doubled, steel production had increased, capital development was higher and the average income for industrial and agricultural workers had risen, along with rapid advances in the production of tractors and fertilisers. Collectivisation freed up labour leading to the rise of hundreds of thousands of 'backyard furnaces', although the quality of the product was usually poor.
- Social impacts: Collectivisation, established large agricultural People's Communes of over 75 000 people. The Communes impacted families, completely upending traditional peasant life. The abolition of private plots and free markets meant peasants had no incentive to grow extra food for the cities, worsening the difficulties brought on by natural disasters, ultimately leading to famine and millions of deaths. Women's rights saw some improvement with the banning of foot binding and freedom to divorce. Cities saw large increases in population, with wages and money being replaced by work points.
- Political impacts: The population was in constant fear, with local cadres punishing communes that fell behind with production, which only led to distorted data regarding agricultural production. Lin Biao purged the Party of any dissenters, declaring them counterrevolutionaries. The Lushan Party Conference would end the Great Leap Forward, with Mao marginalised, with the full extent of the impacts not released publicly. This failure would lead to the rise of Moderates, Deng Xiaoping and Liu Shaoqi who would reverse the economic policy of Mao, reducing the size of communes. In the long term, the marginalisation of Mao would lead to the Cultural Revolution with even more significant impacts on Chinese society.

Question 9 **(25 marks)**

Assess the reasons for the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949.

Markers' notes:
Candidates should consider both the successes of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) as well as the failures of the Guomindang (GMD) in analysing the reasons for the Communists' victory. Answers could include the following:

- Strengths of the CCP: The CCP gained popular support from the peasants, through the Long March, but also in successfully opposing the Japanese and sacrificing their own goals for the nation, joining the United Fronts with the GMD against the Japanese. The CCP was inspired by Chinese nationalism, even more than the 'nationalist' GMD. The Yan'an Soviet provided invaluable training for the Red Army, who, despite being outnumbered by the GMD, soon gained a reputation as effective fighters, using guerrilla tactics. The Red Army's reputation encouraged new recruits. Mao's leadership was a significant reason for victory, the CCP morale was strong, and they were dedicated to the cause. Any areas liberated by the Red Army would see land redistribution, taken from the repressive landlords and given to the peasants. Thus, securing even more popularity within the rural population.

- Failures of the Guomindang (GMD): The GMD's unpopular policies during the Sino-Japanese War of imposing high taxes, using conscription and evidence of corruption limited their support from peasants during this conflict. The lack of commitment to democratic reforms, with power concentrated to the GMD and Jiang Jieshi and claims of nepotism and corruption was in direct contrast to the CCP's philosophy and actions, such as the redistribution of land. Jiang Jieshi was perceived as a dictator by many, which even led to desertions in his own ranks. Receiving support from America meant the population associated the GMD with imperialistic desires and Western influences. Furthermore, the collaboration of some GMD members with the Japanese led to more distrust.

Question 10 **(25 marks)**

Debate the proposition: 'Socialism with Chinese Characteristics was the main cause of the Tiananmen Massacre of 1989'.

Markers' notes:
Candidates who effectively debate both sides and make a judgement as to the validity of the proposition should be awarded higher marks. Following the turbulence of the Cultural Revolution (CR), Mao's death and the arrest of the Gang of Four, Deng Xiaoping emerged as the supreme leader in China and proposed ways to overcome the chaos and difficulties of the CR, launching a comprehensive program to reform the Chinese economy. Answers could include the following:

• Socialism with Chinese Characteristics: Deng's response to soothe the chaos of the CR, focused primarily on economic liberalisation but also included some political aspects. Economic reforms focused on liberalisation, of markets, allowing relatively free trade, private ownership, foreign investment, with Deng declaring 'to get rich is glorious'. Politically, Deng advocated reforming the Party with leadership focused on democratic centralism and collective leadership, rejecting the concentration of power into one leader's hands and cults of personality. He initiated changes in foreign policy, improving relations and connections with other nations, allowing for increased foreign investment. All of these reforms to the Chinese economy in the 1980s increased the desire from sections of the community to extend reforms to the political system, such as democracy, freedom of speech and the press. The case can be made that economic freedom would inevitably bring demands for greater political freedom.

• Counter argument: There was nothing to suggest that the CCP was willing to compromise on its strong authoritarian approach to governing Chinese society, as evidenced by its continued hard-line stance on issues, such as Tibet and Taiwan. The democracy movement within China had existed for many years prior to Socialism with Chinese Characteristics, with the imprisonment of Wei Jingsheng who posted criticism of the government's foreign policy on the 'democracy wall', near Tiananmen Square in 1979. Many Chinese students were now studying abroad and brought back ideas of democracy from their host countries. Furthermore, 1989 saw many communist governments collapse, especially in eastern Europe, thus motivating the desire for change in China. As nepotism and corruption in the CCP bureaucracy became rifer, the people were further alienated from the CCP. Fewer employment opportunities for students, and more students studying abroad, fomented discontent that led to protests. A number of university students began a hunger strike and pro-democracy movements and protests spread throughout China. In response, Premier Li Peng, with the approval of Deng, declared martial law and troops and tanks killed thousands of student protestors. The CCP used the country's armed forces to violently disperse protesters from Tiananmen Square in 1989. The military's attacks on unarmed protesters killed as many as 3000 civilians.

Section Three: Source analysis–Unit 4   **25% (25 Marks)**

Note: When marking a candidate's work in this section:
1. Not all points necessarily need to be in an answer for the candidate to gain full marks.
2. Reward each salient point made by the candidate. Candidates may make different valid points of interpretation not specifically mentioned in this mark scheme.
3. Candidates are expected to refer to relevant supporting evidence from the sources.

Question 11   **(25 marks)**

(a) Explain the historical context of Source 1. Include the relevant events, people and ideas depicted or represented in the sources.   (4 marks)

Description	Marks
Identifies the focus of the source	1
Provides specific details for the focus of the source: causes/dates/events/people/place/ideas	1–3
Total	**4**
Markers' notes: This question is concerned with the historical context in which the source is located. For full marks candidates must focus on explaining the context of what is depicted in the source and not a more generic discussion of related historical events.	

