



## ATAR course examination, 2023

# MODERN HISTORY

## SOURCE BOOKLET

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## Set 1: Elective 1: Australia 1918–1955

### Source 1

*(Extracts from an election campaign speech by Billy Hughes, leader of the Nationalist Party, in Bendigo, Victoria in October 1919. Hughes discusses his role during the Versailles Peace Conference.)*

Australia's claims were very definite and just. ... These claims—moderate though they were—were jeopardised by the acceptance of President Wilson's 14 points as the basis for peace. In the name of Australia I protested. And despite the misrepresentation and misunderstanding which threatened to engulf me not only in Britain, but in Australia, time and events have amply justified my protest. ...

Australia had played a great part in the world war, and she was given her place at the World Conference ... of more than 70 delegates, representing upwards of 1,000 millions of people speaking diverse languages, with clashing interest and opposing ideals, gathered together to represent their rival claims that Australia had to press her claims, uphold her ideals, and make her influence felt ... despite the persistent opposition of great and powerful nations—in an assembly where our ideals and our circumstances were neither appreciated nor understood—Australia made her influence felt, and secured the fruits of victory for which her soldiers fought.

### Source 2

*(A David Low cartoon published in The Bulletin, in January 1919. President Wilson adds 'Sweet Oil of Brotherhood' to the peace soup. England, Italy, and France each have 'National Sentiment' to add, while the Australian Prime Minister, Billy Hughes, holds a salt grinder.)*



'The Melting Pot'

See next page

**Source 3**

(A cartoon showing Prime Minister Robert Menzies included in a referendum pamphlet distributed in 1951.)

**Source 4**

(Extracts from an article entitled ‘Menzies and Curtin Contemporary Perspectives’ by historian Dr Michael McKernan published on the John Curtin Prime Ministerial Library website in 2005.)

The problem for Robert Menzies as he lost the leadership was that he had lost the respect and friendship of his political colleagues and of the people of Australia. Put starkly, no-one liked him enough to stand up for him. Menzies belittled his ministerial team, assumed an effortless superiority, boasted of the respect he had gained among the real war leaders in London, and gave his team the view that Australia was a real backwater ...

People genuinely liked John Curtin and felt a personal bond with him. His prime ministerial correspondence contains the evidence of that regard. People opened their hearts to Curtin in a way that is not seen in the correspondence of any other Australian prime minister ...

To be liked is not an essential quality for leadership; indeed seeking the esteem of the people or colleagues may, at times, interfere with true leadership. But in the Australian context, then, to be a ‘good bloke’ was an important element in leading the nation in war. ‘A good bloke’, people would have said that, in spades, of John Curtin; by mid-1941 no-one in Australia, intimates excepted, would have said that of Robert Menzies.

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

### Source 1

(Extract from a speech by V.I. Lenin, delivered after his return to Petrograd from exile, at a meeting of soldiers of the Izmailovsky Regiment, 10 April 1917.)

Comrade soldiers! The question of the state system is now on the order of the day. The capitalists, in whose hands the state power now rests, desire a parliamentary bourgeois republic, that is, a state system where there is no tsar, but where power remains in the hands of the capitalists ...

We [The Bolsheviks] desire a different republic, one more in keeping with the interests of the people, more democratic. The revolutionary workers and soldiers of Petrograd have overthrown tsarism, and have cleaned out all the police from the capital ... The revolution, once begun, must be strengthened and carried on ... The central state power uniting these local Soviets must be the Constituent Assembly, National Assembly, or Council of Soviets—no matter by what name you call it.

Not the police, not the bureaucracy, who are unanswerable to the people and placed above the people, not the standing army, separated from the people, but *the people themselves, universally armed* and united in the Soviets, must run the state.

