

History Level 10

Chapter 6 — The globalising world since 1945

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Changing perspectives on technology, public health, longevity, living standards and the environment

History 10 · Chapter 6 — The globalising world since 1945 · Section 6A

Curriculum links

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Content description: VC2HH10K36

In this section you will learn to:

1. explain what historians mean by changing *perspectives*, and why the decades after 1945 changed what people expected of progress;
2. read technology advertisements since 1945 as historical sources — comparing what they promised, who they spoke to, and what they left out;
3. use United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) sources and the Our World in Data site, tracking how public health, longevity and living standards have changed since 1945;
4. explain how the Human Development Index changed the way living standards are measured, and why income alone never told the whole story;
5. trace how Australian attitudes to the environment developed — from conserving special places to arguing about climate change — and weigh that debate by stating each side in its strongest form before judging.

Section 1C gave you the wide-angle view of the world since 1945: the technologies, the growing population, the longer lives, the environmental movement. This section looks at the same changes from a different angle — not *what* changed, but *how people saw* the change as it happened, and how those views themselves changed over time. Advertisements show one generation's hopes; health statistics show what governments chose to count; and Australia's long argument over its environment shows how a society's deepest concerns can shift within a single lifetime. Keep one question running through the whole section: *what did people believe about progress at the time — and what did they later come to doubt?*

This section is the shared foundation of Chapter 6: the investigations that follow build on the sources and ideas here.

6.1 Progress and its measures: what people believed, and when

In 1945, most governments and most people shared one big assumption: that science, technology and economic growth would make life steadily better, and that this was simply what the future was for. New machines would lighten housework. New drugs would defeat disease. More growth meant more comfort. Historians call this confidence in steady improvement a belief in **progress** — and for thirty years after 1945 it was almost unquestioned.

Then the questioning began. By the 1960s and 1970s, the side-effects of growth were harder to ignore: polluted rivers, smog-choked cities, the fear that resources would run out. The perspectives did not flip overnight — they shifted, decade by decade, as new evidence and new experiences arrived. Tracking that shift is exactly what this section does.

First, the words. Several terms in this section are used in more than one way by different people, so this book fixes each one at first use.

A word about words — *living standards* The curriculum uses the term *living standards* without defining it, and the term is genuinely contested — it means different things in different hands. Economists often measure living standards as income or spending per person. Historians and the UNDP include more: health, schooling, housing, leisure and safety. In this section, *living standards* means **how well people actually live**, and the whole of Section 6.4 is about the argument over how to measure that.

A word about words — *public health and longevity* *Public health* means the health of whole populations, and the organised efforts — clean water, vaccination, health campaigns — that protect it. *Longevity* means length of life; in this section it is measured by **life expectancy at birth**, the average number of years a newborn could expect to live if current death rates stayed the same.

A word about words — *sustainability* Section 1.6 gave you the definition used in this book: the World Commission on Environment and Development (the Brundtland Commission, reporting in 1987) defined **sustainable development** as development that meets the needs of the present without making it harder for future generations to meet their own needs. *Sustainability* in this section means living within that idea.

Check point. In your own words, what did most people believe about “progress” in the decades straight after 1945? Give one reason that belief began to be questioned. Why does a historian need to define “living standards” before measuring it?

6.2 Selling tomorrow: technology adverts since 1945

One of the best windows into what a generation hoped from technology is the advertisement. Adverts are made to persuade, and they persuade by echoing what people already want or fear. That makes them excellent sources for **perspective** — not of what life *was*, but of what sellers believed buyers wanted to hear.

Figure 1 sets out five dated technology adverts, from the very first paid television advertisement to the launch of the iPhone. The table begins with one advert from *before* 1945 — the first paid TV advertisement ever broadcast — because every advert since learned its trick there: sell the future, not the product.

Selling tomorrow: five dated technology adverts, 1941-2007		
Each row: what was advertised, where and when - then what the advert emphasised, and what the technology was made to promise.		
Advert (year, product, place)	What the advert emphasised	What the technology promised (the perspective it sold)
1941 - Bulova watch (USA). The first paid television advertisement, aired 1 July 1941 on New York station WNBT.	The product and its brand name, tied to a live baseball broadcast watched by a few thousand set owners.	Technology as novelty: owning the new medium itself was the message.
1955 - Gibbs SR toothpaste (UK). Britain's first television advert, 22 September 1955 on the new ITV network.	A household product for daily use, sold to the family doing the shopping.	Science in the service of the home: small modern improvements to everyday life.
1979 - Sony Walkman TPS-L2 (Japan). On sale from 1 July 1979; over 30,000 sold in the first two months.	Personal, private listening: your own cassette, your own soundtrack, wherever you go.	Technology as personal freedom - an escape from the shared family set.
1984 - Apple Macintosh '1984' (USA). Aired nationally once, 22 January 1984, during Super Bowl XVIII; directed by Ridley Scott for the Chiat/Day agency.	Not the machine's parts but its meaning: the individual against a grey, conforming crowd.	Technology as identity and rebellion: buying it said who you were.
2007 - Apple iPhone (USA). Unveiled by Steve Jobs on 9 January 2007; released in the US on 29 June 2007.	Three devices in one (phone, music player, internet) touched by finger - a new way of living with information.	Technology as connection: the world in your pocket, always with you.

Read down the last column: what the advertisements promise changes from novelty, to home comfort, to personal freedom, to identity, to connection - the same history of perspectives that the devices themselves tell.

Sources: 'Television advertisement' (first paid US TV advert; first UK TV advert); 'Walkman'; '1984 (advertisement)'; 'iPhone (1st generation)' - Wikipedia, accessed 2026-08-25.

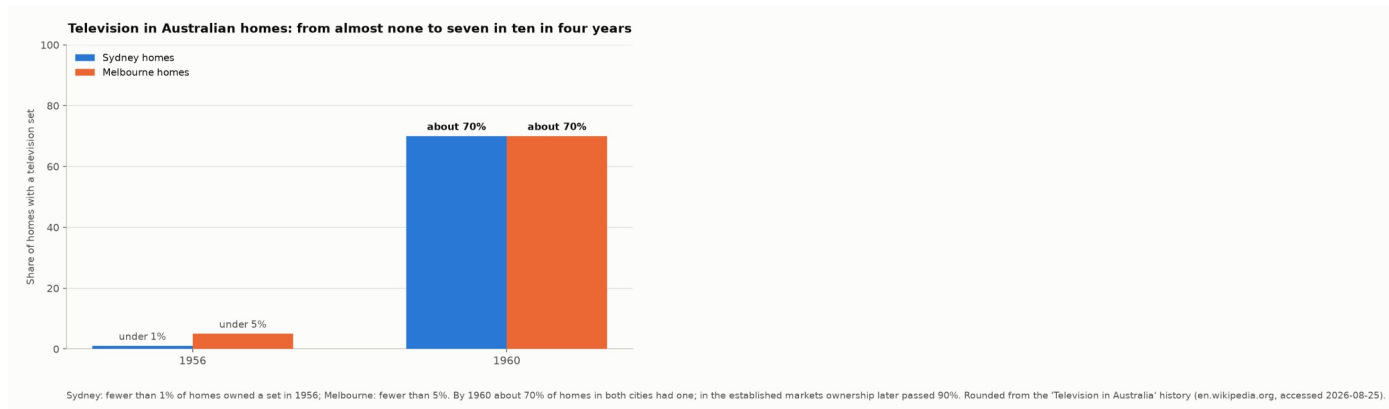
A table of five dated technology adverts from 1941 to 2007 — the 1941 Bulova watch advertisement, the 1955 Gibbs SR toothpaste advertisement, the 1979 Sony Walkman campaign, the 1984 Apple Macintosh '1984' commercial and the 2007 iPhone launch — giving for each the year, product and place, what the advert emphasised, and what the technology promised

Figure 1 — Selling tomorrow: five dated technology adverts, 1941–2007. Read across each row: what the advert emphasised, and what the technology promised. (Original figure.)

Notice the pattern across the five rows. The early adverts sell a *better day*: the right time, cleaner teeth. The later ones sell a *better self*: your own private music wherever you go; a computer that sets you against the crowd; a phone that becomes “everything”. The promise moves from convenience to identity. That shift *is* a change in historical perspective, caught in the sellers’ own words.

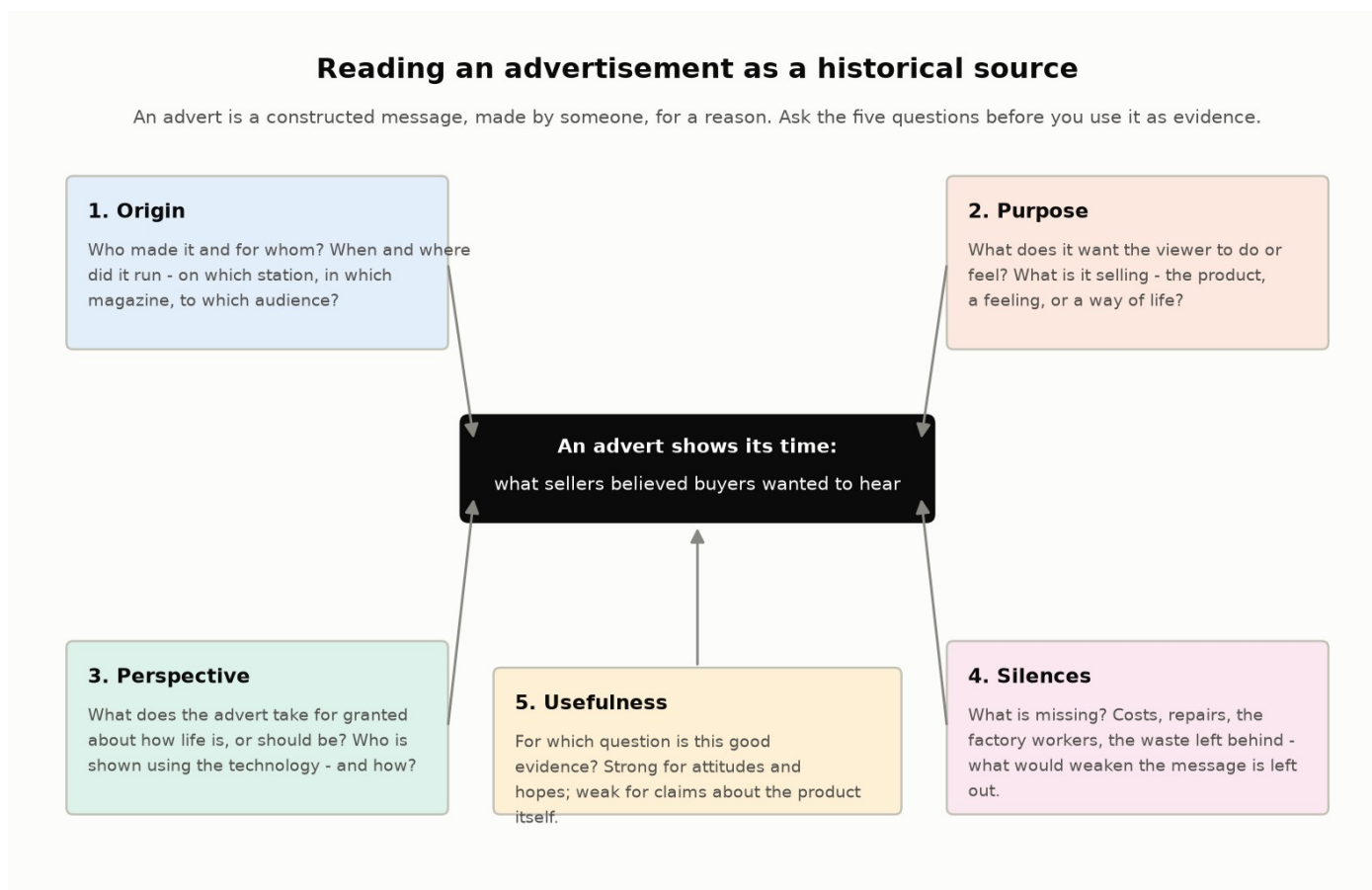
And notice how fast the technology itself moved once television existed to sell it. Television arrived in Australia in September 1956, when the broadcaster **Bruce Gyngell** welcomed Sydney’s first viewers; Melbourne’s first channel opened in November, weeks before the Olympic Games began there. In 1956, under one Sydney household in a

hundred owned a set, and under five in a hundred in Melbourne. By 1960, about seven in ten did. Colour television began in Australia on 1 March 1975. Figure 2 shows the speed of that take-up; Figure 3 gives you the frame for reading the adverts themselves like a historian.



A grouped bar chart showing how quickly television reached Australian homes: under 1 per cent of Sydney households and under 5 per cent of Melbourne households had sets in 1956, and about 70 per cent of households in both cities had sets by 1960

Figure 2 — Television in Australian homes: from almost none to seven in ten in four years. (Original figure.)



A diagram of five questions for reading an advertisement as a historical source — origin, purpose, perspective, silences and usefulness — arranged around the statement: an advert shows its time, what sellers believed buyers wanted to hear

Figure 3 — Reading an advert like a historian: the five-question frame. (Original figure.)

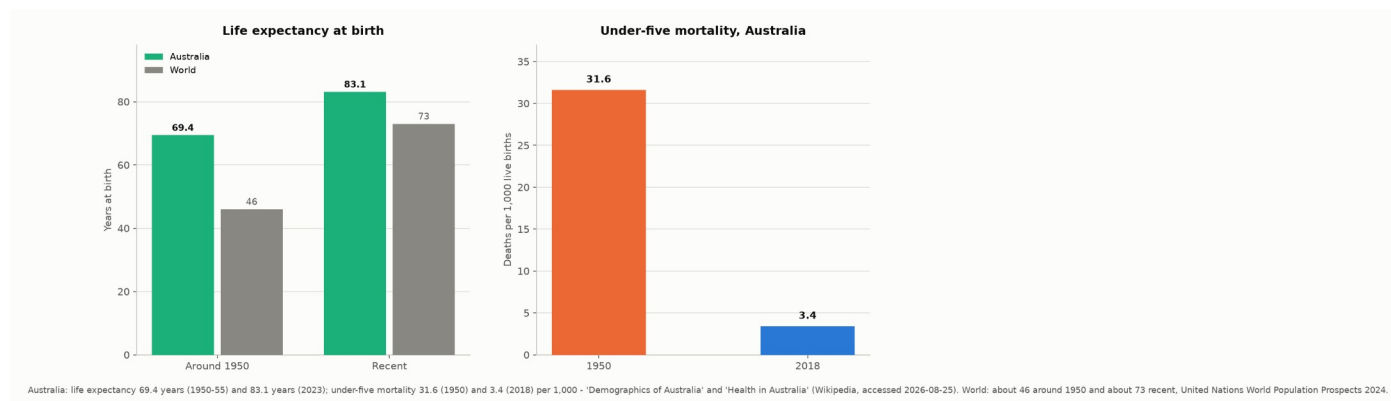
Apply Figure 3 to Apple’s “1984” commercial, broadcast once in the United States on 22 January 1984 during the Super Bowl. Its **origin** is precise: the advertising agency Chiat/Day made it, the film director **Ridley Scott** directed it, and it sold the first Macintosh computer. Its **purpose** was to announce Apple as a rebel against boring, uniform computing — the spot showed rows of blank-faced workers watching a giant screen, and one runner who smashed it,

borrowing its image from George Orwell's novel *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Its **perspective** is the 1980s American belief that personal technology was freedom. And its **silences** matter too: the advert never showed the computer, its price, or what it did.

Check point. Choose one advert from Figure 1. State what it emphasised and what it promised. Why does this section call adverts good sources for *perspective* but poor sources for what life was actually like? Using Figure 2, describe how quickly television reached Australian homes.

6.3 Public health and longevity: the gains since 1945

The clearest evidence that living standards changed after 1945 is in bodies: people lived longer, and fewer children died. Section 1.5 gave you the world picture. Figure 4 gives you Australia's — and the world's for comparison — from two sets of sources you can check.



Two panels: a grouped bar chart of life expectancy at birth showing Australia rising from 69.4 years around 1950 to 83.1 years recently while the world rises from about 46 to about 73, and a bar chart of Australia's under-five mortality falling from 31.6 deaths per 1,000 live births in 1950 to 3.4 in 2018

Figure 4 — Health in Australia since 1945: life expectancy and under-five mortality. (Original figure.)

Read the two panels together. A child born in Australia around 1950 could expect about 69 years of life; a child born in 2023 can expect about 83. Australia started ahead of the world average and stayed ahead, but the world rose too — from about 46 years around 1950 to about 73 recently. The fall in under-five deaths is steeper still: from 31.6 deaths per 1,000 live births in 1950 to 3.4 in 2018 — a fall of almost nine-tenths.

What *caused* these gains? Four things, working together:

1. **Medicines and vaccines.** Antibiotics such as penicillin turned once-deadly infections into treatable ones. Vaccination campaigns removed childhood diseases that every earlier generation had lived with; by 2014, about 97 per cent of Australian children under seven were fully vaccinated.
2. **Clean water, sanitation and safer food** — public-health works that spread through the 20th century.
3. **Public-health campaigns** — against smoking, for road safety, for screening — that changed behaviour before disease struck.
4. **Rising wealth**, which made all of the above affordable for whole populations, not only the rich.

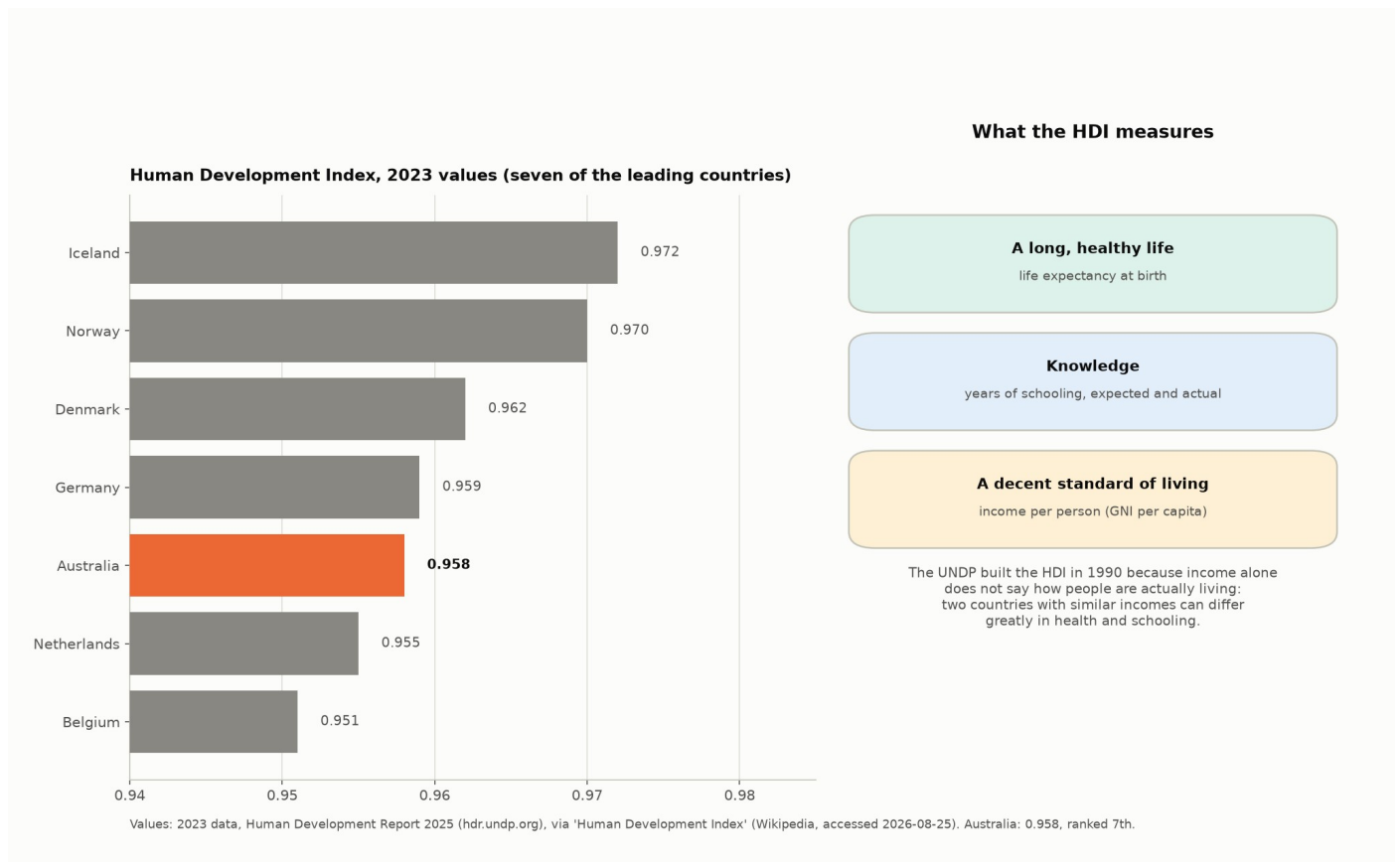
The gains changed perspectives too. With infectious disease largely controlled in wealthy countries like Australia, the leading causes of death became long-term conditions — heart disease, cancer — and the public-health conversation turned to how people live: diet, activity, smoking. And one caution belongs here: in 2020–21 the pandemic cut life expectancy in many countries at once — a reminder that these gains, however large, are not automatic.

Check point. Using Figure 4, describe the change in Australian life expectancy since around 1950, and compare it with the world's. Give two causes of the fall in under-five deaths. What new focus replaced infectious disease in public-health thinking, and why?

6.4 Measuring living standards: from income to human development

For decades, governments answered the question “are we doing well?” with one number: income per person. Richer country, better life — that was the assumption.

By the 1980s, some economists were not satisfied. Two countries could have similar incomes while their people’s lives were utterly different — one with long lives and good schools, one without. In 1990, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) published the first **Human Development Report**, led by the Pakistani economist **Mahbub ul Haq** with the Indian economist **Amartya Sen** (who later won the Nobel Prize in Economics). Their answer was the **Human Development Index (HDI)** — a single number built from three things, not one.



A horizontal bar chart of 2023 Human Development Index values for seven leading countries, with Australia highlighted at 0.958 and ranked 7th, beside a panel explaining the three things the HDI measures — a long healthy life, knowledge, and a decent standard of living

Figure 5 — The Human Development Index: what it measures, and how Australia compares (2023 values from the 2025 report). (Original figure.)

Figure 5 shows the three parts of the HDI and how Australia compares with other countries near the top. Australia’s HDI for 2023 was 0.958 — seventh in the world. The point of the figure is not the rank: it is that the HDI *exists at all*. Its creation in 1990 was itself a change in perspective — a formal, worldwide admission that income alone does not say how people are living.

Did living standards actually improve? On the numbers, and by any measure, the long answer is yes — though unevenly:

- On **extreme poverty**, Our World in Data estimates that in 1820 roughly 79 per cent of the world’s people lived in extreme poverty; by 2018 the share was about 9 per cent.
- On a stricter line — living on less than US\$3 a day — about 44 per cent of the world’s people lived below it in 1990; by 2025 the share was about 10 per cent (World Bank figures, as compiled by Our World in Data).
- On **health and schooling**, the UNDP’s own reports track rising life expectancy and school years across almost all regions since 1990 — with one striking break: in its 2021/22 report (*Uncertain Times, Unsettled*

Lives), the UNDP recorded that the global HDI fell in 2020 and again in 2021, the first back-to-back falls since measurement began, before recovering.

So the picture by 2025 is not simple optimism: huge gains, honestly measured — and evidence that they can stall. Section 1.5 made the same point about resources. Measurement itself had changed how the world argued about progress.

Check point. Name the three things the HDI measures. Why did Mahbub ul Haq and Amartya Sen believe income alone was not enough? Give one piece of evidence from this subsection that living standards improved greatly since 1990, and one that the gains can stall.

Close study 1 — a primary source: the first Human Development Report (1990)

A **primary source** is a source made at or near the time it is studied. The UNDP’s first Human Development Report, published in 1990, is a primary source for a change of mind: the moment a major world organisation said, in print, that development should be measured by people’s lives, not by money alone. Read its opening lines carefully. They are the report’s own words.

“The real wealth of a nation is its people. And the purpose of development is to create an enabling environment for people to enjoy long, healthy and creative lives.”

Source: United Nations Development Programme, Human Development Report 1990, opening paragraph (hdr.undp.org). The report was led by Mahbub ul Haq with Amartya Sen.

Work with the source.

1. According to these lines, what is “the real wealth of a nation”? What does this phrase say income alone *cannot* tell you?
 2. The report names three things people should be able to enjoy: long lives, healthy lives and creative lives. Match each to one of the three parts of the HDI in Figure 5. Which part of the HDI has no direct match in this sentence, and what does that tell you about the source’s limits?
 3. A source is also evidence of its time. Why might the idea “wealth is people” have needed saying in 1990 — what was it arguing *against*?
 4. What could this source tell a future historian about 1990 that a table of income figures never could — and what could it *not* tell them?
-

Close study 2 — a secondary interpretation: McNeill’s *Something New Under the Sun*

A **secondary source** is made later, by someone interpreting the past. In *Something New Under the Sun: An Environmental History of the Twentieth-Century World* (2000), the American historian **J. R. McNeill** offered one of the most influential interpretations of the century’s environmental change — and it belongs here because it explains *why* perspectives on the environment changed at all.

McNeill’s argument, in brief: during the 20th century, human beings changed the natural world more than in all earlier history combined. More people, more energy burned, more forests cleared, more water diverted, more waste made — every measure of humanity’s pressure on the planet rose faster between 1900 and 2000 than in any earlier period. He traced this across the atmosphere, soils, forests and oceans, and across every region. Crucially, McNeill did not write as a judge handing out blame: he described the change as the unplanned result of billions of ordinary decisions — to drive, to heat, to eat, to grow. His title is the point: the 20th century made something genuinely new under the sun.

Notice what McNeill has done, as Hobsbawm did in Section 1C: he has taken facts — population, energy, technology — and given them an *interpretation*: that the century’s environmental change was not just large but without parallel, and largely unintended.

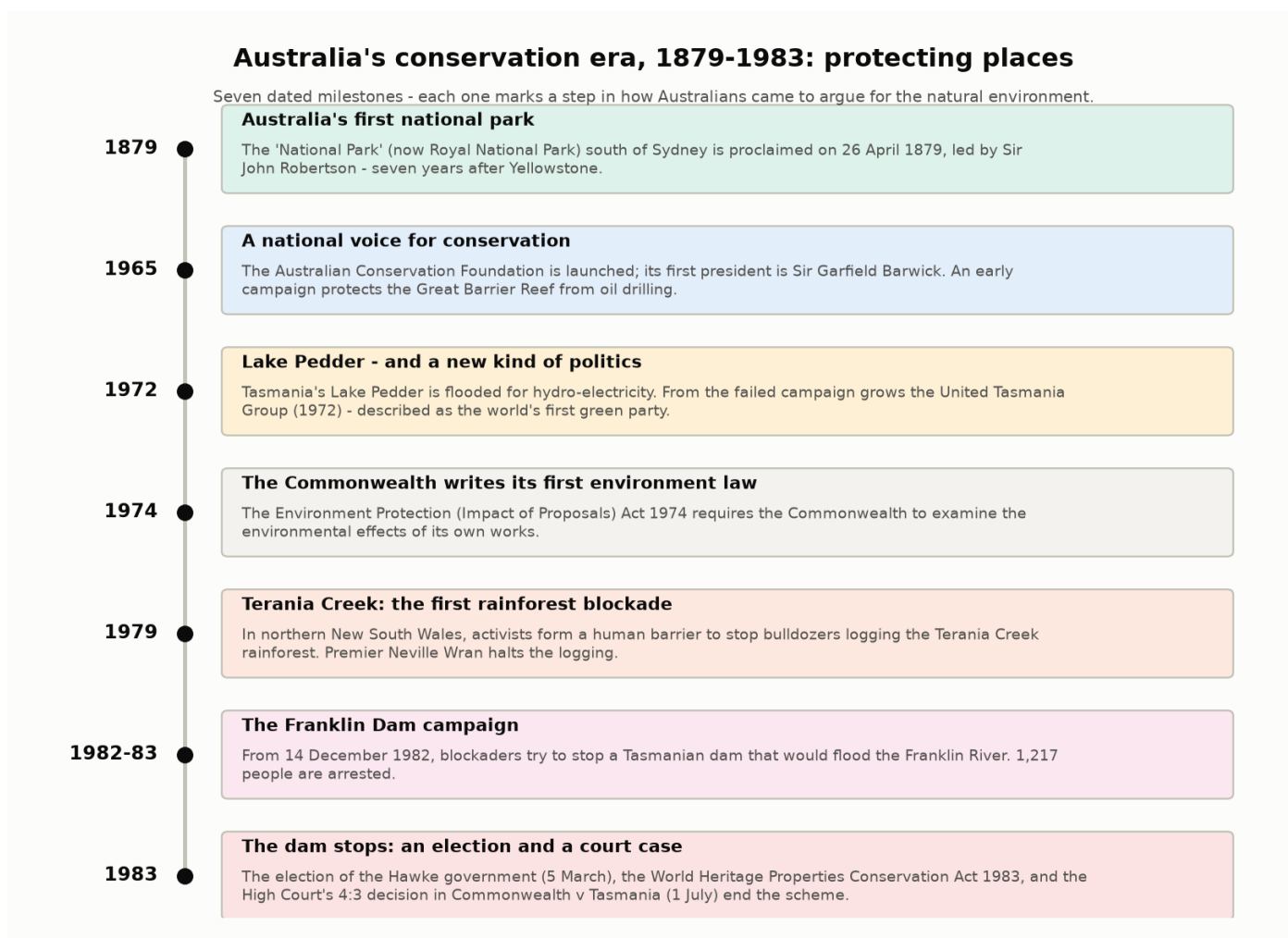
Work with the interpretation.

1. Is “the 20th century changed the natural world more than all earlier history combined” a fact or an interpretation? Explain what would be needed to test it.

2. McNeill argues the change was largely *unintended* — the sum of ordinary decisions rather than anyone’s plan. Does that make the change more forgivable, less forgivable, or is forgiveness the wrong question? Give reasons.
3. Connect this interpretation to this chapter: if McNeill is right, why was it almost certain that people’s perspectives on the environment would change during the century?

6.5 Conservation: Australia protects its places

Australia’s environmental story began long before 1945, with **conservation** — the protection and careful management of places valued for their natural beauty or their wildlife. Figure 6 sets out the dated milestones; Figure 7 works one of them as a case card.



An annotated timeline of seven milestones in Australian conservation from 1879 to 1983 — the first national park, the Australian Conservation Foundation, Lake Pedder and the United Tasmania Group, the first Commonwealth environment law, the Terania Creek blockade, the Franklin Dam blockade, and the 1983 election and High Court decision

Figure 6 — Australia’s conservation era, 1879–1983: protecting places. (Original figure.)

The pattern to read out of Figure 6 is a widening circle. It starts with *one place* — the “National Park” south of Sydney (now Royal National Park), proclaimed on 26 April 1879 at the urging of the politician **Sir John Robertson**, seven years after Yellowstone in the United States. A century later the circle had widened to *movements and laws*: a national body, the Australian Conservation Foundation, launched in 1965 with the distinguished lawyer **Sir Garfield Barwick** as its first president (one of its early campaigns helped stop oil drilling on the Great Barrier Reef); the flooding of Tasmania’s Lake Pedder from 1972 for hydro-electricity, whose failed protest campaign produced the United Tasmania Group — often described as the world’s first green party; and the Commonwealth’s first environment law, the Environment Protection (Impact of Proposals) Act 1974.

Then conservation learned to fight. At Terania Creek in northern New South Wales in 1979, activists formed a human barrier in front of logging machines to save rainforest — described as the first anti-logging rainforest demonstrations in Australia. After a long standoff, the premier **Neville Wran** halted the logging. The lesson protesters drew was direct action works; the lesson governments drew was that forests had become politics.

Case card: the Franklin Dam campaign, Tasmania, 1978-1983

How a river in south-west Tasmania became Australia's defining environment campaign.

The scheme

Tasmania's Hydro-Electric Commission planned a dam on the Gordon River that would flood the Franklin River valley for hydro-electric power.

The proposal, announced in 1978, split Tasmania: jobs and cheap power against a wild river that environmentalists wanted protected.

The campaign

The Tasmanian Wilderness Society - built from the earlier Lake Pedder campaigns, and led by figures including Bob Brown and Norm Sanders - organised marches, photographs (Peter Dombrovskis) and direct action.

From 14 December 1982, blockaders physically tried to stop the works. 1,217 people were arrested - Australia's largest protest arrests to that time.

The politics

The dam became a federal election issue. On 5 March 1983 the Hawke Labor government won, replacing Malcolm Fraser's government, which had backed the dam.

The new government passed the World Heritage Properties Conservation Act 1983 to stop works on world-heritage land.

The outcome

Tasmania challenged the law. In *Commonwealth v Tasmania* (the Tasmanian Dams Case), decided 1 July 1983, the High Court ruled 4:3 that the Commonwealth could validly stop the dam using the Constitution's external affairs power.

The dam was never built. The campaign showed that environmental questions could win elections and decide court cases.

A four-panel case card on the Franklin Dam campaign of 1978 to 1983: the scheme, the campaign, the politics and the outcome — including the blockade from 14 December 1982, the 1,217 arrests, the 1983 election and the High Court's 4:3 decision in Commonwealth v Tasmania

Figure 7 — Case card: the Franklin Dam campaign, Tasmania, 1978–1983. (Original figure.)

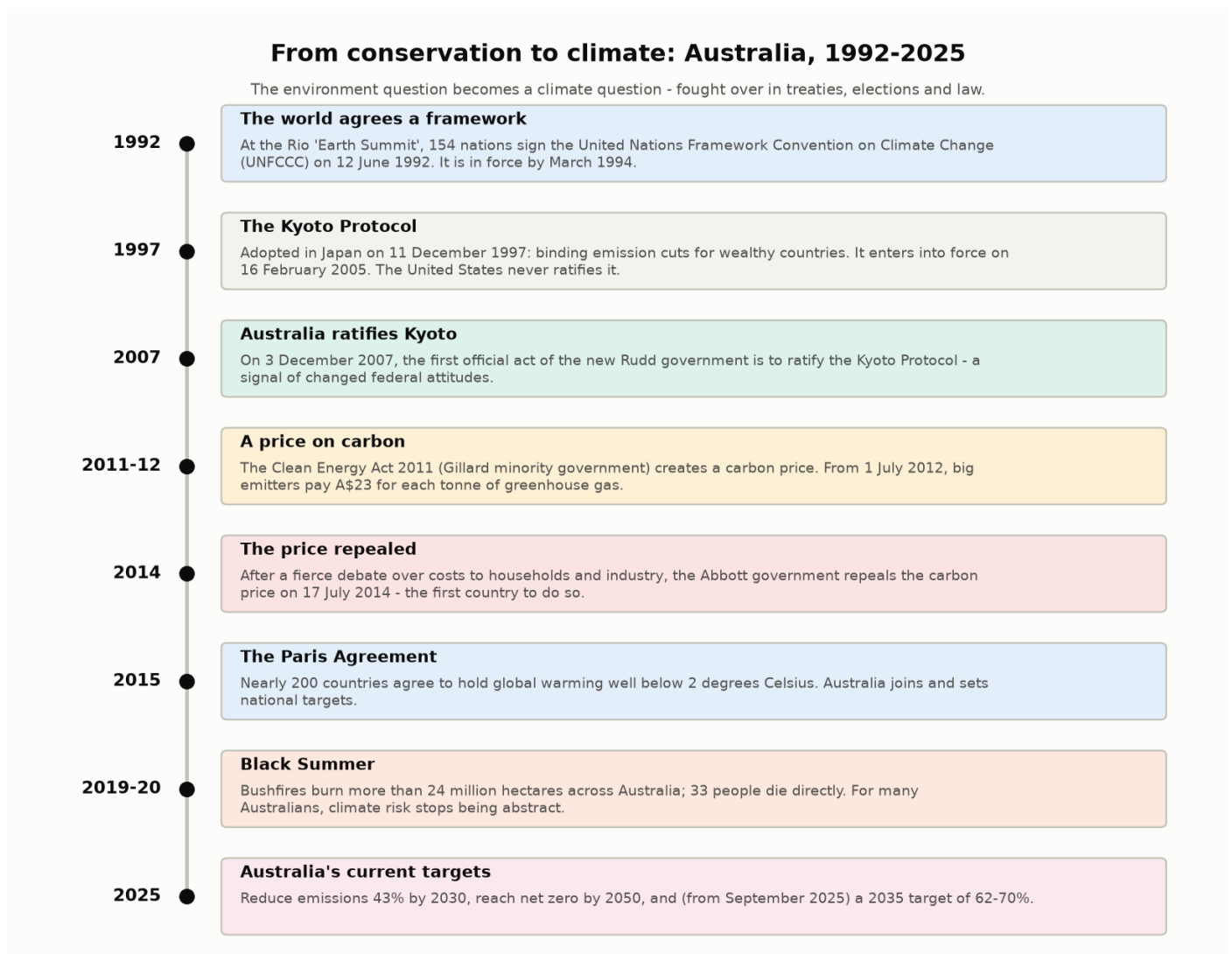
The Franklin Dam campaign was the moment Australian conservation changed the country. Tasmania's Hydro-Electric Commission planned a dam on the Gordon River that would flood the Franklin River valley for hydro-electric power, a proposal announced in 1978. The Tasmanian Wilderness Society — grown out of the Lake Pedder campaigns, with figures including **Bob Brown** and **Norm Sanders** at its front, the photographer **Peter Dombrovskis** supplying the images and the British scientist **David Bellamy** lending his name — organised the resistance. From 14 December 1982, blockaders physically tried to stop the works; 1,217 people were arrested, the largest protest arrests in Australia to that time.

The campaign then won where few environmental campaigns had ever won — at the ballot box and in court. The federal election of 5 March 1983 was fought partly on the dam: **Bob Hawke's** Labor government replaced **Malcolm Fraser's** government, which had backed the scheme. The new government passed the World Heritage Properties Conservation Act 1983, and when Tasmania challenged it, the High Court ruled in *Commonwealth v Tasmania* — decided 1 July 1983, by four votes to three — that the Commonwealth could validly stop the dam using the Constitution's external affairs power. The dam was never built. The consequences reached far beyond one river: environmental questions could now decide elections, decide court cases — and change the balance of power between Canberra and the states.