Elective 1: The changing European world since 1945
- The focus of S1 is the Berlin Airlift, a response to Stalin's Berlin Blockade, starting in June 1948 until it was lifted in May 1949.
- Candidates may discuss the causes of the Blockade, such as Stalin's annoyance at the Allies introducing a new currency into Bizonia (Britain, USA, and France's combined zones of Berlin). As Berlin was located in the Soviet zone of Germany, the USSR was able to prevent supplies entering the city by blocking road and rail access. Stalin hoped resource shortages would entice West Berliners to join the East. However, the Allies worked tirelessly landing planes every minute during the Blockade, with supplies worth 17 million pounds being delivered. Short-term consequences of the Blockade and Airlift were the creation of the German Federal Republic and further security in the region being sought, culminating with the establishment of NATO in 1949.

Elective 2: Australia's engagement with Asia
- The focus of S1 is Japanese War Brides being granted permission to live in Australia from 1952.
- Some Australian forces, stationed in Japan in 1946, post WW II, despite being forbidden to fraternise with the Japanese along with a marriage ban, married local women. When these servicemen were ordered back to Australia it meant leaving their wives and sometimes children behind. At first the White Australian Policy was upheld, until the Menzies' government granted permission for Japanese wives and fiancés of Australian servicemen to enter Australia from 1952. However, admission to Australia was not easy or automatic, with stringent medical examinations. Once the occupation of Japan ceased in 1956 Japanese wives were able to become Australian citizens. Some historians argue that this change in policy was the first step towards changing the migration policy and moving towards a multicultural Australia.

Question 11 (continued)

Elective 3: The struggle for peace in the Middle East
- The focus of S1 is the Proclamation of the new State of Israel, following the United Nations Resolution 181 of 1947, partitioning Mandatory Palestine into two states.
- The reasons behind the Declaration. Zionism played a role by promoting the reinstatement of a Jewish homeland in Palestine, linked to the portrait of Theodor Herzl above Ben-Gurion. The British government's actions of making conflicting promises to both Arabs and Jews in the region was a factor. Also, there was the administration of the British Mandate for Palestine post WW I, where tensions between all parties increased and the British first proposed partition. Additionally, the formation of the United Nations after WW II, linked to the resettlement of Holocaust survivors in Palestine, in the potential new Jewish state. Ultimately, UN Resolution 181 was adopted by the UN General Assembly, being immediately accepted by the Jewish leadership, but rejected by the Arabs, leading to the creation of the State of Israel and the First Arab-Israeli War on May 15, 1948.

(b) Compare and contrast the purposes of Source 1 and Source 2. (5 marks)

Description	Marks
Identifies the purpose of Source 1	1
Identifies the purpose of Source 2	1
Identifies elements of comparison and contrast between the two sources	1–3
Total	**5**

Elective 1: The changing European world since 1945
- Purpose of S1: The purpose of S1 is to publicise to the world that America's support of West Berliners is by delivering Christmas gifts. This photograph was taken by the USA arguably to promote their role as caring for the West Berliners and portraying the Soviets as depriving citizens of a peaceful Christmas.
- Purpose of S2: Bevan's speech has the purpose of promoting the British government's 'gallant' role during the Blockade to the parliamentary opposition and indirectly to the British public and also to critique the USSR 'defiance of international agreements'.
- A comparison in purpose is they both seek to promote the West as the saviours/supporters of West Berliners, by providing presents (S1) and protecting them from falling 'into dependence upon Soviet Russia'(S2). Also the purpose was to educate the public on how 'hard and difficult' life is (S2) for West Berliners, and how this Christmas would be different compared to normal (S1).
- A contrast is that S1's purpose is more to highlight the humanitarian/social aspect of the presents being given during the Blockade, whereas S2's purpose is to educate the public on the difficulties of the Berlin Airlift along with vindicating the Allies involvement by portraying it as crucial and necessary in order to prevent West Berliners falling to the 'subjection' of the USSR.

Elective 2: Australia's engagement with Asia
- Purpose of S1 is to publicise how the government has changed their migration policy, allowing Japanese War Brides to now live in Australia. The photograph was taken by the awaiting media with the purpose of informing the public, capturing the historical moment, and ultimately selling papers.
- Purpose of S2: Spender's announcement has the purpose of appealing to Asian countries to participate in the Colombo Plan, in order to receive the aid offered. It also has the purpose of justifying and explaining why the government is committing to the plan, and Spender takes the opportunity to implicitly denounce the spread of communism in the region by referring to Australia as a 'progressive and democratic' country.
- A comparison in purpose is that they both are seeking to promote that relationships between Australia and Asia are improving. S1 promotes the cessation of the Japanese War Brides ban while S2 promotes maintaining 'economic and political stability in the area' through the financial assistance of the Colombo Plan. The purpose of both sources is to portray Australia as a caring, supportive nation enabling servicemen to return with their families in S1 and providing aid for development, S2.
- A contrast in purpose is that the photograph in S1 was taken to celebrate and capture the impact of changes in government policy, portraying Australia as more accepting of Asian nations and multiculturalism. Whilst in S2 Spender is cautious regarding engagement with Asia, using his announcement to justify the government's commitment in the region and appeal to other 'progressive and democratic countries' to come to the aid of the region.

