



ATAR course examination, 2024

MODERN HISTORY

SOURCE BOOKLET

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Set 1: Elective 1: Australia 1918–1955**Source 1**

(A cartoon entitled 'Lest we forget ... our Aboriginal diggers too' by Sean Leahy, published in The Courier Mail on 25 April 1991.)



AUSTRALIAN WAR MEMORIAL

ART90081

Source 2

(An Aboriginal soldier (circled) is pictured marching with his 8th Division battalion, c. 1939.)



AUSTRALIAN WAR MEMORIAL

P01073.002

See next page

Source 3

(An extract from Sir Robert Menzies' election (campaign) speech, delivered at Camberwell, Victoria on 20 August 1946.)

The Liberal Party stands for good wages and conditions; for the prompt re-examination of the Basic Wage by the Arbitration Court, the wage-pegging regulations being relaxed to include any new basic wage so determined; for the provision of adequate tribunals for the timely rectification of grievances; for incentive payments beyond the minimum; for profit sharing wherever it is practicable; for ample security against unemployment and old age and sickness; for a close, generous and friendly contact between employer and employee; for a fair day's work for a fair day's pay. It believes in Trade Unionism and in the protection by law of the rights secured by wage-earners. And, because it believes in all these things, it stands for a fair industrial law which will be enforced without fear, favour or greaten¹, against employer and employee alike.

We reject the idea that industrial arbitration and direct action can live side by side. Law and lawlessness are irreconcilable. The time has come, in this country where the rule of law is so frequently attacked, for law-abiding people to defend the law.

¹ greaten – enlargement

Source 4

(The description of Stuart Macintyre's book, 'The Party: The Communist Party of Australia from Heyday to Reckoning', published in 2022. Macintyre was Professor of History at the University of Melbourne.)

The long-awaited second volume in Stuart Macintyre's definitive history of the Communist Party of Australia. Communism was unlike any other political movement Australia has ever seen. At its peak in the 1940s, unions led by communists could call a strike that paralysed the nation, and communists influenced the highest level of government, and commanded the unswerving loyalty of thousands. It showed working men and women they could have a better life, and gave them the tools to achieve it.

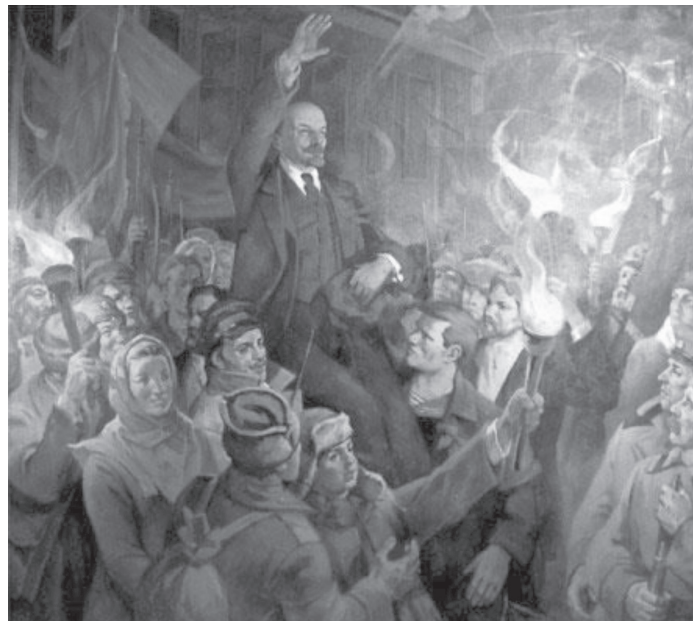
Stuart Macintyre reveals how sources of strength in the party's heyday became the undoing of the party over the following two decades. Unconditional support for the Soviet model broke down as the horrors of Stalinism were revealed. Public support for the party eroded during a series of strikes, and hostility from mainstream politics and security services took a toll. But for those who remained, the comradeship and intense political engagement are the strongest memories.

Set 2: Elective 2: Russia and the Soviet Union 1914–1945**Source 1**

(A political cartoon, entitled 'At Last,' published in The Worker, 22 March 1917.)