Check point. Using Figure 6, describe how Australia's conservation effort widened from 1879 to 1983. What did protesters at Terania Creek do, and what was the outcome? Give two reasons the Franklin Dam campaign is treated as a turning point in Australian history.

6.6 From conservation to climate change

After the Franklin, the environment question kept changing shape. The new question was no longer “which places do we protect?” but “how do we live?” — above all, how the world’s energy use was warming the climate. Australia’s part in that story is traced in Figure 8.



An annotated timeline of eight milestones from 1992 to 2025 — the UNFCCC signed at Rio, the Kyoto Protocol adopted, Australia ratifying Kyoto in 2007, the carbon price of 2011-12, its repeal in 2014, the Paris Agreement, the Black Summer fires of 2019-20, and Australia’s current emission targets

Figure 8 — From conservation to climate: Australia, 1992–2025. (Original figure.)

Three things to notice in Figure 8. First, the issue went *global*: at the Rio “Earth Summit” in June 1992, 154 nations signed the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC); the Kyoto Protocol of 1997 added binding cuts for wealthy countries (the United States never ratified it), and the Paris Agreement of 2015 brought nearly every country into setting national targets. Second, Australia’s own policy *oscillated* — the word means swung back and forth: ratifying Kyoto in 2007 as the first official act of the Rudd government; pricing carbon at A\$23 a tonne from 1 July 2012 under **Julia Gillard**’s minority government; repealing that price on 17 July 2014 under **Tony Abbott**’s government — the first country to repeal a carbon price. Third, events argued too: the Millennium Drought of 1996–2010 strained the cities’ water supplies, and the Black Summer fires of 2019–20 burned more than 24 million hectares and killed 33 people directly — for many Australians, climate risk stopped being an idea and became an experience.

Where does the debate now stand? Australia’s current targets are a 43 per cent cut in emissions by 2030, net zero by 2050, and — set in September 2025 — a 2035 target of 62 to 70 per cent. Whether to move that fast is a genuinely

contested question in Australian life. So this section does what historians do with contested questions: it states each side in its strongest honest form — a method often called “steelmanning” the argument — and judges the reasoning, not the side you happen to prefer. Figure 9 does exactly that.

A steelmanned debate: how fast should Australia cut its emissions?

Each side is stated in its strongest honest form. Your task is to judge the reasoning - not start with the conclusion you prefer.

Act now, cut fast

- 1 Climate risks have already arrived. The 2019-20 Black Summer fires burned more than 24 million hectares; the Millennium Drought (1996-2010) strained city water supplies.
- 2 The alternatives are getting cheaper: the cost of solar power fell by about nine-tenths between 2010 and 2019 (IRENA, as used in Section 1C).
- 3 Australia's trading partners are moving under the Paris Agreement. Waiting means catching up later, at a higher price.

Move carefully, weigh the costs

- 1 Jobs and whole regions depend on coal and gas. Cutting too fast can damage communities that have built their working lives around those industries.
- 2 Australia's share of global emissions is small (about one per cent). Acting alone cannot stabilise the climate unless other large emitters act too.
- 3 Costs land on households. Electricity prices rose through the 2010s, and in 2014 parliament repealed the carbon price - evidence that voters felt the cost.

Judging it - questions to ask before you take a position

- What evidence does each side rely on - and is it dated and checkable?
- Which side weighs both the present and the future more fairly?
- Where is each side strongest: the economy, fairness between people, or risk?

Remember: marks follow the quality of your reasoning and use of evidence - never the side you choose.

A two-column steelmanned debate on how fast Australia should cut emissions — ‘act now, cut fast’ against ‘move carefully, weigh the costs’ — each with three dated reasons, above a strip of judging questions

Figure 9 — A steelmanned debate: how fast should Australia cut its emissions? Read both columns honestly before you judge. (Original figure.)

Both columns contain real claims with dated evidence behind them. The judgement between them turns on which risks you weigh more heavily — the risks of acting and disrupting working communities, or the risks of delaying while fires and droughts grow — and on whose costs you look at first. That is what makes the question genuinely contested rather than settled. Marks in this book follow the quality of your reasoning and your use of evidence — never the side you choose.

Check point. Using Figure 8, give two signs that Australia’s climate policy swung back and forth between 2007 and 2025. Give one way the Millennium Drought and Black Summer changed the debate. State the strongest case on each side of Figure 9 in one sentence each.

Practice

Scaffolded

Q1. Use Figure 1 (the five adverts).

- Put the five adverts in chronological order.
- Which advert was the first paid television advertisement ever broadcast, and where did it appear?
- Choose one advert and copy two things about it from the table: what it emphasised, and what it promised.

Q2. Complete the gaps with your own words, using Section 6.2 and Figure 2.

“Television arrived in Australia in ..., when Bruce Gyngell welcomed the first viewers in In 1956, under ... household(s) in a hundred in Sydney owned a set; by 1960, about ... in ten did. Colour television began in Australia on”

Q3. Apply the five-question frame of Figure 3 to Apple’s “1984” commercial, using Section 6.2. Answer in one sentence each:

- Origin — who made it, and when did it air?
- Purpose — what was it trying to make buyers believe about Apple?
- Perspective — what belief about technology does the advert reflect?
- Silences — name one thing the advert never showed.

Q4. Use Figure 4 (health in Australia).

- Describe the change in Australian life expectancy between around 1950 and 2023.
- How much did under-five mortality fall between 1950 and 2018? Give the two figures.
- Give two causes of these improvements from Section 6.3.

Q5. Use Figure 5 (the HDI).

- Name the three things the HDI measures.
- What was Australia’s HDI value for 2023, and what was its world rank?
- Why did the UNDP build the HDI instead of using income alone? Complete this frame: “*Income alone does not say ..., because two countries with similar incomes can*”

Q6. Order the six milestones below from earliest to latest, using Figure 6. Then write one sentence about the Franklin Dam entry: what happened, and what was the outcome.

- the United Tasmania Group founded
- the blockade of the Franklin Dam begins
- Royal National Park proclaimed
- the High Court decides *Commonwealth v Tasmania*
- the Environment Protection (Impact of Proposals) Act
- the Australian Conservation Foundation launched

Un scaffolded

Q7. Advertisements are sources of perspective, not of life itself. Choose two adverts from Figure 1 and compare what each reveals about the society that made it — what that society hoped, and what it took for granted. Use dated detail from the table.

Q8. The creation of the HDI in 1990 was itself a change in historical perspective. Explain what the HDI measures, why Mahbub ul Haq and Amartya Sen believed the old measure was not enough, and use two pieces of evidence from Section 6.4 to show what difference the wider measure makes to how we see the world since 1945.

Q9. “Australian attitudes to the environment changed from protecting places to arguing about climate change.” Trace that change using dated evidence from Sections 6.5 and 6.6. Include at least four dated examples, one turning point, and a judgement of your own.

Q10. “Australia should cut its emissions as fast as possible.” State the strongest honest case **for** this claim and the strongest honest case **against** it, using dated evidence from Section 6.6. Then judge: which side reasons better? Marks follow the quality of your reasoning and evidence, never the side you reach.

Answers

Q1. a) Bulova watch (1941) → Gibbs SR toothpaste (1955) → Sony Walkman (1979) → Apple “1984” (1984) → iPhone (2007). b) The Bulova watch advertisement, broadcast in the United States (New York) on 1 July 1941. c) Answers will follow the table rows; check that the “emphasised” and “promised” columns are kept distinct.

Q2. Model: *Television arrived in Australia in September 1956, when Bruce Gyngell welcomed the first viewers in Sydney. In 1956, under one household in a hundred in Sydney owned a set; by 1960, about seven in ten did. Colour television began in Australia on 1 March 1975.*

Q3. a) Made by the agency Chiat/Day and directed by Ridley Scott; broadcast once in the United States on 22 January 1984, during the Super Bowl. b) To make buyers believe Apple stood for individual freedom against uniform, boring computing. c) The 1980s American belief that personal technology was a form of freedom. d) Any one of: the computer itself, its price, or what it could do.

Q4. a) It rose from about 69.4 years around 1950 to about 83.1 years in 2023 — a gain of about 14 years. b) From 31.6 deaths per 1,000 live births in 1950 to 3.4 in 2018. c) Any two of: antibiotics and vaccines; clean water, sanitation and safer food; public-health campaigns; rising wealth.

Q5. a) A long, healthy life; knowledge (schooling); a decent standard of living (income per person). b) 0.958; seventh in the world. c) *Income alone does not say how people are actually living, because two countries with similar incomes can differ greatly in health and schooling.*

Q6. Royal National Park proclaimed (1879) → the Australian Conservation Foundation launched (1965) → the United Tasmania Group founded (1972) → the Environment Protection (Impact of Proposals) Act (1974) → the blockade of the Franklin Dam begins (14 December 1982) → the High Court decides *Commonwealth v Tasmania* (1 July 1983). Example sentence: *From 14 December 1982, blockaders tried to stop the Franklin Dam; the campaign ended when the High Court ruled 4:3 that the Commonwealth could validly stop the dam, and it was never built.*

Q7–Q10. See the model responses below. Marks rest on defined terms, correct dated evidence and clear reasoning — not on reaching any one conclusion.

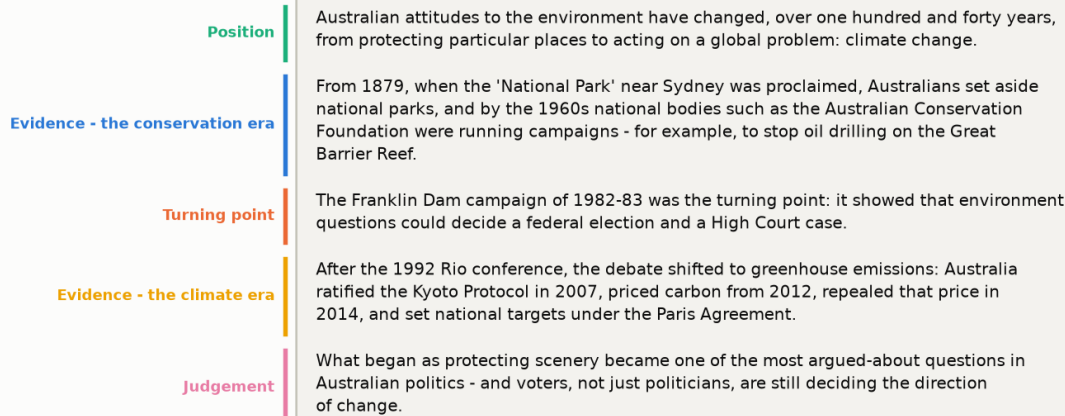
Model responses

Model for Q9 (tracing a change in attitudes):

Australian attitudes to the environment have changed, over one hundred and forty years, from protecting particular places to acting on a global problem: climate change. From 1879, when the “National Park” near Sydney was proclaimed, Australians set aside national parks, and by the 1960s national bodies such as the Australian Conservation Foundation were running campaigns — for example, to stop oil drilling on the Great Barrier Reef. The Franklin Dam campaign of 1982–83 was the turning point: it showed that environment questions could decide a federal election and a High Court case. After the 1992 Rio conference, the debate shifted to greenhouse emissions: Australia ratified the Kyoto Protocol in 2007, priced carbon from 2012, repealed that price in 2014, and set national targets under the Paris Agreement. What began as protecting scenery became one of the most argued-about questions in Australian politics — and voters, not just politicians, are still deciding the direction of change.

Model paragraph: how did Australian attitudes to the environment change?

Practice question 9, answered. Each part is labelled at left so you can see how the argument is built.



A labelled version of the Q9 model paragraph, with each part labelled to show its job: position, evidence from the conservation era, turning point, evidence from the climate era, and final judgement

Figure 10 — The Q9 model paragraph, taken apart. Every part has a job: position, dated evidence, a named turning point, more dated evidence, and a judgement. Use these moves in your own answers. (Original figure.)

Model for Q10 (judging a contested question):

Both sides of this question argue from real evidence, so the judgement must rest on the quality of the reasoning. The strongest case for cutting fast rests on observed harms and falling alternatives: the Black Summer fires of 2019–20 burned more than 24 million hectares, the Millennium Drought ran from 1996 to 2010, the cost of solar power fell by about nine-tenths between 2010 and 2019, and Australia’s trading partners are moving anyway under the Paris Agreement. The strongest case against rests on equally real costs: jobs and whole regions built around coal and gas, Australia’s small share of global emissions — so acting alone cannot stabilise the climate — and voters’ shown concern about the price of action, since parliament repealed the carbon price in 2014. Weighing the reasoning: the “move carefully” side is strongest about *who pays* and *when*, while the “act fast” side is stronger that the costs of delay are already being paid, in fires and drought. My judgement is that Australia should cut fast — but the side I reject still sets the condition any good policy must meet: spread the costs fairly across communities and households, because that is where its argument is strongest.

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The Universal Declaration of Human Rights: origins, significance and Australia's involvement

History 10 · Chapter 6 — The globalising world since 1945 · Section 6B · Content description VC2HH10K37

The big picture

On 10 December 1948, in Paris, the General Assembly of the newly formed United Nations adopted a document of thirty articles. It listed rights that belong to every human being — not as a gift from any government, but simply because each person is human. That document is the **Universal Declaration of Human Rights**.

A contested term, defined before use. *Human rights* is one of those terms that different speakers use in different senses, and the sense you choose can change your conclusion (see the house rule for contested terms, and Section 8D). So this section states the sense it uses:

Human rights. In this section, *human rights* is used in the sense given by the United Nations: rights that belong to every person, without distinction of any kind — such as race, sex, nationality, language or religion — and that cannot be taken away by any government (United Nations, “What are human rights?”, un.org). Other definitions exist and are not interchangeable with this one. Where this section discusses debates about human rights, it names whose sense is being used.

Two more terms matter in this section:

- A **declaration** is a formal statement of agreed principles. A declaration states what nations *ought* to do; by itself it is not a law that a court can enforce.
- A **treaty** (also called a convention or a covenant) is a written agreement between nations that is binding in international law once a nation **ratifies** it — that is, formally agrees to be bound by it.

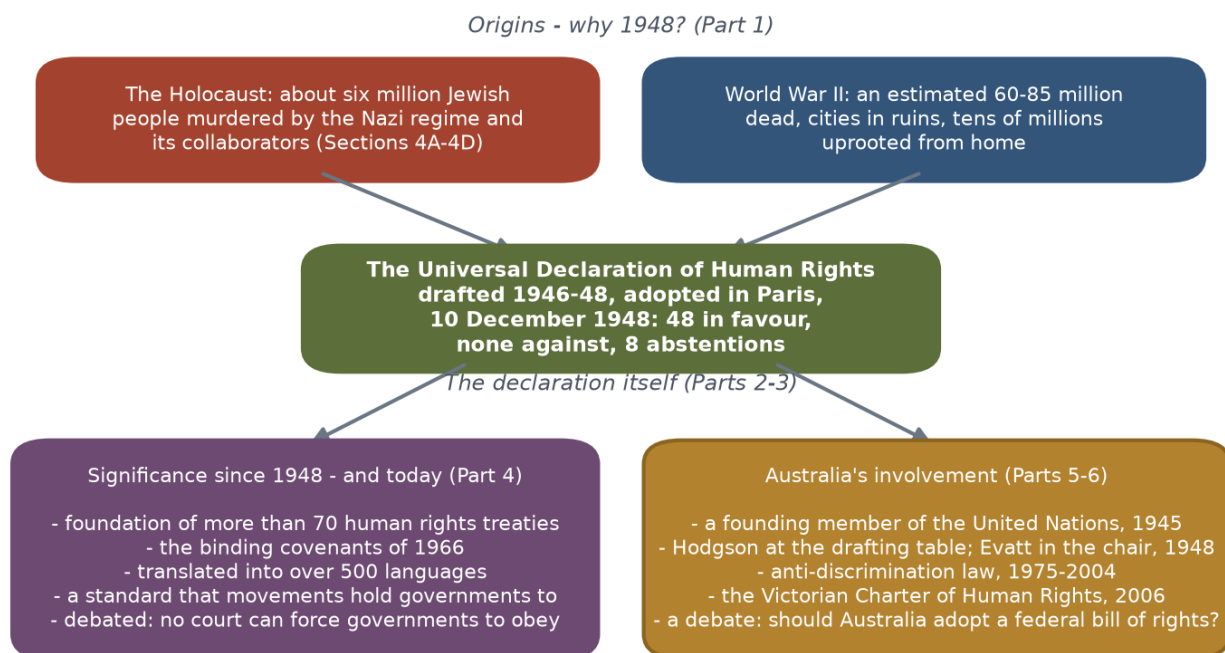
Keep that pair in mind as you read. Much of the debate about the declaration is really a debate about the difference between a declaration and a treaty.

This section follows the content description in three moves, and Figure 1 maps them:

1. **Origins** — why the world wrote such a document in 1948 (the causes: the atrocities of the Holocaust and the immense destruction and displacement of World War II).
2. **Significance** — what the declaration has meant since, and what has been built on it, including its present significance today.

3. **Australia's involvement** — what Australians did in 1945–48, and how human rights have developed in Australia since.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights: the shape of this section



Original figure for this book. Facts are dated and sourced in the section text.

A concept map of the section: the Holocaust and World War II destruction and displacement at the top, flowing down into the drafting and adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, then branching into its present significance worldwide and Australia's involvement then and since

Figure 1 — The shape of this section. Each panel is one part of the content description: origins, significance, Australia's involvement.

Sections 1C and 4D have already met the declaration briefly — as one of the post-1945 developments, and as a legacy of the world wars and the Holocaust. Here it gets the full story.

Teaching sequence

Part 1 — Why 1948? The origins of the declaration

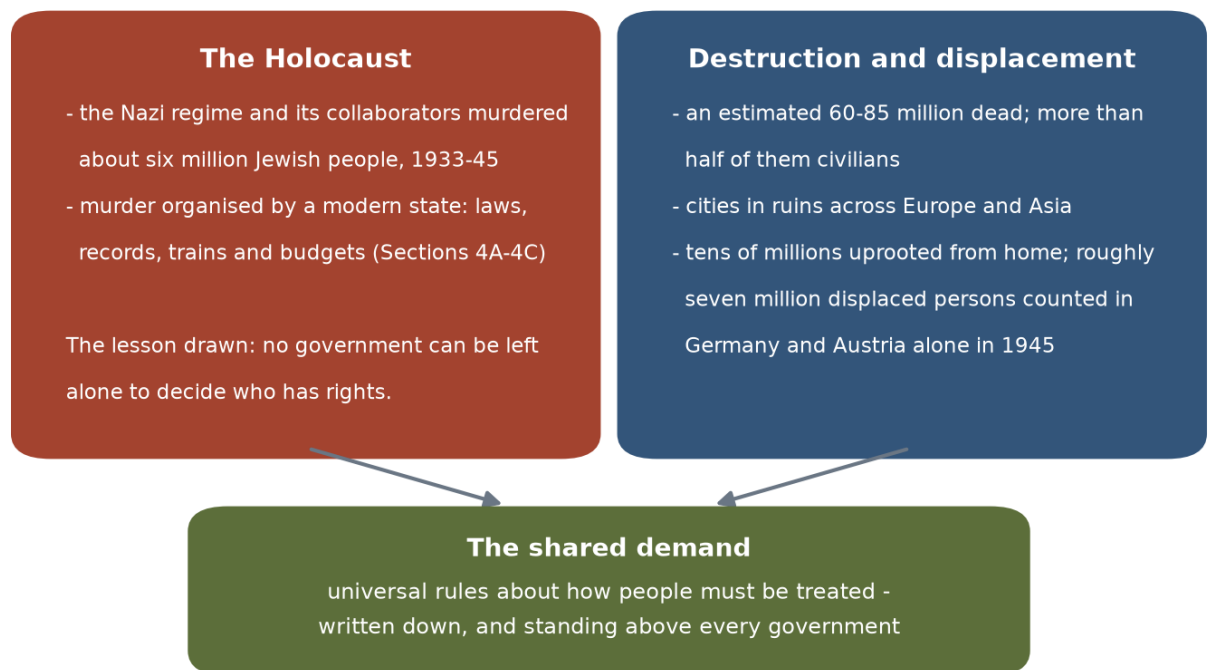
Declarations of rights were not invented in 1948 — ideas about natural rights and about the limits of government run back centuries, and several nations already had bills of rights of their own. What made 1948 different was **cause**: the scale of what had just happened, and the demand that it never happen again.

Cause 1 — The Holocaust. Between 1933 and 1945 the Nazi regime and its collaborators persecuted and murdered about six million Jewish people across Europe — the Holocaust, defined in Section 4A and traced phase by phase in Section 4B. Whole communities were erased; the murder was organised by a modern state, with laws, records, trains and budgets. Sections 4A–4D have already done the hard work of studying it. The point for this section is the response it forced: if a government could lawfully do that to its own people, then the old idea — that how a state treats people inside its own borders is that state's business alone — had failed. The world needed rules that stood above every government, and some way of saying what those rules were.

Cause 2 — Destruction and displacement. The war itself was the deadliest in history. Historians' estimates of the dead range from about 60 million to about 85 million people, and more than half of them were civilians. The fighting flattened cities across Europe and Asia. And the war uprooted the living: by 1945 tens of millions of people across Europe had been forced from their homes — camp survivors, forced labourers, prisoners of war and bombed-out families. Allied authorities counted roughly seven million displaced persons in Germany and Austria alone in 1945, and many more in other places. People with no home, no papers and no government to speak for them had no rights anyone was bound to respect. The declaration was written with them in mind.

The two causes of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Both are named by the curriculum; both pushed the same demand.



Sources: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Holocaust Encyclopedia; death toll as stated in Section 3F of this book. Retrieved 25 August 2026.

Two cause cards side by side. The first card, *The Holocaust*, lists the murder of about six million Jewish people by the Nazi regime and its collaborators and the lesson drawn: no government can be left alone to decide who has rights. The second card, *Destruction and displacement*, lists the war dead at an estimated 60 to 85 million with more than half civilians, and tens of millions uprooted, including roughly seven million displaced persons counted in Germany and Austria in 1945. Both cards point down to a shared demand: universal rules, written down, above every government

Figure 2 — The two causes named by the curriculum. The causes worked together: the Holocaust showed what governments could do; the war's destruction and displacement showed how many people could be left with no protection at all. Sources: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Holocaust Encyclopedia (the six million; displacement after the war), retrieved 25 August 2026; death-toll range as stated in Section 3F of this book.

The world of 1945 in figures

Estimates made by historians; counts vary between sources.



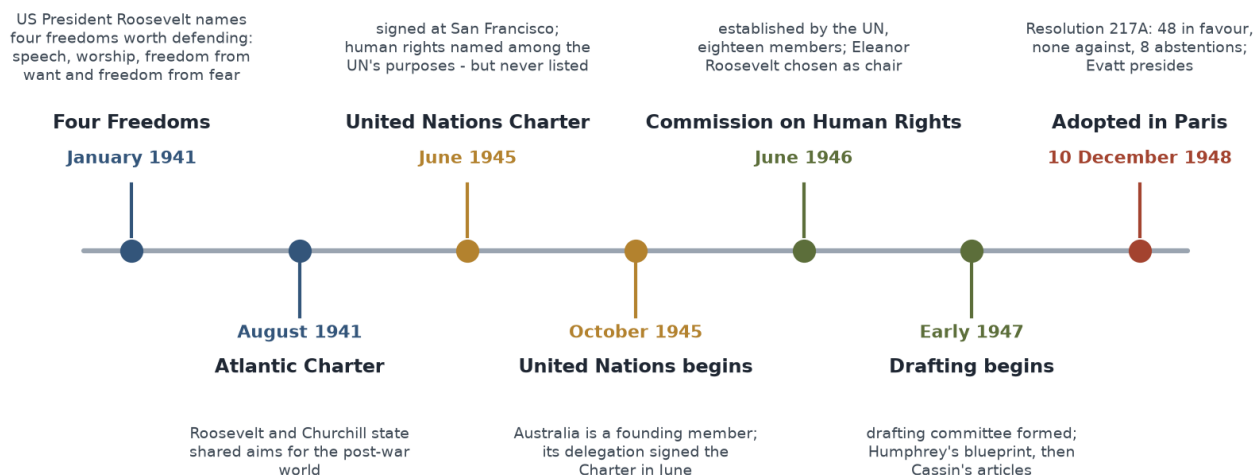
People with no home, no papers and no government to speak for them had no rights anyone was bound to respect. The declaration was written with them in mind.

A panel of key figures for 1945: an estimated 60 to 85 million dead, more than half of them civilians; cities in ruins across Europe and Asia; roughly seven million displaced persons counted in Germany and Austria alone; tens of millions uprooted across Europe

Figure 3 — The world of 1945 in figures. Figures are historians' estimates; counts vary between sources, and the ranges matter more than any single number.

The idea of universal rights was already in the air by the war's end. In January 1941, United States President Franklin Roosevelt named four freedoms worth defending: freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want and freedom from fear. In August 1941, Roosevelt and Britain's Winston Churchill issued the Atlantic Charter, a statement of shared aims for the post-war world. And when the United Nations itself was founded in 1945 (Section 1C), its Charter named human rights among the organisation's purposes — but it never listed what those rights were. Writing the list became the job of 1946–48.

Origins timeline: from wartime statements to the declaration, 1941-1948



From the Commission's first session in early 1947 to adoption in December 1948 is under two years - fast for a document the whole world was meant to sign up to.

A timeline of the origins of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights from 1941 to 1948: the Four Freedoms speech and the Atlantic Charter in 1941, the Declaration by United Nations in 1942, the United Nations Charter in 1945, the Commission on Human Rights in 1946, the first drafting sessions in 1947, and adoption in Paris on 10 December 1948

Figure 4 — Origins timeline, 1941–1948. Notice how short the drafting window was: from the Commission's first session in early 1947 to adoption in December 1948 is under two years — fast for a document the whole world was meant to sign up to.

Part 2 — Drafting the declaration, 1946–1948

In June 1946 the United Nations' Economic and Social Council established the **Commission on Human Rights** — eighteen members from different regions — to do the work. The commission chose **Eleanor Roosevelt** of the United States as its chair. Roosevelt had been First Lady, was a respected writer and speaker, and had the political skill to keep rivals talking.

In early 1947 the commission formed a smaller **drafting committee**: Roosevelt in the chair, Peng Chun Chang of China as deputy chair, Charles Malik of Lebanon as the member who recorded the debates, René Cassin of France, John Humphrey — a Canadian law professor who headed the UN's human rights office and prepared the first blueprint of the text — and members from Chile, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and Australia. Figure 5 sets the key figures out.

The drafting table: who shaped the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

A rights list written by one region would not have been accepted by the rest - the spread of backgrounds was deliberate.



Source: United Nations, 'Universal Declaration of Human Rights' (un.org); background as set out in Part 2. Retrieved 25 August 2026.

Eight cards for the people who shaped the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: Eleanor Roosevelt of the United States as chair, John Humphrey of Canada who prepared the first blueprint, René Cassin of France who shaped the articles, Peng Chun Chang of China as deputy chair, Charles Malik of Lebanon, Hansa Mehta of India, Hernán Santa Cruz of Chile, and William Roy Hodgson of Australia

Figure 5 — The drafting table. The spread of legal and cultural backgrounds was deliberate: a rights list written by one region would not be accepted by the rest.

Three drafters' contributions are worth remembering by name:

- **John Humphrey's blueprint** gathered rights from constitutions and drafts sent in from around the world into one long working list. **René Cassin** then gave the text its shape — he is credited with the plan of the articles as they stand.
- **Hansa Mehta** of India argued for the declaration's opening words to read "all human beings", not "all men". The United Nations credits her with the change that made Article 1 read: "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights."
- **William Roy Hodgson** of Australia — covered in full in Part 5 — argued that a declaration was not enough and pressed for rights that could actually be enforced.

Drafting was hard work, and the committee argued across Cold War lines: the Soviet Union and its allies emphasised economic and social rights and the power of the state; the United States and its allies emphasised civil and political rights and the freedom of the person from the state. Empire was in the room too: several of the governments that would vote on the declaration in 1948 still ruled colonies.

The vote. On 10 December 1948, at the Palais de Chaillot in Paris, the General Assembly — at that stage 58 member states, meeting under an Australian president, H. V. Evatt — adopted the declaration as Resolution 217A (III): **48 votes in favour, none against, eight abstentions** (an abstention is a choice not to vote either way); two countries were absent for the vote. Figure 6 breaks the result down.

The vote, 10 December 1948, Palais de Chaillot, Paris

United Nations General Assembly, Resolution 217A (III). 58 member states; two countries - Honduras and Yemen - were absent for the vote.



The eight abstainers did not abstain for one shared reason. Each group's recorded reason:

Six Soviet-bloc states

USSR, Byelorussia, Ukraine, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia

The declaration did not condemn fascism and Nazism by name, and did not go far enough on economic and social rights or state sovereignty. Critics replied: the real objection was to the rights that would limit a state's power over its own people.

Saudi Arabia

Article 18 (freedom to change one's religion) and Article 16 (equal rights in marriage) conflicted with its religious law - a clash between two frames about where rights come from, which the declaration's authors knew they had not fully settled.

South Africa

The articles on equality. Its government was building the system of racial separation later named apartheid - the gap between the declaration's words and a member's own laws was visible at the very moment of adoption.

Whose voices were absent? In 1948 most of Asia and Africa was still under colonial rule: the declaration claims to speak for all humankind, yet most of humankind had no independent government to vote for them (Section 1D).

Source: United Nations General Assembly, Resolution 217A (III), 10 December 1948; un.org. Retrieved 25 August 2026.

A breakdown of the 1948 vote on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: 48 member states in favour, none against, eight abstentions — six Soviet-bloc states, Saudi Arabia and South Africa — and two absent. Beside each group of abstainers, the reason recorded in the debate

Figure 6 — The vote, 10 December 1948. *Source: United Nations General Assembly, Resolution 217A (III), 10 December 1948; un.org, retrieved 25 August 2026.*

Perspectives — why did eight abstain? The abstainers did not abstain for one shared reason, and each reason deserves a hearing in its strongest form before you judge it:

- **Six Soviet-bloc states** (the USSR, Byelorussia, Ukraine, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia) argued the declaration did not go far enough: it should have condemned fascism and Nazism by name, guaranteed economic and social rights more strongly, and respected state sovereignty. Their criticism pointed at real features of the text — but critics replied that what the bloc really objected to were the rights that would limit a state's power over its own people.
- **Saudi Arabia** abstained over Article 18 (freedom to change one's religion) and Article 16 (equal rights in marriage), arguing they conflicted with its religious law. This was a clash between two frames of reference about where rights come from — a genuinely contested question that the declaration's authors knew they had not fully settled.
- **South Africa** — whose government was building the system of racial separation later named apartheid — objected to the articles on equality. Here the gap between the declaration's words and a member's own laws was plain at the moment of adoption.

Notice, too, who was **not** in the room. In 1948 most of Asia and Africa was still under colonial rule (Section 1D). The declaration claims to speak for all humankind, yet most of humankind had no independent government to speak for them at the vote. Identifying absent voices is a source skill you will use again in Section 7D.

Part 3 — What the declaration says

The declaration has thirty articles. Read as groups rather than one by one, they fall into four blocks, as Figure 7 shows.

The thirty articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, at a glance

Read as four blocks, not thirty separate rules. Summaries simplified for study; the full text is at un.org.



Two features made the declaration remarkable for 1948: it is universal in who it covers (rights belong to 'all human beings'), and it joins two families of rights - civil and political, and economic, social and cultural - that many wanted to keep apart.

Original figure for this book, summarised from the declaration's own text.

A colour-coded map of the thirty articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in four blocks: Articles 1 to 2, freedom, equality and dignity with no discrimination; Articles 3 to 21, civil and political rights including life, liberty, a fair trial, and freedoms of thought, religion, expression and assembly; Articles 22 to 27, economic, social and cultural rights including work, education and an adequate standard of living; and Articles 28 to 30, the framework: duties to the community and limits on rights

Figure 7 — The thirty articles at a glance.

Two features made the declaration remarkable for 1948:

1. **It is universal in who it covers.** Rights belong to “all human beings” — the wording Hansa Mehta fought for — without distinction of race, sex, language or religion.
2. **It joins two families of rights.** Some drafts of the time wanted only civil and political rights (speech, fair trial, vote). The final text also carries economic, social and cultural rights (work, education, an adequate standard of living). That pairing was one of the declaration’s most argued-about choices, and it still divides opinion today.

Remember the terms from The big picture: a declaration states principles; it does not, by itself, create law. In 1948 no court anywhere could force a government to obey the declaration. Its authors knew this. Eleanor Roosevelt called it a starting point, not a finished achievement. What it had was **authority** — it was the first statement of the rights owed to every person, agreed by the world body, and it set the standard that later law would be measured against.

Part 4 — The declaration’s significance since 1948, and today

The content description asks about significance — and significance is something historians judge with criteria, not assume (Section 8C). Here is the case on both sides, each in its strongest form.

The case that the declaration matters. The facts are hard ones:

- It is the foundation of international human rights law. By the count of the UN's own human rights office, more than 70 later human rights treaties build on it (Section 4D uses the same count).
- In 1966 the UN turned its principles into two binding **covenants** — the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. Together with the declaration itself, these form what is called the **International Bill of Human Rights**. Nations that ratify the covenants must report to UN committees on how they are keeping them. Figure 8 shows the treaty system and when Australia joined each part.
- Newly independent states, winning freedom in the waves of decolonisation after 1948 (Section 1D), wrote the declaration's language into their own constitutions.
- It has been translated into over 500 languages — by some counts the most translated document in the world — and 10 December is marked each year as Human Rights Day.
- It gives movements a standard to point to. From campaigns against racial discrimination to campaigns for the rights of people with disabilities, the declaration's words have been the measure that protesters hold governments up against — including in Australia, as Part 6 shows.

What 1948 built: the treaty system on the declaration's foundation

By the count of the UN's own human rights office, more than 70 human rights treaties build on the declaration; these are the core ones.

1948	Universal Declaration of Human Rights the foundation - a declaration of principles, not yet binding law	
1965	Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination the first of the binding treaties built on the declaration	Australia joined 1975
1966	Covenant on Civil and Political Rights turns the declaration's civil and political rights into binding law	Australia joined 1980
1966	Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights turns the declaration's economic, social and cultural rights into binding law	Australia joined 1980
1979	Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women women's equal rights in binding form	Australia joined 1983
1984	Convention against Torture torture and cruel treatment outlawed and monitored	Australia joined 1989
1989	Convention on the Rights of the Child the rights of children in binding form	Australia joined 1990
2006	Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities the rights of people with disabilities in binding form	Australia joined 2008

Declaration in 1948; binding treaties after it. Nations that join must report to UN committees on how they are keeping them.

Together with the declaration, the two covenants form the International Bill of Human Rights.

Sources: United Nations human rights office (ohchr.org); Australia's years from Australian treaty records. Retrieved 25 August 2026.

A chart of the human rights treaty system built on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: the 1948 declaration at the top, then the Racial Discrimination Convention of 1965, the two covenants of 1966, the Women's Convention of 1979, the Torture Convention of 1984, the Children's Convention of 1989 and the Disability Rights Convention of 2006, each with the year Australia ratified it

Figure 8 — What 1948 built. A declaration in 1948; a system of binding treaties after it. Sources: United Nations human rights office (ohchr.org), treaty lists; Australia's ratification dates from the Australian treaty records, retrieved 25 August 2026.

The case that it has not been enough. The critics' facts are equally hard:

- A declaration is not a law, and no world court can force a government to obey the treaties either. Enforcement still depends on governments agreeing — and governments that break rights at home keep their seats in the world body.
- The gap was visible from the start: in 1948, countries that voted for the declaration ruled colonies, and South Africa's vote against the equality articles was its government defending its own racial laws.
- Serious violations have continued in every decade since 1948 — including genocide, which the convention of 9 December 1948 (Section 4D) was written to prevent.

Your task is not to pick a side and stop. Both cases rest on dated, checkable evidence. Strong answers say *in what respects* the declaration has been significant (as a foundation, a standard, a tool for movements) and *where* its significance stops (enforcement, compliance), and they use the criteria from Section 8C: importance, depth, number of people affected, durability and relevance today.

Part 5 — Australia's involvement, 1945–1948

Australia's part in the declaration was larger than most Australians today realise. It runs from the founding of the UN itself to the moment of adoption.

A founding member. Australia was one of the 51 founding members of the United Nations: its delegation signed the UN Charter in San Francisco on 26 June 1945. The delegation was led by Deputy Prime Minister Frank Forde and included the Attorney-General and Minister for External Affairs, **H. V. Evatt**, and **Jessie Street** — a lifelong campaigner for women's rights and Australia's only woman delegate at the conference. Street worked to make sure the Charter said that human rights belong to everyone “without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion” — words that put sex equality into the UN's founding document. She went on to become the first vice-president of the UN's Commission on the Status of Women.

A voice at the drafting table. Australia's representative on the Commission on Human Rights — and a member of its drafting committee — was **William Roy Hodgson**: a World War I officer, lawyer and senior diplomat who had led Australia's Department of External Affairs from 1935 to 1945. Hodgson was one of the committee's strongest voices on a point the others set aside: **enforcement**. He argued for an international court where people could complain about governments that broke their rights, and when that failed to win support he proposed that the declaration itself be written to be legally enforceable. The committee chose the declaration path instead; enforcement was “not a priority for other members”, as his biographers put it. History came around partly his way: the binding covenants of 1966, with their reporting committees, are steps down the road Hodgson pointed along in 1947.

The chair at adoption. In 1948 H. V. Evatt was elected president of the UN General Assembly — the third session, meeting in Paris — and it was Evatt who presided when the assembly adopted the declaration on 10 December 1948. Australia voted in favour. (The day before, the same assembly adopted the Genocide Convention — Section 4D.) Figure 9 sets Australia's involvement out in order.

Australia's involvement, 1945-1948

June 1945 A founding member	Australia signs the UN Charter at San Francisco; Jessie Street, Australia's only woman delegate, works the words 'without distinction as to sex' into the Charter
1946-48 Hodgson at the drafting table	William Roy Hodgson serves on the Commission on Human Rights and its drafting committee; argues for an international court for complaints, and for a declaration written to be enforceable
1948 Evatt in the chair	H. V. Evatt, Australia's Minister for External Affairs, is elected president of the UN General Assembly - its third session, meeting in Paris
10 December 1948 Adoption - with Australia's yes	Evatt presides as the assembly adopts the declaration: 48 in favour, none against, 8 abstentions; Australia votes yes

The day before the declaration was adopted, the same assembly adopted the Genocide Convention (Section 4D).