### Source 2

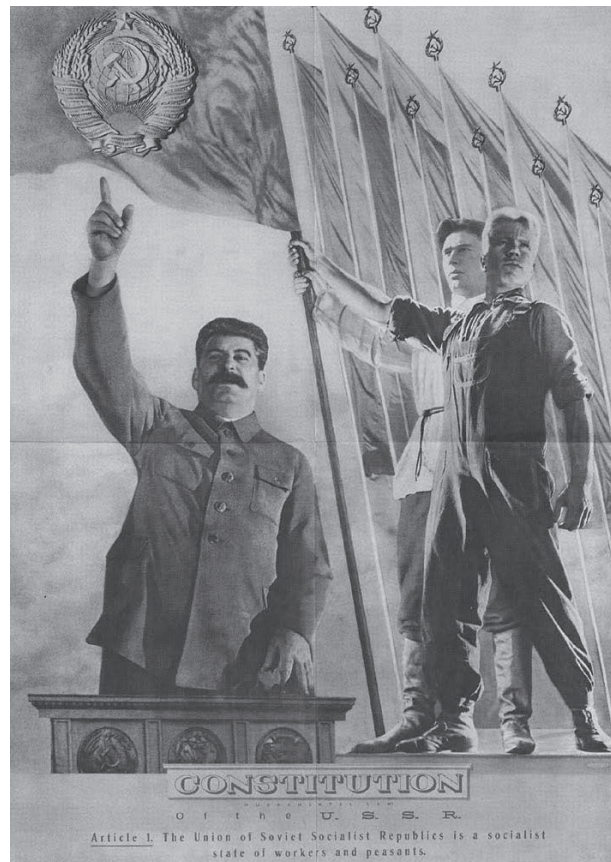
(A Clifford Berryman cartoon, entitled 'Lenin's Dream' published in The Evening Star, Washington, USA, 14 August 1920. Lenin sits on a throne labelled 'Bolshevism', while holding Mars, the God of War, on a leash.)



See next page

**Source 3**

*(A propaganda poster created by the Soviet artist, El Lissitzky entitled 'The Constitution'. The text is in English, as the poster was distributed internationally in 1937.)*



**'CONSTITUTION of the U.S.S.R.**

**Article 1. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a socialist state of workers and peasants.'**

**Source 4**

*(Extract from Alan Bullock's book entitled, 'Hitler and Stalin: Parallel Lives', published in the United Kingdom in 1991. Bullock was a leading British historian and Vice-Chancellor of University of Oxford, between 1969 and 1973.)*

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**See next page**

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

*(Extract from a statement issued by Mao Zedong in August 1937.)*

Together with the masses of the people and the armed forces under its leadership, the Chinese Communist Party will firmly adhere to this programme [the Second United Front] and stand in the forefront of the War of Resistance, defending the motherland to the last drop of its blood. In keeping with its consistent policy, the Chinese Communist Party is ready to stand side by side with the Guomindang and the other political parties and groups and unite with them in building the solid Great Wall of the national united front to defeat the infamous Japanese aggressors and strive for a new China which is independent, happy, and free. To achieve this goal, we must firmly repudiate<sup>1</sup> the traitors' theories of compromise and capitulation<sup>2</sup>, and combat national defeatism according to which it is impossible to defeat the Japanese aggressors.

The Chinese Communist Party firmly believes that the Japanese aggressors can definitely be defeated provided the above Ten-Point Programme [the Second United Front] is carried out. If our 450 million countrymen all exert themselves, the Chinese nation will certainly achieve final victory!

<sup>1</sup> repudiate – refuse to accept

<sup>2</sup> capitulation – the action of ceasing to resist an opponent or demand

**Source 2**

*(A Stanley Franklin cartoon, published in the Daily Mirror, British newspaper, in June 1967. Chairman Mao holds a hydrogen bomb while members of the Chinese public look on.)*



'China is now big and strong!'

**See next page**

**Source 3**

(A *dazibao*<sup>1</sup>, designed by Wu Qizhong, and printed by the Guangdong People's Publishing House, in May 1976.)



'Deepen the criticism of Deng Xiaoping,  
strike against the right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts'

<sup>1</sup> *dazibao* – big character poster

**Source 4**

(An excerpt from a news article by an Australian journalist, Tony Walker, entitled 'To get rich is glorious: how Deng Xiaoping set China on a path to rule the world', published on the *conversation.com* website in January 2022.)

Deng Xiaoping could lay claim to being the most significant political leader of the latter part of the 20th century, and one whose legacy continues to expand. His record is remarkable. It is at least arguable, if not certain, that had it not been for Deng's force of personality and his willingness to take political risks, China would not have embarked in 1978 on an accelerated process of economic development. If the Chinese economy had not achieved staggering rates of economic growth of 10% annually on average in the decades following Deng's political re-emergence in 1977, the world would be a very different place.