**Source 2**

(A painting by the Soviet artist, Arkadii Viktorovich Rusin, entitled 'Lenin at the Finland-Station', painted in 1970, depicting Lenin's arrival in Petrograd in the spring of 1917.)



See next page

Source 3

(A summary of the Russian Revolution from a text called Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution by V.I. Lenin, originally published in Pravda, 14 October 1921.)

What were the chief manifestations, survivals, remnants of serfdom in Russia up to 1917? The monarchy, the system of social estates, landed proprietorship and land tenure, the status of women, religion, and national oppression. Take any one of these Augean stables¹ ... and you will see that we have cleansed them thoroughly. In a matter of ten weeks, from October 25 (November 7), 1917 to January 5, 1918, when the Constituent Assembly was dissolved, we accomplished a thousand times more in this respect than was accomplished by the bourgeois democrats and liberals (the Cadets²) and by the petty-bourgeois democrats (the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries) during the eight months they were in power ... We tore out the deep-seated roots of the social-estate system, namely, the remnants of feudalism and serfdom in the system of landownership, to the last. 'One may argue' (there are plenty of quill-drivers³, Cadets, Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries abroad to indulge in such arguments) as to what 'in the long run' will be the outcome of the agrarian reform effected by the Great October Revolution ... But the fact cannot be denied that the petty-bourgeois democrats 'compromised' with the landowners, the custodians of the traditions of serfdom, for eight months, while we completely swept the landowners and all their traditions from Russian soil in a few weeks.

¹ Augean stables – an extremely filthy or corrupt place

² Cadets – kadets

³ quill-drivers – people who write a lot

Source 4

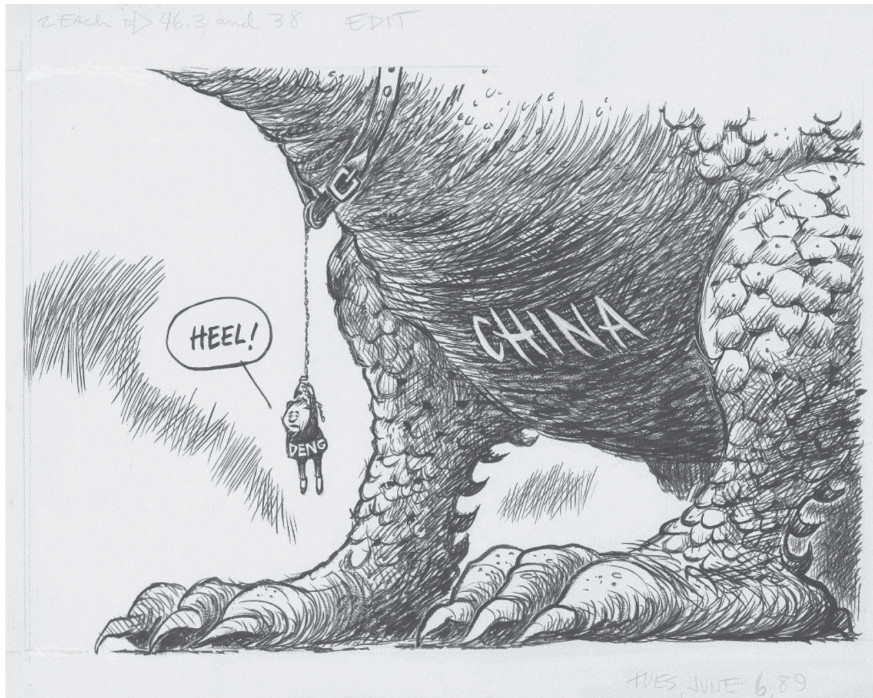
(An extract from Orlando Figes' book entitled Revolutionary Russia, 1891–1991 published in the United Kingdom in 2014. Figes was Professor of History at the University of London.)