Sources: United Nations records; Australian Dictionary of Biography; National Archives of Australia. Retrieved 25 August 2026.

A timeline of Australia's involvement in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights from 1945 to 1948: signing the UN Charter at San Francisco in June 1945 with Jessie Street working for the sex equality words; William Roy Hodgson on the Commission on Human Rights and its drafting committee from 1946 to 1948, pressing for enforceable rights; Evatt elected president of the General Assembly in 1948; and adoption in Paris on 10 December 1948 with Australia voting yes

Figure 9 — Australia's involvement, 1945–1948.

A question worth holding: how could a country press for universal rights abroad in 1948 while keeping racially based immigration restrictions — the White Australia policy — at home until the 1970s? Section 1F traces that policy's history. The honest answer is that governments can hold principles abroad and different practices at home at the same time, and the declaration's whole purpose was to close exactly that gap. Measuring the gap is part of measuring significance.

Part 6 — Human rights in Australia since 1948

The content description also asks how human rights in Australia have **developed**: through movements, and through laws. The pattern since 1948 is one of **continuity and change**: the declaration's standard stayed fixed (continuity); Australian law moved, slowly, towards it (change).

Movements. Australians organised around rights throughout the twentieth century's second half — and earlier. You have met several of these movements already in this book, and each one used the language of rights that 1948 made standard:

- **The women's movement** (Section 1E): equal pay, the end of the marriage bar, and protection against discrimination and violence.
- **Campaigns over migration policy** (Section 1F): the long shift from the White Australia policy to non-discriminatory immigration, and the case for making racial discrimination unlawful.
- **The disability rights movement**, which organised through the 1970s and 1980s for access, services and equal treatment.

- **Campaigns for the rights of gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender and intersex people** (Section 1D): decriminalisation first — the old laws against homosexual conduct removed — then anti-discrimination law, then marriage equality in 2017.

Laws. The movement pressure, and Australia’s treaty commitments, turned into legislation — the introduction of human rights laws, which the curriculum names directly. Figure 10 sets out the Commonwealth framework.

Australia's federal human rights framework, 1975-2004

Anti-discrimination law grew ground by ground: race, then sex, then disability, then age.

1975	Racial Discrimination Act 1975 makes racial discrimination unlawful; gives effect in Australian law to the UN convention on racial discrimination, joined by Australia in 1975
1981	Human Rights Commission a national commission established to watch over human rights; re-made by the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission Act 1986; today the Australian Human Rights Commission
1984	Sex Discrimination Act 1984 makes discrimination on the basis of sex unlawful; follows Australia joining the UN convention on women's rights in 1983
1992	Disability Discrimination Act 1992 makes discrimination against people with disabilities unlawful
2004	Age Discrimination Act 2004 makes discrimination on the basis of age unlawful

Australia still has no federal bill of rights. Three jurisdictions have passed human rights laws of their own: the ACT (2004), Victoria (2006) and Queensland (2019).

Source: legislation as enacted (legislation.gov.au). Retrieved 25 August 2026.

A table of Australian human rights legislation and institutions from 1975 to 2019: the Racial Discrimination Act 1975, the Human Rights Commission from 1981 and the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission Act 1986, the Sex Discrimination Act 1984, the Disability Discrimination Act 1992, the Age Discrimination Act 2004, and the Australian Human Rights Commission as it stands today, each linked to the UN treaty it gives effect to where there is one

Figure 10 — Australia’s federal human rights laws, 1975–2004. Notice the sequence: first racial discrimination (1975), then sex (1984), then disability (1992), then age (2004) — Australia’s anti-discrimination law grew ground by ground. Source: legislation as enacted (legislation.gov.au), retrieved 25 August 2026.

Charters in the states and territories. Australia has no federal bill of rights — of the democracies founded on a written constitution, it is unusual in this. But three Australian jurisdictions have since passed human rights laws of their own:

- the Australian Capital Territory — *Human Rights Act 2004*, the first;
- **Victoria** — the *Charter of Human Rights and Responsibilities Act 2006*, passed by the Victorian Parliament with royal assent on 25 July 2006 and in full effect from 1 January 2008;
- Queensland — *Human Rights Act 2019*.

The curriculum names the Victorian Charter, so Figure 11 sets out what it does.

The Victorian Charter of Human Rights and Responsibilities, at a glance

What it is	A law of the Victorian Parliament: the Charter of Human Rights and Responsibilities Act 2006. Royal assent 25 July 2006; in full effect from 1 January 2008.
What it protects	Twenty human rights, set out in sections 8 to 27 - including life, liberty, freedom of thought and expression, a fair hearing and privacy.
Who must follow it	Victorian public authorities - government departments, police, councils and public services - must act in ways compatible with the rights and consider them in decisions.
How Parliament uses it	New bills are checked for compatibility with the Charter before Parliament votes, and Parliament can state clearly when it intends to override a right.
Who reports on it	The Victorian Equal Opportunity and Human Rights Commission reports each year on how the Charter is working.
Its place in the story	The second of three Australian human rights charters - after the ACT (2004), before Queensland (2019) - and the one the curriculum names for study.

Sources: Charter of Human Rights and Responsibilities Act 2006 (Vic), as enacted; Victorian Equal Opportunity and Human Rights Commission. Retrieved 25 August 2026.

A fact card for the Victorian Charter of Human Rights and Responsibilities Act 2006: passed by the Victorian Parliament with royal assent on 25 July 2006 and in full effect from 1 January 2008; it protects twenty human rights, in sections 8 to 27; it requires Victorian public authorities — government departments, police, councils and public services — to act in ways that are compatible with those rights and to consider them in decisions; new bills are checked for compatibility before Parliament votes; and the Victorian Equal Opportunity and Human Rights Commission reports each year on how the Charter is working

Figure 11 — The Victorian Charter at a glance. Sources: Charter of Human Rights and Responsibilities Act 2006 (Vic), as enacted; Victorian Equal Opportunity and Human Rights Commission (humanrights.vic.gov.au), retrieved 25 August 2026.

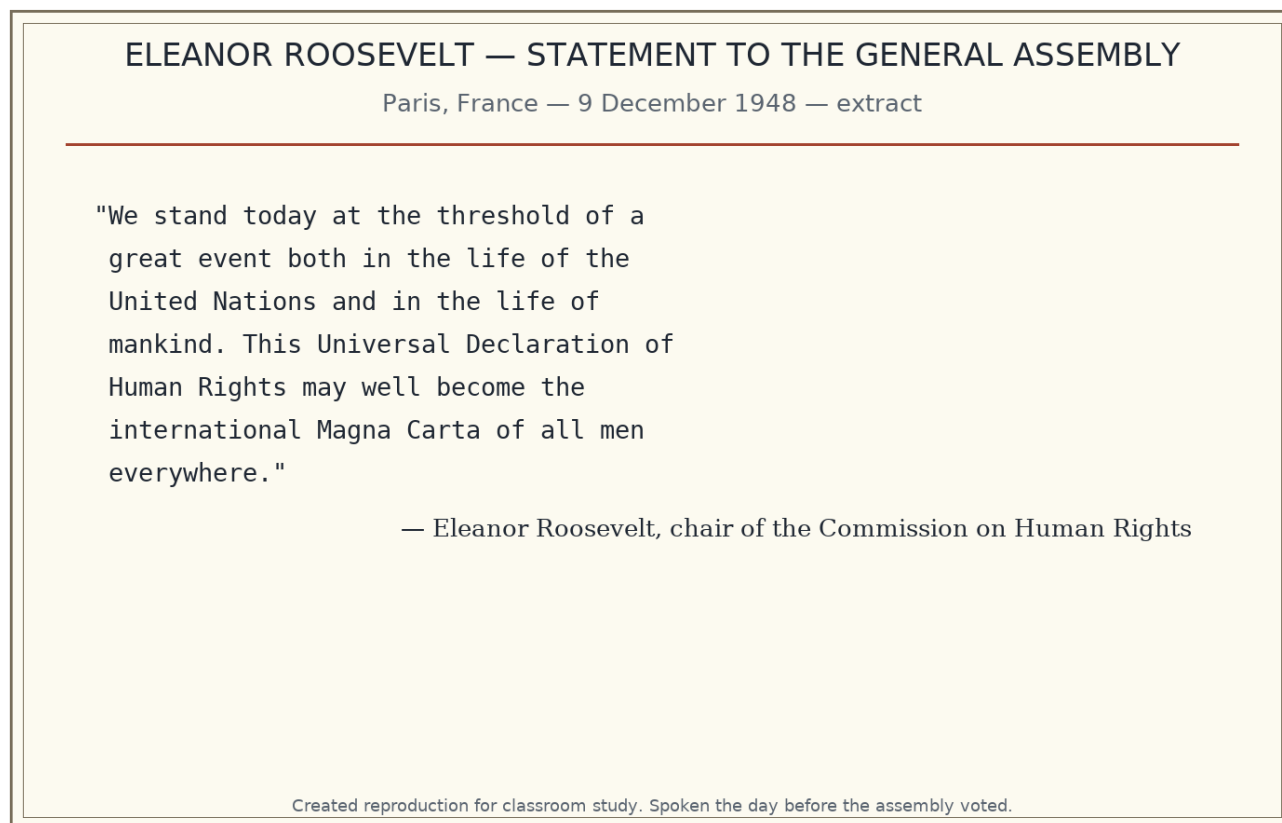
A contested perspective — should Australia adopt a federal bill of rights? This debate has run for decades, and both sides argue from the same history you have just studied. Steelman both:

- *The case for:* the declaration shows what a written standard can do — it gives people a measure to hold government to, and courts a clear rule to apply. Australia’s own history shows rights expanding only after long campaigns; a federal charter would fix the floor so that future parliaments cannot strip rights back without facing the standard in writing.
- *The case against:* rights are already protected — by the constitution in limited areas, by anti-discrimination law, by independent commissions and by the ballot box. Writing rights into one document hands unelected judges the power to overrule elected parliaments on contested questions (freedom of speech is one), and Australia’s record since 1975 shows change can come through parliament without it.

Both positions appeal to the same 1948 document and read it differently — one as a floor that should be laid into Australian law, one as a standard parliament can meet its own way. That is what a genuinely contested question looks like: the mark goes to your reasoning from defined terms and evidence, not to which side you reach.

Worked inquiry 1 — Reading Eleanor Roosevelt's presenting statement

Source 1.1 — Eleanor Roosevelt, statement to the United Nations General Assembly, Paris, 9 December 1948 (extract). Roosevelt spoke to present the completed draft, the day before the vote.



A cream source card titled Source 1.1, showing the words of Eleanor Roosevelt to the United Nations General Assembly in Paris on 9 December 1948: we stand today on the threshold of a great event in the life of the United Nations and in the life of mankind; this Universal Declaration of Human Rights may well become the international Magna Carta of all men everywhere

Figure 12 — Source 1.1. The comparison Roosevelt reaches for — the Magna Carta, the charter that English barons forced King John to accept in 1215 — tells you how big she wanted the moment to look. *Source: Eleanor Roosevelt, statement to the UN General Assembly, Paris, 9 December 1948; UN records, retrieved 25 August 2026.*

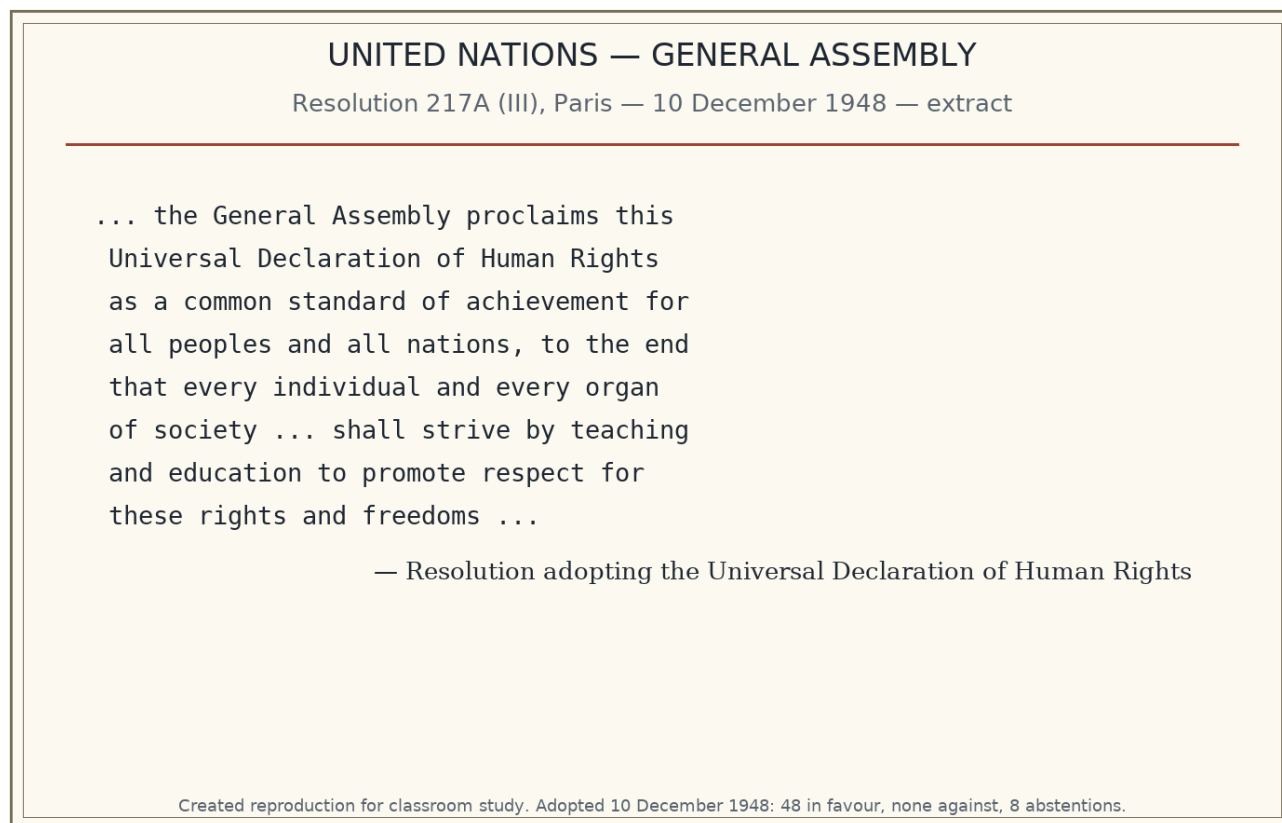
Scaffolded questions.

1. **Identify.** What does Roosevelt compare the declaration to, and what was that earlier document? (If you do not know it, your teacher will give you one sentence on it — then say why the comparison suits her purpose.)
2. **Context.** What had happened in the eleven years before she spoke — name the two causes from Part 1 — and what happened the day after this statement?
3. **Purpose.** Is Roosevelt describing what the declaration *is*, or arguing for what members should *do* with it? Quote the words that show it.
4. **Perspective.** Whose hopes does this statement speak for? Which of the eight abstaining countries' objections (Part 2) is furthest from the mood of this source?
5. **Limits.** Roosevelt says the declaration "may well become" a great charter. What does that wording admit about the declaration's limits in 1948? (Use the declaration-versus-treaty distinction from The big picture.)

Model answers appear in the Answers section at the end of this section.

Worked inquiry 2 — The vote as evidence

Source 2.1 — United Nations General Assembly Resolution 217A (III), Paris, 10 December 1948 (extract). This is the resolution by which the assembly adopted the declaration.



A cream source card titled Source 2.1, showing the words of United Nations General Assembly Resolution 217A of 10 December 1948: the General Assembly proclaims this Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society shall strive, by teaching and education, to promote respect for these rights and freedoms

Figure 13 — Source 2.1. The vote itself: 48 in favour, none against, eight abstentions, two countries absent. *Source: United Nations General Assembly, Resolution 217A (III), 10 December 1948; un.org, retrieved 25 August 2026.*

Scaffolded questions.

1. **Identify.** What two phrases in the source tell you what the declaration was meant to be, and how it was meant to take effect?
2. **Inference.** The resolution says “every individual and every organ of society” should strive to promote these rights “by teaching and education”. Does this sound like law, or like something else? Use the terms *declaration* and *treaty* in your answer.
3. **Context.** Use Figure 6. Name the three different groups of abstainers and the different reason each group had.
4. **Absent voices.** Figure 6 shows who voted. Using Part 2 and Section 1D, explain whose voices were missing from the room in 1948, and why that matters for a document that claims to speak for all humankind.
5. **Corroborate.** Compare Source 2.1 with Source 1.1. Do the two sources agree about what the declaration is — a beginning, or an achievement? Give one phrase from each.

Practice questions

Scaffolded

- Q1.** Copy and complete: “The two causes of the declaration named by the curriculum are and One fact I know about each is and”
- Q2.** Using Figure 4, list the steps from the founding of the United Nations (1945) to the adoption of the declaration (December 1948), each with its year. Which step do you think did the most work — the Commission, the drafting committee, or the vote itself? Give one reason.
- Q3.** From Part 2: (a) Who chaired the Commission on Human Rights? (b) Who prepared the first blueprint of the text? (c) Who argued the declaration’s opening words should read “all human beings”? (d) Who argued for rights that could be enforced?
- Q4.** Using Figure 6 and Part 2, complete a table with three rows — the six Soviet-bloc abstainers, Saudi Arabia, South Africa — and two columns: the reason recorded for the abstention, and whether that reason was about what the declaration said or about the abstainer’s own situation.
- Q5.** Using Figure 7: (a) Which block of articles covers civil and political rights? Give two examples of rights in it. (b) Which block covers economic, social and cultural rights? Give two examples. (c) Why was joining the two blocks one of the declaration’s most argued-about choices?
- Q6.** Using Figure 10: (a) In what order did Australia’s federal anti-discrimination laws appear, and what does each cover? (b) Which of these laws gives effect in Australian law to a UN treaty Australia had joined? (c) When did the Victorian Charter come into full effect, and what does it require of public authorities?

Unscaffolded

- Q7.** Explain why the declaration was adopted in 1948 rather than 1938 or 1958. Your answer should use at least two causes and one fact about the state of the world at the date of adoption.
- Q8.** “The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was significant mainly as a statement, not as law.” Evaluate this claim using the evidence of Part 4. Define *declaration* and *treaty*, and state one limit of your evidence.
- Q9.** Compare Australia’s role in making the declaration (Part 5) with its domestic laws and policies of the same period. Explain how a country could act as both a drafter of universal rights and a place where some people did not enjoy them. Use one named person, one named policy and dates.
- Q10.** Choose one of the contested perspectives in Part 6 — either the case for a federal bill of rights or the case against. Present that case in its strongest form, then present the opposing case in its strongest form, then reach your own judgement with your reasons. Marks go to reasoning, not to the side you choose.

Source inquiry task

Task. “How significant has the Universal Declaration of Human Rights been for Australia?”

Work with Source 2.1 (the resolution adopting the declaration) as your starting primary source. Then choose one development in Australia since 1948 from Part 6 — for example, the Racial Discrimination Act 1975, the Sex Discrimination Act 1984, the Disability Discrimination Act 1992, or the Victorian Charter of 2006 — and find one more primary source for it: the law’s own text, a speech in parliament, or a statement by the movement that pushed for it (your teacher will help you locate originals). Write an answer of 300–400 words.

Marking guide (marks are for reasoning, not for the conclusion you reach):

Step	Marks
Defines <i>declaration</i> , <i>treaty</i> or other terms at first use	1
Uses dated, named evidence from 1948 and from Australia since	2

Step	Marks
Explains cause and consequence (what the declaration led to; what followed in Australia)	2
Presents the opposing view of the declaration's significance in its strongest form before evaluating it	2
States a limitation of the evidence or of the claim	1
Reaches a judgement supported by the reasoning above	2

Answers

Q1. Model: “The two causes of the declaration named by the curriculum are the atrocities of the Holocaust and the immense destruction and displacement of World War II. One fact I know about each is that about six million Jewish people were murdered in the Holocaust, and that tens of millions of people were uprooted by the war — roughly seven million displaced persons were counted in Germany and Austria alone in 1945.”

Q2. Steps: the UN Charter signed at San Francisco, June 1945; the UN begins, October 1945; the Commission on Human Rights established, June 1946; the commission’s first session and the drafting committee, 1947; drafting through 1948; adoption in Paris, 10 December 1948. The judgement is yours to make; a strong answer says the drafting committee did the most work because without a text there was nothing to vote on — or the vote, because without agreement the text was only words — and supports the choice.

Q3. (a) Eleanor Roosevelt. (b) John Humphrey. (c) Hansa Mehta. (d) William Roy Hodgson.

Q4. Soviet-bloc states: the declaration did not condemn fascism by name and did not go far enough on economic and social rights — about what the declaration said (though critics replied it was really about the articles limiting state power). Saudi Arabia: Articles 18 and 16 conflicted with its religious law — about what the declaration said. South Africa: the equality articles threatened its own racial laws — about the abstainer’s own situation.

Q5. (a) Articles 3–21; examples include the right to life and liberty, a fair trial, freedom of thought and religion, freedom of expression and peaceful assembly. (b) Articles 22–27; examples include the right to work, to education, to an adequate standard of living. (c) Because it committed the declaration to both families of rights at once, at the height of the Cold War disagreement about which family mattered more — and because economic and social rights cost governments money and organisation, not just restraint.

Q6. (a) Racial Discrimination Act 1975; Sex Discrimination Act 1984; Disability Discrimination Act 1992; Age Discrimination Act 2004. (b) The Racial Discrimination Act 1975 gives effect to the UN convention on racial discrimination, which Australia ratified in 1975; the Sex Discrimination Act followed Australia’s joining of the women’s convention. (c) 1 January 2008; it requires Victorian public authorities to act in ways compatible with the twenty rights it protects and to consider those rights in decisions.

Q7. Not 1938: the UN did not exist, and the events that made the demand for universal rules — the Holocaust, the war’s destruction and displacement — had not yet happened or been seen. Not 1958: by then the moment had passed into Cold War division, and the declaration’s authority came from being agreed while the wartime alliance still half-held. 1948: the UN was three years old, its Charter promised human rights without listing them, and the evidence of what states could do to people was fresh — the Genocide Convention was adopted the day before the declaration.

Q8. Strong answers define a declaration (a statement of principles, not enforceable law) and a treaty (a binding agreement once ratified), then weigh both sides: as a statement it has been enormously significant (foundation of 70-plus treaties, the 1966 covenants, national constitutions, movements’ standard); as law it was weak in 1948 (no court, no enforcement; abstainers included governments whose own laws broke it), and enforcement still depends on governments’ consent. A stated limit, e.g.: “the count of treaties shows law was built, but not whether governments obey it.”

Q9. Australia pressed for universal rights abroad — Hodgson argued for enforceable rights at the drafting table, Evatt presided over adoption, and Street worked sex equality into the UN Charter — while at home the White Australia policy restricted immigration by race until the 1970s. A strong answer explains the gap without excusing it: governments can pursue principles in foreign policy while maintaining different domestic arrangements; the declaration existed precisely to expose and close such gaps; and change in Australia came through the same instruments — movements, law, treaties — that the declaration powered in other countries.

Q10. Award marks for: terms defined (a bill of rights — a written law protecting rights that courts can enforce against parliaments); both cases in their strongest form (for: a fixed floor, a clear rule for courts, protection against future parliaments; against: existing protections in law and institutions, unelected judges deciding contested questions, parliament as the proper place for rights debates — see Part 6); a judgement that follows from the reasoning given. The side reached does not carry marks.

Worked inquiry 1. 1. The Magna Carta of 1215 — the charter English barons forced King John to accept, long remembered as a limit on the power of rulers. The comparison suits her purpose: a small document that grew into something much larger. 2. The Holocaust (the murder of about six million Jewish people) and World War II’s destruction and displacement; the day after, 10 December 1948, the General Assembly voted on the declaration. 3. Arguing for what members should do with it: “may well become” looks forward to use, not describing what exists. 4. The hopes of the war’s victims and of the governments that wanted rules above every state; South Africa’s abstention is furthest — its government was building racial separation while Roosevelt spoke of rights for all. 5. It admits the declaration is not yet law: it cannot force anything on anyone in 1948; it must be worked into treaties and national law to become binding (the declaration-versus-treaty distinction).

Worked inquiry 2. 1. “A common standard of achievement” (what it was meant to be) and “every individual and every organ of society ... by teaching and education” (how it was meant to take effect). 2. Something else than law: a standard to be promoted and taught, not enforced — a declaration, not a treaty. 3. See Figure 6: six Soviet-bloc states (not far enough: no named condemnation of fascism, stronger social rights wanted); Saudi Arabia (Articles 18 and 16); South Africa (the equality articles versus its own racial laws). 4. Most of Asia and Africa was still under colonial rule in 1948, so most of the world’s people had no independent government to vote for them; that matters because the declaration claims to speak for all humankind, and its legitimacy rests partly on how far later generations have made it their own. 5. Both treat it as a beginning: Roosevelt — “may well become”; the resolution — “shall strive ... to promote respect”. Neither claims the work is finished.

Curriculum traceability

- **Content description** VC2HH10K37 (cited by code).
- **Elaborations taught:** .E01 (causes — the Holocaust’s atrocities and the scale of World War II destruction and displacement — Part 1, Figures 2–4), .E02 (present significance — Part 4, Figure 8; the steelman of Part 4 answers “significance” with the Section 8C criteria rather than a list), .E03 (human rights development in Australia — movements and new human rights laws, among them the Victorian Charter — Part 6, Figures 10–11).
- **§2A:** this content description is not affected by the First Nations exclusion register (TOC §2A lists VC2HH10K36–K41 as not affected). Australia’s human rights development in Part 6 is taught through the movements and legislation named there; the excluded sub-strand VC2HH10K30–K35 (Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples’ rights and freedoms) owns no section of this book, per the front-of-book note.
- **Internal links:** Section 1C (the UN’s founding and purposes), Section 4A (definition of genocide), Sections 4B–4C (the Holocaust), Section 4D (the declaration as a legacy of the world wars and the Holocaust; the Genocide Convention; the 1966 covenants), Section 1D (decolonisation and absent voices; techniques of movements), Section 1E (the women’s movement), Section 1F (migration policy and the Racial Discrimination Act 1975).
- **Skills links:** perspective (abstainers’ reasons — VC2HH10S05, Section 7E); absent voices (VC2HH10S04, Section 7D); corroboration across sources (Worked inquiry 2, Q5 — VC2HH10S04); cause and consequence (Part 1, Q7 — VC2HH10S08, Section 8B); continuity and change (Part 6 — VC2HH10S07, Section 8A); significance criteria (Part 4, Q8 — VC2HH10S09, Section 8C).
- **Contested terms:** *human rights* defined at first use with attribution (UN sense) per CONTESTED_TERMS.md Rule 1; the Part 4 significance debate and the Part 6 bill-of-rights debate are steelmanned on both sides per Rules 4–5.
- **Sources.** All quotations are from the original documents named, retrieved 25 August 2026: UN General Assembly Resolution 217A (III), 10 December 1948 (un.org); Eleanor Roosevelt, statement to the UN General Assembly, Paris, 9 December 1948 (UN records, un.org); UN Charter,

1945. Background facts: United Nations, “Universal Declaration of Human Rights” (un.org — adoption facts, Hansa Mehta, 500-plus languages); United Nations human rights office (ohchr.org — the declaration as foundation of more than 70 treaties); United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Holocaust Encyclopedia (the six million; displaced persons after the war); Wikipedia, “Universal Declaration of Human Rights”, “William Roy Hodgson”, “H. V. Evatt”, “Jessie Street”, “Charter of Human Rights and Responsibilities Act 2006”, “Human rights in Australia”, retrieved 25 August 2026. Australian legislation as enacted (legislation.gov.au); Australia’s treaty ratification dates from Australian treaty records. Death-toll range for World War II as stated in Section 3F of this book.

World events since 1945: causes, consequences and impacts on Australia

For the teacher

This section is one teaching sequence (parts 1–8) with two worked inquiries built from real, dated, checkable sources, six scaffolded practice tasks, four unscaffolded tasks and one source-based inquiry task, per the §3 volume calibration. Register is direct-address prose at or below the Yr10 ceiling (D2). Subject terms are defined at first use (D2 exemption 2). Contested terms (populate or perish, White Australia policy, assimilation) carry CONTESTED_TERMS Rule 1 treatment — defined before use, frames stated, attribution given — and every debate in the section steelmans both positions at equal depth (Rules 4–5): the driver debate in worked inquiry 1 (world events v Australian policy choices). Marking is on quality of reasoning, not conclusion reached (Rule 5). All First Nations content is excluded per Rule 1 and §2A; none may be authored in later, including as context or a caption.

Curriculum alignment (VCAA export VC2_AS-CD-E1ab_29-07-2026.csv) — codes only:

VC2HH10K38 — Historical Knowledge and Understanding · Investigation: The globalising world (1945–present)

Draws on (linkage only, D7): the Migration experiences option group, held consistent across Chapter 6 per the build notes: VC2HH10K38.E11 · VC2HH10K38.E12 · VC2HH10K38.E13 · VC2HH10K38.E14. The TOC's full .E01–.E22 range is retained as the linkage key; coverage is judged against the generic CD text (D7).

D3 note (binding): this section's content — the Immigration Restriction Act 1901, the dictation test, the post-war migration waves and refugee arrivals, and the policy changes of 1958–1975 — is migration and policy history, not First Nations content (chapter block note, §3). No First Nations material may be authored into this section later, including as context, background or a caption.

Teaching choices (chapter block spec, §3 and build notes): the chapter's one chosen topic is Migration experiences, so this section takes the depth the overview (1F) only surveyed. 1F met the dictation test as a source card and the 1901–1978 policy timeline as a table; here the test is studied as a working mechanism with its numbers and its 1934 court case (part 3, .E13), the post-war program is studied through its three policy moves and its reception system (part 4, .E12–.E13), the waves are studied with origins, push and pull factors and numbers (part 5, .E14), and the consequences are studied through the Snowy Mountains Scheme and a four-area consequence map (part 7, .E12). Worked inquiry 1 (part 6) models the driver debate as a steelman; worked inquiry 2 (part 8) models a claim–evidence–explanation–counter–judgement paragraph. The Vietnamese refugee story and the assimilation-to-multiculturalism change are 6D's source inquiry and continuity-change work; this section supplies their wave and their program without duplicating them. The White Australia Policy arguments of 1964–1973 are 6E's perspective work; this section supplies the dated reforms only. The section assumes no Level 9 sequence (D1): it re-establishes every idea it uses, and it points sideways (1F, 3E, 4D, 6B, 6D–6F) and to the skills sections (7A–7F, 8B).

Subject words — define at first use (D2 exemption 2):

Word	Gloss used in this section
cause	what makes something happen
condition	what makes something possible, without forcing it to happen
consequence	what follows from an event — intended or unintended
push factor	a reason to leave home (war, downturn, upheaval)
pull factor	a reason to choose a new country (peace, work, opportunity)
displaced persons	people forced from their homes by war, with nowhere to return to
prohibited immigrant	the legal label the Acts put on a person Australia would not let stay
dictation test	the 50-word writing test used from 1901 to keep chosen arrivals out

Word	Gloss used in this section
entry permit	the permit that replaced the dictation test in 1958
assisted passage	a government-subsidised fare that made the trip cheap for chosen migrants
reception centre	a camp where new arrivals were housed, fed and given English lessons
Ten Pound Poms	the popular name for British migrants who came under the assisted passage scheme
populate or perish	Arthur Calwell's slogan: grow the population or risk the country (contested — a slogan, not a fact)
White Australia policy	historians' label for the race-based selection system built from 1901 (contested — attributed at first use)
assimilation	the expectation of the 1940s–60s that arrivals would blend into one Australian way of life (contested — see 6D)
wave (of migration)	a large group of arrivals from similar places at a similar time
steelman	to state an opposing view in its strongest form before judging it
provenance	the who, where and when of a source

1. One story in four moves

In May 1945 the fighting of World War II ended in Europe. Millions of people were far from home — prisoners freed, refugees fleeing, whole regions in ruins. In Australia, a country of about seven million people, the war had left a fear: the fall of Singapore in 1942 had shown how exposed a small population could be (you met this in sections 3E and 4D). Two facts — Europe full of people with nowhere to go, and Australia wanting more people — are the starting point of this section.

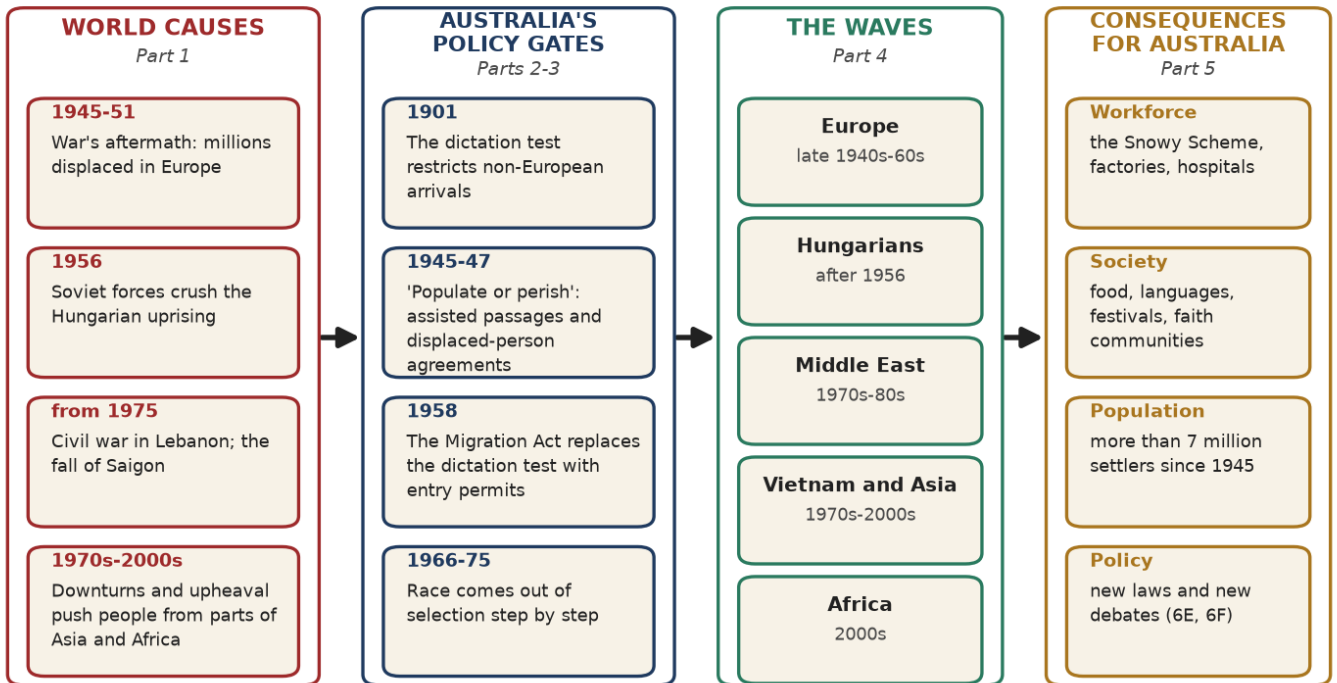
This section follows one topic through the post-1945 world: **migration experiences** — the one topic this chapter holds across sections 6C to 6F. It asks three questions. What **caused** the waves of migration to Australia after 1945? What **consequences** did those waves have for Australia? And how did Australia's own rules shape both?

Three words carry the section. A **cause** is what makes something happen. A **condition** is what makes something possible without forcing it — a door being open is a condition; someone pushing you through it is a cause. A **consequence** is what follows, whether it was planned or not. Historians sort all three carefully, and part 6 will ask you to weigh causes against each other.

Section 1F gave you the overview: the policy timeline from 1901 to 1978 in one table. This section goes deeper, in four moves. Figure 1 maps them: causes in the world; Australia's policy gates; the waves; the consequences.

Migration to Australia after 1945: how this section runs

World events pushed people to move; Australian policy decided who could come; arrivals changed Australia. Read left to right.



Causes, gates and waves interact - the debate in Worked inquiry 2 asks which mattered most.

A map of the section in four columns read left to right: world causes such as the aftermath of war in 1945 and the 1956 Hungarian uprising; Australia's policy gates from the 1901 dictation test to the 1966 to 1975 reforms; the waves from Europe, Hungary, the Middle East, Vietnam and Asia, and Africa; and consequences for Australia's workforce, society, population and policy

Figure 1 — How this section runs: causes, gates, waves, consequences.

2. Why people move: push and pull factors

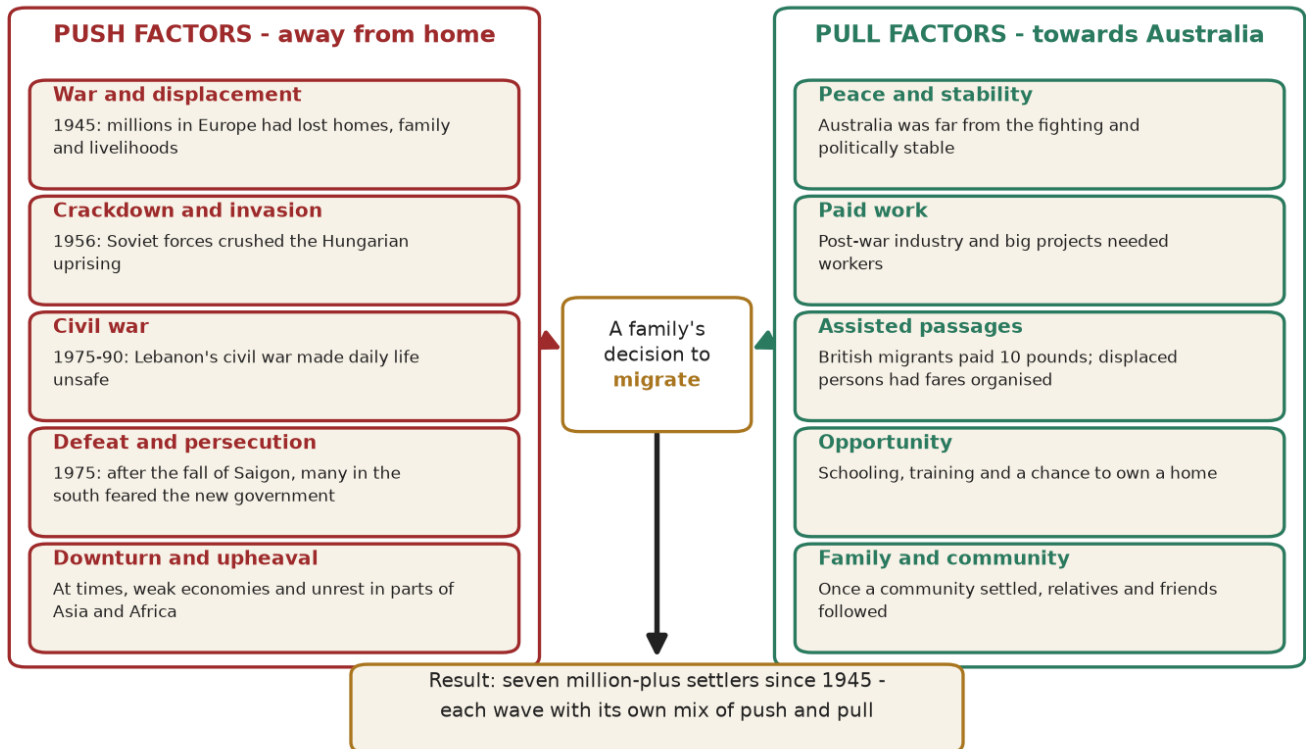
Before the history, the toolkit. The curriculum names two kinds of reason for migration, and you will use them in every part of this section.