Question 11 (continued)

> **Elective 3: The struggle for peace in the Middle East**
> - Purpose of S1: Is to officially commemorate the Declaration of the new State of Israel, by its first Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion. Taken by a Jewish photojournalist and released by the Israel Government Press Office, its purpose is to promote the acceptance of UN Resolution 181 and vindicate Israel's claims to territory under the Partition Plan.
> - Purpose of S2: The purpose of Yasser Arafat's speech is to allocate blame to what he believes are the roots of conflict between Palestine and Israel; the forced displacement of Palestinian people from their homeland during the First Arab-Israeli War, 1948, and their inability to return home, living in a perpetual 'struggle for sheer existence'.
> - A comparison in purpose is that both sources state a claim to the land affected by the UN Partition of Palestine following WW II. The Declaration of the State of Israel was delivered to proactively affirm the UN Resolution and achieve 'facts on the ground' beyond international debate. In S2, Arafat refers to 'the cause of people deprived of its homeland', arguing that the ongoing conflict is due to the international decision on Partition, rather than historical causes prior to this, stating it's not because of conflict between 'two religions or two nationalisms'.
> - A contrast in purpose is, S1's photograph was taken to promote to the Jewish world and globally the positive impact of the UN Resolution 181, enabling a representation of a people, creating a homeland with the Declaration of the State of Israel. Whereas Arafat's speech has the purpose of openly critiquing United Nations' actions, focusing on the impact upon Palestinians and their ongoing fate of being displaced people 'trying to survive' in the face of the ongoing conflict, trying to build a viable infrastructure even in exile.

(c)   Identify and explain the message of Source 3.   (3 marks)

Description	Marks
Identifies the message/s of the source	1
Explains the message/s of the source	1–2
Total	**3**

Elective 1: The changing European world since 1945
•   The message of S3 is post war Europe (in the form of lady 'Europa') is vulnerable to Stalin's advances (leaning over the fence) and needs the help and protection offered from Uncle Sam (America).
•   America is portrayed as the saviour of Europe shown by a protective embrace and Uncle Sam's willingness to look after her 'scrawny kids'. The cartoon produced in West Germany during the time of Stalin's expansion of influence into the Eastern Bloc has the message that Western Europe is vulnerable and needs the US to come to their aid (via the Marshall Plan begun earlier in the year, April 1948), 'before that big fellow (Stalin) grabs you'.

Elective 2: Australia's engagement with Asia
•   The message of Source 3 is while Menzies and his New Zealand counterpart Prime Minister, Holyoake are supporters of Forward Defence, containing communism in their words/speeches, they are reluctant to make the military commitment the USA desires.
•   Australia and New Zealand are portrayed as strong on rhetoric and gesture about the Vietnam situation, but as reluctant (being pushed) to get involved militarily, possibly represented by their small flags. The pushing by Uncle Sam (in his military uniform) indicates that America wants a stronger commitment of troops heading further down the road towards 'Viet Nam'. This source was produced in 1964 when Australian and New Zealand had committed hundreds and tens of servicemen respectively in Vietnam, compared to over 20 000 US troops.

Elective 3: The struggle for peace in the Middle East
•   The message of S3 is that despite numerous rounds of talks to broker an enduring peace, particularly through the 1990s, all attempts so far have ultimately failed, evidenced by the sign reading 'Next Historic Handshake'. The fact that the press is on standby, with members casually chatting and smoking implies that the media aren't expecting a significant impactful announcement, but rather waiting for yet another publicity seeking event.
•   The cynical tone of the cartoon reinforces the message that by 1999, particularly under President Clinton, there had been so many peace talks that they contained no substance beyond a photograph opportunity. The press is on endless standby for another announcement. Since the Camp David Accords of 1978, US Presidents in particular, had promoted themselves as arbiters of peace in the region. The Oslo Accords, commemorated by a historic handshake between Yasser Arafat and Yitzhak Rabin in 1993 had seemingly heralded a new era of real peace, but subsequent events (Rabin's assassination) and changing leadership in Israel derailed the process.

Question 11 (continued)

(d)   Identify how, and discuss why, Sources 3 and 4 are contestable.   (6 marks)

Description	Marks
Identifies the element/s of contestability for Source 3 and Source 4	1–2
Discusses the reasons for the contestability of Source 3	1–2
Discusses the reasons for the contestability of Source 4	1–2
Total	**6**

Markers' notes:
• The concept of contestability requires a discussion of conflicting historical interpretations represented in the source material, specifically why they are conflicting and open to historical debate.

Candidates need to:
• identify in each source argument/s, biases or perspectives that can be disputed
• demonstrate an understanding of what can make a source contestable, whether it provides a certain interpretation of events for which other interpretations exist; or whether the type of source provides an incomplete or suggestive picture which can be disputed
• articulate the nature of that dispute by referring to alternative arguments or viewpoints on that element of the source.

Elective 1: The changing European world since 1945
• S3 is highly contestable as a source created by a West German cartoonist presenting the view that America (Uncle Sam) will be Europe's saviour from Stalin and the USSR. Stalin would contest that he was not about to 'grab' Europe and that the USSR's actions are not aggressive, but necessary in order to create a buffer zone of safety post WW II. The 'scrawny kids' would contest their portrayal, especially Britain and France who would argue that they too were protecting West Germany, responsible for a zone each in both West Germany and Berlin.
• S4 is highly contestable as the source is written by former Soviet leader, Khrushchev, motivated to vindicate his actions and promote the Soviet Union. The article is biased claiming NATO has caused great harm, is dangerous and a propagandist organisation. NATO founding members would contest Khrushchev's view, citing Stalin's expansionist tactics throughout Europe as the catalyst to the origin of the organisation not western desires to expand influence. NATO members would contest Khrushchev accusation of 'revanchist sentiments', especially as the memoirs were written during the time of détente. They could argue that Khrushchev himself was the aggressor, seen during the Soviet response to the Hungarian revolt in 1956.

Elective 2: Australia's engagement with Asia

- S3 is contestable as the depiction of Australia being reluctant to engage troops is biased and not factually correct. Menzies offered a battalion to South Vietnam before being requested. He was keen to maintain strong strategic relations with the USA and implementing a Forward Defence policy, due to the fear of the domino theory, and the spread of communism. America could contest their portrayal of forcing Australia and New Zealand to commit to Vietnam, as both countries had independently become members of the collective security agreements ANZUS, 1951 and SEATO, formed in 1954. Finally, New Zealand could contest the message of the cartoon, having already committed troops to Vietnam, without American coercion.