Retribution and revenge were powerful revolutionary impulses. For the vast majority of the Russian people the ending of all social privilege was the basic principle of the revolution. By giving institutional forms this war on privilege, the Bolsheviks were able to draw on the revolutionary energies ... from the poor who derived satisfaction from seeing the rich and mighty destroyed, regardless of whether it brought about any improvement in their own lot. The Soviet policy of forcing the old wealthy classes to share their spacious houses with the urban poor or to do such menial jobs as clearing snow or rubbish from the streets had a popular appeal. As Trotsky put it, 'For centuries our fathers and grandfathers have been cleaning up the dirt and filth of the ruling classes, but now we will make them clean up our dirt. We must make life so uncomfortable for them that they will lose their desire to remain bourgeois.' The Bolsheviks portrayed the burzhooi¹ as 'parasites' and 'enemies of the people'. They encouraged terror on a massive scale to destroy the bourgeoisie.

¹ burzhooi – bourgeoisie

Set 3: Elective 3: China 1935–1989**Source 1**

(A cartoon by Etta Hulme, entitled 'Heel' published in the Fort Worth Star-Telegram (Texas), June 6, 1989.)

**Source 2**

(A poster, with the caption underneath reading: 'The General Architect of China's Reform and Opening up, and of Modernisation, Deng Xiaoping.' Published in the 1980s, source unknown.)



See next page

Source 3

(Excerpt from Deng Xiaoping's Remarks on Successive Drafts of the 'Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China' (the document adopted by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party that assessed the legacy of the Mao Zedong era and the party's priorities moving forward), written in 1981.)

The document should cover three main points:

First, affirmation of the historical role of Comrade Mao Zedong and explanation of the necessity to uphold and develop Mao Zedong Thought. This is the most essential point. We must hold high the banner of Mao Zedong Thought not only today but in the future ... The appraisal of Comrade Mao and Mao Zedong Thought is a matter of great concern both inside and outside the Party, both at home and abroad ... The second main point should be an analysis, in the same spirit, of the rights and wrongs in the major events of the 30 years since the founding of New China, including a fair evaluation of the merits and demerits of some leading comrades.

Third, there should be a basic summary of our past work ... The purpose of summing up the past is to encourage people to close ranks and look to the future. We should try to ensure that when this resolution is adopted, the thinking of Party members and non-Party alike will be clarified, common views will be reached and, by and large, debate on the major historical questions will come to an end.

Source 4

(Excerpt from the book, 'China Under Mao: A Revolution Derailed' by Andrew Walder, published in 2015. Walder is a professor at Stanford University.)

The Cultural Revolution ... mobilised a mass insurgency that targeted bureaucratic structures from below. For almost two years, students and eventually industrial workers were given nearly free rein to form organisations to criticise and 'drag out' officials who, in their view, exhibited tendencies that marked them as revisionists. This aspect of the Cultural Revolution bore a certain resemblance to Mao's insistence on 'open-door rectification' of the party in 1956 and 1957. But in 1957 Mao did not sanction independent organisations, or even the removal of individual officials by 'the masses'. Mao's assessment of the party was fundamentally different than in 1957, when he believed that well-meaning criticism by ordinary citizens of individual cadres was sufficient to rectify the party's problems. The threat of evolution toward revisionism was now so serious, in his view, that only a massive mobilisation that cleansed the party of revisionists, smashed the bureaucratic machinery, and trained a new generation of revolutionary successors could prevent China from taking the Soviet road.

Set 4: Elective 1: The changing European world since 1945

Source 1

(Excerpt from an article 'CIA Sees Soviet Arms Outlay Rising, SALT or Not' by George C. Wilson, published in the Washington Post, 27 June, 1978.)

The Central Intelligence Agency yesterday discouraged any idea that a new US-Soviet strategic arms agreement would enable both superpowers to reduce defence spending.

'Conclusion of a SALT II agreement along the lines currently being discussed would not, in itself, slow the growth of Soviet defence spending significantly', predicted the CIA in the unclassified version of a report submitted to the Joint Economic Committee.

Since the Carter administration has repeatedly pledged to keep up with the Soviet Union militarily, the view from the CIA is for higher and higher defense budgets in both nations, strategic arms agreement or not.