A **push factor** is a reason to leave home: the effects of war, an economic downturn, social upheaval, persecution. A **pull factor** is a reason to choose a particular country: peace, paid work, schooling, family already there. The curriculum's own list of pull factors for Australia includes its peaceful democracy and its economic and educational opportunities.

Two cautions before you use the toolkit. First, most migrants felt push and pull at once — the two lists are lenses, not boxes. Second, a pull factor only works if the door is open: a country can be peaceful and rich and still refuse you entry. That is why this section keeps Australia's policy gates in the middle of the story. Figure 2 sets the toolkit out with the section's real examples.

Why people moved: push and pull factors

Push factors drive people away from home; pull factors draw them to a new country. Most migrants felt both at once.



The same idea scales up: Worked inquiry 2 asks how much each side mattered in the post-1945 story.

A diagram with push factors on the left and pull factors on the right, each with five dated examples such as the 1956 Hungarian uprising and the 1975 fall of Saigon as pushes and paid work and assisted passages as pulls, and arrows from both sides into a family's decision to migrate, then down to the result of more than seven million settlers since 1945

Figure 2 — Push and pull factors, with the section's examples.

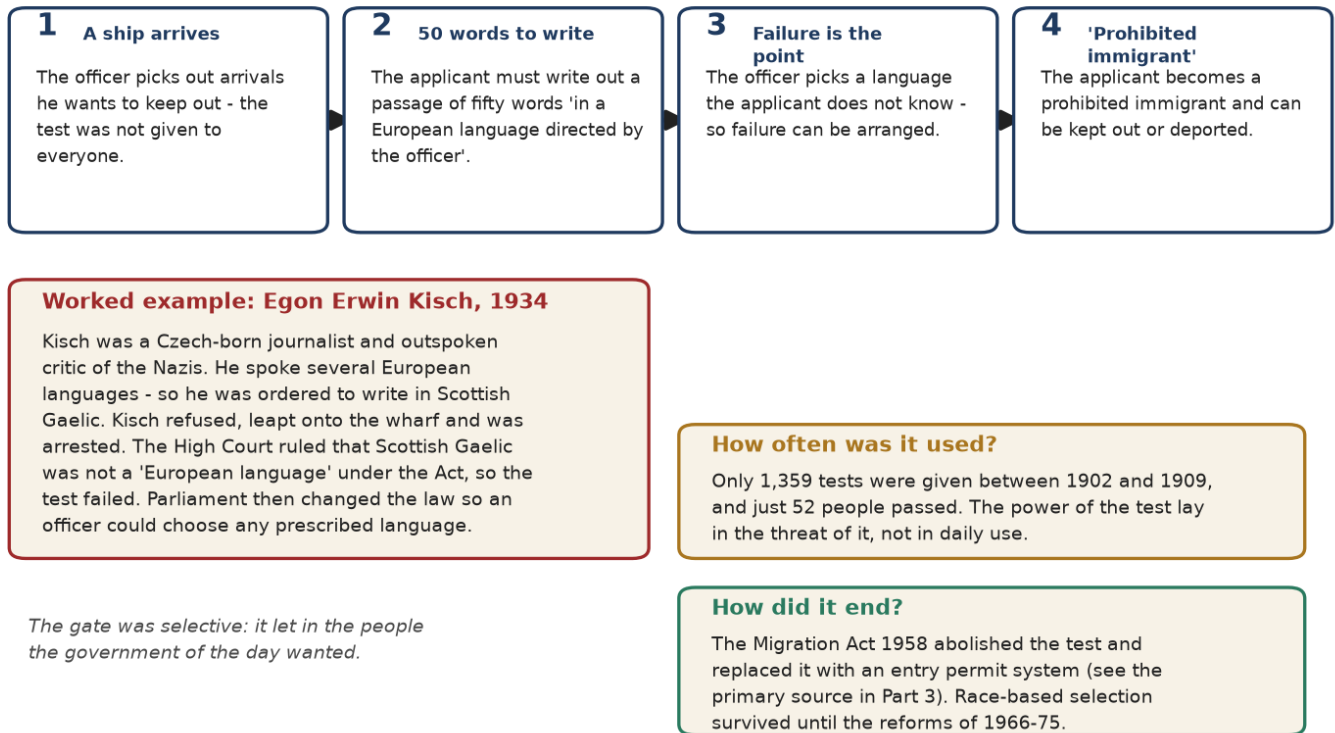
3. The old gate: the dictation test, 1901–1958

Australia's first big rule about migration was the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901*. Its core tool was the **dictation test**: an officer could order an arrival to write out a passage of fifty words "in a European language directed by the officer". Fail, and the person became a **prohibited immigrant** — the legal label for someone Australia would not let stay.

Read those words slowly, because the mechanism is the point. The officer chose *whether* to test you, *which* passage you wrote, and *in which language*. A person the officer wanted to admit was never tested. A person he wanted to keep out was tested in a language they did not know — so failure could be arranged. The test looked fair on paper and was selective in practice. Figure 3 shows the mechanism step by step, with its one famous court case and its usage numbers.

How the dictation test worked as a gate

Under the Immigration Restriction Act 1901, an officer chose when to use the test, the passage, and the language.



A diagram of the dictation test in four steps — a ship arrives, the applicant must write fifty words, the officer picks a language the applicant does not know so failure can be arranged, and the applicant becomes a prohibited immigrant — with a worked example of Egon Kisch ordered to write in Scottish Gaelic in 1934, the usage figures of 1,359 tests and 52 passes between 1902 and 1909, and the ending of the test by the Migration Act 1958

Figure 3 — How the dictation test worked as a gate.

The test had a purpose, and the purpose had a name. Historians call the system built from 1901 the **White Australia policy** — their label for the race-based selection that kept most non-European migration out for most of the century. The label is contested in the way all good historical labels are: the National Museum of Australia describes the policy as openly racist, and the historian Erin Ihde describes it as discredited — while the people who ran it at the time mostly defended it as necessary. You will weigh their arguments, with dates, in section 6E; this section needs only the mechanism and its end.

That end came in two stages. The *Migration Act 1958* abolished the dictation test and replaced it with an **entry permit** system — you will read the Act itself as this section's primary source in part 10. But an entry permit system can still select by race, and Australian selection did so until the reforms of 1966 and 1973, which you will meet in part 7.

4. The gate opens: “populate or perish”, 1945–54

In July 1945, with the war only just over, Australia created the job of Minister for Immigration and gave it to **Arthur Calwell**. Calwell argued that Australia needed people for two reasons — defence, after the fright of 1942, and growth, for the economy the war had built. The slogan of the day was his: **populate or perish** — grow the population, or risk the country. A slogan is not a fact; it is a claim about causes, and part 6 will ask you how much of the story it explains. What is fact is what Calwell did with the job. Three policy moves built the post-war program.

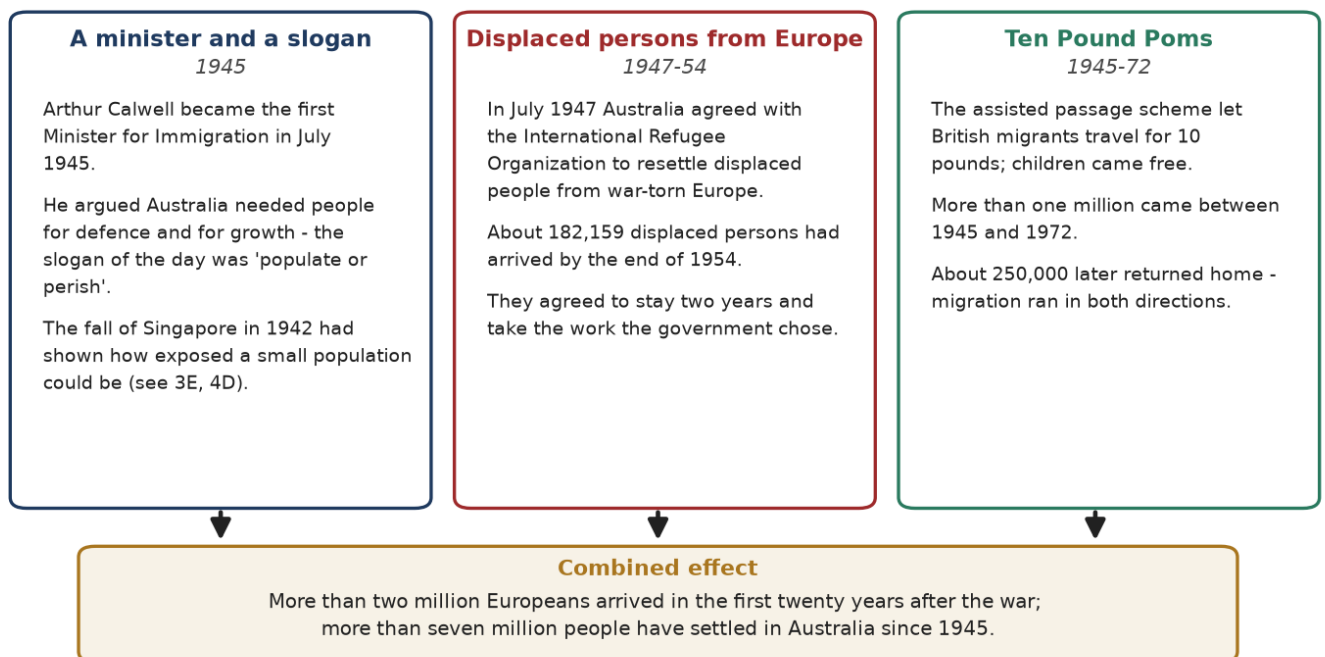
Move one — displaced persons from Europe. In July 1947 Australia signed an agreement with the International Refugee Organization to resettle **displaced persons** — people the war had forced from their homes, living in camps across Europe. Australia agreed to take thousands a year from the Baltic states and Poland, and the program widened from there. By the end of 1954 about 182,159 displaced persons had arrived. They agreed to stay two years and take the work the government chose.

Move two — assisted passages for the British. The scheme let British migrants travel for ten pounds — a tiny fraction of the real fare — with children free. The people who came under it are remembered as **Ten Pound Poms**. More than one million came between 1945 and 1972; about 250,000 later returned home, a reminder that migration runs in both directions.

Move three — the receiving machinery. A program of this size needed places to put people. New arrivals passed through **reception centres** — camps of huts with shared meals and first English lessons — before work and housing. The largest and longest-running was Bonegilla, near Wodonga on the Murray River: an old army camp that took in around 309,000 arrivals between 1947 and 1971. Figure 4 shows the three policy moves; Figure 5 shows what arrival actually felt like.

Building the post-war migration program, 1945-54

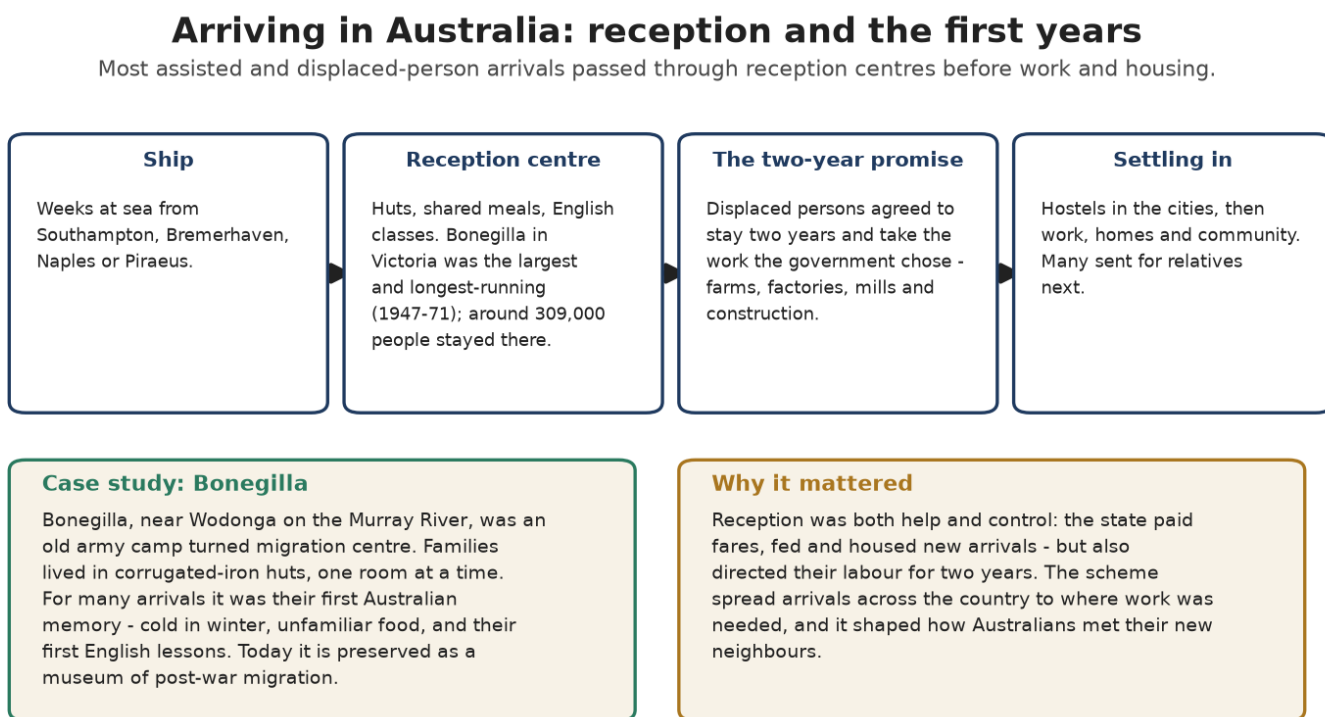
Three policy moves turned Australia into a large-scale immigration country.



Causes here are double: world events made people available to move, and Australian policy chose to bring them.

Three cards showing the policy moves of 1945 to 1954: Arthur Calwell as first Minister for Immigration in 1945 with the populate or perish slogan; the July 1947 agreement with the International Refugee Organization bringing about 182,159 displaced persons by the end of 1954; and the ten pound assisted passage bringing more than one million British migrants between 1945 and 1972, with the combined effect of more than two million Europeans in twenty years and more than seven million settlers since 1945

Figure 4 — Building the post-war migration program, 1945–54.



Newspapers of the time called arrivals 'New Australians' - a label some liked and some resented.

A flow of arrival in four steps — weeks at sea, a reception centre such as Bonegilla with around 309,000 arrivals between 1947 and 1971, the two-year work promise, and settling in — with a case study of Bonegilla and a note that reception was both help and control

Figure 5 — Arriving in Australia: reception and the first years.

Notice the causes and conditions working together, because this is the analysis the curriculum asks for. The war was the **cause** that made displaced persons available to move. Australia's fear of being few, and its hunger for workers, were **conditions**. Calwell's agreements and fares were the **policy choices** that turned cause and condition into arrivals. And one more word belongs to this moment: **assimilation** — the expectation of the 1940s to 1960s that arrivals would blend into one Australian way of life. Whether that expectation was fair or wrong, and what replaced it, is section 6D's story; here it is enough to know it was the program's frame of mind.

5. The waves, 1940s–2000s

With the gates partly open, the arrivals came in waves — large groups from similar places at similar times. Figure 6 lines the waves up with their origins, their push and pull factors and their numbers. Read it as the core of this section: every row is a cause-and-consequence story in miniature.

The waves of migration to Australia since 1945

Read each row left to right: when, who, why they left, why Australia, how many.

Wave and period	Main origins	Push factors	Pull factors	Numbers
Europe, late 1940s-60s	Britain, Netherlands, Italy, Germany, Greece, Malta, Poland and the Baltic states	War damage, lost homes, displaced persons camps; the 1956 Hungarian uprising	Assisted passages; the two-year displaced-persons scheme; full employment	More than 2 million Europeans in the first 20 post-war years; about 14,500 Hungarians after 1956
Middle East, 1970s-80s	Lebanon, Turkey	Lebanon's civil war from 1975; economic downturn	Family and community links already in Australia; a special concession for Lebanese applicants	More than 30,000 Lebanese civil-war refugees arrived 1975-90
Vietnam and Southeast Asia, 1970s-80s	Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos	The fall of Saigon (1975); fear of the new government; camps in the region	Australia's resettlement program; peace and schooling	Fewer than 2,000 Vietnam-born residents before 1974; about 268,170 by the 2021 census
Asia, 1990s-2000s	China, India, the Philippines	Downturns and upheaval at home; competition for places at home	Skilled and student visas; universities and growing industries	By 2021, India-born residents were Australia's second-largest overseas-born group
Africa, 2000s	South Africa, Sudan, Zimbabwe	Conflict and social upheaval; economic collapse in Zimbabwe	Refugee and skilled visas; family reunion	A newer wave, concentrated in the big cities

Numbers quoted here come from the source lines at the end of this section; counts vary by source and method.

A table of five waves of migration since 1945 with columns for wave and period, main origins, push factors, pull factors and numbers: Europe from the late 1940s to the 1960s including about 14,500 Hungarian refugees after 1956; the Middle East of the 1970s and 1980s with more than 30,000 Lebanese civil-war refugees; Vietnam and Southeast Asia from 1975 with about 268,170 Vietnam-born residents by the 2021 census; Asia of the 1990s and 2000s with India-born residents the second-largest overseas-born group by 2021; and Africa of the 2000s

Figure 6 — The waves of migration to Australia since 1945.

Two waves deserve a closer look, because their causes are so clearly events.

The Hungarian wave, 1956. In October–November 1956 the people of Hungary rose against their Soviet-backed government; Soviet forces crushed the uprising. About 200,000 people fled Hungary, and Australia accepted about 14,500 of them. The wave began within months of the uprising — a push factor in its purest form.

Vietnamese, from 1975. Before 1974 fewer than 2,000 Vietnam-born people lived in Australia. After the fall of Saigon in April 1975, and the fear and hardship that followed in the south, that changed: by the 2021 census about 268,170 Vietnam-born people lived here. The resettlement story — boats, camps, and a country testing its brand-new race-free rules — is told with its sources in section 6D; here it stands as the wave that most changed Australia's idea of who could come.

And two waves show the later pattern, where pull factors lead: the Asian waves of the 1990s and 2000s — China, India, the Philippines — driven less by war than by study, skilled work and opportunity, and the African wave of the 2000s from countries such as South Africa, Sudan and Zimbabwe. By 2021 the India-born were Australia's second-largest overseas-born group. One caution about every number in this part: counts vary by source and method, so historians always say where a number came from — and so do the source lines at the end of this section.

6. Worked inquiry 1 — What drove the waves?

Here is the section's central debate, and a chance to use the steelman rule properly. To **steelman** a view is to state it in its strongest form before judging it.

Question: Did the post-1945 waves of migration to Australia come mainly from world events, or mainly from Australian policy choices?

Step 1 — State each side at full strength. Figure 7 gives you both positions as their own supporters would state them, with the evidence each side points to. Check you can summarise each side in one sentence before you judge either.

A contested cause: what drove the post-1945 waves?

Two positions, each stated in the strongest form its own supporters would recognise.
Stating a position is not endorsing it.

POSITION A - world events drove the waves

The big surges line up with world events, not with Canberra's paperwork. The displaced-persons wave followed the war that created the camps; the Hungarian wave followed the crushed 1956 uprising; the Vietnamese and Lebanese waves followed the fall of Saigon and Lebanon's civil war. People moved because they had to - Australia happened to be one of the doors open to them.

The evidence its supporters point to:

- the Hungarian wave began within months of the November 1956 uprising;
- fewer than 2,000 Vietnam-born residents before 1974, then arrivals surged after the fall of Saigon;
- Lebanon's civil war, from 1975, pushed more than 30,000 refugees to Australia by 1990.

POSITION B - Australian policy drove the waves

World events made people available to move; Australian ministers decided whether anyone could come at all, and who. Calwell built the program, signed the displaced-persons agreement and set the fare for Ten Pound Poms. When the gate was race-based, whole regions could not come; when the rules changed in 1966-75, the mix of origins changed with them. The waves were admitted, not accidental.

The evidence its supporters point to:

- the July 1947 displaced-persons agreement is what opened the camps to Australia;
- the 10-pound fare pulled more than a million British migrants between 1945 and 1972;
- the dictation test and its successors kept most non-European migration out until the 1960s-70s.

How historians handle it: most accounts use both - events created the pressure to move, policy decided its size, timing and origins. Worked inquiry 2 asks you to weigh both sides yourself.

A steelman panel with two positions on what drove the post-1945 waves: position A says world events drove the waves, pointing to the Hungarian wave after the 1956 uprising, the surge of Vietnamese arrivals after the fall of Saigon in 1975, and more than 30,000 Lebanese refugees pushed by civil war from 1975; position B says Australian policy drove the waves, pointing to the July 1947 displaced-persons agreement, the ten pound fare that pulled more than a million British migrants, and the dictation test that kept most non-European migration out until the 1960s and 1970s

Figure 7 — The driver debate, steelmanned.

Step 2 — Test each side against one wave. Take the Hungarian wave of 1956. Position A says the cause was the Soviet crushing of the uprising — and the timing agrees. Position B answers that Australia still had to admit them: the government chose to accept about 14,500, and could have chosen zero. Both sentences are true. That is the sign of a real historical debate: not one side right and one wrong, but two true claims about different parts of the chain.

Step 3 — Weigh, and say what you are weighing. Now take the Vietnamese wave and run the same test. Which side explains its *start*? Which side explains its *size*? A good answer says, plainly, that events explain beginnings and policy explains numbers — or argues the opposite with evidence. Your mark in this book is always for the reasoning: defined terms, real evidence, stated limits — never the side you end up on.

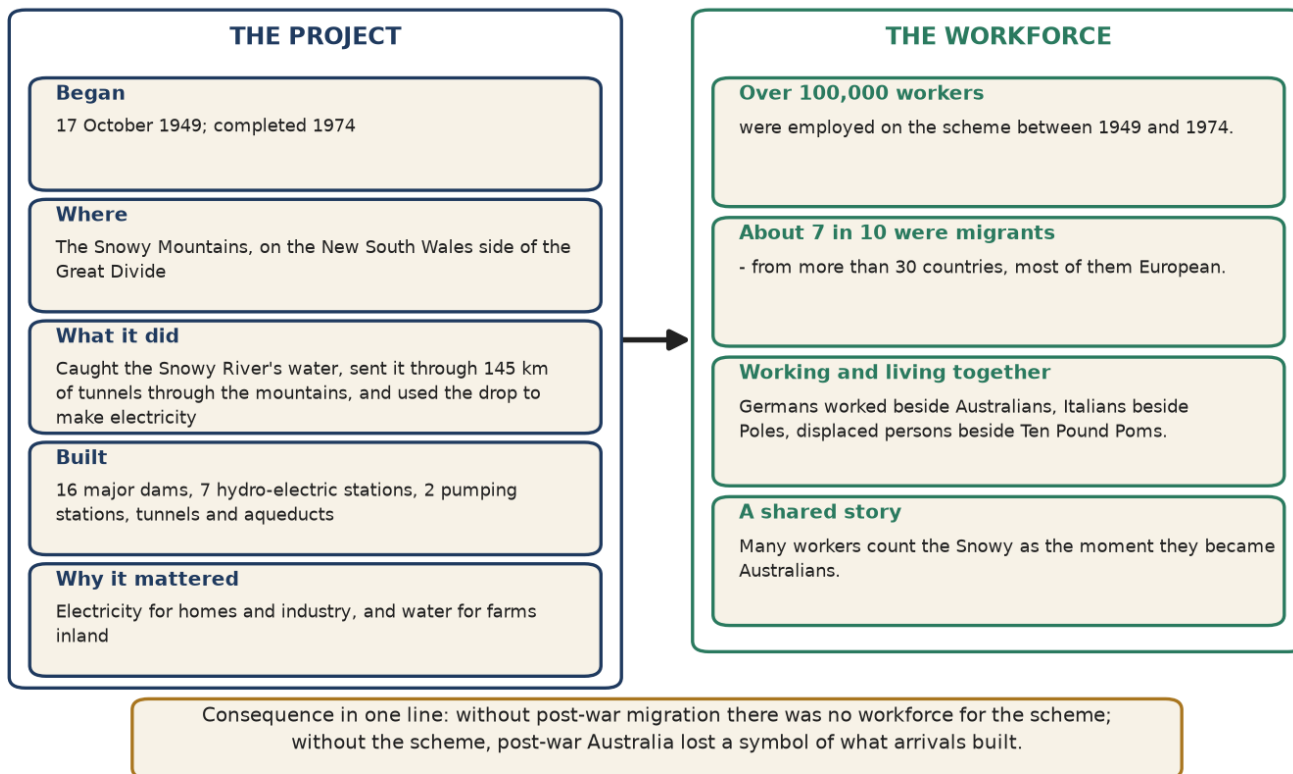
7. Consequences: what migration built and changed

Consequences come next, and the honest way to study them is to separate what was intended from what was not.

The intended consequence: workers. The program's first job was to put people to work where Australia was short. No project shows it better than the **Snowy Mountains Scheme**, begun on 17 October 1949 and completed in 1974: 16 major dams, 7 hydro-electric stations and 145 km of tunnels through the mountains, making electricity for homes and industry and turning water inland for farms. More than 100,000 people worked on it, about seven in ten of them migrants, from more than 30 countries. Figure 8 gives the scheme in two panels: the project and the workforce.

The Snowy Mountains Scheme: migration at work

Australia's biggest post-war engineering project - and its migrant-powered workforce.



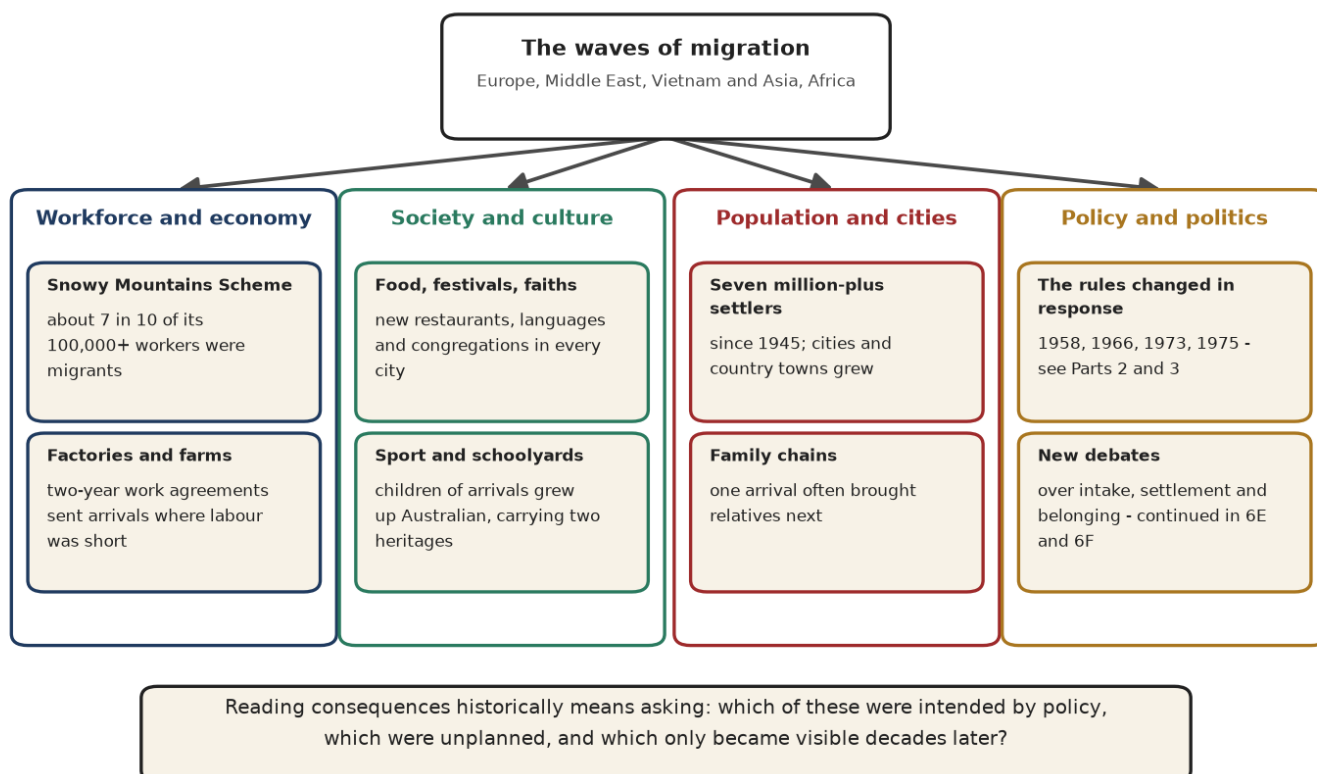
Two panels on the Snowy Mountains Scheme: the project, begun 17 October 1949 and completed 1974 with 16 major dams, 7 hydro-electric stations, 2 pumping stations and 145 km of tunnels; and the workforce, more than 100,000 workers of whom about seven in ten were migrants from more than 30 countries, with the one-line consequence that without post-war migration there was no workforce for the scheme

Figure 8 — The Snowy Mountains Scheme: migration at work.

The wider consequences. Figure 9 sorts the rest into four areas — workforce and economy, society and culture, population and cities, policy and politics — each with examples from this section. Two of the policy consequences need their dates, because they are the gate changing in response to the waves it admitted. In 1966 the Holt government reformed selection: non-European applicants with useful qualifications could now be chosen for their suitability as settlers and their ability to integrate, and could apply for citizenship after five years. In 1973 the Whitlam government removed race from selection altogether, instructing officials to totally disregard race as a factor in selecting migrants. In 1975 the *Racial Discrimination Act* made racial discrimination against the law (you met it in 1F). Each reform was a consequence of the waves — of a country that had, by then, met its neighbours.

Consequences of the post-1945 waves for Australia

Every wave changed the country that admitted it. Four areas, each with examples from this section.



A consequence map with the waves of migration at the top and four branches below: workforce and economy, with the Snowy Mountains Scheme and two-year work agreements; society and culture, with new food, languages, festivals and faith communities; population and cities, with more than seven million settlers and family chains; and policy and politics, with the rule changes of 1958, 1966, 1973 and 1975 and the debates continued in sections 6E and 6F

Figure 9 — Consequences of the post-1945 waves for Australia.

The unintended consequences. No minister planned the restaurants, the languages in schoolyards, the new congregations. No minister in 1947 planned that the rule changes of 1966–75 would one day make India-born residents the second-largest overseas-born group. Consequence analysis is at its best when it notices the gap between plan and result — practice task 9 asks you to work that gap.

8. Worked inquiry 2 — Writing the explanation

The last skill of the section is writing the whole chain as one paragraph. The moves are the house moves: **claim, evidence, explanation, counter, judgement**.

Question: Explain why migration to Australia increased in the decades after 1945.

Figure 10 shows a model answer with each move labelled. Study the moves, not the facts — the facts are yours to redeploy.

A model paragraph, move by move

The question: *Explain why migration to Australia increased in the decades after 1945.*

CLAIM	Migration to Australia increased sharply after 1945 because world events pushed people out of their homelands and Australian policy chose to bring them in.
EVIDENCE	War left millions displaced in Europe, and in July 1947 Australia signed an agreement with the International Refugee Organization to resettle them: about 182,159 displaced persons arrived by the end of 1954. At the same time the 10-pound assisted passage brought more than a million British migrants between 1945 and 1972.
EXPLANATION	These flows connected cause to consequence. The war created people who needed new homes; the minister, Arthur Calwell, argued Australia needed people for defence and growth - 'populate or perish'. Policy turned the world's crisis into Australia's intake.
COUNTER	Not every wave was planned: the Hungarian arrivals after 1956 and the Vietnamese and Lebanese arrivals after 1975 were responses to events the government could not control. Some historians therefore give world events the leading role.
JUDGEMENT	Even so, every wave had to be admitted by law, so policy decisions set the size, timing and origins of the intakes - the two causes worked together.

Steal the moves, not the facts: claim - evidence - explanation - counter - judgement.

A colour-coded model paragraph in five labelled moves — claim, evidence, explanation, counter and judgement — answering why migration to Australia increased after 1945, with dated evidence including the July 1947 agreement with the International Refugee Organization, about 182,159 displaced persons by the end of 1954, and more than a million British migrants on the ten pound passage between 1945 and 1972

Figure 10 — A model paragraph, move by move.

Now your turn. Using the same five moves, write your own paragraph on a different question: *Explain why the Vietnamese wave arrived when it did.* You have the dates (part 5), the push and pull factors (Figure 2 and Figure 6), and the policy facts (part 7). One paragraph, five moves.

9. Practice tasks

Scaffolded tasks — work with the supports provided.

- Read the map.** From Figure 1: (a) which column holds the fall of Saigon, and which holds the Migration Act 1958? (b) which column is the subject of worked inquiry 1? (c) put these in column order: the Snowy Mountains Scheme workforce; the 1956 Hungarian uprising; the ten-pound fare; the 2021 census count of Vietnam-born residents.
- Sort push and pull.** Copy the list and label each item push or pull; two items are both, and you must say both and why: the Soviet crushing of the Hungarian uprising; paid work on the Snowy Scheme; Lebanon's civil war; the ten-pound fare; fear after the fall of Saigon; schooling and training in Australia; a weak economy at home; relatives already settled here.
- Read the gate.** From Figure 3: (a) who chose the language of the dictation test? (b) how many tests were given between 1902 and 1909, and how many people passed? (c) in what language was Egon Kisch ordered to write, and what did the High Court rule? (d) which Act ended the test, and in what year?
- Order the program.** Put these in date order: the *Migration Act 1958* assented to; Arthur Calwell becomes the first Minister for Immigration; the agreement with the International Refugee Organization is signed; Bonegilla

opens as a reception centre; the assisted passage scheme begins. (Hint: two events share 1945 and two share 1947 — order them by month.)

5. **Read the waves.** From Figure 6: (a) which wave's main push factor was a civil war that began in 1975? (b) which wave is dated by a census figure of about 268,170? (c) which two waves are led by pull factors rather than push factors, and how can you tell from the table?
6. **Questions for the source.** Using only the provenance box on Figure 11 — the who, where and when of the source: (a) which Act does the Schedule repeal, first-listed? (b) what replaces the dictation test as the gate? (c) what, according to the provenance, did *not* change in 1958?

Unscaffolded tasks — no supports; build your answer from scratch.

7. **Explain a wave.** Choose one wave from Figure 6. In one paragraph of 4–6 sentences, explain its causes using at least one push factor, one pull factor and one dated number from this section. Mark the cause and the condition in your answer.
 8. **The steelman task.** “The post-1945 waves were made in Canberra, not in the world.” Write the strongest case for this statement, then the strongest case against it, then your own judgement with the evidence that decided you. Both cases must use real referents from parts 4 and 5.
 9. **Intended v unintended.** Choose two consequences from Figure 9. For each, say whether it was intended by the policy of the day, unintended, or partly both — and give one dated fact to support each call.
 10. **Compare two waves.** The Hungarian wave of 1956 and the Indian wave of the 1990s–2000s came from very different worlds. Compare their causes: which toolkit (push or pull) does most of the explaining in each case, and what does that difference say about how the world changed between 1956 and 2000?
-

10. Source-based inquiry

Read this primary source — the Act that ended the dictation test — then answer the questions below it. The extracts are reproduced from the Act as passed; the full text is on the Federal Register of Legislation.

SOURCE A - The Migration Act 1958

Extracts from the Act as passed by the Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia

No. 62 of 1958.

An Act relating to Immigration, Deportation and Emigration.
[Assented to 8th October, 1958.]

Section 4 - Repeal

4. -(1.) The Acts specified in the Schedule to this Act are repealed.

The Schedule - Acts relating to immigration and deportation repealed

Immigration Restriction Act 1901.

Immigration Restriction Amendment Act 1905.

Immigration Restriction Act 1908. Immigration Restriction Act 1910.

Immigration Act 1912. Immigration Act 1920. Immigration Act 1924.

Immigration Act 1925. Immigration Act 1930. Immigration Act 1932.

(The Schedule continues with the later Immigration Acts to 1949.)

Section 6 - Entry permits

6. -(1.) An immigrant who, not being the holder of an entry permit that is in force, enters Australia thereupon becomes a prohibited immigrant.

Provenance

Migration Act 1958 (No. 62 of 1958), as made, assented to 8 October 1958, Federal Register of Legislation. It replaced the Immigration Restriction Act 1901 and its successors. The entry permit system in section 6 replaced the dictation test - but selection rules still favoured some origins over others until the reforms of 1966-75.

A framed reproduction of extracts from the Migration Act 1958 as passed: the number and long title, the assent date of 8 October 1958, section 4 repealing the Acts in the Schedule, the Schedule listing the Immigration Restriction Act 1901 first among the repealed Acts, and section 6 providing that an immigrant who enters without an entry permit in force becomes a prohibited immigrant, with a provenance box noting that the entry permit system replaced the dictation test while race-based selection survived until the reforms of 1966 to 1975

Figure 11 — Source A: the *Migration Act 1958* (No. 62 of 1958), extracts.