- Source 4 is highly contestable. Published on a website that identifies as Marxist socialist revolutionaries, it has a strong pro-North Vietnam perspective, evident in its reference to 'US imperialism' and praise of the 'heroic anti-war movement'. Prime Minister Whitlam would contest the critique of his lack of action, having repeatedly spoken out against Australia's role in the Vietnam War, but being restricted from enacting his views earlier due to Labor being in opposition. Furthermore, his ALP colleagues, Dr Jim Cairns particularly, would strongly refute this analysis, having campaigned in successive election campaigns on an anti-Vietnam War ticket.

Elective 3: The struggle for peace in the Middle East

- S3 has several elements of contestability, including a biased view presented by the Lebanese-Swiss cartoonist that the peace process talks are little more than a photograph opportunity. The Lebanese heritage of the cartoonist might have influenced his cynical view of peace negotiations during the 1990s. The USA Administration, particularly President Clinton, would contest the source, stating that he had a genuine desire to see an effective and lasting peace between Israel and Palestine, pointing to the progress made due to the Oslo Accords of 1993, the Wye River Agreement and the Sharm-el-Sheikh Agreements involving transfers of land and power. The Israeli and PLO leaders would also point to these accomplishments as indications of genuine intent to find a peaceful solution to the conflict, particularly Arafat who oversaw the transfer of Gaza and Hebron and the setup of a Palestinian Administration.

- S4 is highly contestable as despite being a revisionist historian, Morris is an Israeli citizen and resident, writing for an Israeli magazine. Morris has changed his standpoint from his 'Righteous Victims' perspective of Palestinians, 1999, stating 'I came to understand they are not willing'. Yasser Arafat, Abbas, and the PLO negotiators would contest that they got 'an even better offer' in 2000, or that they had insincere motivations during the 1990s peace processes. Actual events of the 1990s belie this. Further, neither side officially stated what was offered and negotiated at Camp David II, therefore Morris' view is based on speculation and scraps of information. The statement that 'the much larger segment of Palestinians would be rejectionist', is contestable as this again is not supported with evidence.

Question 11 (continued)

(e) Using your knowledge of the whole period of study, evaluate the importance of changing political circumstances in the region, as represented in the sources. (7 marks)

Description	Marks
Identifies the changing political circumstances presented in the four sources	1
Places the changing political circumstances depicted within the broader historical context of the time	1–3
Evaluates the importance of the changing political circumstances depicted in relation to themes/ideas/events of the broader historical context	1–3
Total	**7**
Markers' notes: Candidates need to: • identify the changing political circumstances present in the sources and evaluate their importance on the region by using evidence from the sources and the linking this to a wider knowledge of the whole historical period.	

Elective 1: The changing European world since 1945
• The changing political circumstances in Europe being linked to capitalism and communism and the desire of both Western and Eastern Europe to contain their opposing ideology as evident in the four sources. Sources 1 and 2 provide information and viewpoints on the changing political circumstances regarding the Allies' zones of influence in Berlin. Despite earlier agreements at the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences political circumstances had already changed. Stalin's annoyance of the introduction of a new currency in the West, prompted his decision to begin the Berlin Blockade, thus ending any political cooperation between the Allies within Germany. Source 3 refers to how quickly political circumstances changed with Europe dividing into two political camps driven by USA's containment policy and the expansion of the Soviet Bloc. A clear political division had occurred within Europe, an 'Iron Curtain', symbolised by the fence dividing Stalin and Uncle Sam. Source 4 identifies that once this political division into capitalism and communism had occurred, each camp would endeavour to consolidate and protect their political ideology with the formation of NATO in 1949 and the Warsaw Pact in 1955.
• The theme of the clash of ideologies is extremely important in the context of the period of study, with the fear and suspicion continuing, creating political tensions throughout this period. The desire for collective security explains the formation of the political organisations of NATO and the Eastern Bloc, along with the emerging Arms Race albeit with the changing political circumstance of Mutual Assured Destruction ultimately preventing a 'hot war' within the region.
• Other important changes in political circumstances, such as heightened tension of brinkmanship, the détente and eventual end of the Cold War secured through the changing political cooperation climate, seen through political summits and agreements. Other key themes include the economic hardships endured by the USSR in the Arms Race contributed to the end of the Cold War.

Elective 2: Australia's engagement with Asia
- The changing political circumstances focused upon in the sources are Australian insecurities in the immediate post-war period, the desire to become more engaged with Asia and seeking to maintain their new supportive relationship with the USA. Sources 1 and 2 provide information on the changing political circumstances regarding migration from Asia, Japanese War Brides (S1) and also the Colombo Plan, providing visas for Asian students (S2). Sources 3 and 4 focus on the changing political circumstances linked to Australia's reliance upon strong and powerful friends within the region and the policy of Forward Defence, resulting in military commitments (S3), through ANZUS, but also SEATO, and the deepening involvement in the Vietnam War. The impact upon domestic political circumstances, such as the anti-war movement is evident in S4.
- The theme of political changes in migration policy are extremely important in the context of engagement with Asia, at first with small changes of War Brides to the complete abandonment of the White Australia Policy and the shift to multiculturalism, for example, the acceptance of Vietnamese boat people. The desire for security within the region was extremely important in shaping relations with Asian countries. The desire to contain communism resulted in Australia being involved in security issues, in Malaya, Indonesia, Vietnam and Korea.
- Other important changing political circumstances not mentioned in the sources, include the desire to improve relations in order to benefit economically in the region. The recognition of China by Whitlam and improved relationship with Japan, post WW II, both improved trade relations. This period saw the development of significant regional alliances and cooperative bodies, including APEC or ASEAN and an increase in Australia's involvement in peacekeeping, for example, East Timor.