Source 2

(A chart showing military spending by the USSR and the US, 1962–1982)

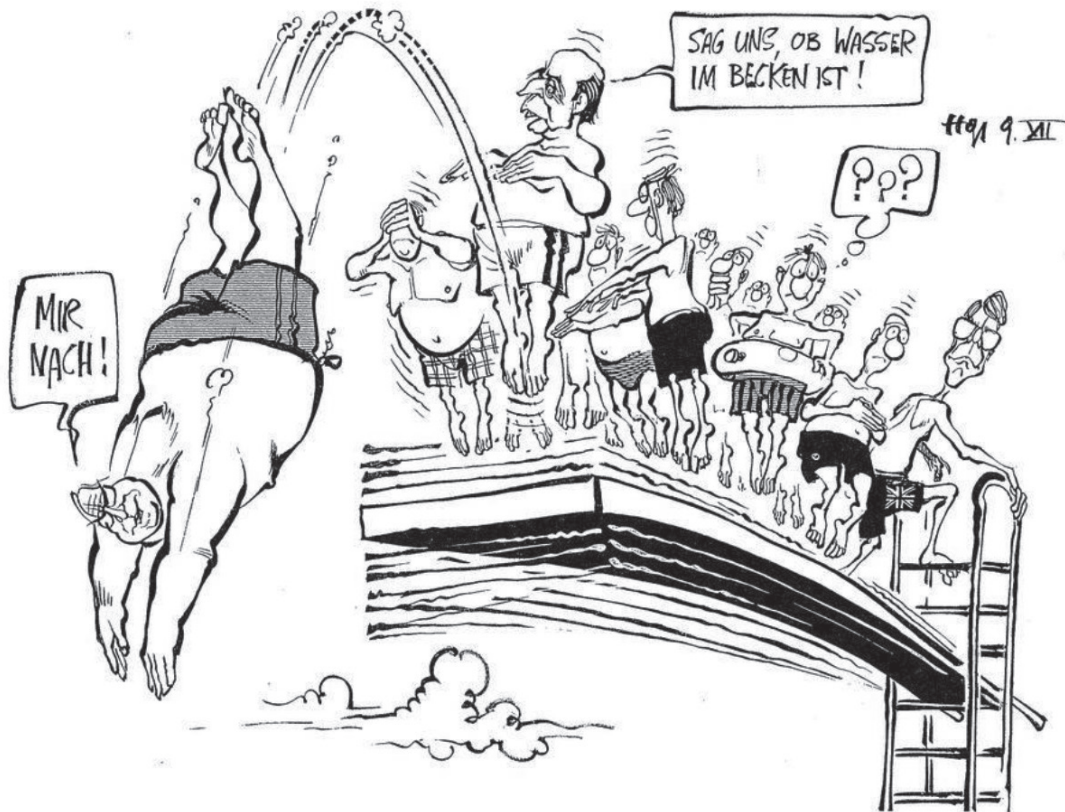


'Constant dollars' refer to a method of adjusting nominal currency figures to account for inflation, thus providing a clearer picture of economic value over time.

See next page

Source 3

(A German cartoon, published on 9 December, 1991, entitled 'Maastricht Swimming Pool'.)



Helmut Kohl is pictured diving off the platform saying 'Follow Me!' with Francois Mitterrand saying 'Let us know if there's any water in the pool.' John Major is at the end of the line, near the ladder.

Source 4

(An excerpt from a speech by Jürgen Stark, Vice President of the Deutsche Bundesbank, in London, on 3 June, 2003, entitled 'Reflections on the Maastricht process from one of the Architects'.)

Those who saw EMU¹ as the driving force behind political integration have been disappointed ... political integration has not moved forward ... In fact, the opposite has happened; considerable damage has been done to the image of a common European foreign and security policy.

It was clear to those who are familiar with European processes that there is no automatic spin-off from one integration move to the next. Political ambition and political leadership are needed but are sadly lacking – with the result that national interests have moved back to the fore ...