1. **Formulate:** write two historical questions this source could help you answer.
2. **Infer:** what does section 6 tell you about how Australia still controlled its gate in 1958, even after the test was gone? Quote the words that carry your answer.
3. **Context:** the Act was passed in 1958, eleven years after the displaced-persons agreement and in the middle of the Ten Pound Poms years. Why might a government running a large migration program want a simpler gate than the dictation test? Use part 4 in your answer.
4. **Perspective:** whose interests does the Act serve — the arriving migrant, the officer, the government, or all three differently? Give one line of the source for each interest you name.
5. **Evaluate:** compare Source A with the dictation-test clause you met in section 1F. Which is better evidence that Australia's gate had *changed* by 1958, and which is better evidence that it had *not*? Explain your pairing, and name one other source that could test your answer.

What to look for

Score student work against the band achievement standard (Level 9–10): students analyse the features, content and context of sources; identify the perspectives that individuals and groups held; connect short- and long-term causes with intended and unintended consequences; and judge historical significance by criteria. Expected responses below are a guide, not a script. Per CONTESTED_TERMS Rule 5, mark the reasoning — terms defined, assumptions

surfaced, both sides steelmanned, evidence cited, limits acknowledged — never the conclusion reached. If a student raises excluded First Nations material, redirect to the front-of-book note; do not develop it (D3).

- **Toolkit (parts 1–2):** student distinguishes cause from condition from consequence, and push from pull, and applies all four to real referents; the “door open” caution (pull needs policy) appears in their wave explanations.
- **The dictation test (part 3, .E13):** mechanism stated as selection by officer discretion, not as a fair test; numbers correct (1,359 tests 1902–09; 52 passes); Kisch 1934 — ordered to write in Scottish Gaelic, High Court ruled it was not a “European language” under the Act, Parliament then amended to any prescribed language; *White Australia policy* used as an attributed historians’ label (National Museum of Australia; Erin Ihde) with the 1964–73 arguments deferred to 6E; the two-stage end named (1958 Act; 1966–73 reforms).
- **The program (part 4, .E12–.E13):** Calwell first Minister for Immigration July 1945; *populate or perish* treated as a dated slogan and a claim about causes, not a fact; IRO agreement July 1947 with about 182,159 displaced persons by the end of 1954 and the two-year work promise; ten-pound fare, more than one million 1945–72, about 250,000 returned; Bonegilla 1947–71, around 309,000 arrivals; cause–condition–choice analysis present; *assimilation* named as the period’s frame with the debate deferred to 6D.
- **The waves (part 5, .E14):** all five waves placed with origins and dates, with Hungarian refugees about 14,500 of a 200,000 exodus after 1956, Lebanese more than 30,000 civil-war refugees 1975–90, Vietnam fewer than 2,000 before 1974 and about 268,170 by the 2021 census with the fuller story deferred to 6D; India-born second-largest overseas-born group by 2021; the numbers-vary caution stated.
- **Driver debate (worked inquiry 1):** both positions steelmanned from Figure 7 with the evidence bullets; the Hungarian test applied to both sides; a good answer distinguishes events explaining beginnings from policy explaining size — or argues the reverse with evidence.
- **Consequences (part 7, .E12):** Snowy facts correct (begun 17 October 1949, completed 1974; 16 major dams, 7 stations, 145 km tunnels; over 100,000 workers; about 70% migrants; more than 30 countries); 1966 reforms (suitability as settlers, ability to integrate, useful qualifications, five-year citizenship) and 1973 (race removed; officials to totally disregard race) and 1975 RDA correctly sequenced as consequences of the waves; intended v unintended gap noticed.
- **Model paragraph (worked inquiry 2):** the five moves present and labelled in the student’s own Vietnamese paragraph, with dated evidence and a counter that is genuinely conceded.
- **Source inquiry (part 10):** questions genuinely historical; the inference quotes section 6; the context answer connects 1958 to a running program needing a workable gate; the evaluation pairs Source A with 1F’s dictation-test clause as change-evidence and continuity-evidence and names a test source (a ministerial statement, a departmental file, a migrant’s permit).

Cross-links to skills sections: formulating and refining historical questions (7A); sequencing events and ordering primary sources chronologically (7B — task 4 and the 1F timeline); reading historical sources for purpose, features, content, context (7C — Source A); evaluating the value of sources as evidence (7D — inquiry question 5); analysing perspectives, beliefs, values and attitudes from sources (7E — inquiry question 4 and 6E); evaluating historical interpretations and debates (7F — worked inquiry 1); sorting causes and consequences by time span and intention (8B — the section’s core skill). Sideways links: the overview timeline (1F); the fall of Singapore and the defence fear (3E, 4D); the Holocaust’s displaced persons (4D part 6); the UDHR’s Article 14 right to seek asylum (6B); continuity and change and the assimilation-to-multiculturalism story (6D); the White Australia Policy arguments 1964–1973 (6E); interpretations and debates over the changes (6F).

Sources for this section. All figures are original artifacts drawn for this book from the values stated here (SOURCE_USE Rule 3). Quotations and real-world data carry the following source lines; web collections retrieved 2026-08-25.

- Victorian Curriculum 2.0, History, Levels 9 and 10: VC2HH10K38 with elaborations .E11–.E14 (VCAA export, 29 July 2026).

- *Migration Act 1958* (No. 62 of 1958), as made, assented to 8 October 1958 — long title, section 4 and the Schedule (repealing the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901* first-listed), and section 6(1); Federal Register of Legislation (legislation.gov.au), retrieved 2026-08-25. The source studied in part 10.
- *Immigration Restriction Act 1901* (Commonwealth), section 3(a) — the dictation test clause, as surveyed in section 1F; National Archives of Australia.
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A major global influence after 1945: continuity and change

Curriculum trace: VC2HH10K39 (cited by code). This section teaches the content description through the **Migration experiences** option — the one topic held consistent across Sections 6C–6F (build_notes_ch6.md). **Draws on:** .E08 (option marker), .E09, .E10, .E11. The other four option groups (.E01–.E07, .E12–.E17) stay listed as linkage keys for schools choosing another topic; coverage is judged on the generic CD text (D7).

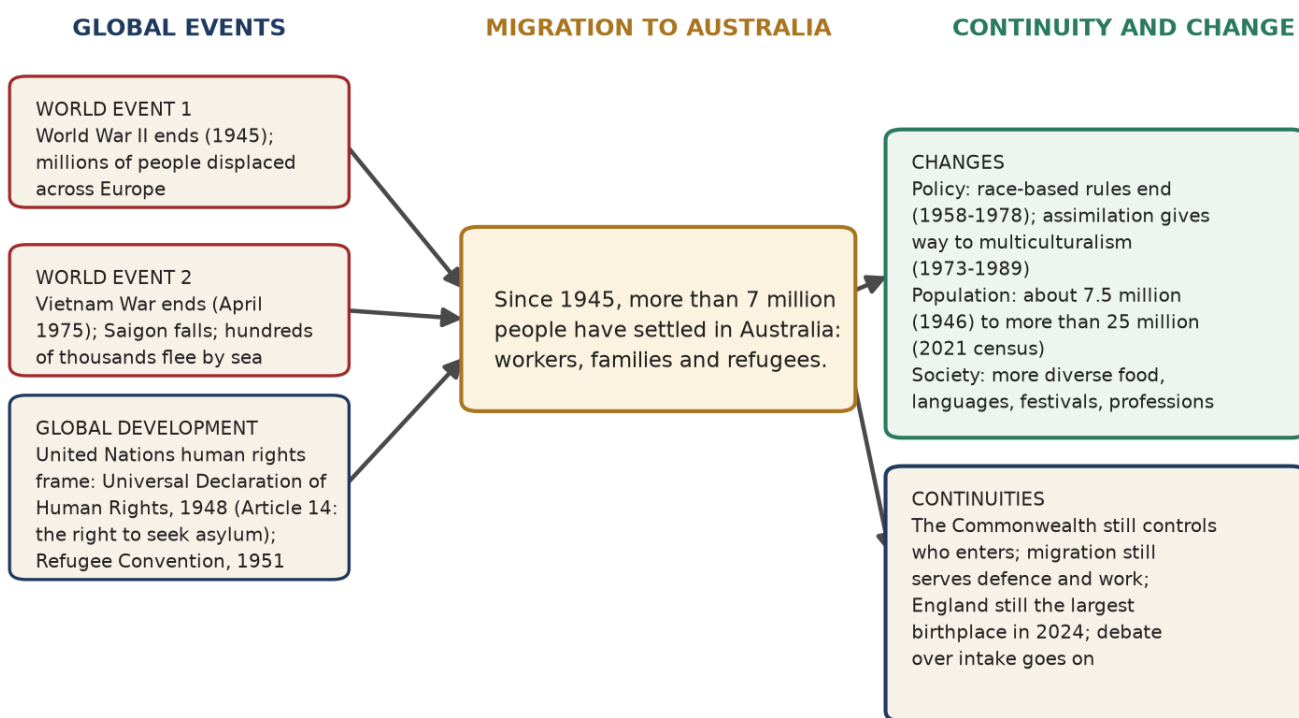
The big picture

After 1945, people moved around the world on a scale never seen before. Wars ended, empires broke up, and new conflicts began. Millions of people left their homes — some to find work, some to join family, and some because staying home meant persecution. Australia was part of this global movement: since 1945, **more than 7 million people have settled in Australia**.

This section studies migration as one major global development, driven by two global events:

- the **end of World War II (1945)**, which left millions of people displaced across Europe; and
- the **end of the Vietnam War in April 1975**, when the communist government of North Vietnam defeated the South and hundreds of thousands of people fled by sea.

The historical question is the one the content description asks: what did this global development **change** in Australia, and what **continued**?



Arrows read left to right: global events and developments drove migration to Australia, which caused changes - while key structures continued.

A concept map showing two major global events after 1945, the end of World War II and the end of the Vietnam War, feeding into the global development of migration to Australia, and from there into boxes listing changes and continuities in Australian policy, population and society

The words we are using

Migration history is full of words that people use in different senses. Per the house rule for contested terms, this section says what it means by each key word before using it.

- **Migrant** — here, a person who moves to another country to live. It is the broad, neutral word; it does not say why the person moved.
 - **Refugee** — this word is defined by international law, not by opinion. Australia agreed to the 1951 United Nations *Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees*, and in that convention a refugee is a person who is outside their own country because of a genuine fear of being persecuted, and who cannot or will not return. Other uses of the word exist; this section uses the convention's sense.
 - **Asylum** — protection given by one country to a person fleeing persecution. A person who has asked for protection but whose claim has not yet been decided is an **asylum seeker**.
 - **The White Australia policy** — historians use this term for the set of laws and practices, running from Federation in 1901, that restricted non-European migration. It was never one single law. Its best-known tool was the dictation test of the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901*, which Section 1F examines.
 - **Assimilation** — the policy once expected of arrivals: that migrants should drop their own language and customs and become as much like the existing population as possible.
 - **Multiculturalism** — a **contested term**: different people use it for different things. In this section it is used in the sense it entered Australian policy: the idea, named in a 1973 government paper and developed in official policy after 1978, that migrants may keep their cultural heritage while sharing a common national life. Other senses exist and are not interchangeable with this one.
 - **Cultural heritage** — the traditions, languages, beliefs, food and practices a community inherits from the past and hands on to the next generation.
-

Part 1 — The global events and the waves of migration

1.1 After 1945: displaced people and “populate or perish”

World War II ended in 1945 leaving millions of Europeans displaced — homeless, stateless, or unable to return to countries now under new governments. At the same time, Australia drew a sharp lesson from the war: a small population on a huge continent was hard to defend. The Chifley government responded with a mass migration program from 1945, summed up in the slogan “**populate or perish**”. Arthur Calwell, Australia's first Minister for Immigration, drove the program in its first years.

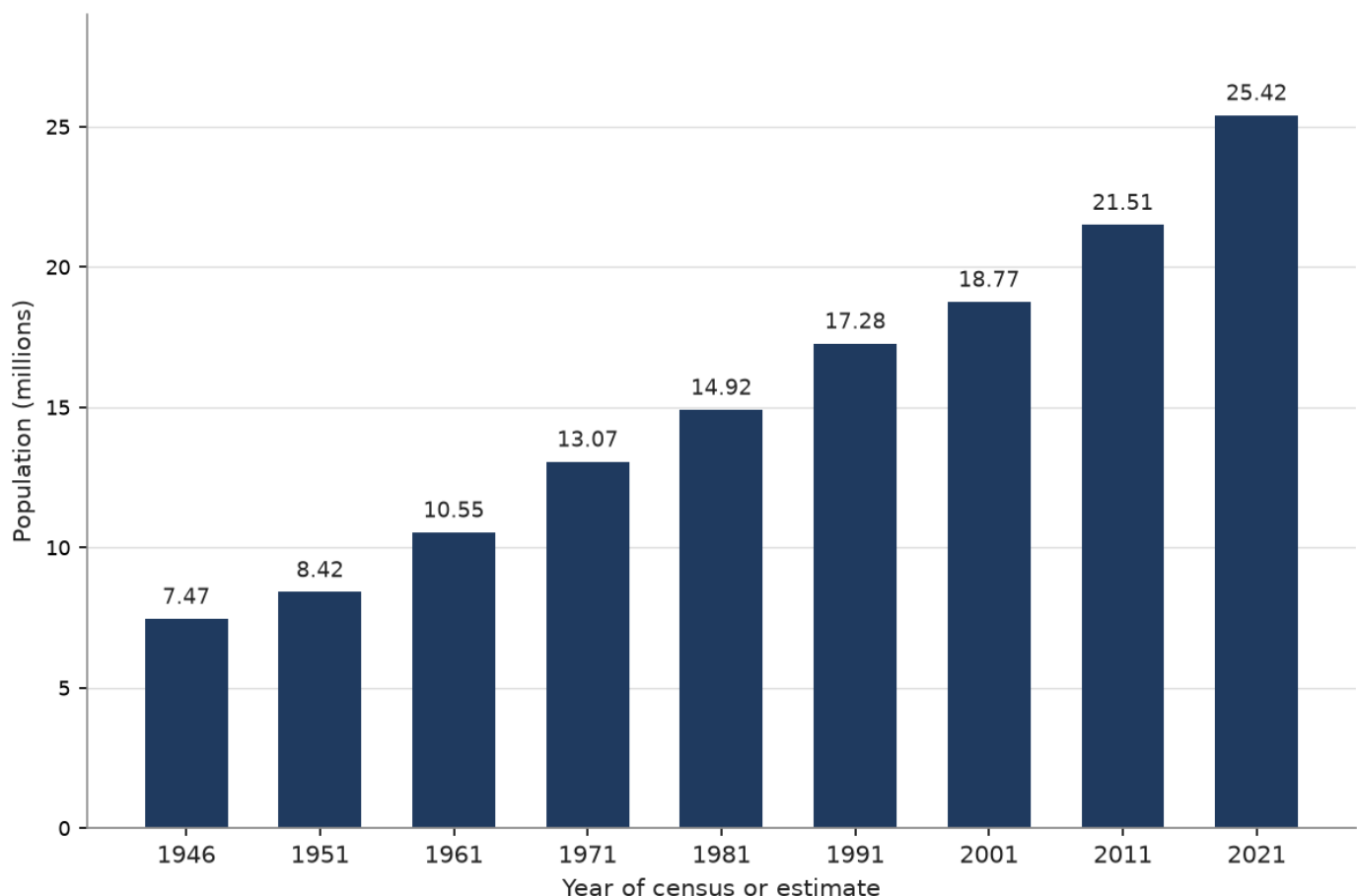
The intake changed Australian society quickly:

- more than **1 million British people** came under the assisted-passage scheme (the “Ten Pound Poms”);
- **hundreds of thousands of displaced Europeans** came from camps across Europe — Australia's migration law was amended in 1947 to admit them, having until then been based on encouraging British migration;

- in total, **more than 7 million people** have settled in Australia since 1945.

The population figures below show the result.

Australia's population more than tripled after 1945



Migration drove much of this growth: more than 7 million people have settled in Australia since 1945.

Counts before 1961 do not include all residents of Australia.

Source: Australian population estimates and censuses, as reported in Wikipedia, 'Demographics of Australia' (retrieved 25 August 2026).

A bar chart of Australia's population at nine points from 1946 to 2021, rising from about 7.5 million to about 25.4 million, with a note that counts before 1961 do not include all residents

One thing did **not** change at first: the program still ran inside the White Australia policy. The big post-war intake was mostly European, and race-based restrictions stayed in force. Change came later, step by step — the same steps Section 1F surveys: the dictation test abolished in 1958, race-based rules eased in 1966, race removed from migration decisions in 1973, the *Racial Discrimination Act* in 1975, and selection by country of origin ended in 1978.

1.2 The Vietnam War and the arrival of refugees

The Vietnam War was a Cold War conflict in which the communist government of North Vietnam, backed by the Soviet Union and China, fought the South, backed by the United States and its allies — Australia among them. In April 1975 the war ended when North Vietnamese forces captured Saigon, the capital of the South. The communist victory set off one of the largest forced movements of people since 1945: **between 1975 and 1995, almost 800,000 “boat people” left Vietnam by sea**, and many others fled by land.

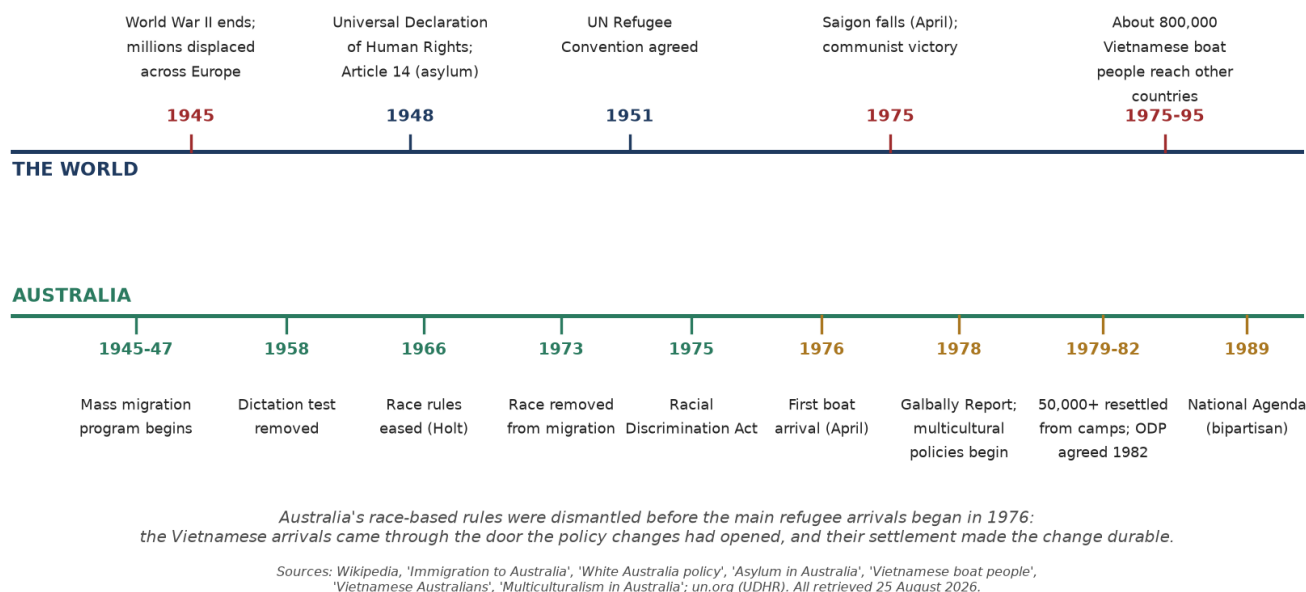
Australia's share of this crisis became real quickly:

- Australia had agreed to the 1951 Refugee Convention, so it took part in resettling refugees — and Vietnam-born refugees were resettled here under a plan between **1975 and 1985**.
- The first recorded arrival of asylum seekers by boat was in **April 1976** — people fleeing South Vietnam, only a year after the fall of Saigon.

- Between **1976 and 1982**, about **2,000 Vietnamese boat people** reached Australia by sea.
- The Fraser government authorised the migration of **more than 50,000 Vietnamese people** from refugee camps around the Indian Ocean.
- In all, Australia is recorded as resettling **108,808 Vietnamese refugees** — the third-largest total of any country, after the United States and France.
- From 1982 an Orderly Departure Program, agreed between the Australian and Vietnamese governments, let people leave Vietnam legally for resettlement.

The change in the numbers is striking. **Before 1974, fewer than 1,998 Vietnam-born people lived in Australia.** By the 2021 census, the figure was **268,170**.

Two tracks, one story: global events above, Australian policy and society below



A two-track timeline from 1945 to 1989, with global events and developments on the top track and Australian policy and society changes on the bottom track, colour-coded by theme

Getting the chronology right. The curriculum's elaboration .E09 links the arrival of Vietnamese refugees to the dismantling of the "White Australia Policy". Historians date that carefully: the race-based rules were dismantled **before** the main refugee arrivals — the dictation test went in 1958, race was removed from migration decisions in 1973, and selection by country of origin ended in 1978. The boats began arriving in 1976. So the Vietnamese arrivals did not end the policy; they came **through the door the policy changes had just opened**. What they did do was put the new rules to their first large test: Vietnamese refugees were the first major non-European intake in Australia's history. Their successful settlement, supported by both major parties, made the change durable — it became very hard for any later government to go back to race-based selection.

1.3 From assimilation to multiculturalism

What should a society ask of newcomers? Before the 1970s, Australia's official answer was **assimilation**: migrants were expected to drop their languages and customs and blend into the existing society. The prevailing attitude to migrant settlement was based on that expectation.

That answer changed in three main steps:

1. **1973 — the word arrives.** Al Grassby, Minister for Immigration in the Whitlam government (December 1972 – June 1974), issued a reference paper called *A multi-cultural society for the future*. By 1973 the term

“multiculturalism” had been introduced into Australian policy, in the same year the Whitlam government removed race from migration decisions.

2. **1978 — the policy arrives.** A government review, *Migrant services and programs* — known ever since as the **Galbally Report** (1978) — recommended changing policy from assimilation to multiculturalism. The Fraser government then implemented the first official national multicultural policies, building migrant services and programs around its recommendations.
3. **1987–1989 — the framework arrives.** The Hawke government created the Office of Multicultural Affairs in 1987, and in 1989 produced the *National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia*, which had the support of both major parties. Later statements followed, including *The People of Australia* (2011) and *Multicultural Australia — united, strong, successful* (2017).

Multicultural policy also changed how migrants were helped after arrival — with language classes, interpreting services, and programs to help qualifications gained overseas be put to use.

SOURCE A

Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations, 1948), Article 14(1)

"Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution."

Adopted in Paris on 10 December 1948, three years after the end of World War II, while millions of displaced people were still without a home. Australia supported the declaration and later agreed to the 1951 Refugee Convention, which built on it. When Vietnam fell in April 1975, these were the obligations inside which Australia resettled Vietnamese refugees.

Source: Universal Declaration of Human Rights, UN General Assembly Resolution 217 A, 10 December 1948, Art. 14(1); [un.org](https://www.un.org), retrieved 25 August 2026.

A source card titled Source A showing the text of Article 14(1) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the United Nations in 1948

SOURCE B

The Galbally Report (1978) — Migrant services and programs: report of the Review of Post-arrival Programs and Services for Migrants

The review's key recommendation:

*Recommended changing policy from assimilation to
multiculturalism.*

A review commissioned by the Australian Government and prepared under Frank Galbally. It examined how migrants were helped after arrival — services such as language classes, interpreting, and support into work. Its key recommendation was a change of direction: the Fraser government then implemented Australia's first official national multicultural policies, building migrant services and programs around it.

Source: Galbally, Frank (1978), *Migrant services and programs: report of the Review of Post-arrival Programs and Services for Migrants*; Wikipedia, 'Frank Galbally', retrieved 25 August 2026.

A source card titled Source B showing the title of the Galbally Report of 1978 and its key recommendation to change policy from assimilation to multiculturalism

A contested change — two positions, both at their strongest

The move from assimilation to multiculturalism was debated, and historians still weigh it. Per the house rule, both positions are stated in the strongest form their own supporters would recognise before any evaluation. Stating a position is not endorsing it.

A contested change: the move from assimilation to multiculturalism

Two positions, each stated in the strongest form its own supporters would recognise.
Stating a position is not endorsing it.

POSITION A — the change strengthened Australia

Multicultural policy simply recognised what was already true: post-1945 arrivals came from many countries, and they did not stop being themselves at the border. Letting people keep their language and heritage made belonging easier, kept families connected, and let Australia's culture match its place in a region of many cultures.

The evidence its supporters point to:

- the National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia (1989) had the support of both major parties;
- migrants kept participating - Vietnamese Australians, for example, are highly represented in universities and the professions.

POSITION B — assimilation kept society cohesive

A society is held together by shared language, shared habits and a common public life. Asking newcomers to blend in was not cruelty: it was the fastest road to belonging, and it avoided splitting the country into separate communities that rarely mix. If policy keeps communities apart, the ties that hold the society weaken.

The evidence its supporters point to:

- before the change, services were simple to run because they served one common public;
- Australia's British-derived institutions - parliament, the courts, the English language - stayed the frame that everyone shared.

Testing the claims — what the evidence can decide

Both positions make claims that evidence can test. Did Australia stay cohesive while its overseas-born share rose from under 10 per cent in 1947 to 30 per cent in 2019? Did keeping heritage lower or raise participation in public life? Judge the positions against the dated evidence in this section - and test the position you favour as hard as the one you oppose.

A steelman panel showing two positions on the change from assimilation to multiculturalism, each stated in its strongest form, followed by three questions for evaluating the evidence

- **Position A — the change made Australia stronger.** Supporters argue that multicultural policy simply recognised what was already true: arrivals since 1945 came from many countries and did not stop being themselves at the border. Letting people keep their language and heritage made it easier to belong, kept families connected, and matched Australia's place in a region of many cultures. The fact that the *National Agenda* had both major parties' support by 1989, they point out, shows the settlement held.
- **Position B — assimilation held society together better.** Critics of the change argue that a society is held together by shared language, shared habits and a common public life, and that asking newcomers to blend in was not cruelty but the fastest road to belonging. They worry that policy which keeps communities separate can slow mixing and weaken the ties between people.

Both positions make claims that evidence can test: Did Australia stay cohesive while becoming more diverse? Did migrants who kept their heritage participate less or more in public life? Section 8A teaches the criteria; here you are asked to weigh the claims against what actually happened.

Part 2 — Continuity and change: what the global development caused

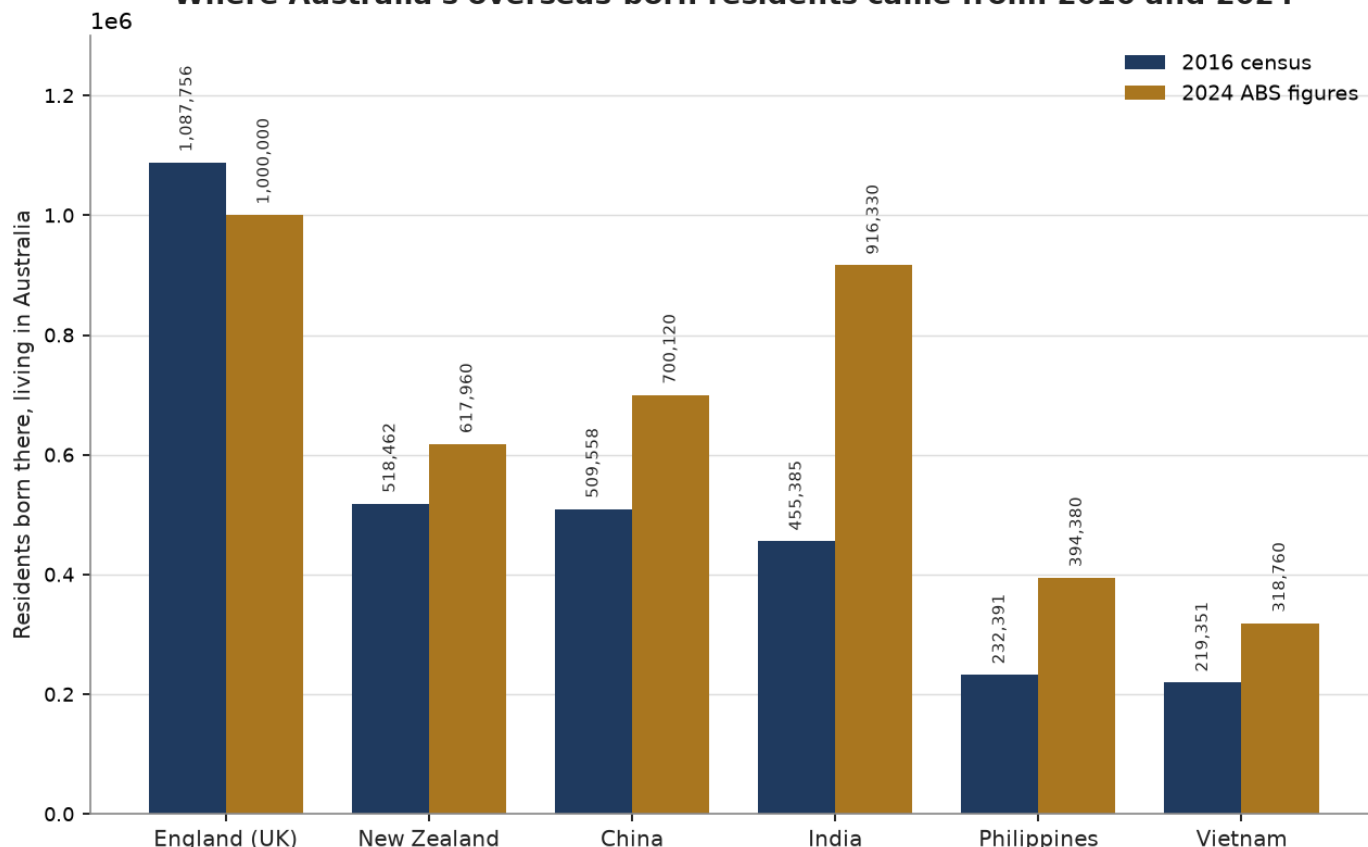
Now the analysis. The content description asks which **continuities and changes followed from** the global development — so the task is not just to list what happened, but to sort it: what changed, what continued, how fast, and how deep.

2.1 Changes

- **Policy.** The biggest change was in the rules themselves: from race-based restriction to race-free selection (1958–1978), then from assimilation to multiculturalism (1973–1989). The *Racial Discrimination Act 1975* made race-based discrimination unlawful, putting the change into law (Section 1F examines the Act).
- **Population.** Australia's population grew from about 7.5 million in 1946 to more than 25 million at the 2021 census, and migration drove much of that growth.

- **Composition.** Where arrivals came from changed. In 1947 the law was still based on encouraging British migration; by the 2016 census the overseas-born came from all over the world, and by 2024 India had almost caught England as a source of arrivals. The change within continuity is worth noting: England-born residents remained the single largest overseas-born group in 2024, but the field around them had changed completely.
- **Society.** Migration changed daily life — food, languages, festivals, sport and religion. Vietnamese Australians, for example, are highly represented in Australian universities and many professions, including as information technology workers, optometrists, engineers, doctors and pharmacists.
- **Identity.** Official Australia changed how it described itself: from a society expecting one British-derived culture to one calling itself multicultural.

Where Australia's overseas-born residents came from: 2016 and 2024



England-born residents stayed the largest single group - a continuity - but India and China rose sharply, and the field around them changed.
Source: 2016 census and 2024 ABS figures, as reported in Wikipedia, 'Immigration to Australia' (retrieved 25 August 2026).

A grouped bar chart comparing the five largest birthplaces of overseas-born residents in Australia in 2016 and 2024, showing England still largest but India and China rising sharply

2.2 Continuities

- **Government control.** Migration has stayed a matter for the Commonwealth government. The same parliament that passed the *Immigration Restriction Act* in 1901 still makes migration law; the institutions changed their policy while keeping their power. Continuity inside change.
- **Purpose.** The reasons for migration stayed much the same: defence and the economy. The 1945 slogan was “populate or perish”; later programs kept recruiting workers for industry, hospitals and trade. Migration policy has kept serving the state’s needs.
- **Debate.** Argument over how many migrants to take, and from where, has continued in every decade since 1945. The subject of the debate changed; the debate itself did not.
- **British base.** England-born residents were still the largest overseas-born group in 2024, and British-derived institutions — parliament, the courts, the English language — remained the frame of public life.

2.3 Degree and pace: how much, and how fast?

Historians measure change, not just name it. Three judgements apply here:

- **Fast vs slow.** Some changes were sudden — the dictation test abolished by one Act in 1958, race removed from migration rules in 1973. Others were slow — the shift in where migrants came from took decades, and attitudes shifted slower still.
- **Turning point vs process.** The fall of Saigon in April 1975 was a turning point for refugee arrivals; the move from assimilation to multiculturalism was a process spread over the 1970s and 1980s. Both kinds of cause matter.
- **Surface vs deep.** Changing the rules at the border (deep — it changed who could come) is not the same as changing attitudes in the street (slower, and uneven). A strong answer says which level of change it is describing.

Sorting the effects: what changed, what continued, and how fast

Area	What changed	What continued	Pace of change
Policy and rules	Race-based selection ended (1958-1978); assimilation gave way to multiculturalism (1973-1989); the Racial Discrimination Act 1975	The Commonwealth still decides who enters	Fast in law - one Act at a time; slower in attitudes
Population	From about 7.5 million (1946) to more than 25 million at the 2021 census	Migration as a main driver of growth	Steady, decade by decade
Composition	Arrival countries went global; by 2024 India had almost caught England as a source of arrivals	England-born residents still the largest single overseas-born group in 2024	Slow - over decades
Society	Food, languages, festivals, religions, professions - e.g. Vietnamese Australians highly represented in universities and the professions	Debate over intake numbers and sources in every decade	Steady - across a generation
Institutions	The policy framework itself - three different policies in one century	The same parliament, and the same purposes: defence and work	Continuity inside change
<i>Use the table as a plan for an answer: a judgement about continuity and change needs all four columns.</i> <i>Values from Sections 1.1-1.3 and 2.1-2.3 of this section; sources listed at the end of the section.</i>			

A table classifying the changes and the continuities caused by post-1945 migration across policy, population, composition, society and institutions, with a column for the pace of each

Worked inquiry 1 — Reading Source A like a historian

Source A is Article 14(1) of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, adopted by the United Nations on 10 December 1948, three years after the end of World War II. (You will study the whole declaration in Section 6B.) Read it, then work through the four layers a historian applies: **origin**, **content**, **context** and **inference** — then judge **usefulness**.

Scaffolded questions — Source A

S1. Origin. What kind of source is this, which body made it, and when?

S2. Content. In your own words, what right does Article 14(1) state?

S3. Context. The declaration was adopted in December 1948. Use Section 1.1: what had happened in the three years before that made the right to seek asylum worth writing down?

S4. Inference. Article 14(1) says a person may seek asylum “from persecution”. What does the article suggest about how the United Nations expected governments to treat people fleeing persecution?

S5. Usefulness. Give one reason Source A is useful evidence for Australia's response to the Vietnamese refugees of the 1970s, and one limit on its usefulness. (Hint: the article states a right; does it say how many people a country must take in?)

Worked inquiry 2 — From global declaration to national policy: comparing Sources A and B

Compare Source A (1948, an international declaration) with Source B (1978, an Australian government review). One states a global principle; the other turns it into national services. Use the questions, then read the model text.

Scaffolded questions — Sources A and B

C1. Origin. For each source, state what it is, who made it, and when.

C2. Content. In one sentence each: what does Source A declare? What does Source B recommend?

C3. Context. Use Sections 1.1–1.3 to give one global development that helps explain Source A, and one Australian change that helps explain Source B.

C4. Continuity and change. What changed in Australian policy between the world of Source A (1948) and the world of Source B (1978)? Name one thing that stayed the same (hint: who controls migration?).

C5. Connection. How does the story of the Vietnamese refugees (Section 1.2) connect Source A to Source B? Answer in two or three sentences.

Model paragraph — Worked inquiry 2, question C5

Question: How does the story of the Vietnamese refugees connect Source A (1948) to Source B (1978)?

The arrival of Vietnamese refugees connects the 1948 declaration to the 1978 Galbally Report. Article 14 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted in December 1948, states that everyone has the right to seek asylum from persecution. Australia agreed to the obligations that followed, and when Saigon fell in April 1975 those obligations shaped its response: in total, Australia resettled 108,808 Vietnamese refugees, the third-largest national total after the United States and France. The arrivals were also a test of the new Australia. Before 1974, fewer than 1,998 Vietnam-born people lived in Australia, and the race-free rules had only just come into force between 1973 and 1978. The successful settlement of the Vietnamese community, supported by both major parties, helped make that change durable. In 1978 the Galbally Report recommended moving policy from assimilation to multiculturalism, and the growing Vietnamese community became one of the first large examples of that policy at work. One global event - the communist victory in Vietnam - therefore led both to a test of rights and to a change in policy.

Why this paragraph works

- The first sentence states the connection the question asks for, before any detail.
- Dated evidence carries the claim: December 1948, April 1975, the total of 108,808, the figure of fewer than 1,998 before 1974, and 1978.
- The language of continuity and change does the analysis: the arrivals were 'a test' of new rules, and their settlement made the change 'durable'.
- It stays inside what the sources can show - it connects two sources and a set of arrivals, without overclaiming about attitudes.

A model paragraph card answering how the Vietnamese refugee arrivals connect the 1948 declaration to the 1978 Galbally Report, followed by four bullet points explaining why the paragraph works

Skills focus — the language of continuity and change

This section is built on the two concepts that run through the Levels 9–10 band. Keep using them in your answers:

- **Continuity and change.** Ask three questions: *what changed? what stayed? how fast?* Notice continuity **inside** change: the Commonwealth parliament controlled migration in 1901, in 1973 and today — the same institution ran three completely different policies. Notice change inside continuity too: England stayed the largest birthplace, but the field of birthplaces around it was transformed.
 - **Cause and consequence.** Global events (the end of World War II; the communist victory in Vietnam in 1975) caused waves of movement; the waves caused policy and social change in Australia. Consequences can be intended (the Galbally Report meant to build migrant services) or unintended (post-war migration also changed Australian food, language and sport in ways no program planned).
-

Practice tasks

Scaffolded

These tasks give you the steps. Work through each prompt in order.

Task 1. Global events. (a) Name the two global events this section uses to study continuity and change, and give the year of each. (b) For each event, state one group of people who moved because of it.

Task 2. The post-war program. (a) What did the slogan “populate or perish” mean? (b) Give two numbers from Section 1.1 that show the scale of the post-war intake. (c) Name the first Minister for Immigration.