Elective 3: The struggle for peace in the Middle East
- The changing political circumstances in the sources are all connected to the key cause of continual conflict; the UN Partition of Palestine into two states, arising out of the British Mandate and how politicians have responded to this over the period of study. S1 provides evidence of how the Israelis responded to the UN Resolution, with the creation of the modern State of Israel, whereas S2 considers the ongoing displacement of Palestinian people following Al-Nakba of 1948 and the subsequent rise of the different incarnations of Palestinian resistance, reflected in the various forms of the PLO.
- The theme of Partition/Two-States continues in S3 and S4, with the political changes made in an attempt at brokering settlement of the conflict during the peace processes of the 1990s, after a seemingly endless cycle of wars, rising terrorism and retaliation, trying to find a Two-State solution both sides can exist within. S3 reflects on the seemingly superficial nature of this as little more than international propaganda, while S4 represents the view that the Palestinians have never been genuine in negotiating a Two-State solution because of the majority rejection of Israel as a legitimate state.
- The changing political circumstances represented in the theme of ongoing opposition is critical to understanding the continuing conflict between Israel and Palestine, but of lesser importance in the conflict of the wider region. The conflict is broader than purely Israel and Palestine, encompassing the neighbouring Arab states created out of the Mandates, namely Trans-Jordan, Syria and Lebanon and Egypt. The theme of Arab nationalism is also central to the original and ongoing conflict with Israel. Furthermore, the role other states have played in the conflict, particularly the USA and USSR using the region as a proxy in their Cold War and the logistical significance of the region, linked with its abundance of oil, are also key causes of changing political circumstances.

Section Four: Essay–Unit 4 25% (25 Marks)

Marking key for Questions 12–20.

Description	Marks
Thesis introductory paragraph	
Introductory paragraph clearly related to the area/topic of the question, containing understanding of focus and key terms of the question, which gives a clear sense of the direction of the essay	3
Introductory paragraph contains a few sentences outlining the theme of the essay and includes a simple proposition	2
The paragraph gives a general indication that the topic is understood and includes a simple proposition. The opening paragraph has a sentence or two outlining the 'who' or 'what' to be discussed in the essay	1
Subtotal	**3**
Synthesised narrative	
Demonstrates an understanding of the interrelationship between events, people and ideas, and continuity and change	4
Demonstrates an understanding of the narrative, for example, that there are relationships between events, people and ideas, and/or continuity and change	3
A mainly chronological narrative with some content about, for example, events, people and ideas, and/or continuity and change	2
A simple narrative, not always showing an understanding of the correct chronology and with minimal reference to events, people and ideas	1
Subtotal	**4**
Argument	
Develops a sustained and sophisticated argument which shows a depth of analysis throughout the essay which is analytical, logical and coherent	5–6
Develops an argument which is analytical, logical and coherent and shows an understanding of the interconnectedness of the narrative	4
Written with a sense of argument using some appropriate language of history	3
The response contains a number of generalisations and statements that lack supporting evidence	2
Disjointed discussion/argument suggests little understanding of the topic and/or historic analysis of changing circumstance or continuity and change	1
Subtotal	**6**
Supporting evidence	
Detailed, accurate and relevant evidence used in a manner that assists analysis and evaluation. In responding to an essay instruction of debate or evaluate that proposition, historical evidence is used to argue for and against a view/proposition. Uses and cites accurately modern sources to develop or strengthen arguments	9–10
Accurate and relevant evidence used in a manner that assists analysis and evaluation. Attempts to use historical evidence to argue both sides when responding to an essay instruction of debate or evaluate that proposition. Incorporates quotations, sources, statistics as supporting evidence in a mostly coherent manner	7–8
Mainly accurate and relevant evidence throughout the essay. If quotations, sources, statistics are used as supporting evidence, they are cited in some coherent fashion	5–6
Some relevant and accurate evidence is provided	3–4
Limited evidence is provided that is sometimes inaccurate or irrelevant	2
Very limited evidence is provided or is often irrelevant or inaccurate	1
Subtotal	**10**
Conclusion	
Effectively draws the essay's argument or point of view together	2
Summarises the essay's point of view	1
Subtotal	**2**
Total	**25**

Elective 1: The changing European world since 1945

Question 12 **(25 marks)**

Evaluate the significance of Ronald Reagan's leadership on the nature of the Cold War in Europe.

Markers' notes:
Higher marks should be awarded to candidates who provide evidence of how Reagan's actions and policies significantly changed the nature of the Cold War in Europe, both increasing and decreasing tension. Alternatively some candidates may argue his role was insignificant, however, the focus of the essay should remain predominantly on Reagan, not other leaders they deem significant. Answers could include reference to the following:

- Reagan changes the nature of the Cold War from détente to increased tension. From taking office in 1981 Reagan changed the nature of the Cold War, by abruptly bringing the détente to an end. The USA restricted their trade with the Soviet Union, preventing access to new technology while America developed the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI, also known as Star Wars). The proposed space-based shield that would shoot down Soviet missiles, would bring changes in the nature of the Cold War from the constant of Mutually Assured Destruction to America striving towards having the advantage over the USSR. Reagan's confrontational nature calling the USSR, the 'evil empire' in 1983, and declaring the USA was ready for a 'limited nuclear war in Europe' further heightened tensions. The Reagan Doctrine provided support to anti-communists groups globally. In an attempt to contain communism, the USA deployed Cruise and Pershing II missiles to Western Europe during his leadership, which strengthened his relationship with Thatcher in the UK.

- Reagan changes the nature of the Cold War by working towards peace. While Reagan wanted the USA to have a stronger military presence, this did not stop him considering arms reduction. Limited progress was made at first, with Reagan claiming his efforts of quiet diplomacy were thwarted as the 'Soviet leaders kept dying on me'. Reagan's relationship with Mikhail Gorbachev changed the nature of the Cold War, as it was a catalyst to end the war. The nature of the war was becoming extremely economically focused as the Soviet Union could no longer sustain the military spending of the USA. Reagan and Gorbachev's relationship grew, creating a nature of negotiation culminating in steps towards peace, meeting at Geneva (1985) and Reykjavik (1986). Summits eventually lead to the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty of 1987, which agreed to scrap intermediate range missiles. The INF Treaty marked a change in the nature of the Cold War in Europe as it reduced armaments, going much further than SALT I, which only halted future growth in creating weapons. Reagan's desire to see an end to the Cold War, with a united Berlin was evident in his 'tear down this wall' speech, 1987. Although it is debated how much of a role this speech played in the 'wall's' demise, compared to glasnost, perestroika, and protests from Eastern European populations, against communism.