It is disappointing to find that national interests are causing economic policy coordination to work less well than it might ... The responsibility that policy has of ensuring the 'smooth functioning' of EMU is hardly being exercised. The solidarity and discipline needed with regard to the single currency is lacking. There is little respect for the fact that, in a monetary union, parliamentary sovereignty and national governmental powers are de facto limited. In a monetary union, common rules must be applied and observed.

¹ EMU – Economic and Monetary Union

Set 5: Elective 2: Australia’s engagement with Asia

Source 1

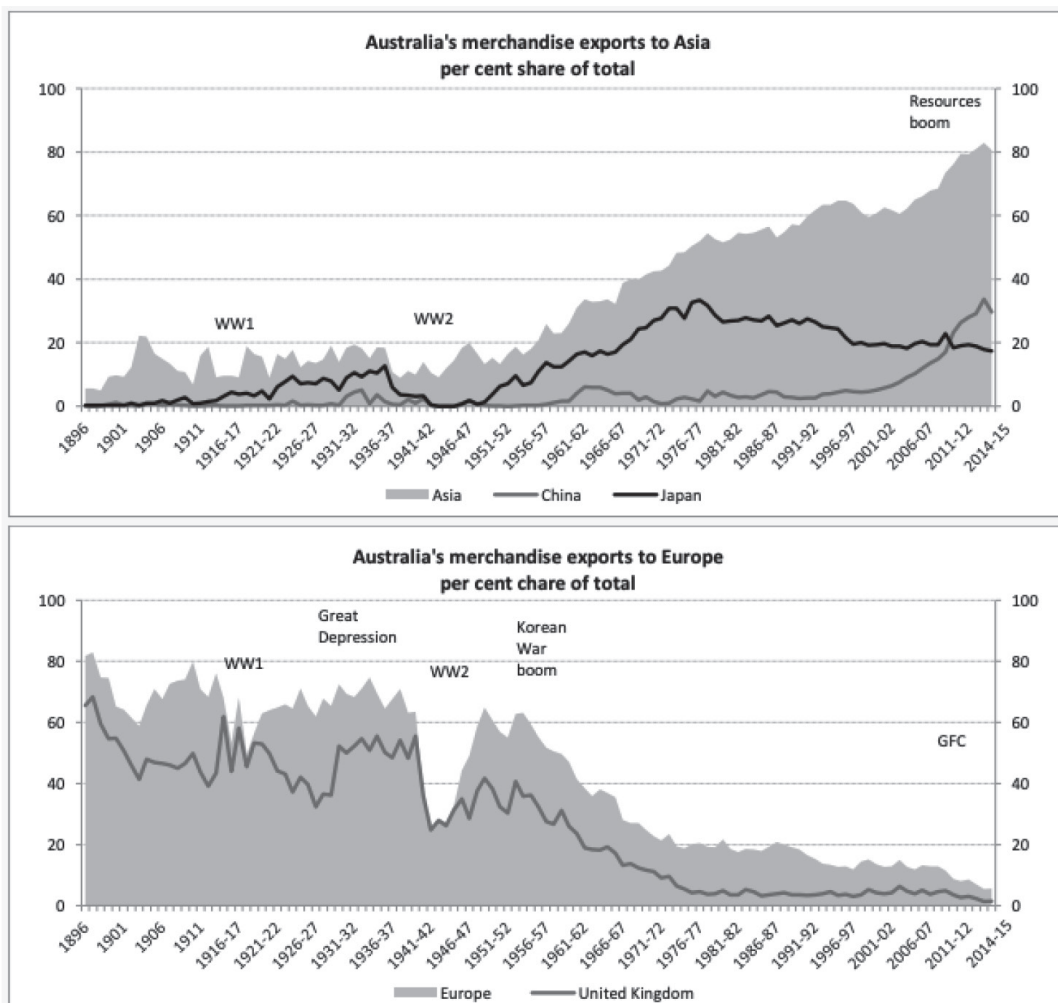
(An extract from an article entitled ‘Japanese Trade Agreement’, published in the Canberra Times on 8 July 1957, announcing the signing of the Australia-Japan Trade Agreement on Commerce.)