Task 3. The Vietnamese arrivals. (a) In what month and year did the war end, and what happened to Saigon? (b) How many Vietnam-born people lived in Australia before 1974, and how many at the 2021 census? (c) Give one figure showing Australia’s share of the refugee resettlement.

Task 4. Chronology. Using Section 1.2’s “Getting the chronology right” passage, place these in order: the dictation test abolished; the first recorded boat arrival of Vietnamese asylum seekers; race removed from migration decisions; selection by country of origin ended. Then explain why the order matters for the claim that refugees “abolished” the White Australia policy.

Task 5. Policy change. (a) What was assimilation? (b) Name the 1973 paper and the minister who issued it. (c) What did the Galbally Report of 1978 recommend? (d) What did the Hawke government create in 1987 and 1989?

Task 6. Continuity. Using Section 2.2, list two things that stayed the same in Australian migration between 1901 and today, and one thing that kept happening in every decade.

Un scaffolded

These tasks give you the question only. Plan and structure your own answer.

Task 7. “The end of the Vietnam War changed Australia.” This claim is split on purpose: argue the changes it caused (policy, population, society) and then the limits (what did not change). Reach a judgement and give dated evidence for each side.

Task 8. Using Sections 2.1 and 2.2, explain one change and one continuity caused by post-1945 migration, and say which of the two you judge more historically significant. Give a criterion (importance, scale, lasting effect) and defend your choice.

Task 9. Evaluate Positions A and B in the steelman panel. Present each in its strongest form, then test each against the evidence in this section. Your conclusion must be supported by dated evidence, whichever side you reach.

Task 10. Using the population chart and the birthplace chart, write one paragraph explaining how graphs can be used as historical evidence for change. Include one limit of graph evidence (hint: think about what the pre-1961 note tells you).

Source-based inquiry

Task 11. Choose either Source A or Source B. Write a source analysis of about 150–200 words covering: its origin (what it is, who made it, when); its content (what it declares or recommends); its context (what was happening in the world or in Australia at the time); and its value and limitation as evidence for continuities and changes caused by migration after 1945. Use the four-layer method of Worked inquiry 1 and the model text as your guides.

Answers

Key points for the tasks. Use these to check your work, not to copy it.

Task 1. (a) The end of World War II (1945) and the end of the Vietnam War (April 1975). (b) For 1945: displaced Europeans (hundreds of thousands came to Australia under the post-war program). For 1975: Vietnamese refugees — boat people and camp residents, of whom Australia resettled 108,808.

Task 2. (a) Australia had to grow its population quickly, because a small population on a huge continent would struggle to defend itself and to supply workers. (b) Any two of: more than 1 million British people under the assisted-passage scheme; hundreds of thousands of displaced Europeans; more than 7 million settlers in total since 1945; population from about 7.5 million (1946) to more than 25 million (2021 census). (c) Arthur Calwell.

Task 3. (a) April 1975; North Vietnamese forces captured Saigon, the capital of the South, ending the war with a communist victory. (b) Fewer than 1,998 before 1974; 268,170 at the 2021 census. (c) Any of: about 2,000 boat arrivals 1976–1982; more than 50,000 authorised from Indian Ocean camps; 108,808 Vietnamese refugees resettled in total (third-largest national total).

Task 4. Order: dictation test abolished (1958) → race removed from migration decisions (1973) → first recorded boat arrival (April 1976) → selection by country of origin ended (1978). The order matters because it shows the race-based rules were dismantled **before** the main refugee arrivals. The refugees did not abolish the White Australia policy; they came through the door its abolition opened, and their successful settlement made the change durable.

Task 5. (a) The policy of expecting migrants to drop their own language and customs and blend into the existing society. (b) *A multi-cultural society for the future*, issued by Al Grassby, Minister for Immigration. (c) It recommended changing policy from assimilation to multiculturalism. (d) The Office of Multicultural Affairs (1987) and the *National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia* (1989).

Task 6. Any two of: Commonwealth government control of migration; migration serving defence and economic needs; British-derived institutions and the English language as the frame of public life. In every decade: debate over how many migrants to take and from where.

Task 7. A strong answer argues both sides with dates. Changes caused: the first large non-European intake made the race-free rules real and durable (bipartisan support for refugee resettlement; the Galbally Report, 1978, shifting policy from assimilation to multiculturalism; Vietnam-born residents growing from fewer than 1,998 before 1974 to 268,170 in 2021). Limits: the White Australia policy was already being dismantled before the boats arrived (1958, 1966, 1973, 1978); the Commonwealth kept its control of migration; the British base of institutions continued; debate over intake levels continued. The judgement should weigh depth of change: the event changed the *practice* of migration more than its *rules*, which were already moving.

Task 8. Example change: the composition of the overseas-born — from a British-dominated intake (the 1947 law still encouraged British migration) to a global field in which India almost caught England by 2024 (916,330 against 1,000,000). Example continuity: Commonwealth control of migration since 1901. A defensible judgement: the composition change is more significant by the criterion of scale and lasting effect, because it altered who lives in Australia and how the nation describes itself; or the continuity is more significant by the criterion of importance, because it shows the state kept directing change rather than surrendering to it. Marks go to a stated criterion, evidence on both sides and a defended choice.

Task 9. Position A at its strongest: multicultural policy recognised the real, many-country character of post-1945 arrivals, kept heritage alive, and held together politically (the National Agenda had both parties' support in 1989). Position B at its strongest: shared language and habits bind a society, and blending in was a fast road to belonging; keeping communities apart risks weakening the ties between people. Testing the evidence: Australia stayed stable and cohesive while its overseas-born share rose; Vietnamese Australians became highly represented in universities and professions, which suggests participation did not fall when heritage was kept. A fair conclusion can still note limits — for example, that policy cannot measure attitudes — but must rest on dated evidence.

Task 10. Graphs show change over time in a form that written sources cannot: the population chart shows growth from about 7.5 million (1946) to more than 25 million (2021), and the birthplace chart shows England's share falling while India's and China's rise. They let historians compare quantities exactly and spot turning points. Limits include

the pre-1961 note — early counts do not include all residents, so the start of the series understates the true population — and the fact that a graph shows *that* something changed, not *why*; causes still come from other sources.

Task 11. See the model response below for Source A. A strong answer for Source B will name the review (*Migrant services and programs*, 1978), its chair Frank Galbally, its recommendation (a shift from assimilation to multiculturalism), its context (the Whitlam and Fraser-era policy changes; the arrival of Vietnamese refugees) and one limitation (a government review shows what the government planned, not how migrants experienced the change).

Model responses

These are fully worked answers. Read them to see how a strong response is built: a clear point, dated evidence, the language of continuity and change, and an honest limit.

Model for Task 11 (source-based inquiry) — Source A

Article 14(1) of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* is a primary source: a declaration adopted by the United Nations on 10 December 1948, three years after the end of World War II. It states that everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy asylum from persecution in other countries. Its context is the war itself — millions of people had been displaced across Europe, and the new United Nations was writing down the rights it believed should protect people from ever being left without a safe haven again. As evidence for Australia's response to the Vietnamese refugees of the 1970s, the article is valuable: Australia had agreed to the 1951 Refugee Convention built on these principles, and when Vietnam fell in April 1975 those obligations were the frame inside which Australia resettled 108,808 Vietnamese refugees. The source's limitation is that a declaration states a right but not a number: Article 14(1) does not say how many people any country must take in, so it cannot by itself explain why Australia took the share it did. For that, a historian needs government records and the political debates of 1975–1985.

Model for Task 8 (unscaffolded) — judging significance

Post-1945 migration caused both change and continuity, but the deeper history is in the change. The clearest change is composition. In 1947 Australia's migration law was still based on encouraging British migration; by the 2016 census the overseas-born came from every region, and by 2024 the England-born total (1,000,000) was almost caught by the India-born total (916,330), with China (700,120) rising behind them. That change altered the daily life of the country — its food, languages and professions — and even how the state described itself, once official policy moved from assimilation to multiculturalism between 1973 and 1989. Against this, the strongest continuity is control: the same Commonwealth parliament that passed the *Immigration Restriction Act* in 1901 still decides who enters, and migration has kept serving the same purposes — defence and work — from “populate or perish” to today. Judged by the criterion of lasting effect, the change in composition is more significant: the institutions continued, but the people they governed were transformed, and that transformation is durable. The limit of this judgement is that continuity of control shaped every part of the change — the transformation happened because the state chose it, step by step.

Sources used in this section

- *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, adopted by the UN General Assembly in Paris, 10 December 1948 (Resolution 217 A), Article 14(1), from un.org; retrieved 25 August 2026.
- *Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees* (United Nations, 1951), to which Australia agreed; definition of a refugee, as summarised on Wikipedia, “Vietnamese Australians”; retrieved 25 August 2026.
- Frank Galbally, *Migrant services and programs: report of the Review of Post-arrival Programs and Services for Migrants* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1978) — the “Galbally Report”; title and recommendation per Wikipedia, “Frank Galbally”; retrieved 25 August 2026.
- Al Grassby, *A multi-cultural society for the future* (Canberra, 1973), reference paper of the Whitlam government's Minister for Immigration (19 December 1972 – 12 June 1974); Wikipedia, “Al Grassby” and “Multiculturalism in Australia”; retrieved 25 August 2026.
- *National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia* (Hawke government, 1989), Office of Multicultural Affairs (created 1987); *The People of Australia* (2011); *Multicultural Australia — united, strong, successful* (2017); Wikipedia, “Multiculturalism in Australia”; retrieved 25 August 2026.

- Australian population estimates and census counts (1946–2021) and the note that estimates before 1961 do not include all residents; Wikipedia, “Demographics of Australia”; retrieved 25 August 2026.
- Overseas-born residents by birthplace, 2016 census and 2024 ABS figures (including Vietnam-born totals and the 2019 figure of 30% of residents born overseas); Wikipedia, “Immigration to Australia”; retrieved 25 August 2026.
- Vietnamese refugee resettlement: the fall of Saigon (April 1975); almost 800,000 boat people 1975–1995; national resettlement totals (United States 402,382; France 120,403; Australia 108,808; Canada 100,012); Wikipedia, “Vietnamese boat people”; retrieved 25 August 2026.
- First recorded boat arrival of asylum seekers in Australia (April 1976, people fleeing South Vietnam); about 2,000 Vietnamese boat people 1976–1982; the Fraser government authorising more than 50,000 Vietnamese from Indian Ocean refugee camps; Wikipedia, “Asylum in Australia”; retrieved 25 August 2026.
- Vietnam-born residents in Australia: fewer than 1,998 before 1974; 268,170 at the 2021 census; peaks of intake in the late 1970s, 1983–1984 (after the 1982 Orderly Departure Program agreement) and the late 1980s; professional representation of Vietnamese Australians; Wikipedia, “Vietnamese Australians”; retrieved 25 August 2026.
- Steps ending the White Australia policy: *Migration Act 1958* (dictation test abolished); July 1966 statement by Prime Minister Harold Holt; 1973 Whitlam government changes (citizenship after three years regardless of origin); *Racial Discrimination Act 1975*; 1978 review ending selection by country of origin; Wikipedia, “White Australia policy”; retrieved 25 August 2026.
- Post-war migration program: “populate or perish”; more than 1 million British assisted arrivals; hundreds of thousands of displaced Europeans; more than 7 million settlers since 1945; the 1947 amendment of migration law; Wikipedia, “Immigration to Australia” and “White Australia policy”; retrieved 25 August 2026.

First-hand perspectives: living through a major global event

For the teacher

This section is one teaching sequence (parts 1–8) with two worked inquiries built from real, dated, checkable sources, six scaffolded practice tasks, four unscaffolded tasks and one source-based inquiry task, per the §3 volume calibration. Register is direct-address prose at or below the Yr10 ceiling (D2). Subject terms are defined at first use (D2 exemption 2). Contested terms (White Australia policy, assimilation, multiculturalism) carry CONTESTED_TERMS Rule 1 treatment — defined before use, frames stated, attribution given — and the 1964–1973 debate is steelmanned at equal depth on both sides before any evaluation (Rules 4–5): marking is on the quality of the reasoning, not the conclusion reached. Difficult history is handled age-appropriately (CONTENT_POLICY): the section’s one racist quotation — Arthur Calwell’s 1947 Hansard line — is presented once, framed as evidence of a past attitude under study, never endorsed, and answered by the section’s arc toward the 1973 reforms and the Racial Discrimination Act 1975. All First Nations content is excluded per Rule 1 and §2A; none may be authored in later, including as context, background or a caption.

Curriculum alignment (VCAA export VC2_AS-CD-E1ab_29-07-2026.csv) — codes only:

VC2HH10K40 — Historical Knowledge and Understanding · Investigation: The globalising world (1945–present)

Draws on (linkage only, D7): the Migration experiences option group, held consistent across Chapter 6 per the build notes: VC2HH10K40.E06 · VC2HH10K40.E07 · VC2HH10K40.E08 · VC2HH10K40.E09. The TOC’s full .E01–.E16 range is retained as the linkage key; coverage is judged against the generic CD text (D7).

D3 note (binding): this section’s content — post-war migration, the White Australia Policy debates of 1964–1973, and refugee arrivals — is migration and policy history, not First Nations content (chapter block note, §3). No First Nations material may be authored into this section later, including as context, background or a caption.

Teaching choices (chapter block spec, §3 and build notes): the chapter’s one chosen topic is Migration experiences, so this section teaches the perspectives strand of the content description. Section 6C supplies the causes, the waves and the dated reforms; section 6D supplies the Vietnamese refugee arrivals and the continuity-and-change analysis; this section does not retell either, and cross-references them instead. What is new here is the *people*: whose perspectives exist in the migration record, what those people believed and valued, and how their views shifted — or refused to shift — over time. Part 3 carries .E07 (changing attitudes to arrival, traced through dated sources 1945–1989); part 4 carries .E08 (the 1964–1973 White Australia Policy debate, steelmanned both ways with dated anchors); part 7 carries .E09 (the community interview, taught as a method with ethics, question design and evaluation against wider research). The CD’s “Australian and global perspectives” requirement is met through Australian voices (migrants, the public, ministers, parliament) and global ones (the United Nations instruments of 1948 and 1965, and the refugee crisis of 1975 as a world event). The section assumes no Level 9 sequence (D1): it re-establishes every idea it uses, and it points sideways (1F, 6B, 6C, 6D, 6F) and to the skills sections (7E perspectives and absent voices; 8D sustained interpretation).

Subject words — define at first use (D2 exemption 2):

Word	Gloss used in this section
perspective	a view of an event shaped by who you are, where you stand and what you have lived through
belief	something a person holds to be true
value	something a person holds to be important
attitude	a settled way of thinking or feeling about something or someone
migrant	a person who moves to another country to live (does not say why they moved)
refugee	a person outside their own country because of a genuine fear of persecution, who cannot or will not return (the

Word	Gloss used in this section
oral history	1951 UN convention's sense) history gathered from spoken accounts, recorded or written down
testimony	a person's spoken or written account of what they experienced
Hansard	the official written record of parliamentary debates
primary source	a record made at the time being studied
secondary source	an account made later by someone using primary sources
corroborate	to support a claim with further evidence from another source
representative	standing for a larger group, not just for one person
White Australia policy	historians' term for the laws and practices from 1901 that restricted non-European migration (defined fully in part 1)
assimilation	the old policy expectation that arrivals drop their own language and customs and blend into the existing society
integration	in the 1966 reforms, the government's word for how easily a newcomer could fit into the existing society
multiculturalism	contested term; here, the policy idea named in 1973 that migrants may keep their cultural heritage while sharing a common national life

Sources (SOURCE_USE — real referents carry a source line; web collections consulted and retrieved 2026-08-25; original documents cited where one is reproduced):

Referent	Source line
Arthur Calwell: first Minister for Immigration from 13 July 1945; the “populate or perish” program; signed the July 1947 International Refugee Organization agreement for displaced Europeans; kept the White Australia policy; died 8 July 1973	Wikipedia, “Arthur Calwell”, retrieved 2026-08-25
Calwell's 1947 line: House of Representatives, <i>Parliamentary Debates</i> (Hansard), 2 December 1947 — “two Wongs do not make a White”	Wikipedia, “Arthur Calwell”, citing Hansard, retrieved 2026-08-25
Calwell's 1972 memoirs: “I reject, in conscience, the idea that Australia should or ever can become a multi-racial society and survive.”	Wikipedia, “White Australia policy”, retrieved 2026-08-25
1964: entry conditions for people of non-European origin relaxed under the Menzies government	Wikipedia, “White Australia policy”, retrieved 2026-08-25
1965: the White Australia policy removed from the Labor platform at the national conference; Don Dunstan pushed the change; earlier attempts failed in 1959 and 1961	Wikipedia, “White Australia policy”, retrieved 2026-08-25
March 1966: Immigration Minister Hubert Opperman announced the Holt government's reforms — people “well-qualified” rather than “highly qualified and distinguished”; citizenship wait for non-European applicants cut from fifteen years to five; discriminatory family-reunion rules removed; criteria of “suitability as	Wikipedia, “White Australia policy”, retrieved 2026-08-25

Referent	Source line
settlers”, “ability to integrate readily” and “qualifications positively useful to Australia”	
July 1966: Prime Minister Harold Holt said Australia now had a “restricted immigration policy”	Wikipedia, “White Australia policy”, retrieved 2026-08-25
January 1971: Prime Minister John Gorton argued that continued limits were needed because an unlimited intake of people of different backgrounds would cause strains in Australia	Wikipedia, “White Australia policy”, retrieved 2026-08-25
1973: the Whitlam government amended the law so citizenship could be reached after three years regardless of origin, ratified international agreements, and instructed officials to “totally disregard race as a factor in selecting migrants”	Wikipedia, “White Australia policy”, retrieved 2026-08-25
<i>Migration Act 1958</i> abolished the dictation test; Immigration Minister Sir Alick Downer said “distinguished and highly qualified Asians” might immigrate	Wikipedia, “White Australia policy”, retrieved 2026-08-25
The term “White Australia policy”: an Australian Natives’ Association badge of 1911 carried the slogan “White Australia”; the historian Charles Bean later described the policy as “a vehement effort to maintain a high Western standard”	Wikipedia, “White Australia policy”, retrieved 2026-08-25
Historians’ judgements on the policy: the National Museum of Australia describes it as openly racist; the historian Erin Ihde calls the thinking behind it discredited	Wikipedia, “White Australia policy” (as cited in section 6C), retrieved 2026-08-25
International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination: adopted by the UN General Assembly on 21 December 1965 (resolution 2106 (XX)); in force 4 January 1969; Article 1(1) defines racial discrimination as any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin	Wikipedia, “International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination”, retrieved 2026-08-25; treaty text per the UN treaty record
Australia ratified the convention in September 1975; the <i>Racial Discrimination Act 1975</i> , enacted 11 June 1975 under the Whitlam government, came into operation 31 October 1975 to give the convention domestic effect	Wikipedia, “Racial Discrimination Act 1975”, retrieved 2026-08-25
Julia Gillard: born 29 September 1961 at Barry, Wales; her family migrated to Adelaide in 1966 on advice that a warmer climate would help her recover from bronchopneumonia; Prime Minister from 24 June 2010	Wikipedia, “Julia Gillard”, retrieved 2026-08-25
Frank Lowy: born 22 October 1930 at Fil’akovo, Czechoslovakia (now Slovakia); forced to live in a ghetto in Hungary during World War II; reached France in 1946; interned in a camp in Cyprus; left Israel in 1952 and joined his family in Australia; met fellow migrant John Saunders in 1953; Westfield listed on the stock exchange in 1960	Wikipedia, “Frank Lowy”, retrieved 2026-08-25
Anh Do: born 2 June 1977 in Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam; his family fled to Australia as refugees in 1980 and settled in the Sydney suburb of Yagoona; author,	Wikipedia, “Anh Do”, retrieved 2026-08-25

actor, comedian and painter

Post-war intake figures reused from section 6C's
verified source lines: more than 1 million British
assisted arrivals 1945–1972 with about 250,000 returns
and the scheme's end in 1982 (Wikipedia, "Ten Pound
Pom"); Bonegilla Migrant Reception Centre 1947–1971
with around 309,000 arrivals (Wikipedia, "Bonegilla
Migrant Reception Centre"); about 14,500 Hungarians
accepted after the 1956 uprising (Wikipedia, "Hungarian
Australians"); fewer than 2,000 Vietnam-born residents
before 1974 and 268,170 at the 2021 census (Wikipedia,
"Vietnamese Australians"); more than 30,000 Lebanese
civil-war refugees 1975–1990 (Wikipedia, "Lebanese
Australians"); Australia's total of 108,808 Vietnamese
refugees resettled (Wikipedia, "Vietnamese boat
people") — all retrieved 2026-08-25

1. The big question — whose voices, and how do they change?

After 1945, more than seven million people settled in Australia. Each one experienced the same big global development — mass migration — but nobody experienced it the same way. A British family boarding an assisted ship in 1951, a displaced person leaving a European camp in 1948, a Vietnamese family on a fishing boat in 1978 and the minister signing the rules in Canberra were all inside the one story, holding different views of it.

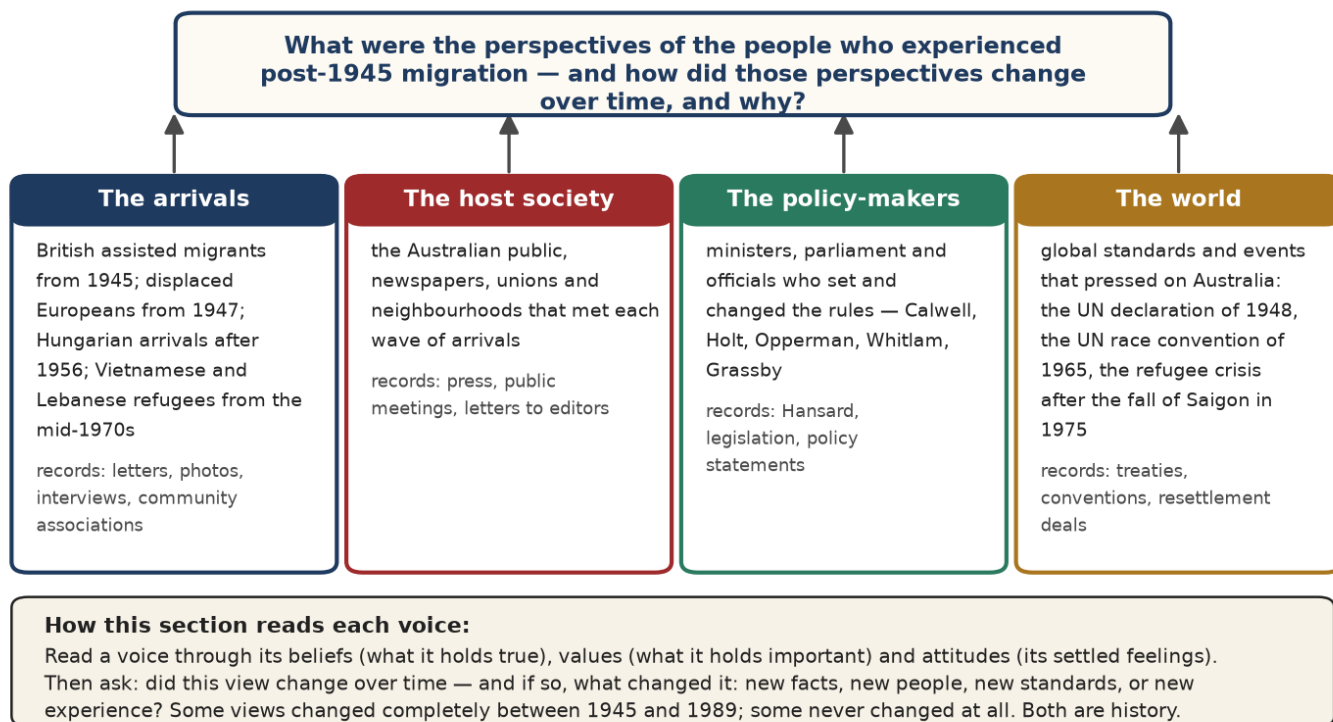
This section asks two questions:

1. **What were the perspectives of the people who experienced post-1945 migration?**
2. **How did those perspectives change over time — and why?**

A **perspective** is a view of an event shaped by who you are, where you stand and what you have lived through. Perspectives are built out of **beliefs** (what a person holds to be true), **values** (what a person holds to be important) and **attitudes** (a settled way of thinking or feeling about something or someone). Historians do not ask whether a past person was "right". They ask: *why did this person see it this way, what were they standing on, and did their view change?*

The big question — whose voices, and how do they change?

Section 6E · Perspectives of people who experienced post-1945 migration



Every claim in this figure is dated and sourced in the section's teacher block.

A concept map of the section's big question. In the centre sits the question: what were the perspectives of the people who experienced post-1945 migration, and how did those perspectives change over time. Four branches name the four groups of voices studied: the arrivals themselves (British assisted migrants, displaced Europeans, refugees from Vietnam and Lebanon); the host society (the Australian public, press, unions and neighbourhoods); the policy-makers (ministers, parliament and officials); and the world (United Nations declarations of 1948 and 1965, the refugee crisis of 1975). A footer explains that the section reads each voice through its beliefs, values and attitudes, and then asks whether and why each view changed over time.

Whose voices survive in the record? That is the first historical question. Policy-makers left the most: speeches, laws and departmental files, all written down at the time. The arrivals left less — letters, photographs, and later recorded interviews. The ordinary host society sits somewhere between — newspaper articles, public meetings, letters to editors. Some voices are hard to find at all: arrivals with little English, people who stayed silent, people whose records were never kept. Section 7E calls these the **absent voices**, and part 7 of this section teaches one way to recover them: asking living people about their experiences.

The words this section uses

Migration history is full of words people use in different senses. Per the house rule for contested terms, each key word is defined before use.

- **Migrant** — a person who moves to another country to live. The word does not say why they moved.
- **Refugee** — this word is defined by international law, not by opinion. In the 1951 United Nations *Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees*, a refugee is a person outside their own country because of a genuine fear of being persecuted, who cannot or will not return. This section uses the convention's sense.
- **The White Australia policy** — a historians' term, not the title of any single law. It names the set of laws and practices, running from Federation in 1901, that restricted non-European migration; its best-known tool was the dictation test of the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901* (sections 1F and 6C examine the test). The term itself has a history: a badge of the Australian Natives' Association carried the slogan "White Australia" in 1911, and the historian Charles Bean later described the policy as "a vehement effort to maintain a high Western standard". Historians judge it harshly today — the National Museum of Australia describes the

policy as openly racist, and the historian Erin Ihde calls the thinking behind it discredited — but understanding *why so many Australians supported it for so long* is the historical work of part 4, and that work requires hearing the supporters' case in its strongest form before judging it.

- **Assimilation** — the policy once expected of arrivals: that migrants should drop their own language and customs and blend into the existing society.
- **Integration** — the government's word in the 1966 reforms for how easily a newcomer could fit into the existing society. Under the old policy it was assumed only certain peoples could do so; the 1966 changes applied the test to individuals instead.
- **Multiculturalism** — a contested term: different people use it for different things. In this section it is used in the sense it entered Australian policy — the idea, named in a 1973 government paper and developed in official policy after 1978, that migrants may keep their cultural heritage while sharing a common national life. Other senses exist and are not interchangeable with this one.

The record and the task. The curriculum asks for *Australian and global perspectives*. The Australian ones are the voices inside the country: the arrivals, the public, the policy-makers. The global ones are the forces and documents of the wider world: the United Nations' *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948, studied in section 6B), the United Nations race convention of 1965 (part 3), and the refugee crisis that followed the end of the Vietnam War in 1975 (a world event with Australian effects, studied in section 6D).

2. The people of the story — who experienced post-1945 migration

Before reading perspectives, know whose they were. The table below lists the main groups who arrived between 1945 and the 1980s, with the scale of each and the kinds of records they left. The numbers come from sections 6C and 6D; what is new here is the last column — the record each group left behind, because records are where perspectives live.

Who experienced post-1945 migration — and what records they left

Numbers verified in sections 6C and 6D; the last column is new: records are where perspectives live.

Group and era	Scale	Records they left
British assisted migrants, 1945-1972	more than 1 million arrived under the assisted-passage scheme; about 250,000 later returned home	letters, shipboard photographs, reunion associations, recorded interviews
Displaced Europeans, from 1947	hundreds of thousands from European camps under the July 1947 agreement; many passed through Bonegilla, where around 309,000 stayed 1947-1971	camp files, letters in many languages, community clubs, later oral history projects
Hungarian arrivals after the 1956 uprising	about 14,500 accepted from an exodus of about 200,000	community clubs, newspapers, memoirs
Vietnamese refugees, from 1976	108,808 resettled in total; the boats arrived from April 1976	recorded testimonies, community associations (as the Vietnamese Community of Footscray Association), books by Vietnamese Australian writers
Lebanese civil-war refugees, 1975-1990	more than 30,000	family accounts, community organisations, recorded interviews

The policy-makers' records — speeches, laws, departmental files — exist for every group, and usually say more about the speakers than about the arrivals.

A table titled Who experienced post-1945 migration. Columns: group and era; scale; records they left. Rows: British assisted migrants, 1945 to 1972, more than one million arrived under the assisted-passage scheme with about 250,000 later returning home, records being letters, shipboard photographs, reunion associations and recorded interviews; displaced Europeans, from 1947, hundreds of thousands from camps across Europe under the July 1947 agreement, many passing through Bonegilla, where around 309,000 arrivals stayed between 1947 and 1971, records being camp files, letters in many languages, community associations and later oral history projects; Hungarian arrivals after the 1956 uprising, about 14,500 accepted from an exodus of about 200,000, records being community clubs, newspapers and memoirs; Vietnamese refugees, from 1976, 108,808 resettled in total with the boats arriving from April 1976, records being recorded testimonies, community associations such as the Vietnamese Community of Footscray Association, and books by Vietnamese Australian writers; Lebanese civil-war refugees, 1975 to 1990, more than 30,000, records being family accounts, community organisations and recorded interviews. A footer reads: the policy-makers' records — speeches, laws, departmental files — exist for every group, and usually say more about the speakers than about the arrivals.

Two things to notice from the table, because they shape every answer in this section:

- **The further down the list, the more the record changes.** The British arrivals of the 1940s and 1950s left letters and photographs; the Vietnamese arrivals of the late 1970s left recorded testimonies and community associations that still exist today. Different record types give different access to perspective.
- **Official records speak twice.** A ministerial speech about migrants tells you about the migrants *and* about the minister. Historians read official sources for both voices at once.

3. Changing attitudes to arrival, 1945–1989 (.E07)

This part uses dated sources to track how official Australia — its governments and parliaments — changed its attitude toward who could arrive and how arrivals should be treated. The public's attitudes moved too, more slowly and unevenly; the official record is where the dates live, so it leads.

3.1 The starting attitude, 1945–1949

After 1945, Australia wanted more people, fast. The war had shown that a small population on a huge continent was hard to defend, and industry needed workers. Arthur Calwell, the first Minister for Immigration (from 13 July 1945), drove the program under the slogan “**populate or perish**”. But the program ran inside the White Australia policy. Calwell’s attitude was the policy’s: in July 1947 he signed the agreement bringing 12,000 displaced people a year from Europe’s camps — Europeans, because the policy excluded people of non-European origin.

The attitude is visible in Calwell’s own words. On 2 December 1947, arguing in parliament about wartime refugees who had not come from Europe, he made a pun about two Chinese men he sought to have sent out of the country:

“... two Wongs do not make a White.” — Arthur Calwell, House of Representatives, *Parliamentary Debates* (Hansard), 2 December 1947

Source A below sets this line out as a source card. Readers today find the line offensive, and it is meant to be read that way: it is evidence of an attitude that the rest of this section tracks out of existence. Historians do not hide such sources — they date them, name them, and use them to show what the past actually thought.

Source A — an attitude of 1947

Primary source: a ministerial speech in parliament, recorded in Hansard, the official written record of debates.

“... two Wongs do not make a White.”

— Arthur Calwell, Minister for Immigration, *Parliamentary Debates* (Hansard), 2 December 1947
a pun about two Chinese men Calwell sought to have sent out of the country

Origin

A speech by the minister in charge of the new post-war migration program, made in parliament and recorded at the time in Hansard.

Context

The first years of “populate or perish”: Australia wanted settlers fast, and in July 1947 signed an agreement for 12,000 displaced Europeans a year — Europeans, because the White Australia policy kept non-Europeans out.

Reading

The line is evidence of the government’s attitude in 1947: the program wanted people, but only people of the right origin. This section tracks that attitude as it cracks in 1958 and 1966 and is formally abandoned by 1973–1975.

The source is offensive to modern readers and is reproduced as evidence of a past attitude under study — not as an endorsement. Historians date such sources, name them, and use them to show what the past actually thought.

A source card titled *Source A: attitude of 1947*. The card quotes Arthur Calwell, Minister for Immigration, in the House of Representatives on 2 December 1947, recorded in Hansard: two Wongs do not make a White — a pun about two Chinese men Calwell sought to have sent out of the country. Panels give the origin (a ministerial speech in parliament, recorded in Hansard, the official written record of debates), the context (the speech came in the first years of the post-war migration program, which admitted displaced Europeans under a July 1947 agreement while the White Australia policy kept non-Europeans out), and the reading (the line is evidence of the government’s attitude in 1947: the program wanted people, but only people of the right origin — an attitude this section tracks as it changes and finally ends). A footer notes that the source is offensive to modern readers and is reproduced as evidence, not endorsement.

3.2 The first cracks, 1958–1966

The attitude began to move at the edges:

- **1958** — the *Migration Act 1958* abolished the dictation test (sections 1F and 6C study the test’s mechanics). Even then the change was cautious: Immigration Minister Sir Alick Downer spoke only of admitting “distinguished and highly qualified Asians”.
- **1964** — entry conditions for people of non-European origin were relaxed under the Menzies government.
- **March 1966** — the Holt government announced real reform. Immigration Minister Hubert Opperman said people would be admitted if “well-qualified” rather than only if “highly qualified and distinguished”; the wait for citizenship for non-European applicants fell from fifteen years to five; and discriminatory family-reunion rules were removed. The criteria — “suitability as settlers”, “ability to integrate readily” and “qualifications positively useful to Australia” — were meant to apply to individuals, not to races.
- **July 1966** — Prime Minister Harold Holt described Australia as having a “restricted immigration policy”: even the reformers insisted intake must stay controlled. Control of the door was never in dispute; only the door’s colour rule was.

3.3 The change, 1973–1975

The Whitlam government (elected December 1972) ended the race rule outright:

- in **1973**, the law was amended so citizenship could be reached after three years regardless of origin, and officials were instructed to “totally disregard race as a factor in selecting migrants”;
- Australia ratified the United Nations’ 1965 race convention (Source C, part 10) in **September 1975**;
- the *Racial Discrimination Act 1975* (enacted 11 June 1975, in force from 31 October 1975) made race-based selection unlawful.

Source B records the moment of the change.

Source B — an attitude of 1973

Primary source: government policy statements and law changes under the Whitlam government.

In 1973 the law was amended so citizenship could be reached after three years regardless of origin, and officials were instructed to "totally disregard race as a factor in selecting migrants".
— the Whitlam government's migration changes, 1973

Origin

Policy statements and law changes of the Whitlam government, elected December 1972 — records made by the government itself at the time.

Context

The changes came after decades of argument: Labor had dropped the White Australia policy from its platform in 1965; the Holt government had eased the rules in March 1966; and the United Nations' race convention of 1965 had set a world standard Australia had not yet met.

Reading

In the space of one generation the official attitude moved from Source A's pun to an instruction to disregard race entirely. The fastest part of the change ran 1958–1978; by 1978 selection by country of origin had ended.

Compare Sources A and B: same country, same parliament, 26 years apart — the distance between them is the change this section studies.

A source card titled Source B: attitude of 1973. The card states that in 1973 the Whitlam government amended the migration law so citizenship could be reached after three years regardless of origin, and issued policy instructing officials to totally disregard race as a factor in selecting migrants. Panels give the origin (government policy statements and law changes under the Whitlam government, elected December 1972), the context (the changes came after decades of argument — Labor had dropped the White Australia policy from its platform in 1965, the Holt government had eased the rules in 1966, and the United Nations' race convention of 1965 set a world standard Australia had not yet met), and the reading (in seven years the official attitude moved from Calwell's pun to an instruction to disregard race entirely — the fastest part of a change that took from 1958 to 1978 to complete, when selection by country of origin ended).

3.4 The settlement attitude, 1973–1989

The question of *who may come* was answered by 1978. The question of *what arrival should mean* kept changing after that — from **assimilation** to **multiculturalism**:

- **1973** — Al Grassby, the Whitlam government's Minister for Immigration, issued the reference paper *A multicultural society for the future*.
- **1978** — the Galbally Report (*Migrant services and programs*) recommended building services around migrants' needs — language classes, interpreting, help using overseas qualifications — instead of expecting them to blend in silently.
- **1989** — the Hawke government's *National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia* had both major parties' support.

(Section 6D teaches this sequence in full; here it is the attitude line it represents: *arrivals were once expected to stop being themselves; by 1989 the state said they need not.*)

Official attitudes to arrival, 1945–1989

Three tracks, one story: who may come, what arrival should mean, and the world standards rising around them.

	Who may come — the rules at the door	What arrival should mean — assimilation to multiculturalism	World standards and events
1945	Calwell's "populate or perish": a mass intake wanted — but inside the White Australia policy.		
Jul 1947	Agreement for 12,000 displaced Europeans a year — Europeans only; the policy excluded non-Europeans.		
1948			The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is adopted by the United Nations.
1951			The UN Refugee Convention defines who a refugee is; Australia agrees to it.
1958	Dictation test abolished; the minister still speaks of "distinguished and highly qualified Asians".		
1964	Entry conditions for people of non-European origin are relaxed.		
Mar 1966	Opperman: citizenship wait cut from fifteen years to five for non-European applicants; criteria now individual.		
before the 1970s		Assimilation: arrivals expected to drop their own language and customs and blend in.	
1973	Race totally disregarded in selecting migrants; citizenship after three years for all origins.		
1973		Grassby's reference paper: A multi-cultural society for the future.	
Apr 1975			The fall of Saigon ends the Vietnam War; the refugee crisis begins.
Sep-Oct 1975	Australia ratifies the 1965 UN race convention; the Racial Discrimination Act makes race-based selection unlawful.		
1978	Selection by country of origin ends.		
1978		The Galbally Report recommends migrant services and programs.	
1989		The National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia — with both major parties' support.	