Question 13 **(25 marks)**

Examine the role of communism in shaping the region during the period of study.

Markers' notes: Candidates may cover the whole period, while it is still legitimate to focus on a discrete period e.g. the start of the Cold War.

Answers could include reference to the following:

- Start of the Cold War: The role of communism was paramount in shaping the region at the beginning of the period of study, with Stalin's expansionist tactics creating a buffer zone of communist countries. The spread of communism throughout Eastern Europe was the catalyst for Truman's Doctrine of containment, primarily achieved through economic support, under the Marshall Plan. By 1949, with the formation of NATO, Europe had clearly divided into two camps, communist and the opposing ideology of capitalism.

- During the Cold War: The Hungarian Uprising, 1956 and the Prague Spring, 1968 were both examples of the Soviet Union enforcing the continuation of communism, first with their Red Army and then with Warsaw Pact troops, enacting the Brezhnev Doctrine. Communism shaped the region by being the major cause of brinkmanship during the early 1960s, due to USA fears of their communist neighbour, played out in the Cuban Missile Crisis, and Khrushchev ordering the construction of the Berlin Wall, in order to halt the large numbers of East Berliners trying to flee communism.

- End of the Cold War: Once Gorbachev had relaxed the Brezhnev Doctrine which enforced communism, the region changed significantly as Eastern European countries opted for democracy. The fall of communism brought an end to the Cold War and reshaped the region again, as the Warsaw Pact disintegrated, and Western Europe expanded with former communist countries joining NATO and the European Union.

Question 14 **(25 marks)**

Assess the extent to which the development of European governance brought unity to the region during the period of study.

Markers' notes:
For higher marks candidates need to make a judgement on the extent to which unity was achieved and justify their argument with relevant evidence. The degree of unity varies across time, for example, 'enlargement' signifying the peak of economic unity, but there also being constant divisions between east and west in the region. There were also many divisions within the EC/EU organisation, for example, Britain repeatedly 'opting out' of European governance and France's veto of membership. Answers could include reference to the following:

- Establishment of European governance: The founding 'fathers' of European governance, Monnet and the French Foreign Minister, Schuman both realised the importance of economic unity in preventing future conflict in the region. The signing of the Treaty of Rome, 1957 by former enemies, France, and West Germany along with Belgium, Italy, the Netherlands and Luxembourg established the European Economic Community (EEC) 1958, with the purpose of restoring prosperity to a war-ravaged western Europe. The treaty focused on countries unifying to develop their industry, manufacturing, and trade, and even energy production, with Euratom, investigating the validity of using nuclear energy. The region also had two other economic organisations, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon), established in 1949, coordinating and unifying economic policies in the Soviet Bloc, Comecon would consolidate the Soviet Union's economic hold on members with the 'transferable rouble' used to compare currencies. By 1960 a third economic group was formed in the region, the European Free Trade Association with six member countries. Therefore, total economic unity was not achieved, with three competing trade organisations.
- Economic unity: During the period of study, steps were taken to extend the original trading partnership, (EEC) to the creation of one large economy. The European Monetary System, 1979 established an exchange rate mechanism between member countries. A single market was established in 1986 and a common currency, the Euro was rolled out from 2002, creating the Eurozone.
- Political and social unity: European governance extended beyond the economy, with the first direct elections to the European Parliament, 1979. The Maastricht Treaty, 1992 included a chapter on social policy, and the Four Freedoms, 1993 brought the free movement of services, persons, workers, and capital within the European Union (EU). The Schengen Convention, 1995 effectively opened the borders between member states and the Treaty of Amsterdam, 1999, starting the process of transferring powers from national governments to a unified, European Parliament.
- Enlargement: Throughout the Cold War period the number of member countries of the EC, EEC and EU rose steadily. As the Warsaw Pact and Comecon dissolved, former communist countries applied to join the EU, with Poland, Estonia, and Hungary joining in 1998 and former Yugoslavian countries joining post 2000. These countries realised the importance and worth of collective economic unity and the opportunities their population would receive as European Union citizens.
- Disunity: France under De Gaulle, saw the European Community as a sphere to extend influence, unlike NATO, which he considered too American centred. De Gaulle vetoed the United Kingdom's desire to join the community twice, with the UK eventually joining in 1973. Since joining in 1973, many UK politicians have rallied against EU membership, seeing its widening powers as a threat to sovereignty, with the UK often 'opting out' of governance, such as keeping the British pound instead of adopting the Euro. The end of the period of study saw a large increase of nationalism in the EU, mainly due to concerns regarding loss of sovereign powers. Several nationalistic political parties gained significant portions of votes both in their domestic and European Parliaments at this time.

Elective 2: Australia's engagement with Asia

Question 15 **(25 marks)**

Evaluate the significance of the Hawke and Keating governments to Australia's engagement with Asia.

Markers' notes:
China–Hawke was one of Australia's longer serving Prime Ministers and was able to exert profound influence for a longer period of time than his immediate predecessors (Fraser, Whitlam, McMahon, Gorton, and Holt). He inherited government after a turbulent period where many issues involving Australia and its Asian neighbours had been resolved (e.g. the abolition of the White Australia Policy, the end of the Vietnam War and decolonisation had largely ended). Students should conclude that both Hawke and Keating's engagement with Asia was largely pragmatic and focused on economic opportunities for Australia and immigration. Candidates might also compare the leadership of Hawke and Keating to other Prime Ministers in their evaluation.