There was a somewhat uneasy trade relationship [with Japan] when war intervened, and Australia was one of the countries which felt most deeply about Japanese war crimes. Nevertheless, a better sentiment has been developed between the two countries than most people would have believed possible five years ago, and the test of the strength of post-war relations lies in the ability of both countries to come to terms in trade ...

Apart from the improved sentiment that made the trade agreement possible, there were trade reasons on both sides ... The agreement is satisfactory to primary industry in Australia ... [and] Japan has been put on the basis of equality with other foreign countries [in customs duties] ... this implies that a substantial flow of Japanese goods will be entering Australia ... It has been agreed that Australia will have special rights which may be invoked ... [Although] there are natural fears and misgivings in Australia ... the new agreement will stand out as a milestone not only to more assured trade between the two countries, but as a notable step in Pacific relations.

Source 2

(Graphs from a Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade fact sheet entitled Australia’s Trade Since Federation, published in June 2016.)



See next page

Source 3

(A cartoon by Simon Kneebone that appeared in the TAPOL Bulletin No.100, in August 1990. TAPOL is a UK-based organisation that campaigns for human rights, peace and democracy in Indonesia. Australian Prime Minister Hawke is pictured sitting on an oil drum labelled, Timor Gap Oil.)

**Source 4**

(An extract from an article entitled 'Bob Hawke's Asia Legacy' published on 24 May 2019 in The Interpreter, by the Lowy Institute. The author, David Epstein, was a non-executive director of Asia Society, a not-for-profit organisation whose purpose is to foster shared futures with Asia; he was also a Ministerial Advisor to the Hawke and Keating governments.)

Bob Hawke's approach to Asia when prime minister is oft overshadowed ... Hawke inherited ... a platform from Opposition ... [that] eschewed¹ playing a subordinate role in the US alliance ... Hawke came to believe Australia could balance a more nuanced international outlook and pursue closer engagement with near neighbours ... Hawke worked ... to carve out credibility for Australia as a middle-power that could work within multilateral frameworks, [and] sometimes be instrumental in building them, often to pragmatic effect in trade development ... it was under Hawke that APEC² developed momentum ...

Such motivations were reflected in Hawke's approach to China ... capitalising on a [first] visit to Australia by Zhao Ziyang in April 1983, initiated by Malcolm Fraser, Hawke worked hard to build personal bonds ... and foster bilateral economic relationships with China. Zhao's was the first of several leadership visits by both sides [until 1989] ... Despite the strains Tiananmen triggered, Australia restored the momentum of growing enmeshment with China ... Hawke's efforts ... only affirm his immense capacity for relationship building and negotiation ...

¹ eschewed – avoided

² APEC – Asia-Pacific Economic Corporation

Set 6: Elective 3: The struggle for peace in the Middle East

Source 1

(An excerpt from a statement released by the US President, Harry S. Truman, on October 22, 1948.)

On May 14, 1948, this country recognised the existence of the independent State of Israel ... Proceedings are now taking place in the United Nations looking toward an amicable settlement of the conflicting positions of the parties in Palestine. In the interests of peace this work must go forward. A plan has been submitted which provides a basis for a renewed effort to bring about a peaceful adjustment of differences. It is hoped that by using this plan as a basis of negotiation, the conflicting claims of the parties can be settled. With reference to the granting of a loan or loans to the State of Israel, I have directed the departments and agencies of the executive branch of our Government to work together in expediting the consideration of any applications for loans which may be submitted by the State of Israel. It is my hope that such financial aid will soon be granted and that it will contribute substantially to the long-term development and stability of the Near East.