The official attitude changed step by step — and each step can be dated. Public attitudes moved too, slower and unevenly; a strong answer says whose attitude it is describing.

A timeline of official attitudes to arrival from 1945 to 1989, colour-coded in three tracks. Track one, who may come, in navy: 1945 populate or perish under Arthur Calwell — mass intake wanted, but inside the White Australia policy; July 1947 — agreement for 12,000 displaced Europeans a year; 1958 — dictation test abolished, yet only distinguished and highly qualified Asians expected; 1964 — entry conditions for non-Europeans relaxed; March 1966 — Opperman reforms: citizenship wait cut from fifteen years to five for non-European applicants, criteria applied to individuals; 1973 — race totally disregarded in selection, citizenship after three years for all; September 1975 — Australia ratifies the 1965 UN race convention; the Racial Discrimination Act 1975 makes race-based selection unlawful; 1978 — selection by country of origin ends. Track two, what arrival should mean, in teal: before 1970s assimilation — arrivals expected to drop language and customs; 1973 Grassby reference paper A multi-cultural society for the future; 1978 Galbally Report recommends migrant services and programs; 1989 National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia with both parties' support. Track three, world standards, in gold: 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights; 1951 Refugee Convention; 1965 UN race convention adopted 21 December; 1975 fall of Saigon ends the Vietnam War and starts the refugee crisis. A footer reads: the official attitude changed step by step — and each step can be dated.

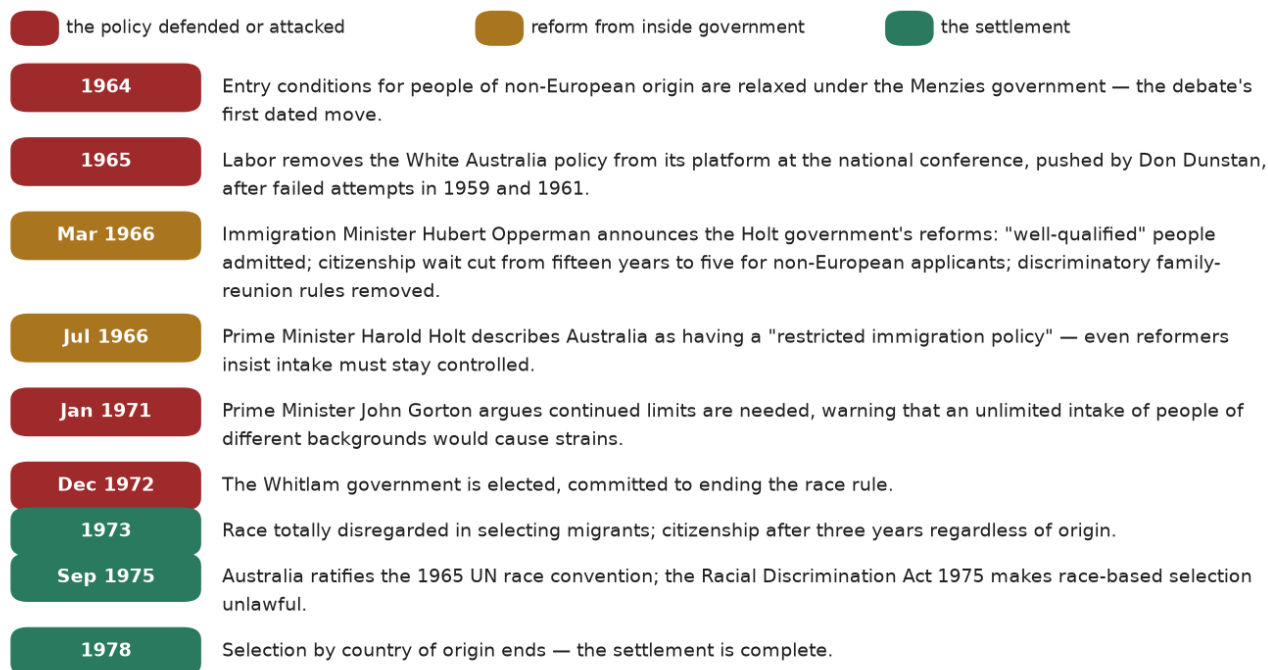
Public attitudes. Notice what this timeline is, and what it is not. It is the *official* attitude — ministers, laws, instructions. Public attitudes changed too, but slower and less evenly: neighbourhoods welcomed some arrivals and cold-shouldered others; public arguments over how many migrants to take continued in every decade (section 6D records that continuity). A strong answer to any attitude question says *whose* attitude it is describing.

4. The White Australia policy debate, 1964–1973 (.E08)

Between 1964 and 1973, Australians argued over whether to keep the White Australia policy or dismantle it. This part reconstructs the debate. Per the house rule, each side is stated in the strongest form its own supporters would recognise before anything is judged — that is what steelmanning means. Stating a position is not endorsing it.

The White Australia policy debate, 1964–1978

The elaboration's dates are 1964–1973 — the argument; the last three cards show the argument's settlement.



Read the cards as a debate with dates: every card is one side gaining or losing ground. By 1973 the race rule is gone; by 1978 the settlement is law.

A timeline of the White Australia policy debate from 1964 to 1978. 1964: entry conditions for people of non-European origin relaxed under the Menzies government. 1965: Labor removes the White Australia policy from its platform at the national conference, pushed by Don Dunstan, after failed attempts in 1959 and 1961. March 1966: Immigration Minister Hubert Opperman announces the Holt government reforms — well-qualified people admitted, citizenship wait cut from fifteen to five years, discriminatory family-reunion rules removed. July 1966: Prime Minister Harold Holt describes Australia as having a restricted immigration policy. January 1971: Prime Minister John Gorton argues continued limits are needed, warning of strains from an unlimited intake of people of different backgrounds. December 1972: the Whitlam government elected. 1973: race totally disregarded in migrant selection; citizenship after three years regardless of origin. September 1975: Australia ratifies the UN race convention; the Racial Discrimination Act 1975 makes race-based selection unlawful. 1978: selection by country of origin ends. A footer notes that the elaboration's dates, 1964 to 1973, cover the argument; the last three cards show the argument's settlement.

4.1 The case for keeping the policy

Supporters of the policy in the 1960s did not argue alike. Their strongest cases, in their own frame, were these:

- **The cohesion case.** Australia was a society built on British institutions, one language and shared public habits; supporters argued that this common ground was what held the country together, and that admitting large numbers of people from very different backgrounds too fast would weaken it. Arthur Calwell, who had run the post-war program from 1945, never abandoned this view. In his 1972 memoirs he wrote: "I reject, in conscience, the idea that Australia should or ever can become a multi-racial society and survive." Note the words *in conscience*: this was offered as a moral claim, not only a practical one, and a historian must treat that as a belief people actually held.
- **The strains case.** Prime Minister John Gorton argued in January 1971 that continued limits were needed because an unlimited intake of people of different backgrounds would cause strains in Australia. This was the gradualist case: change, if it came, must come slowly enough for the society to absorb it.

- **The control case.** Even the reformers of 1966 held that Australia must choose who enters; Holt's "restricted immigration policy" was agreed ground. The sharpest dispute inside the debate was therefore not open-door versus closed-door — it was whether the door's colour rule was necessary, or just one way of controlling intake among others.

4.2 The case for dismantling the policy

- **The rights case.** The *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948) had stated rights without distinction of race; the United Nations adopted a convention against racial discrimination on 21 December 1965, defining it as any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin. A law selecting migrants by race sat badly against standards Australia had helped to write.
- **The fairness case.** The policy judged people by birth, not by character or skill. Its critics asked how Australia could accept a surgeon from one country and refuse a surgeon from another. The 1966 reform criteria — qualifications "positively useful to Australia" — were an admission that merit, not origin, was the fair measure.
- **The inconsistency case.** Australia had fought World War II against a regime built on race rules, and after 1945 it had accepted hundreds of thousands of displaced Europeans. Critics argued that keeping a race rule at its own border contradicted what the country said it stood for.
- **The political facts.** Labor removed the policy from its platform in 1965 (after defeats in 1959 and 1961, pushed through by Don Dunstan). The Holt government's reforms of March 1966 conceded the principle. After December 1972 the Whitlam government moved to end it: by 1973 officials were instructed to totally disregard race, and by September 1975 Australia had ratified the race convention and passed the *Racial Discrimination Act*.

Steelman — the White Australia policy debate, 1964–1973

Each side stated in the strongest form its own supporters would recognise, before any judgement. Stating a position is not endorsing it.

The case for keeping the policy

The cohesion case

Australia was held together by one language, British institutions and shared public habits; a fast change of composition could weaken those ties. Calwell's 1972 memoirs record the belief as a matter of conscience.

The strains case

Gorton warned in January 1971 that an unlimited intake of people of different backgrounds would cause strains; change, if it came, must be gradual enough to absorb.

The control case

Every side agreed Australia chooses who enters. The real dispute was only whether a colour rule was needed to control intake — reformers themselves kept the door "restricted".

The case for dismantling the policy

The rights case

The 1948 declaration and the 1965 UN convention set standards against race-based selection; a colour rule at the border sat badly against rules Australia helped write.

The fairness case

The policy judged people by birth, not skill or character — while the 1966 criteria themselves admitted that merit was the measure.

The inconsistency case

A country that fought a war against race rule, and sheltered hundreds of thousands of displaced Europeans, kept a race rule at its own border.

Weigh it: (1) Which claims on each side could evidence test? (2) What would count as evidence for each — the settlement record of the arrivals from 1976, the stability of the country as the overseas-born share rose, the services each intake required? (3) Which dated steps, 1964–1973, show which side was winning while the argument ran?

Marks go to the reasoning — terms defined, evidence dated, limits admitted — never to which side a student ends up on.

A steelman panel for the debate over the White Australia policy, 1964 to 1973. Left column, the case for keeping the policy, at its strongest: the cohesion case — one language, British institutions and shared habits held the society together, and a fast change of composition could weaken it (Calwell's 1972 conscience claim stands as the recorded form); the strains case — Gorton's January 1971 warning that an unlimited intake of people of different backgrounds would cause strains, so change must be gradual; the control case — every side agreed Australia chooses who enters, so the real question was only whether a colour rule was needed to control intake. Right column, the case for dismantling the policy, at its strongest: the rights case — the 1948 declaration and the 1965 UN convention set standards a race-based law contradicted; the fairness case — judging people by birth rather than by skill or character, when the 1966 criteria themselves said merit was the measure; the inconsistency case — a country that had fought a war against race rule, and sheltered displaced Europeans, kept a race rule at its own border. A footer lists three questions for weighing the debate: which side's claims could evidence test; what would count as evidence for each; and which dated steps, 1964 to 1973, show which side was winning the argument as it ran.

4.3 Weighing the debate

Both cases contain claims evidence can test. Did a larger, faster intake actually weaken the ties of society, or strengthen them? Section 6D's record offers material: the Vietnamese refugees who arrived from 1976 settled, built community associations, and participated fully in work and study; the overseas-born share of the population kept rising while the country stayed stable; by 1989 both major parties supported the multicultural settlement. Against this, the strains case was partly right in one respect — every intake required new services, language classes and housing, and section 6D notes that policy moved slower than arrival.

A strong evaluation says three things: what each side feared, what the evidence shows actually happened, and where the fears were unfounded, partly founded or simply never testable. Marks go to the reasoning — terms defined, evidence dated, limits admitted — never to which side a student ends up on.

5. Perspectives up close — four people, three eras

Policy tells you the rules. People tell you the experience. Four real lives, each documented and dated, show how differently the same global development was experienced — and what happens to a perspective over time.

Perspectives up close — four documented lives

Four people cannot stand for seven million arrivals; each is a documented case that tests a different question about experience.

Arthur Calwell	Frank Lowy	Julia Gillard	Anh Do
1896–1973 · the policy-maker First Minister for Immigration from 13 July 1945; drove the populate-or-perish program and the July 1947 displaced-persons agreement — and kept the White Australia policy. In his 1972 memoirs he still rejected a multi-racial society. His perspective did not change while the policy around him did.	born 1930 · the displaced person Born at Filakovo, Czechoslovakia; forced into a ghetto in Hungary during the war; reached France in 1946; interned in a camp in Cyprus; left Israel in 1952 and joined his family in Australia. In 1953 he met fellow migrant John Saunders; their partnership grew Westfield from Blacktown to the stock exchange by 1960 — arrival as a new beginning.	born 1961 · the assisted-passage era Born at Barry in Wales; her family migrated to Adelaide in 1966 on advice that a warmer climate would help her recover from bronchopneumonia, a chest illness. The child who arrived became Prime Minister on 24 June 2010 — full participation in the society that received her.	born 1977 · the refugee era Born in Ho Chi Minh City; his family fled to Australia as refugees in 1980 and settled at Yagoona in Sydney. Author, actor, comedian and painter; his family's crossing became material for his own books — arrival as a story later generations retell.

Whose perspective changed over time, and whose did not — and what in each person's experience explains that?

Four side-by-side cards, one per person, each with a name, dates, era and story. Card one, Arthur Calwell, 1896 to 1973, the policy-maker: first Minister for Immigration from 13 July 1945; drove the populate-or-perish program and the July 1947 displaced-persons agreement — and kept the White Australia policy; in his 1972 memoirs he still rejected a multi-racial society; his perspective did not change while the policy around him did. Card two, Frank Lowy, born 1930, the displaced person: born at Filakovo in Czechoslovakia; forced to live in a ghetto in Hungary during World War II; reached France in 1946; interned in a camp in Cyprus; left Israel in 1952 and joined his family in Australia; in 1953 he met fellow migrant John Saunders, and their partnership grew Westfield from Blacktown to the stock exchange by 1960 — arrival as a new beginning. Card three, Julia Gillard, born 1961, the assisted-passage era: born at Barry in Wales; her family migrated to Adelaide in 1966 on advice that a warmer climate would help her recover from bronchopneumonia, a chest illness; the child who arrived became Prime Minister on 24 June 2010 — full participation in the society that received her. Card four, Anh Do, born 1977, the refugee era: born in Ho Chi Minh City; his family fled to Australia as refugees in 1980 and settled at Yagoona in Sydney; he became an author, actor, comedian and painter who tells his family's story in his own books — arrival as a story later generations retell. A footer asks: whose perspective changed over time, whose did not, and what in each person's experience explains that?

Read the four cards for the concept of *change over time*:

- **Calwell** shows that a perspective can stay fixed while the world moves around it. He made policy in 1945 and published his unchanged view in 1972. Historians use him as a fixed point: because some people never changed their minds, the changes of 1958–1978 cannot be explained by “everyone came to agree”.
- **Lowy** shows the refugee road of the 1940s — loss, camps, detention, and then rebuilding. His perspective is legible in his later life: the partnership with a fellow migrant, built a year after arrival, became one of Australia's largest companies.

- **Gillard** shows the ordinary British-era migration: a family decision made for a child's health, a quiet arrival in Adelaide, and — decades later — leadership of the same country.
- **Anh Do** shows the refugee era: flight in 1980, settlement in western Sydney, and a career built on telling the story of arrival. His perspective is visible in his work itself: the family's hard crossing became material for books and paintings.

Four people cannot stand for seven million arrivals — they are not **representative** (a word that means standing for a larger group, not just for one person). They are something else: *documented cases*, each letting you test a different question about experience. Part 7 adds more voices — possibly including someone from your own community.

6. Worked inquiry 1 — Reading attitudes from Sources A and B

Sources A and B bookend the change: one minister's words from 1947, one government's policy from 1973. Work through the layers a historian applies — **origin, content, context, inference** — then read the perspective.

Scaffolded questions — Sources A and B

S1. Origin. What kind of source is Source A, where was it spoken, and how was it recorded? (Hint: part 1 defines Hansard.)

S2. Content. In your own words, what attitude toward non-European arrivals does Source A show?

S3. Context. Use section 3.1: what was the “populate or perish” program, and why does Source A make sense *inside* that program rather than against it?

S4. Origin. What is Source B, and which government issued it? List its two main measures.

S5. Context. Use the timeline in part 3: name two steps between 1947 and 1973 that moved official attitudes from Source A toward Source B.

S6. Inference. Source B instructs officials to “totally disregard race”. What does the existence of that instruction suggest about how migrants had been selected before 1973?

S7. Perspective. Whose perspective does each source give you — and whose is missing from both? (Hint: do either source quote an arrival?)

Model moves. A strong answer to S7 runs like this: *Source A gives a minister's perspective — Arthur Calwell, speaking as the official responsible for the program — and Source B gives the perspective of the Whitlam government that replaced his party in December 1972. Both are policy-maker perspectives. Neither quotes an arrival, so both sources tell us what was decided about migrants, not what migrants experienced; for the arrivals' own voices a historian needs letters, interviews and community records, like those listed in part 2. Notice the moves: identify whose view each source carries, then name the absent voices, then say what record would supply them.*

7. Doing history with living memory — the community interview (.E09)

The curriculum asks you to interview people in your community about what migrating to Australia was like for them, and to evaluate their perspectives in the light of wider research. This part teaches the method. If no one in your family or community has migrated, your teacher will help you adapt: interview a neighbour or family friend who has, or apply the same method to a recorded testimony from part 2's list (community associations and the National Library of Australia hold many such recordings).

The community interview — plan, protect, ask well

Curriculum task: interview people in your community about what migrating to Australia was like for them, then evaluate their perspectives in the light of wider research.

Plan and protect	Ask well
• Get your teacher's approval of your plan first. • Ask the person's permission before anything is recorded — in writing if your teacher asks. • Tell them they may pass on any question, pause, or stop at any time. • Never press about war, flight or anything that distresses them: memories of refugee journeys are private until offered. • Choose a quiet place and allow at least thirty minutes. • Agree together whether you take notes or record audio.	• Open broad: "Tell me about the decision to come." • Follow for detail: "What did you bring with you, and why that?" • Ask about arrival: "What surprised you in the first month?" • Ask about change: "Is there anything you believed then that you see differently now?" • Ask about belonging: "When did you first feel you belonged here?" • Close by asking what they want remembered.

Open questions let the person lead; yes-or-no questions close the door. A forced or pushed account is bad history before it is bad behaviour.

A two-column method card for the community interview. Left column, plan and protect: get your teacher's approval of the plan first; ask the person's permission before anything is recorded, in writing if your teacher asks; tell them they may pass on any question, pause, or stop at any time; never press about war, flight or anything that distresses them — memories of refugee journeys are private until offered; choose a quiet place and allow at least thirty minutes; decide with them whether you take notes or record audio. Right column, ask well: open with broad questions — tell me about the decision to come; follow with detail — what did you bring with you, and why that; ask about arrival — what surprised you in the first month; ask about change — is there anything you believed then that you see differently now; ask about belonging — when did you first feel you belonged here; close by asking what they want remembered. A footer reads: open questions let the person lead; yes-or-no questions close the door.

Interview ethics are history rules, not just manners. A forced or pushed account is bad history before it is bad behaviour: testimony given under pressure is unreliable, and the historian's first duty is to the person, not to the assignment.

Once you have the account, treat it as a historian treats any source:

1. **It is a perspective, not the truth.** It carries the person's beliefs, values and attitudes — and those are exactly what you are studying.
2. **Memory shapes it.** People compress time, soften hard parts, and view their younger selves through later experience. An account given in 2026 about 1980 is also a source *for 2026* — it shows what the experience means now.
3. **One voice is one voice.** Testimony is rarely representative. Its value is depth, not numbers.
4. **Evaluate it against wider research.** This is the second half of .E09. Corroborate — check the account's dates and facts against the record in sections 3, 4 and 5 and sections 6C–6D. Where the account and the record agree, the account gains support. Where they differ, ask which is being tested: the account, or your own understanding of the record.

8. Worked inquiry 2 — Evaluating a perspective against wider research

The model below shows what the evaluation asked by .E09 looks like. It uses a **made-up** interview — no real person is described — so you can see the moves before you write about a real one. The moves are colour-coded: claim, evidence from the interview, wider research, limits, verdict.

Worked inquiry 2 — evaluating a perspective against wider research

Model paragraph, move by move. The interview used here is made up so the moves can be shown; your task uses your own interview.

CLAIM

Mrs K's account of arriving in Adelaide in 1966 shows how the assisted-passage era was experienced by an ordinary family — and how her view of Australia changed, from gratitude to criticism, as her hope of a welcome met the reality of assimilation.

INTERVIEW EVIDENCE

She recalls the ten-pound fare and a hostel room on arrival, and says officials expected the family to stop speaking their own language at home. She describes arriving glad and feeling, within a year, that her past was treated as something to shed.

WIDER RESEARCH

The wider record supports her frame: more than one million British people arrived under the assisted-passage scheme from 1945, and the official policy of the era was assimilation — arrivals were expected to drop their own language and customs. That policy began to change only after 1973.

LIMITS

One interview cannot show what most assisted migrants felt: Mrs K is one voice among more than a million arrivals. Memory gathered sixty years later may also sharpen what she now wishes had been different.

VERDICT

The account is valuable evidence for the gap between arrival expectations and assimilation-era practice, and for how a perspective on the same arrival can change over a lifetime. For its limits, it needs corroboration from other interviews and the official record before any claim about the era as a whole.

The five moves: claim, interview evidence, wider research, limits, verdict. The limits move draws walls around the claim instead of smashing it — that is what keeps the verdict honest.

A colour-coded model paragraph evaluating an interview perspective about migration. Blue claim panel: Mrs K's account of arriving in Adelaide in 1966 shows how the assisted-passage era was experienced by an ordinary family, and her view of Australia changed from gratitude to criticism as her expectations of welcome met the reality of assimilation policy. Green interview evidence panel: she recalls the ten-pound fare and a hostel room on arrival, and says officials expected the family to stop speaking their own language at home — she describes arriving glad and feeling, within a year, that her past was being treated as something to shed. Gold wider research panel: the wider record supports her frame — more than one million British people arrived under the assisted-passage scheme from 1945, and the official policy of the time was assimilation, which expected arrivals to drop their own language and customs and blend in; the policy began changing only after 1973. Red limits panel: one interview cannot show what most assisted migrants felt — Mrs K is one voice among more than a million arrivals — and memory gathered sixty years later may sharpen what she now wishes had been different. Grey verdict panel: the account is valuable evidence for the gap between arrival expectations and assimilation-era practice, and for how perspectives on the same arrival can change over a lifetime; for its limits, it needs corroboration from other interviews and from the official record before any claim about the era as a whole.

Read the paragraph once for sense, then move by move.

Question 1 — Where does the wider research do its work? *Modelled answer:* the gold move does two jobs: it supports the interview's facts (the ten-pound fare matches the scheme's fare; the language pressure matches the assimilation policy of the era) and it shows the student has checked the account rather than simply repeating it.

Question 2 — What do the limits protect? *Modelled answer:* they stop the evaluation claiming more than one voice can carry. The verdict says what the account *is* good evidence for, instead of pretending one interview describes a million arrivals.

Question 3 — Where is “change over time” in the paragraph? *Modelled answer:* in two places: the person’s own view shifted (from gratitude to criticism), and the policy around her shifted too (assimilation in 1966, dismantled after 1973). The CD asks for both kinds of change, and a strong evaluation finds both.

9. Practice tasks

Scaffolded tasks — work with the supports provided.

Task 1. Voices in the record. (a) Using part 2, list two record types left by the Vietnamese arrivals of the late 1970s. (b) Give one reason official records “speak twice”.

Task 2. The 1947 attitude. (a) Who was Arthur Calwell, and from what exact date was he Minister for Immigration? (b) What did the slogan “populate or perish” mean? (c) Why is Source A read as evidence of an attitude rather than read aloud for approval?

Task 3. Steps of change. Using the timeline in part 3, give the year for each: the dictation test abolished; entry conditions for non-Europeans relaxed; the Opperman reforms announced; race disregarded in selection; the *Racial Discrimination Act* in force; selection by country of origin ended.

Task 4. The debate. (a) What did Labor do in 1965, and who pushed the change? (b) Give the two criteria from the March 1966 reforms that applied selection to individuals. (c) Quote Calwell’s 1972 memoirs in one sentence, and say what the words “in conscience” tell a historian about his belief.

Task 5. Four lives. Using part 5, give for each person: their origin, their year of arrival (or, for Calwell, their office from 13 July 1945), and one thing that shows their perspective.

Task 6. Method. Using part 7, list three protections your interview plan must include, and two open questions you would ask.

Unscaffolded tasks — no supports; plan and structure your own answer.

Task 7. “The official attitude to migration changed completely between 1947 and 1975.” Argue the change, then its limits: what continued (control of intake; debate over numbers; slow movement of public attitudes)? Reach a judgement with dated evidence on both sides.

Task 8. Evaluate the strongest argument on *each* side of the 1964–1973 debate (part 4). Say which single dated development most weakened the case for keeping the policy, and defend your choice. Marking is on reasoning, not on which side you finish on.

Task 9. Choose one of the four people in part 5. Write an explanation of how their experience of migration shaped their perspective, and say whether the wider record in this chapter supports, tests or complicates what their life suggests.

Task 10. One voice is one voice. Write one paragraph on why historians value a single interview even though it is not representative, and one paragraph on what the same interview cannot be used to claim. Use the model in part 8 as your guide.

10. Source-based inquiry

Read Source C, then answer the questions below it.

Source C — a world standard, 1965

Primary source: a United Nations convention — an agreement between nations — adopted 21 December 1965.

"In this Convention, the term racial discrimination shall mean any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life."

— International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, Article 1(1), adopted by the UN General Assembly on 21 December 1965 (resolution 2106 (XX))

Origin

A convention adopted by the United Nations, in force from 4 January 1969 — the world's governments agreeing on a definition of racial discrimination.

The Australian link

Australia ratified the convention in September 1975. The Racial Discrimination Act 1975, enacted 11 June 1975 and in force from 31 October 1975, gave the convention force in Australian law.

Why it matters

The definition states, in world law, exactly what a race-based selection rule is: a distinction, exclusion or preference based on origin. That is the thing the 1973 reforms removed from Australian migration policy.

Notice the words "purpose or effect": the drafters covered rules meant to discriminate and rules that discriminate whatever they were meant to do.

A source card titled Source C: a world standard, 1965. The card quotes Article 1(1) of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 21 December 1965: In this Convention, the term racial discrimination shall mean any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life. Panels give the origin (a United Nations convention — an agreement between nations — adopted by resolution 2106 (XX), in force from 4 January 1969), the Australian link (Australia ratified the convention in September 1975, and the Racial Discrimination Act 1975 gave it force in Australian law from 31 October 1975), and why it matters (the convention's definition states, in world law, exactly what a race-based selection rule is — the thing the 1973 reforms removed from Australian migration policy).

Q1. Formulate. Write two historical questions that Source C could help you answer, and one question that also needs Source A or Source B.

Q2. Infer. The definition covers distinctions with "the purpose or effect" of impairing rights. Why might the drafters have included *effect*, not only *purpose*? What does that choice tell you about their beliefs?

Q3. Context. Source C was adopted on 21 December 1965 — the same month the Holt government took office in Australia, three months before the March 1966 reforms. Using part 4, explain why a world standard against racial discrimination would matter to a domestic debate about who could enter Australia.

Q4. Perspective. Whose perspective does a United Nations convention express — and whose is absent from it? Compare your answer with S7 in worked inquiry 1: what kind of voice is missing from *treaties*, and what kind of voice is missing from *parliamentary debates*?

Q5. Evaluate. A historian claims: "The dismantling of the White Australia policy was driven by global pressure." Use Source C together with parts 3 and 4 to evaluate this claim. Say what supports it (the convention, ratification, the Act)

and what limits it (domestic actors: Dunstan's 1965 push, Opperman's 1966 reforms, the Whitlam government's 1973 instructions). End with a weighed verdict using dated evidence.

What to look for

Score student work against the band achievement standard (Level 9–10): students analyse the features, content and context of sources; identify the perspectives that individuals and groups held; connect short- and long-term causes with intended and unintended consequences; and judge historical significance by criteria. For this section, that analysis is aimed at perspectives under change: the CD asks not only whose views existed, but how those views changed over time and why. Expected responses below are a guide, not a script. Mark the reasoning, not the conclusion — especially in the .E08 debate, where CONTESTED_TERMS Rule 5 requires that two students reaching opposite conclusions can both receive full marks.

- **Big question and concepts (part 1):** student can define perspective in their own words and separate beliefs, values and attitudes; can say whose voices survive in the record and whose are hard to find, without needing prompting.
- **The people (part 2):** student uses the table to connect each group to a record type, and states the “official records speak twice” idea — a migration speech tells about the minister as well as the migrants.
- **Changing attitudes (part 3, .E07):** student orders the dated steps correctly (1958, 1964, March 1966, 1973, September–October 1975, 1978, 1989); reads Source A as evidence of a past attitude, framed as the section frames it; distinguishes official attitudes from public ones and says which they are describing in any given answer.
- **The debate (part 4, .E08):** both cases are stated at strength before judging — cohesion, strains and control against rights, fairness and inconsistency, each with its dated anchors (Calwell's 1972 memoirs; Gorton January 1971; Dunstan's 1965 push; Opperman March 1966; Whitlam 1973); the evaluation tests the claims against what actually happened (section 6D's settlement record) rather than repeating the positions.
- **Four lives (part 5):** student can say whose perspective changed and whose did not (Calwell fixed; the others readable through their later lives), and can say why documented cases are not the same as representative ones.
- **Worked inquiries (parts 6, 8):** S7's absent-voices move appears (both sources are policy-maker voices; the arrivals are missing); the evaluation paragraph shows the five moves — claim, interview evidence, wider research, limits, verdict — and the limits move draws walls rather than smashing the claim.
- **Interview method (part 7, .E09):** the plan shows consent, the right to pass and stop, and no pressing on sensitive memory; questions are open; the evaluation step names corroboration against the wider record rather than taking the account at face value. Teacher approval of plans before interviews is required.
- **Source-based inquiry (part 10):** Q2 reaches the idea that a rule can discriminate by effect without intending to; Q4 distinguishes the voices treaties carry (nations) from the voices debates carry (parliaments), with arrivals absent from both; Q5 gives a verdict that weighs global standards against domestic actors with dates on both sides.

Cross-links: the Vietnamese refugee arrivals and the assimilation-to-multiculturalism sequence are taught in section 6D; the causes, waves and dated reforms in section 6C; the dictation test mechanics in sections 1F and 6C; the UDHR in section 6B; the interpretations and debates strand in section 6F (VC2HH10K41). Skills: identifying perspectives, beliefs, values and attitudes from sources (7E — the section's core skill, including absent voices and representativeness); source purpose, content and context (7C); evaluating value as evidence (7D); sustained interpretation with citations (8D).

Sources for this section. All figures are original artifacts drawn for this book from the values stated here (SOURCE_USE Rule 3). Quotations and real-world data carry the source lines in the teacher block above; web collections retrieved 2026-08-25. The section teaches the Migration experiences option group .E06–.E09 of VC2HH10K40, held consistent across Chapter 6 per build_notes_ch6.md; the TOC's full .E01–.E16 range stays listed as linkage keys for schools choosing another topic (D7).

Debates and legacies: a major global influence since 1945

For the teacher

This section is one teaching sequence (parts 1–7) with two worked inquiries built from real, dated, checkable sources, four inline scaffolded tasks, six scaffolded practice tasks, four unscaffolded tasks and one source-based inquiry task, per the §3 volume calibration. Register is direct-address prose at or below the Yr10 ceiling (D2). Subject terms are defined at first use (D2 exemption 2). Each of the three debates is steelmanned at equal depth before it is weighed (CONTESTED_TERMS Rules 4–5), and marking is on the quality of the reasoning, not the conclusion reached. All First Nations content is excluded per Rule 1 and §2A; none may be authored in later, including as context or a caption — the global angle of this section runs through the World Heritage treaty and worldwide environmentalism, not through Australian First Nations histories.

Curriculum alignment (VCAA export VC2_AS-CD-E1ab_29-07-2026.csv) — codes only:

VC2HH10K41 — Historical Knowledge and Understanding · Investigation: The globalising world (1945–present)

Draws on (linkage only, D7): VC2HH10K41.E03 · VC2HH10K41.E04.

D3 / §2A note (binding): the environment movement option (VC2HH10K41.E03–.E04) is the chapter-6 topic choice for 6C–6F (see `build_notes_ch6.md`). No First Nations element is taught here or used as context; any raised material is redirected to the front-of-book note. The Franklin dam *narrative* (blockade, arrests, the campaign as a story) is reserved to section 6D (VC2HH10K39.E07); this section treats Franklin only as an *object of interpretation* — the minimal dated facts needed to weigh the debate, never the full story.

Teaching choices (chapter block spec, §3): this section teaches the interpretations strand by putting one big question on trial — how significant was the environment movement in changing Australian politics since 1975? — through three debates: transformation vs absorption; the Franklin campaign as turning point; and an Australian story vs a global one. The record of change (parties, laws, courts, campaigns, 1972–2014) is the shared evidence base; the debates decide how much weight it carries. Students reuse the four-move model paragraph (claim → evidence → limits → verdict) from section 2E and the significance criteria from section 8C. Skills cross-links: sequencing and source ordering (7B), source purpose and context (7C), value of sources as evidence (7D), perspectives from sources (7E), continuity and change (8A), causes and consequences (8B), significance criteria (8C), sustained interpretation with citations (8D).

Subject words — define at first use (D2 exemption 2):

Word	Gloss used in this section
interpretation	a reasoned reading of the past, built from evidence, that historians argue about
debate	a real argument in which each side puts its strongest case before a judgement is made
legacy	what an event or movement leaves behind for later years — laws, changes, habits, arguments
significance	how much something matters in history, judged by criteria such as importance and durability
steelman	to state someone else's side as strongly and fairly as you can before you judge it
primary source	a record made at the time being studied
secondary source	an account made later by someone using primary sources
green party	a political party whose main platform is the environment
balance of power	when no side holds a majority, and a smaller party's support decides which side governs

Word	Gloss used in this section
ratify	to formally join a treaty, so it becomes binding on your country
external affairs power	the Constitution's grant of power (section 51(xxix)) letting the federal parliament make laws about international matters, including treaties Australia has joined
direct action	protest that physically gets in the way of something, such as a blockade
turning point	a moment after which things really work differently

Sources (SOURCE_USE — real referents carry a source line; collections consulted and retrieved 2026-08-25; original documents cited where one is reproduced):

Referent	Source line
United Tasmania Group (UTG): formed 23 March 1972 at Hobart Town Hall; generally acknowledged as the world's first green party to contest elections; first president Dr Richard Jones; Bob Brown stood as a candidate in the 1970s; highest vote 9.9% (1975); lasted about five years	Wikipedia, "United Tasmania Group", retrieved 2026-08-25
Franklin dam controversy: Hydro-Electric Commission announced the Gordon-below-Franklin dam 1978; May 1982 Premier Robin Gray ordered it ahead; blockade began 14 December 1982; 1,217 arrests; Bob Brown jailed 19 days at Risdon Prison; the campaign helped bring down the Fraser government at the March 1983 election; the new Hawke government vowed to stop the dam	Wikipedia, "Franklin Dam controversy" and "Bob Brown", retrieved 2026-08-25
Commonwealth v Tasmania [1983] HCA 21; (1983) 158 CLR 1; decided 1 July 1983; 4–3; majority Mason, Murphy, Brennan and Deane JJ; dissent Gibbs CJ, Wilson and Dawson JJ; the World Heritage Properties Conservation Act 1983 upheld under the external affairs power (s 51(xxix)); Gibbs CJ dissent quoted; case-note line "Major parts of Australia's environmental law depend for their constitutional validity on the decision"	Wikipedia, "Commonwealth v Tasmania", retrieved 2026-08-25
World Heritage Convention: full title Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage; adopted 16 November 1972; Australia ratified it 22 August 1974; Article 4 text quoted verbatim	UNESCO, original treaty text (PDF retrieved 2026-08-25)
Tasmanian Wilderness: placed on the World Heritage List 1982, extended 1989 (and 2013); 1,584,233 ha — almost 25 per cent of Tasmania	Wikipedia, "Tasmanian Wilderness", retrieved 2026-08-25
Great Barrier Reef: Great Barrier Reef Marine Park Act 1975 created the Marine Park Authority; the reef selected as a World Heritage Site in 1981	Wikipedia, "Great Barrier Reef Marine Park", retrieved 2026-08-25
First federal impact-testing law: Environment Protection (Impact of Proposals) Act 1974 — the first environmental impact law at Commonwealth level; repealed by the Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation (EPBC) Act 1999, Australia's	Wikipedia, "Environmental impact assessment" and "Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act 1999", retrieved 2026-08-25

Referent	Source line
main federal environment law	
Tasmanian Greens: 1989 state election — 5 of 35 seats on 17.13% (46,797 votes), the balance of power, and the Labor–Green Accord keeping a minority Labor government in office; party formally founded August 1992	Wikipedia, “Tasmanian Greens”, retrieved 2026-08-25
Australian Greens: formed 1992 as a confederation of eight state and territory parties; Bob Brown first Australian Greens senator 1996 (Senate 1 July 1996–15 June 2012; leader 2005–2012); 2010 federal election — 13% of the Senate first-preference vote, 9 senators plus Adam Bandt (Melbourne), the balance of power; 2013 — 8.7%; 2016 — 8.65%	Wikipedia, “Australian Greens” and “Bob Brown”, retrieved 2026-08-25
Kyoto Protocol: “The first official act of the Rudd government, on 3 December 2007, was to ratify the Kyoto Protocol”	Wikipedia, “Kevin Rudd”, retrieved 2026-08-25
Carbon price: begun 1 July 2012 under the Clean Energy Act 2011; repealed 17 July 2014 by the Clean Energy Legislation (Carbon Tax Repeal) Act 2014	Wikipedia, “Clean Energy Act 2011”, retrieved 2026-08-25
Historians and writers: Drew Hutton and Libby Connors, <i>A History of the Australian Environment Movement</i> (Cambridge University Press, 1999); Frank Zelko, <i>Make It a Green Peace!</i> (Oxford University Press, 2014); Frank Bongiorno, <i>The Eighties</i> (Black Inc, 2015); Clive Hamilton, <i>Growth Fetish</i> (Allen & Unwin, 2003)	Wikipedia author entries and publisher catalogue details, retrieved 2026-08-25

1. The big question

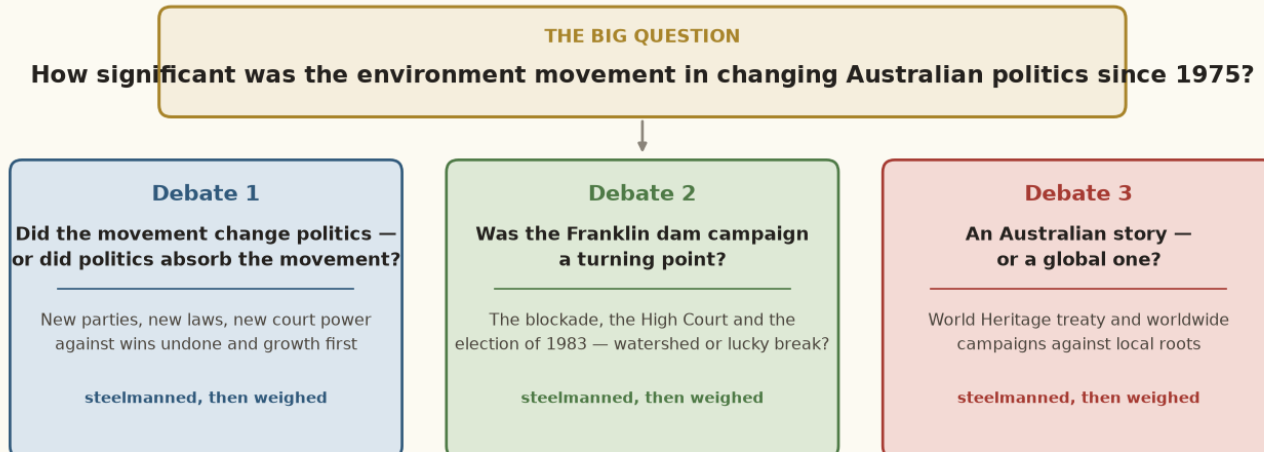
Since 1975, the environment movement has marched, blockaded, voted, run for parliament, passed laws and won in the High Court. But how much did it really change Australian politics? People who lived through these years disagreed, and historians still disagree. This section puts one big question on trial:

How significant was the environment movement in changing Australian politics since 1975?