Answers could include reference to the following:
- Hawke's leadership:
- China-Hawke's first term in office coincided with China's re-emergence on the world stage as a growing economic power. Less than a month after Hawke became Prime Minister, then Premier of China Zhao Ziyang made the first visit to Australia by a Chinese head of government. Hawke encouraged the development of commercial cooperation between Australia and China. He proposed greater integration of both countries' iron ore and steel industries, encouraging joint ventures. In 1984, Hawke announced the establishment of the Australian Consulate-General in Shanghai, its first in China. Later, Hawke granted 42 000 permanent visas to Chinese students in Australia following the June 1989 events in Tiananmen Square.
  APEC- Hawke was central to the development of APEC, hosting the first meeting in November 1989 in Canberra, promoting it as a regional forum for economic cooperation.
  Cambodia–Hawke was also prominent in Australia's role as part of the peace process in Cambodia, with Australia being a signatory to the 1991 Paris Peace Accords.
- East Timor and Indonesia, Hawke negotiated and signed the Timor Gap Treaty with Indonesia, which recognised Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor, reflecting his pragmatic approach to foreign policy within the region.
- Keating's leadership: continued with many of the same commitments as Hawke.
- Indonesia–Keating strongly emphasised Australia's relationship, forging closer ties, especially with President Suharto.
- China–Keating maintained relations, including visiting China as Prime Minister in 1993 and encouraging their involvement in APEC.
  With ASEAN, Keating focused on strengthening relations with Australia's Asian neighbours through the ASEAN group
- APEC–Keating significantly increased the profile of APEC as a regional forum, advocating for annual leaders' meetings, which were endorsed and continue today.

Question 16 **(25 marks)**

Examine the role of multiculturalism in shaping regional relationships between Australia and Asia during the period of study.

Markers' notes:
Candidates need to consider the development of multiculturalism, emerging as the prevailing policy, socially and for immigration, during the Whitlam years of government, replacing the White Australia Policy. Responses should consider how significant the role of multiculturalism was in influencing (shaping) regional relationships. Answers could include reference to the following:

- Acceptance of Asian migrants: The allowance of Japanese War Brides to join their husbands (1952), the Colombo Plan, acceptance of Vietnamese 'boat people' and other refugees from various parts of Asia, marked a shift towards multiculturalism. Changes in immigration policies such as the removal of the Dictation Test (1958), and the adoption of three streams of migration; skilled, family reunification and refugees, effectively ended the White Australia Policy, supported domestically by the passing of the Racial Discrimination Act (1975). Asian students were actively encouraged to study in Australian educational institutions, often seeking permanent residency and ultimately citizenship.

- Improved relationships: Greater diversity in Australia's population, evident from multiculturalism enhanced trade and security connections through greater connection and better understanding. An improved reputation through multiculturalism, enabled Australia to legitimately be a spokesperson for humanitarianism in the region i.e. East Timor, visas for Chinese students after Tiananmen Square.

- Tensions: The adoption of multiculturalism in Australia also created tension within the region. The introduction of offshore detention under Keating, scaling back of the family reunion program under Hawke, and the rhetoric of One Nation's Pauline Hanson regarding Asian immigration all created tension with Asian neighbours.

- By the end of the period, Asian immigration had altered the demographics in all major Australian cities and was the driving force in Australia becoming a genuinely multicultural nation. Some candidates may recognise that there were already steps to develop regional relationships prior to the adoption of multiculturalism and make this a part of their evaluation.

Question 17 **(25 marks)**

Assess the impact of World War II on Australia and its engagement with Asia.

Markers' notes:
Candidates should focus upon the pivot away from Britain towards the USA in security arrangements and how this impacted Australia's foreign policy in Asia. They should also consider the political and social impacts of the war. Answers could include reference to the following:
- Fall of Singapore (1941) marked a turning point for Australia, along with the insecurity felt from Japanese bombing of northern Australian towns during WW II. Australia looked to America for security under Curtin and post war adopted a 'populate or perish' migration policy under Chifley. This fear of invasion continued, contributing to the formation of ANZUS and Australia joining SEATO.
- The atrocities committed during WW II were a catalyst for the formation of the United Nations. Australia played a significant role, with Dr Evatt as President of the General Assembly, overseeing the acceptance of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. The United Nations desire to create a new world order along with a surge in anti-colonialism saw a push for independence from many nations in the region. The end of decolonisation became an issue for Australia, especially if this nationalism involved adopting communism. The domino theory and fear of a spread of communism drove foreign policy, with Menzies adopting a Forward Defence initiative, ultimately leading to the deployment of Australian troops to Korea, Malaya, and Vietnam.
- The movement towards decolonisation that followed the war, including the Dutch in Indonesia, the British in Malaya and India, the French in Indochina, the USA in the Philippines and the Portuguese in Timor, led to the emergence of a pragmatic foreign policy, in some cases supporting decolonisation (the Chifley ALP Government supported Indonesian independence) and in some cases not (Britain in the Malayan Emergency).
- During the war Australian forces in Asia developed close relationships, for example, in Papua New Guinea and also in the immediate post war years, with some troops posted in Japan, marrying locals. At first refused entry, Japanese war brides were given permission to migrate to Australia, and this would soon become one of the first steps away from the White Australia Policy.
- The White Australia Policy influenced relations with Asia in the immediate post-war period. Australia adopted a position of 'populate or perish' in response to the threats present from WW II and after the war. Over time, regional security concerns reached a tipping point that saw the significant dismantling of the WAP, firstly by the Chifley ALP Government in 1947, letting non-Europeans settle in Australia for business reasons, with a relaxation of the Immigration Restriction Act followed by subsequent Australian Governments until the WAP was abandoned officially by the Whitlam ALP Government.

Elective 3: The struggle for peace in the Middle East

Question 18 **(25 marks)**

Evaluate the significance of the United Nations in the evolving nature of the conflict in the region.

Markers' notes:
Candidates need to make an overall judgement of the significance of the UN's role in the region to be awarded higher marks. Answers could include reference to the following:

- The United Nations' first involvement in the conflict was in 1947 with UN Resolution 181 proposing Partition of the British Mandate for Palestine into two separate states: Israel and Palestine is hugely significant to the fundamental nature of the conflict. This, for many, is seen as a critical step in igniting conflict, with the first Arab-Israeli War of 1948.