Source 2

(A graph from a 2010 report by the United States Congressional Research Service entitled US Foreign Assistance to the Middle East: Historical Background, Recent Trends, and the FY2011 Request)

Table 11. Total U.S. Assistance to the Middle East: 1971-2001

(loans and grants; current year \$ in millions)

Country/Region	Economic	Military	Total
Israel	28,402.9	50,505.7	78,908.6
Egypt	25,095.8	27,607.0	52,702.8
Jordan	2,440.1	2,137.2	4,577.3
Lebanon	470.5	273.7	744.2
Palestinians	703.4	0.0	703.4
Syria	539.0	0.0	539.0
Total Near East (including other recipients not listed)	62,449.8	82,519.2	144,969.0

Source: U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), Overseas Loans and Grants, *Obligations and Loan Authorizations July 1, 1945 - September 30, 2001*. The report is commonly known at USAID as "The Greenbook."

Source 3

(A political cartoon by Edmund Valtman, published in the Times Union of Albany, New York state, on 9 November 1978. It shows Egyptian President, Anwar Sadat, atop a camel heading towards a dove with an olive branch in its beak, ignoring Arab oil money being offered to him.)



' HE ISN'T EVEN LOOKING THIS WAY !'

Source 4

(An extract from a discussion paper from the United Nations University World Institute for Development Economics Research, entitled *Economic Aspects of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict: The Collapse of the Oslo Accord*, published in October 2002.)

Since October 2000, Israel and the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza Strip have become entangled in a bloody confrontation that claimed thousands of casualties from both sides. After countless efforts at mediation by the international community, the crisis has shown no sign of abating. In fact its intensity has been continuously heightened by the dynamics of escalation from one side and counter-escalation from the other side. This has shattered the hopes for peaceful resolution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict that were raised by the signing of the Oslo Accord in 1993.

The attempt of the international community to put an end to the violence and rescue the Oslo Accord proved to be a futile effort because the Accord itself is flawed and cannot be resurrected. The Accord, as well as the present international efforts led by US to put life into it, failed to address two central issues of the conflict: the Palestinian right to sovereignty over their land and their right to free their economy from its colonial dependency on the Israeli economy. Not recognising the centrality of these two issues, the Oslo Accord and the present international efforts at reviving it, deal with symptoms of the conflict (violence) and ignore its cause (sovereignty).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Set 1: Elective 1: Australia 1918–1955

- Source 1** Leahy, S. (1991, April 25). *Lest We Forget...Our Aboriginal Diggers Too* [Cartoon]. Retrieved May, 2024, from <https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C271375>
Used under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 3.0 Australia licence.
- Source 2** Adapted from: *Soldiers From one of the 8th Division Infantry Battalions on a Route March. An Aboriginal ...* [Photograph]. (c. 1939). Retrieved May, 2024, from <https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C203218>
- Source 3** Menzies, R. (1946, August 20). *Election Speeches: Robert Menzies*. Retrieved May, 2024, from <https://electionspeeches.moadoph.gov.au/speeches/1946-robert-menzies>
- Source 4** Allen & Unwin. (2022). *The Party*. Retrieved May, 2024, from <https://www.allenandunwin.com/browse/book/Stuart-Macintyre-Party-9781760875183>

Set 2: Elective 2: Russia and the Soviet Union 1914–1945

- Source 1** Case, J. (1917, March 22). At Last [Cartoon]. *The Worker*. Retrieved May, 2024, from <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/71040235/6672924>
- Source 2** Rusin, A. V. (1970). *Lenin at the Finland-Station* [Painting]. Retrieved May, 2024, from <https://soviethistory.msu.edu/1917-2/april-crisis/april-crisis-images/#bwg4/193>
- Source 3** Lenin, V. I. (1921). Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution in Skvirsky, D. & Hanna, G. (Eds). *V. I. Lenin Collected Works Volume 33* (pp .52–53). Progress Publishers. Retrieved May, 2024, from <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/cw/pdf/lenin-cw-vol-33.pdf>
- Source 4** Figes, O. (2014). *Revolutionary Russia, 1891–1991*. Penguin Books, p. 139.