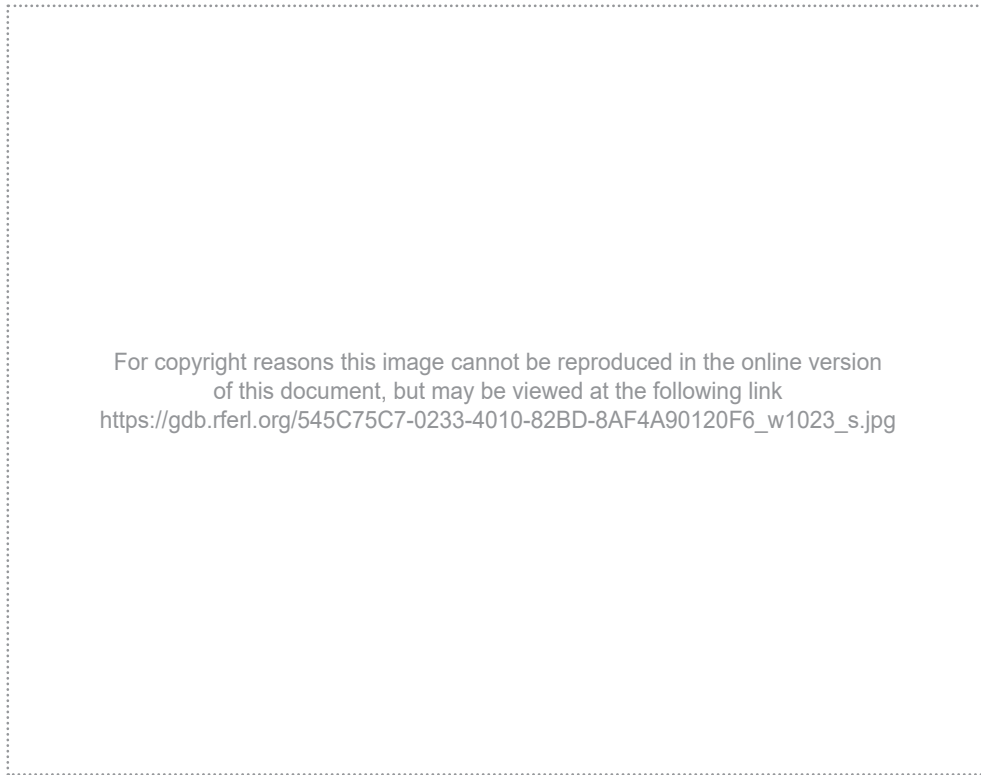
... Deng was, without question, an authoritarian figure who believed in the absolute power of the Chinese Communist Party. His legacy will be forever stained by his authorisation of force against the pro-democracy demonstrators on Tiananmen Square in 1989, in which hundreds are believed to have died, and many more were incarcerated. Without excusing the excesses of the Tiananmen crackdown, however, the totality of Deng's contribution to his country's transition from economic laggard to modern superpower cannot be overstated.

**See next page**

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

### Source 1

*(Photograph by H. Burroughs, The Berlin Airlift, December 1948, showing young Berliners getting a Christmas treat at the US Army Tempelhof Airport.)*



### Source 2

*(Extracts from a speech by the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Ernest Bevin, in the House of Commons of the British Parliament in September 1948.)*

The problem of surmounting the blockade has been formidable, and has been a very gallant and worthy piece of organisation ... What the British and the United States Air Forces have achieved, in ordinary conditions of peace, can be compared with some of the higher exploits of the war, and we have every reason to be proud of them.

What was the effect of all this? It showed conclusively that the people of Berlin did not want to fall into dependence upon Soviet Russia, since they knew that this was the first step to subjection<sup>1</sup>. They responded to the efforts we were making with a sense of relief. Life is hard and difficult for them, but I am bound to say that they have stood it very well. Moreover, their reaction has dismayed and upset the calculations of those who thought we would be out of Berlin in a few weeks and who, in defiance of their international agreements, attempted to dislodge the Western Allies from the rightful position which they held under the agreement for the surrender of Germany.

<sup>1</sup>subjection – control



**Source 3**

*(A cartoon by Ernst Maria Lang, published in Munich, in what was then West Germany in 1948. The character 'John Bull' representing England is seen as a kid leaning on the pram, with a girl representing France sitting inside.)*

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[https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/cartoon\\_by\\_lang\\_on\\_nato\\_30\\_october\\_1948-en-c52ef2d1-b69d-4bb5-becb-878727211fa5.html](https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/cartoon_by_lang_on_nato_30_october_1948-en-c52ef2d1-b69d-4bb5-becb-878727211fa5.html)

The Atlantic Pact is in sight.  
Uncle Sam: "Before that big fellow over there grabs you, I'll marry you with all your scrawny<sup>1</sup> kids ..."