- Post 1948, the UN passed key resolutions aimed at evolving a peaceful and just resolution of the conflict, reflecting its role as arbiter: The 1948 UN Resolution 194: called for the right of Palestinians to return to their homes and has remained the legal basis for Palestinian refugees ever since. The 1967 Six Day War and UN Resolution 242 called for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from occupied territories and the 'right to live in peace within secure borders' for all peoples of the region. This Resolution formed the basis of peace talks from Camp David onwards with the UN remaining a consistent, significant force in promoting a nature of negotiation, aspiring to peaceful resolutions. The 1973 Yom Kippur War and UN Resolution 338 reinforced Resolution 242. However, its ambiguity (deliberate or not) caused more conflict between Israel and the Arab nations reflecting the precarious nature of the UN influence to find a resolution to the conflict. The 1979 UN Resolution 446 condemned Israeli settlements built in occupied territories as a violation of international law. Although candidates may reference that the Israelis have continued this policy.

- The United Nations' role further evolved to encompass peace negotiations between Israel and Arab States and UN Peace Keeping forces have been heavily involved in supervising troop withdrawals and maintaining buffer zones between Israel and neighbouring Arab states since 1948, including Suez in 1956, the Lebanese Civil War and the First Gulf War.

- UNRWA (UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine) established, December 1949, remains the agency responsible for humanitarian aid to displaced Palestinians across the occupied territories, Lebanon, Jordan and Syria.

- While UN Resolutions have been significant at every stage of conflict and peace process, they have been non-binding and therefore remained debatable and ignored by Israel. Candidates may argue that the United States power of veto in the United Nations has tethered the UN ability to effect change, ultimately limiting its significance, preventing Palestinian grievances being fully addressed and has meant violence in the region continued.

Question 19 **(25 marks)**

Examine the role of imperialism in shaping the region during the period of study.

Markers' notes:
Responses that consider the role of imperialism beyond The British Mandate and the conflict between Israel and Arab states/Palestine should receive higher marks. Candidates could consider the role of France, the USSR and the USA. Answers could include reference to the following:

- British imperialism: Conflicting promises made by the British to the Arabs and Jews and its agreement with France during WW I (Hussein-MacMahon Correspondence 1915-16,1916 Sykes-Picot Agreement with France, and the Balfour Declaration of 1917) are evidence of British imperialistic desires to exert their influence in the region due to its strategic location and resource access. The British and French retained majority shares in the Suez Canal Company and British forces remained there until 1956. The Protocol de Sevres, 1956, between Britain, France and Israel aimed at maintaining British/French control of the Suez Canal, and therefore their power and influence in the region and led to the Suez Crisis of 1956. Failure to maintain control of the Canal marked the end to British imperialism in the region.

- French Imperialism: Pre-1945 imperialist actions by France, Sykes-Picot Agreement and the creation of two new states: Lebanon and Syria, with French friendly leaders, set the roots for conflict in Lebanon with its government structure designed to promote French/western influence and interests, which ultimately became one of the root causes of the Lebanese Civil War starting in 1975.

- The USSR: Post WW II and the Cold War era the Soviets endeavoured to add the Middle East to its sphere of influence. They failed to win over Israel, so became allies with Arab nations, providing military assistance, money etc. Along with the USA it could be argued that both nations' imperialist desires were displayed in the Middle East, a proxy hot war zone in the Cold War.

- The USA: Post WW II US influence grew, becoming the biggest supporter of Israel, as a State, evident in the huge financial and military support provided. Some view America's backing of Israel and its expansionist tendencies as American imperialism in the region; with Israel being labelled America's outpost. The USA has tried over the years to gain power and influence within the region for example, establishing the Shah of Iran as a 'puppet leader' and providing Arab nations with aid, loans, arms etc. Oil resources and the strategic location of the region are the main reasons for USA interests. The First Gulf War, saw President Bush lead the offensive against Iraq and Saddam Hussein, declaring a 'new world order', 1991.

Question 20 **(25 marks)**

Assess the consequences of the Soviet Union's involvement in both opposing and working for peace in the region from 1967.

Markers' notes:
Candidates should focus their responses on the period outlined, reference to Soviet involvement before 1967, should only be to set context. Involvement by the USSR was motivated by the resources in the region, its strategic importance and many argue the desire to creating of a 'proxy' Cold War. Answers could include reference to the following:

• Late 1960s/70s: USSR armed the Arab States as part of the Cold War arms race with the USA, both before and during the 1967 Six Day War, with some considering such actions as a deliberate provocation of war. The Soviets pushed Egypt into a pact with Syria, giving false reports of Israeli military build-up on the Syrian border, which Nasser used as a justification of his actions, forming part of his 'brinkmanship'. The USSR was then instrumental in negotiating a ceasefire and peace agreement. Consequences were, increased Israeli confidence in the region due to their US backing, entrenched Occupied Territories, the 'Three Noes' from the Arab League and UN Resolution 242 calling for withdrawal from the Occupied Territories. During the 1973 Yom Kippur War, the USSR continued arming Arab states, which fed into Arab confidence. The USSR also gave verbal support to OPEC Oil embargoes of 1973–74, against Western nations.

• 1980s/90s: 1980–88 Iran Iraq War: USSR were officially neutral, but initially tried to back both sides, then switching to overtly supporting Iraq, becoming their biggest supplier of arms and military advisors, thus emboldening Saddam Hussein, who would go on to invade Kuwait, 1990. When Mikhail Gorbachev became Soviet President, 1985, Soviet foreign policy changed direction, becoming involved in peace processes, albeit in a very minor way.

• PLO: USSR gave support, arms, and training to PLO groups from 1968, feeding the notion they supported terrorism in region. However, the USSR also pushed Arafat to accept UN Resolution 242 and recognise Israel.

• Peace Process: The Soviets were not part of Camp David and took limited roles in 1970s peace negotiations. Instead, they tended to play Arab states off against each other, which ultimately pushed Saudi Arabia and Egypt towards the West, maintaining ties with Syria and Iraq. However, the Soviets did co-sponsor the Madrid Middle East Peace Conference (MMEPC) in 1991. With the fall of the USSR, Soviets lost momentum in region, as the USA rose to be main 'broker' of peace.

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