Set 3: Elective 3: China 1935–1989

- Source 1** Hulme, E. (1989, June 6). Heel [Cartoon]. *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*. Retrieved May, 2024, from <https://libraries.uta.edu/ettahulme/image/20108177>
Used under Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International licence.
- Source 2** *The General Architect of China's Reform and Opening up, and of Modernisation, Deng Xiaoping* [Poster]. (early 1980s). Retrieved May, 2024, from <https://chineseposters.net/posters/e13-734>

Source 3 Adapted from: Xiaoping, D. (1980, March to 1981, June). Remarks on Successive Drafts of the “Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People’s Republic of China”. Murphy, J. B. *Selected Works Vol. 2*. Retrieved May, 2024, from <https://dengxiaopingworks.wordpress.com/2013/02/25/remarks-on-successive-drafts-of-the-resolution-on-certain-questions-in-the-history-of-our-party-since-the-founding-of-the-peoples-republic-of-china/>

Source 4 CHINA UNDER MAO: A REVOLUTION DERAILED by Andrew G. Walder, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, Copyright © 2015 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College. Used by permission. All rights reserved.

Set 4: Elective 1: The changing European world since 1945

Source 1 Wilson, G. C. (1978). CIA Sees Soviet Arms Outlay Rising, SALT or Not. *The Washington Post*. Retrieved May, 2024, from <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1978/06/27/cia-sees-soviet-arms-outlay-rising-salt-or-not/7381aaaf-b380-49a4-b3fd-1714f260d727/>

Source 2 United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. (1982, August 31). Defense Spending (Chart 1) [Graph]. *World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers 1971–1980* (p. 4). Retrieved May, 2024, from <https://web.archive.org/web/20170321225529/https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/185661.pdf>

Source 3 Haitzinger, H. (1991, December 9). *Maastrichter Freibad* [Cartoon]. Retrieved May, 2024, from https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/cartoon_by_haitzinger_on_the_maastricht_european_council_9_december_1991-en-d0cac658-02e1-46ae-bd50-ed279c5a9244.html

Source 4 Stark, J. (2003, June 3). *Reflections on the Maastricht Process from one of the Architects* [Speech]. Retrieved May, 2024, from <https://www.bis.org/review/r030606f.pdf>

Set 5: Elective 2: Australia’s engagement with Asia

Source 1 Japanese Trade Agreement. (1957). *The Canberra Times*. Retrieved May, 2024, from <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/91592978?searchTerm=japanese%20trade%20agreement>

Source 2 Bingham, F. (2016, June). Australia’s Merchandise Exports to Asia [Graph]. *Australia’s Trade Since Federation* (p. 8). Retrieved May, 2024, from <https://www.dfat.gov.au/sites/default/files/australias-trade-since-federation.pdf>
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Source 3 Kneebone, S. (1990, August). [Cartoon of a person shouting ‘East Timor?!’ at the Australian Prime Minister who’s sitting on a barrel of Timor gap oil]. *TAPOL Bulletin No. 100*. Retrieved May, 2024, from https://vuir.vu.edu.au/26182/1/TAPOL100_compressed.pdf

Source 4 Epstein, D. (2019, May 24). *Bob Hawke’s Asia Legacy*. The Interpreter. Retrieved May, 2024, from <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/bob-hawke-s-asia-legacy>

Set 6: Elective 3: The struggle for peace in the Middle East

- Source 1** Truman, H. S. (1948, October 22). *Statement by the President on Israel* [Letter]. Retrieved May, 2024, from <https://www.trumanlibrary.gov/library/public-papers/253/statement-president-israel>
- Source 2** Sharp, J. M. (2010). Table 11. Total U.S. Assistance to the Middle East: 1971–2001. *U.S. Foreign Assistance to the Middle East: Historical Background, Recent Trends, and the FY2011 Request*. (p. 25). Retrieved May, 2024, <https://sgp.fas.org/crs/mideast/RL32260.pdf>
- Source 3** Valtman, E. (1978, November 9). *He Isn't Even Looking This Way!* [Cartoon]. Retrieved May, 2024, from <https://www.loc.gov/rr/print/swann/valtman/images/valt17.jpg>
- Source 4** Naqib, F. M. (2002, October). *Economic Aspects of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict: The Collapse of the Oslo Accord*. (p. 1). Retrieved May, 2024, from <https://www.wider.unu.edu/sites/default/files/dp2002-100.pdf>

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