An **interpretation** is a reasoned reading of the past, built from evidence, that historians argue about. A **debate** is a real argument in which each side puts its strongest case before a judgement is made. The **legacy** of a movement is what it leaves behind — laws, changes, habits, arguments. Your job is to weigh the evidence for and against each reading, then make a judgement of your own.

What did the environment movement change?

one big question, three debates — each one argued at full strength before it is judged



You will meet the same moves as section 2E: define the term, steelman each side, test the evidence, then judge.

The record of change since 1975 is the evidence base — the debates decide how much weight it carries.

A map of the section's big question — how significant was the environment movement in changing Australian politics since 1975 — branching into three debates: debate 1, did the movement change politics or did politics absorb the movement; debate 2, was the Franklin dam campaign a turning point; debate 3, is this an Australian story or a global one. Each debate box notes that it will be steelmanned, then weighed, and a footer explains that the record of change since 1975 is the evidence base while the debates decide how much weight it carries.

Three debates do the weighing. In each one, both sides get their strongest say first — that is what **steelmanning** means: stating someone else's side as strongly and fairly as you can before you judge it.

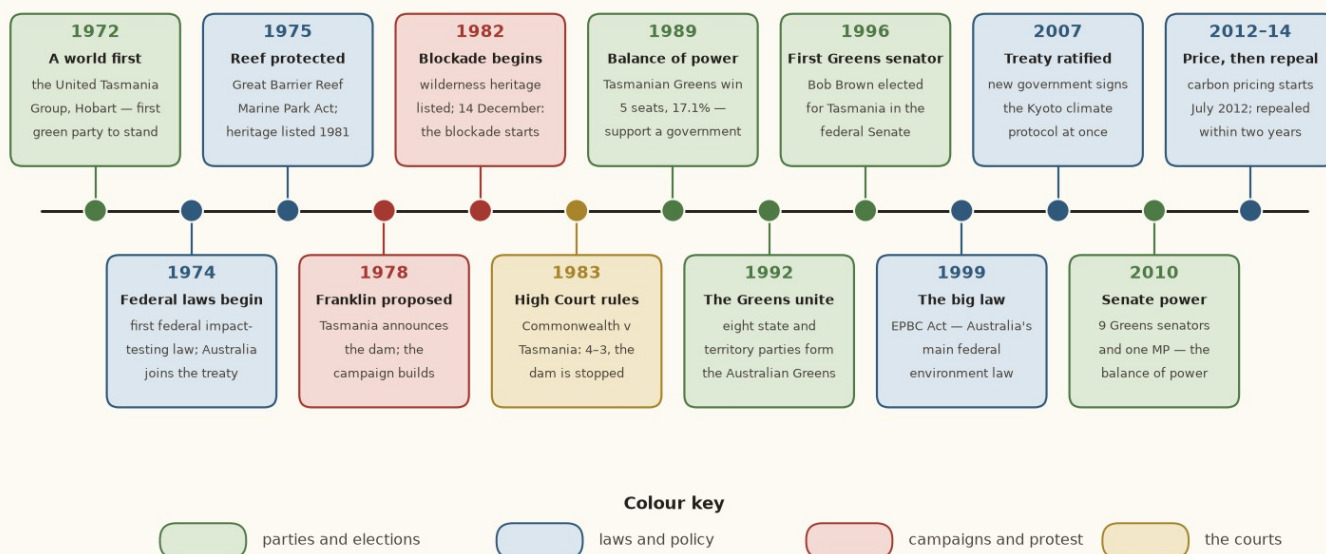
Task A (scaffolded). Copy the three debate questions into your book. Under each, write (a) the question word it asks — *how much, when, or where from* — and (b) one piece of evidence you predict each side will use. Keep your predictions: you will check them in parts 3, 5 and 6.

2. The record of change, 1972–2014

Before you weigh interpretations, you need the record. The timeline below is the evidence base for every debate in this section. (The full story of the Franklin blockade is taught in section 6D; here the campaign is evidence, not the story.)

The environment movement in Australian politics, 1972-2014

Events are spaced evenly for readability — the point is the run of firsts, not the gaps between them



A timeline of the environment movement in Australian politics from 1972 to 2014, colour-coded by kind: 1972 the United Tasmania Group at Hobart, the first green party to stand for election; 1974 the first federal impact-testing law and Australia joining the World Heritage treaty; 1975 the Great Barrier Reef Marine Park Act, with the reef heritage listed in 1981; 1978 Tasmania announces the Franklin dam; 1982 the wilderness heritage listed and the blockade begins on 14 December; 1983 the High Court rules 4-3 in Commonwealth v Tasmania and the dam is stopped; 1989 the Tasmanian Greens win 5 seats and 17.1 per cent, holding the balance of power; 1992 eight state and territory parties form the Australian Greens; 1996 Bob Brown elected the first Greens senator; 1999 the EPBC Act, Australia's main federal environment law; 2007 the new government ratifies the Kyoto climate protocol at once; 2010 nine Greens senators and one member give the party the balance of power; 2012 to 2014 carbon pricing starts in July 2012 and is repealed within two years. A colour key marks parties and elections, laws and policy, campaigns and protest, and the courts.

Read the timeline twice: once for the run of events, once for the colour key. Notice two things. First, the run of firsts — the world's first green party, a treaty used in a High Court win, a party holding the balance of power twice. Second, the last card: a win (carbon pricing) undone within two years. Historians read the same timeline differently — that is where the debates begin.

Task B (scaffolded). Using the colour key, sort the thirteen events into four columns in your book (parties and elections; laws and policy; campaigns and protest; the courts). Which column is longest? Circle the three events you think a historian could least afford to leave out, and say why in one sentence each.

3. Debate 1 — did the movement change politics, or did politics absorb the movement?

Start with the strongest form of each reading, because that is the form worth testing.

The transformation reading. The movement built its own machines of power. It built parties — from the United Tasmania Group of 1972, generally acknowledged as the first green party to contest elections anywhere, to the Australian Greens, formed in 1992 and holding the Senate balance of power with nine senators and one member by 2010. It built laws — from the first federal impact-testing law of 1974 to the EPBC Act of 1999. And it built court power — in 1983 the High Court ruled 4-3 that the federal government could use its treaty duties to stop a state dam. On this reading, the environment went from a side issue to a permanent arena of politics.

The limits reading. Wins could be undone: carbon pricing, begun in July 2012, was repealed within two years. The Greens' Senate vote slid from 13% in 2010 to 8.7% in 2013. And on this reading the big goal never changed: Clive Hamilton, in *Growth Fetish* (2003), argued that economic growth stayed the unexamined aim of Australian politics — and where the environment clashed with growth, the environment usually lost. On this reading, politics did not change; it absorbed the movement, gave it a party and a portfolio, and went on as before.

Debate 1, steelmanned: did the movement change politics?

each side gets its strongest three arguments before anyone judges

THE MOVEMENT CHANGED POLITICS

(the transformation reading)

New parties

From the world's first green party (Hobart, 1972) to nine Greens senators holding the Senate balance of power (2010).

New laws

Federal environment law began in 1974 and grew into the EPBC Act of 1999 — Australia's main environment law today.

New court power

After the 1983 High Court ruling, the federal government could use its treaty duties to stop a state dam.

POLITICS ABSORBED THE MOVEMENT

(the limits reading)

Growth stayed first

Clive Hamilton argued in 2003 that growth stayed the unexamined goal of Australian politics — the environment lost when the two clashed.

Wins undone

The movement's biggest policy win — carbon pricing, begun July 2012 — was repealed by parliament within two years.

Votes rose, then fell

The Greens' Senate vote slid from 13% (2010) to 8.7% (2013) while major parties adopted green words without green decisions.

Both columns carry dated evidence. Your job is not to pick a side on feeling — it is to weigh the record.

A two-column steelman diagram for debate 1. The left column, the transformation reading, gives three dated arguments: new parties from the world-first United Tasmania Group of 1972 to the Greens holding the Senate balance of power by 2010; new laws from the first federal impact-testing law of 1974 to the EPBC Act of 1999; and new court power from the 4-3 High Court win of 1983. The right column, the limits reading, gives three dated arguments: carbon pricing repealed within two years of starting in 2012; the Greens' Senate vote sliding from 13 per cent in 2010 to 8.7 per cent in 2013; and Clive Hamilton's 2003 argument that growth stayed the unexamined goal and usually beat the environment.

Historians keep this debate open by asking different questions of the same record. Four writers you can use:

Four writers keep the debate open

different questions, different evidence, different readings — that is how the argument works

Drew Hutton and Libby Connors

A History of the Australian
Environment Movement, 1999

The movement's historians: their account traces how conservation groups learned to use laws, courts, elections and media — and became a lasting force in Australian politics.

Frank Zelko

Make It a Green Peace!, 2014

The global historian: he traces direct-action environmentalism — Greenpeace above all — across borders, placing Australian campaigns inside a worldwide wave rather than a local story.

Frank Bongiorno

The Eighties, 2015

The decade historian: he argues the 1980s transformed Australia, and reads fights like the Franklin campaign as part of that wider remaking of Australian society and politics.

Clive Hamilton

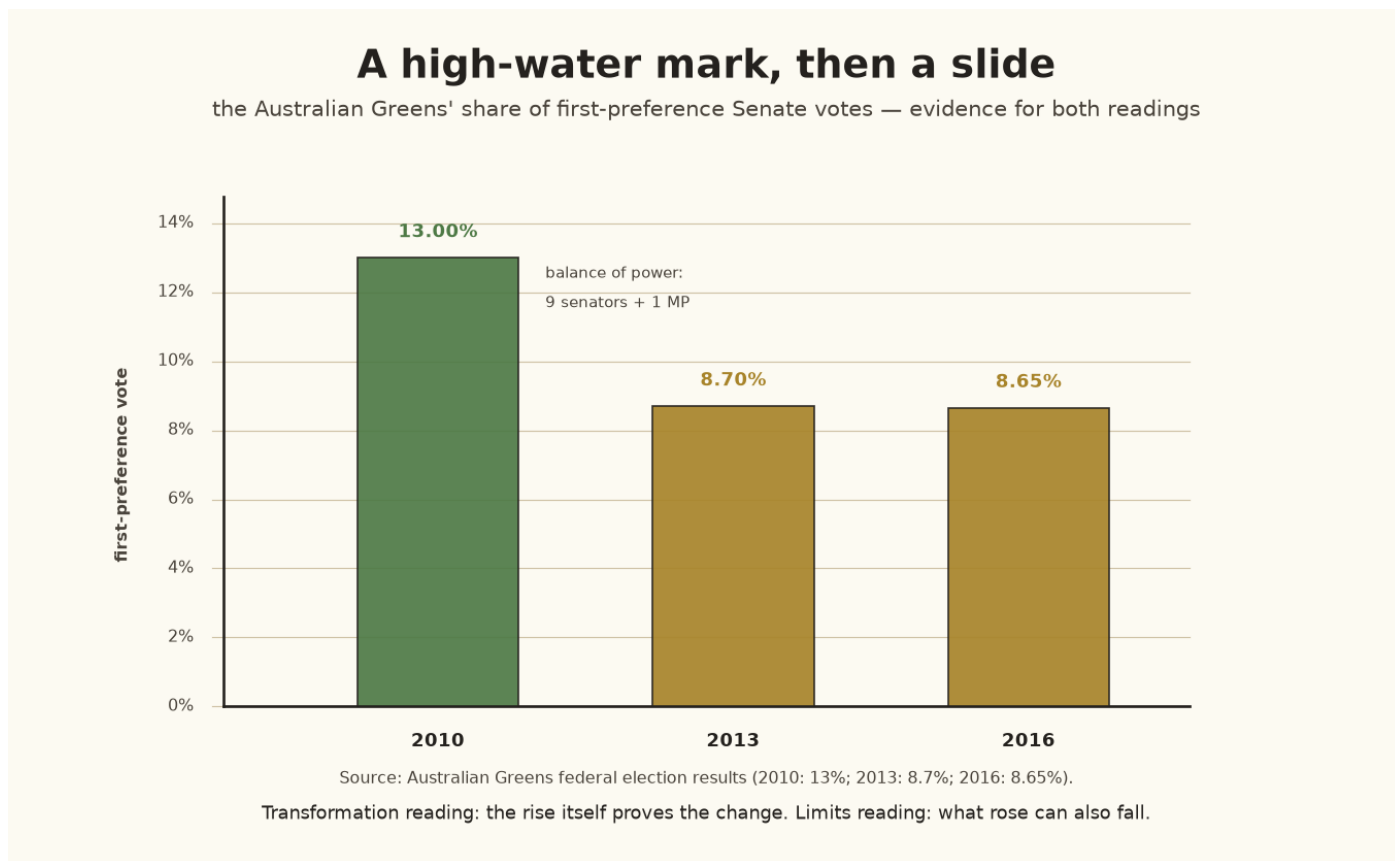
Growth Fetish, 2003

The doubter: he argues that economic growth stayed the unexamined goal of Australian politics, and that environmental appeals lost whenever they clashed with growth.

None of them settles the question. Each gives you a reading to test — and testing them is the work of this section.

A table of four writers and their readings: Drew Hutton and Libby Connors, A History of the Australian Environment Movement (1999), who trace how conservation groups learned to use laws, courts, elections and media and became a lasting force in Australian politics; Frank Zelko, Make It a Green Peace! (2014), who traces direct-action environmentalism across borders and places Australian campaigns inside a worldwide wave; Frank Bongiorno, The Eighties (2015), who argues the 1980s transformed Australia and reads fights like the Franklin campaign as part of that wider remaking; and Clive Hamilton, Growth Fetish (2003), the doubter, who argues growth stayed the unexamined goal and environmental appeals lost whenever they clashed with it. A footer notes that none of them settles the question — each gives a reading to test.

And one chart both sides use as evidence:



A bar chart of the Australian Greens' share of first-preference Senate votes: 13.00 per cent in 2010, noted as the balance of power with nine senators and one member; 8.70 per cent in 2013; and 8.65 per cent in 2016. A footer reads the chart both ways: the transformation reading says the rise itself proves the change, while the limits reading says what rose can also fall.

Read the chart the way historians do: as evidence for **both** readings. The rise to 13% and the balance of power is the transformation reading's best card. The slide to 8.7% is the limits reading's best card. Same bars, different weight.

4. Worked inquiry 1 — evaluating debate 1

Now watch a full evaluation being built, move by move. The paragraph below makes a **claim**, gives **evidence**, tests the **limits**, and ends with a weighed **verdict**.

Model paragraph: did the environment movement change politics?

one judgement, four moves — claim · evidence · limits · verdict

CLAIM

The environment movement changed Australian politics after 1975 more than most social movements of the era — but its deepest mark was on how politics is done, not always on what governments decide.

EVIDENCE

The record is institutional. The movement built parties — from the United Tasmania Group in 1972, generally acknowledged as the first green party to contest elections, to the Australian Greens, formed in 1992 and holding the Senate balance of power with nine senators by 2010. It built laws: from the first federal environment law of 1974 to the EPBC Act of 1999. And it shifted court power: in *Commonwealth v Tasmania* (1983), the High Court ruled 4–3 that the federal government could use its treaty duties to stop a state dam — a ruling much federal environment law still rests on.

LIMITS

But wins could be undone. Carbon pricing, begun in July 2012, was repealed within two years. The Greens' Senate vote slid from 13% in 2010 to 8.7% in 2013. And Clive Hamilton, in *Growth Fetish* (2003), argued that growth stayed the unexamined goal of Australian politics: where the environment clashed with growth, the environment usually lost.

VERDICT

So the movement's significance is real but partial. It transformed the machinery — parties, laws, courts, and protest as a recognised weapon — and made the environment a permanent arena of political combat. It has been weaker where its aims collide with economic growth.

Notice the moves: claim → dated evidence → limits → weighed verdict. Task 7 asks you to build the same shape yourself.

A colour-coded model paragraph evaluating whether the environment movement changed Australian politics: a blue claim panel arguing the movement changed politics after 1975 more than most social movements of the era, above all in how politics is done; a green evidence panel citing the parties from the United Tasmania Group of 1972 to the Australian Greens holding the Senate balance of power by 2010, the laws from the first federal environment law of 1974 to the EPBC Act of 1999, and the 4-3 High Court ruling of 1983; a red limits panel citing the repeal of carbon pricing within two years, the Greens' Senate slide from 13 per cent to 8.7 per cent, and Clive Hamilton's argument that growth usually beat the environment; and a gold verdict panel judging the movement's significance real but partial — it transformed the machinery of politics but has been weaker where its aims collide with economic growth.

Read the paragraph once for sense, then once more move by move.

Question 1 — Where is the evidence dated? *Modelled answer:* every green claim carries a date (1972, 1974, 1983, 1992, 1999, 2010). A reading without dates is an opinion; a reading with dates is an interpretation.

Question 2 — What do the limits do? *Modelled answer:* the red move does not smash the claim. It draws its walls: the machinery really changed, but the biggest prize — putting the environment ahead of growth — usually did not. That is what testing an interpretation looks like.

Question 3 — Why is the verdict “real but partial” rather than yes or no? *Modelled answer:* because the evidence genuinely runs both ways, and the honest judgement says how far the reading holds instead of forcing a yes or no that the evidence does not support.

5. Debate 2 — was the Franklin campaign a turning point?

The facts, in brief (the full story lives in section 6D): Tasmania proposed the Franklin dam in 1978; a blockade began in December 1982 and led to over 1,200 arrests; the campaign helped decide the March 1983 federal election; and on 1 July 1983 the High Court stopped the dam, four judges to three. The debate is not about what happened. It is about what kind of moment it was.

The turning-point reading. Before the campaign, there was almost no federal environment law. After it, the federal government held a new constitutional power (the external affairs power) and used it; a protest movement had marched into parliaments (Bob Brown, jailed during the blockade, won a Tasmanian seat in January 1983; by 1989 the Tasmanian Greens held five seats and the balance of power); and no government afterwards could treat the environment as a side issue.

The lucky-break reading. The win needed rare ingredients: a World Heritage listing (1982) and a sympathetic federal government (1983). Dams and clearing went on in other places. And the historian Frank Zelko places Franklin inside a worldwide wave of direct-action campaigns — on that reading the wave, not Tasmania alone, made the moment. A turning point you only get once, with luck, is not a turning point; it is a high-water mark.

Read the primary source at the centre of the turning-point reading — the words of the judgement itself.

Source A — the Tasmanian dam case, decided 1 July 1983

Commonwealth v Tasmania [1983] HCA 21 — the High Court settles the Franklin fight

*the external affairs power differs from the other powers conferred by s 51
in its capacity for almost unlimited expansion.'*

Chief Justice Gibbs, dissenting — warning how far the power could reach

genuine primary source — the words of the judgments themselves

The case

Could the federal government lawfully stop Tasmania building the Gordon-below-Franklin dam? The federal law relied on a treaty duty — Australia's membership of the World Heritage Convention — to protect the listed wilderness.

The result

By four judges to three, the court upheld the federal law under the Constitution's external affairs power (section 51(xxix)). The majority: Justices Mason, Murphy, Brennan and Deane. The dam was stopped.

Why it matters

The ruling let the federal government use international treaties as a basis for domestic law. Much of Australia's environment law still depends on this decision for its constitutional validity.

Read the quote twice, then ask: was the dissenting chief justice warning against the ruling, or describing it?

A source card for the Tasmanian dam case, Commonwealth v Tasmania, decided 1 July 1983. A framed quotation gives the dissenting words of Chief Justice Gibbs: the external affairs power differs from the other powers conferred by section 51 in its capacity for almost unlimited expansion. Three panels give the case (could the federal government lawfully stop Tasmania building the Gordon-below-Franklin dam, relying on its World Heritage Convention treaty duty), the result (four judges to three, the federal law under the external affairs power, section 51(xxix), was upheld; majority Justices Mason, Murphy, Brennan and Deane; the dam was stopped), and why it matters (the ruling let the federal government use international treaties as a basis for domestic law, and much of Australia's environment law still depends on this decision). A footer asks whether the dissenting chief justice was warning against the ruling, or describing it.

Read Gibbs's words twice. He was *against* the majority — and yet his warning is the turning-point reading's best evidence: a power with "almost unlimited expansion" is exactly the kind of change a turning point leaves behind.

Worked inquiry 2. The model paragraph below weighs the debate using the four moves.

Model paragraph: was the Franklin campaign a turning point?

one judgement, four moves — claim · evidence · limits · verdict

CLAIM

The Franklin dam campaign (1978-1983) is a fair marker of a turning point in Australian politics — less because it stopped one dam than because it changed what politics could do afterwards.

EVIDENCE

Before the campaign, there was almost no federal environment law — the first major law came only in 1974. After it, the High Court's 4-3 ruling of 1 July 1983 let the federal government protect places through its treaty duties. The movement also marched into parliament: Bob Brown, jailed during the blockade, won a Tasmanian seat in January 1983; by 1989 Tasmanian Greens held five seats and the balance of power. And the fight helped decide a national election — the incoming government in March 1983 had promised to stop the dam.

LIMITS

Yet dams and clearing went on in other places, and the win needed rare ingredients: a World Heritage listing (1982) and a sympathetic federal government (1983). The historian Frank Zelko places Franklin inside a worldwide wave of direct-action campaigns — on that reading the wave, not Tasmania alone, made the moment possible. Later campaigns have lost as well as won.

VERDICT

So Franklin stands as a turning point in political method and constitutional power — protest, treaty law and elections working as one machine — rather than an end point. After 1983, no government could treat the environment as a side issue again.

Notice how the limits do not smash the claim — they draw its walls. That is the skill task 8 asks you to copy.

A colour-coded model paragraph weighing whether the Franklin campaign was a turning point: a blue claim panel arguing it is a fair marker of a turning point, less because it stopped one dam than because it changed what politics could do afterwards; a green evidence panel citing the near-absence of federal environment law before 1974, the 4-3 ruling of 1 July 1983, Bob Brown jailed during the blockade and elected in January 1983, the Tasmanian Greens' five seats and balance of power by 1989, and the campaign helping decide the March 1983 election; a red limits panel citing dams and clearing continuing in other places, the rare ingredients of a World Heritage listing and a sympathetic government, and Frank Zelko's worldwide-wave reading; and a gold verdict panel judging Franklin a turning point in political method and constitutional power rather than an end point — after 1983, no government could treat the environment as a side issue again.

Question 1 — Which evidence is about *method*, not just *result*? *Modelled answer:* the arrests, the election, the jail term, the seats — protest, treaty law and elections working as one machine. Stopping one dam is a result; changing how campaigns can win is a method.

Question 2 — What does the limits move concede without losing the argument? *Modelled answer:* it concedes the win was rare and partly lucky — and then argues the *method* survived the luck. Limits that draw walls instead of smashing the claim keep the verdict honest.

Question 3 — Whose interpretation is Zelko's, and what does it change? *Modelled answer:* Zelko's is a global historian's reading: Franklin as one crest of a worldwide wave. It does not kill the turning-point reading; it relocates it — from "Tasmania changed Australia" to "Australia changed with the world".

6. Debate 3 — an Australian story, or a global one?

The big question says "a major **global** influence, development or event ... including on Australian society". So here is the third debate: is the environment movement's significance an Australian story, or a global one that reached Australia?

Read the global side's primary source first — the treaty itself.

Source B — the World Heritage Convention, Article 4 (1972)

the treaty duty the federal government used to stop the Franklin dam

Each State Party to this Convention recognizes that the duty of ensuring the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission to future generations of the cultural and natural heritage ... situated on its territory, belongs primarily to that State.'

Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, UNESCO, adopted 16 November 1972

genuine primary source — the treaty text itself (Australia ratified it 22 August 1974)

The document

An international treaty adopted by UNESCO in 1972. Countries that join it promise to protect listed natural and cultural places — not just for themselves, but for future generations.

The Australian link

Australia joined the treaty in 1974. In 1982 the Tasmanian Wilderness was listed — the fact the federal government used to block the dam in 1983.

Why it matters

A global promise became a domestic weapon. Without this treaty there would have been no legal base for the federal law that stopped the dam — the subject of Source A.

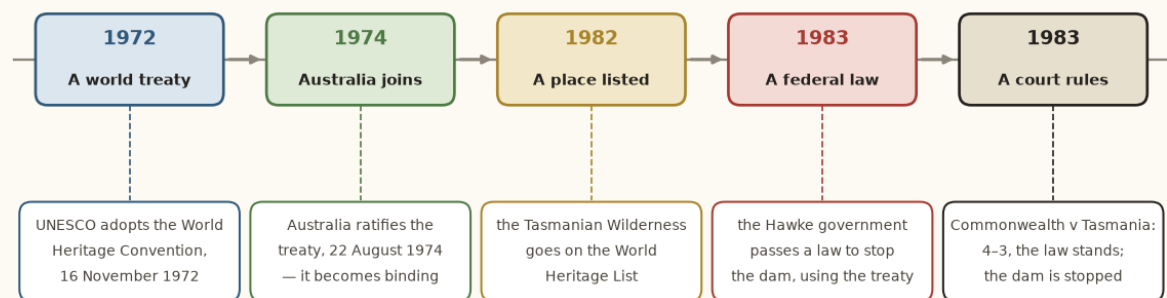
Read the quote twice, then ask: what does it mean to owe a duty to people who are not born yet?

A source card for Article 4 of the World Heritage Convention of 1972. A framed quotation gives the treaty's words: each State Party recognizes that the duty of ensuring the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission to future generations of the cultural and natural heritage situated on its territory belongs primarily to that State. Panels give the document (an international treaty adopted by UNESCO in 1972, in which countries promise to protect listed places for future generations), the Australian link (Australia joined the treaty in 1974; in 1982 the Tasmanian Wilderness was listed — the fact the federal government used to block the dam in 1983), and why it matters (a global promise became a domestic weapon; without the treaty there would have been no legal base for the federal law that stopped the dam). A footer asks what it means to owe a duty to people who are not born yet.

Now the chain that connects the world to Tasmania:

Debate 3: a global chain runs through Tasmania

five links, 1972–1983 — a world treaty becomes the reason a state dam stops



Global reading: without the treaty, no case. Local reading: without the blockade and the votes, no government action.

Historians argue about which link did the most work — that argument is debate 3.

A five-link chain diagram for debate 3, 1972 to 1983: 1972, a world treaty — UNESCO adopts the World Heritage Convention on 16 November 1972; 1974, Australia joins — Australia ratifies the treaty on 22 August 1974 and it becomes binding; 1982, a place listed — the Tasmanian Wilderness goes on the World Heritage List; 1983, a federal law — the Hawke government passes a law to stop the dam, using the treaty; 1983, a court rules — Commonwealth v Tasmania, 4-3, the law stands and the dam is stopped. A footer gives the two readings: global reading, without the treaty no case; local reading, without the blockade and the votes no government action — and notes that historians argue about which link did the most work.

The global reading. Without link 1, no link 5. The power the High Court upheld in 1983 was a treaty power; the listing that made the treaty bite was a world listing; the movement itself — Greenpeace, worldwide campaigns — crossed borders. On this reading, Australia is a case study in a global story.

The Australian reading. Without the blockade, the votes and the election, no federal government would have acted in 1983. Treaties sit unsigned unless local people make them matter; the UTG was a Tasmanian invention before it was a world first. On this reading, the global tools were real, but the work was Australian.

Task C (scaffolded). Copy the five links into your book. Label each link *global*, *Australian*, or *both*, with a one-line reason. Then answer: which single link did the most work? Give one answer for each reading, and say which of the two you find stronger and why.

7. Weighing the debates — significance by criteria

Significance — how much something matters in history — is judged by criteria, not by volume. The five criteria section 8C teaches do the weighing here: **importance** (whose affairs did it change, and how much?), **profundity** (how deep did the change reach?), **quantity** (how many people were touched?), **durability** (how long did the effects last?) and **relevance** (does it still shape the present?).

Weighing significance: five criteria, one movement

the criteria section 8C teaches, applied to the environment movement's political record

Criterion	What it asks	The movement's record
Importance	Whose affairs did it change, and how much?	It changed what parliaments, courts and parties do — the federal government gained a new way to protect places after 1983.
Profundity	How deep did the change reach?	Deep enough to shift constitutional power (the dam case) and put new parties into the balance of power.
Quantity	How many people were touched?	Over 1,200 arrests in one blockade; 17.1% of Tasmanian votes in 1989; 13% of the Senate vote in 2010.
Durability	How long did the effects last?	Contested: the EPBC Act has stood since 1999 — but carbon pricing, begun in 2012, was repealed within two years.
Relevance	Does it still shape the present?	Yes — climate and environment policy remain central arguments in Australian politics today.

Durability is where the debate lives: some of the movement's changes have lasted decades, and some were undone in years.

A table applying the five significance criteria to the environment movement's political record: importance — it changed what parliaments, courts and parties do, with the federal government gaining a new way to protect places after 1983; profundity — deep enough to shift constitutional power in the dam case and put new parties into the balance of power; quantity — over 1,200 arrests in one blockade, 17.1 per cent of Tasmanian votes in 1989, 13 per cent of the Senate vote in 2010; durability — contested, because the EPBC Act has stood since 1999 but carbon pricing, begun in 2012, was repealed within two years; relevance — yes, climate and environment policy remain central arguments in Australian politics today. A footer notes that durability is where the debate lives: some changes lasted decades, some were undone in years.

Notice where the debate lives: **durability**. Importance, profundity and relevance run mostly one way; durability runs both. That is exactly what a good historical debate looks like — not a fight over facts, but a fight over which facts weigh most.

Both sides, steelmanned. Before you judge, give each side its strongest say.

The movement transformed Australian politics	The movement was absorbed, and changed less than it looks
It built lasting machines: the world's first green party (1972), the Australian Greens holding the Senate balance of power (2010), and the EPBC Act (1999) still standing.	The Greens' Senate vote fell from 13% (2010) to under 9% (2013), and carbon pricing was repealed within two years — what rose can fall, and did.
It shifted constitutional power: after the 4–3 dam case of 1983, the federal government could protect places through its treaty duties — a power Gibbs CJ called capable of “almost unlimited expansion”.	The big goal never changed: Hamilton argues growth stayed the unexamined aim, and where the environment clashed with growth, the environment usually lost.
It made the environment a permanent arena: after 1983 no government could treat it as a side issue, and climate policy still sits at the centre of Australian politics.	Absorption, not transformation: the movement got a party and a portfolio, and politics went on as before — Zelko's global wave, not local skill, explains the wins.

Task D (scaffolded). Pick **one** of the three debates. Using the criteria table, write two sentences for it: one sentence awarding the debate's stronger side its best criterion (and naming the criterion), and one sentence awarding the weaker side its best criterion. Then state, in a third sentence, which criterion you think should weigh most — and why.

8. Practice tasks

Scaffolded tasks — work with the supports provided.

1. **Date the evidence.** Match each event to its year: UTG formed at Hobart; Australia ratifies the World Heritage Convention; the reef heritage listed; the Franklin blockade begins; the High Court stops the dam; Tasmanian Greens hold the balance of power; the Australian Greens formed; the EPBC Act passed; Rudd ratifies Kyoto; carbon pricing begins; carbon pricing repealed. Years: 1974, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1989, 1992, 1999, 2007, 2012, 2014, 1972.
2. **Sort the sources.** For Sources A and B in this section (the judgement; the treaty):
 - (a) primary or secondary? (b) who made it, and when? (c) one thing each source is strong evidence *for*, and one thing it cannot tell you.
3. **Steelman check.** Return to your predictions from Task A. For each debate, write the strongest single sentence for each side — the way the steelman diagram in part 3 and the table in part 7 do. Mark where your predictions were right and wrong.
4. **Move-spotting.** List the four moves of the model paragraphs in order. Which move do the figures colour red, and why does red suit it? Which move does the verdict in part 5 borrow from Gibbs's dissent, and how?
5. **Criteria from memory.** Write the five criteria and their questions from memory; then check against the table in part 7 and correct your errors. Circle the criterion where the movement's record runs both ways.
6. **Complete the chain.** Copy the five-link chain from part 6 from memory, then fill in the dates; check against the figure and correct your errors. Label each link *global*, *Australian* or *both*.

Unscaffolded tasks — no supports; build your answer from scratch.

7. Evaluate the competing interpretations of how significant the environment movement has been for Australian politics since 1975. Use the four moves from part 4, at least three dated pieces of evidence and at least one limit.
 8. Was the Franklin campaign a turning point in Australian politics? Use both readings from part 5 and at least one primary source from this section. End with a weighed verdict, not a yes or no.
 9. An Australian story or a global one? Choose **one** link of the chain in part 6 and argue both readings of it at full strength; then judge which reading better explains why the dam was stopped.
 10. Name one way the environment movement **changed** Australian politics between 1972 and 2014, and one way Australian politics **stayed the same** across those years. Explain each in one or two sentences, and say which of the two facts weighs more in your judgement.
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9. Source-based inquiry

Read the two sources, then answer the questions below them.

Source 1 — primary source, quoted verbatim from the original treaty. World Heritage Convention (Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage), Article 4, adopted 16 November 1972: "Each State Party to this Convention recognizes that the duty of ensuring the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission to future generations of the cultural and natural heritage ... situated on its territory, belongs primarily to that State." (*Original treaty text; see the source card in part 6.*)

Source 2 — primary source, quoted from the original decision. Commonwealth v Tasmania [1983] HCA 21, decided 1 July 1983. Dissenting, Chief Justice Gibbs warned that "the external affairs power differs from the other powers conferred by s 51 in its capacity for almost unlimited expansion." The majority (Justices Mason, Murphy, Brennan and Deane) upheld the federal law by four votes to three, and the dam was stopped. (*Original judgement; see the source card in part 5.*)

1. **Formulate:** write two historical questions that Source 1 could help you answer, and one question that needs Source 2 as well.

2. **Infer:** what does Source 1 assume about who the heritage belongs to, and who it is owed to? What does Source 2 assume about how far a treaty should reach into a country's own laws?
3. **Context:** Source 1 was written in 1972 for the whole world; Source 2 was written in 1983 for one dam in Tasmania. Explain how a global promise and a local fight produced one High Court case.
4. **Perspective:** whose interests does each source protect? Whose voices are missing from a treaty and a judgement? (Think about who was in the room when each was made, and what kind of record a court or a conference leaves behind.)
5. **Evaluate:** taken together, do these two sources support the global reading or the Australian reading of debate 3? Write a short evaluation using the four moves from part 4, and say which reading the *pair* of sources supports better than either source alone.

What to look for

Score student work against the band achievement standard (Level 9–10): students analyse the features, content and context of sources; identify the perspectives that individuals and groups held; connect short- and long-term causes with intended and unintended consequences; and judge historical significance by criteria. For this strand, that evaluating is aimed at interpretations: the three debates are claims to weigh, not facts to repeat. Mark the reasoning, not the conclusion. Expected responses below are a guide, not a script.

- **Big question and definitions (part 1):** student can say what an interpretation is in their own words, and can predict evidence for each debate — predictions are checked, not marked.
- **Record of change (part 2):** student reads the timeline as evidence, not just events — at least three dated firsts, and the 2012–14 repeal named as a limit rather than ignored. The Franklin narrative is not retold here (reserved to 6D); dated facts used as evidence are correct.
- **Debate 1 (part 3, .E04):** both readings are steelmanned at equal depth before judging; the vote chart is used as evidence for both sides; at least one of Hutton & Connors, Zelko, Bongiorno or Hamilton is used as a secondary source with a named reading.
- **Worked inquiry 1 (part 4, .E04):** student can name all four moves, explain why evidence is dated, and accept “real but partial” as a judgement rather than a fudge.
- **Debate 2 (part 5, .E04):** the dam case is handled as a primary source; Gibbs's dissent is used as evidence *for* the turning-point reading (a warning that describes the change); Zelko's global-wave reading is stated fairly before being weighed.
- **Debate 3 (part 6, .E03–.E04):** the treaty is handled as a primary source with a global audience; the chain is labelled link by link, and “which link did the most work” gets one answer per reading before a personal judgement.
- **Weighing (part 7, .E04):** the five criteria are used by name; durability is identified as the contested criterion; the two-sides table is used to steelman before judging.
- **Practice and inquiry (parts 8–9):** evaluations show the four moves with dated evidence; source sorting is accurate (treaty and judgement primary; the model paragraphs and the four books secondary); task 7 tracks the elaboration .E04 almost word for word; task 10 links the debates to continuity and change without retelling the 6D narrative.

Cross-links: the Franklin dam narrative is taught in section 6D; skills sections 7B–7F (sources, perspectives) and 8A–8D (continuity and change, causes and consequences, significance criteria, sustained interpretation) supply the tools this section applies.