<sup>1</sup>scrawny – thin and bony person

**Source 4**

*(Extracts from Volume 3 of Nikita Khrushchev's memoirs, entitled 'Statesman', written in the late 1960s and published in 2007.)*

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[https://kiatipis.org/Books\\_Hosted\\_gr/Nikita.Khrushchev/Memoirs-of-Nikita-Khrushchev%5bVol3%5d.pdf](https://kiatipis.org/Books_Hosted_gr/Nikita.Khrushchev/Memoirs-of-Nikita-Khrushchev%5bVol3%5d.pdf)

**See next page**

## Set 5: Elective 2: Australia's engagement with Asia

### Source 1

*(Former Corporal Parker and family photographed disembarking after their long journey from Japan and captured by the waiting media, Melbourne Airport, July 1952. Mrs Parker was the first Japanese wife permitted into Australia.)*



### Source 2

*(Announcement by the Minister for External Affairs, Percy C. Spender, regarding the Colombo Plan, released in Canberra, 20 December 1950.)*

The Commonwealth Government ... had reached a decision on ... the financial assistance it can offer to the countries which participate in the plan for aid to ... South and South East Asia.

The Australian Government was profoundly interested in developments in this region, the countries of which were in fact our close neighbours. It was vital from Australia's viewpoint to help maintain, and to promote both economic and political stability in the area and to assist in preparing the way for a large-scale attack against poverty, social unrest and extremist ideologies ...

The plan had already received wide publicity both in Australia and in countries overseas, which indicated the world interest in it, and the problems confronting the region ... It was also clear that even with the combined resources of ... the countries of the Commonwealth alone, the objectives could be achieved to only a very limited extent. Assistance from other progressive and democratic countries was also necessary to help in this great task.

**Source 3**

*(A Gordon Minhinnick cartoon entitled 'The Strong Stand' published in the New Zealand Herald, on 17 April 1964. It depicts Australia and New Zealand Prime Ministers being pushed by Uncle Sam.)*

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but may be viewed at the following link  
<https://teara.govt.nz/en/cartoon/41737/minhinnick-on-intervention-in-vietnam-1964>

**The Strong Stand**

New Zealand, Prime Minister Holyoake: I am pleased that such a strong stand was taken  
and expressed in the communique on the Viet Nam issue.

**Source 4**

*(An excerpt from an article by Mick Armstrong entitled 'Gough Whitlam and the Vietnam War', published on 1 January 2023, on the [redflag.org.au](http://redflag.org.au) website. The Red Flag claims to be Australia's largest Marxist revolutionary group.)*

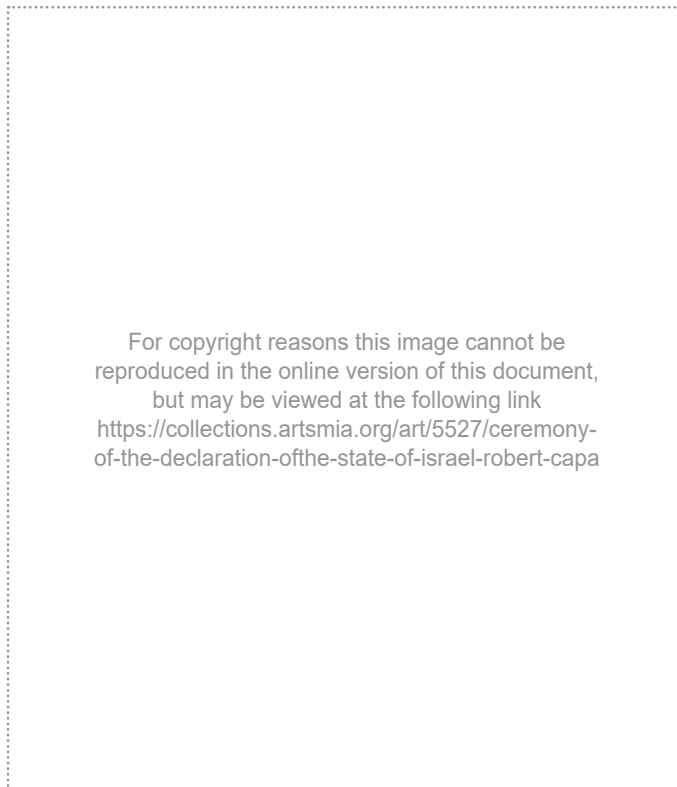
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but may be viewed at the following link  
<https://redflag.org.au/article/goughwhitlam-and-vietnam-war>

**See next page**

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

### Source 1

*(Israel's first Prime Minister, reading the Proclamation of Israel's Statehood, at Tel Aviv Museum on 14 May 1948. The image, taken by Jewish Hungarian-American photojournalist, Robert Capa, issued by the Israel Government Press Office.)*



### Source 2

*(Extracts from the Palestine Liberation Organisation leader Yasser Arafat's speech to the United Nations General Assembly in New York on 13 November 1974.)*

The roots of the Palestine question lie here. Its causes do not stem from any conflict between two religions or two nationalisms. Neither is it a border conflict between neighbouring States. It is the cause of people deprived of its homeland, dispersed and uprooted, and living mostly in exile and in refugee camps ...

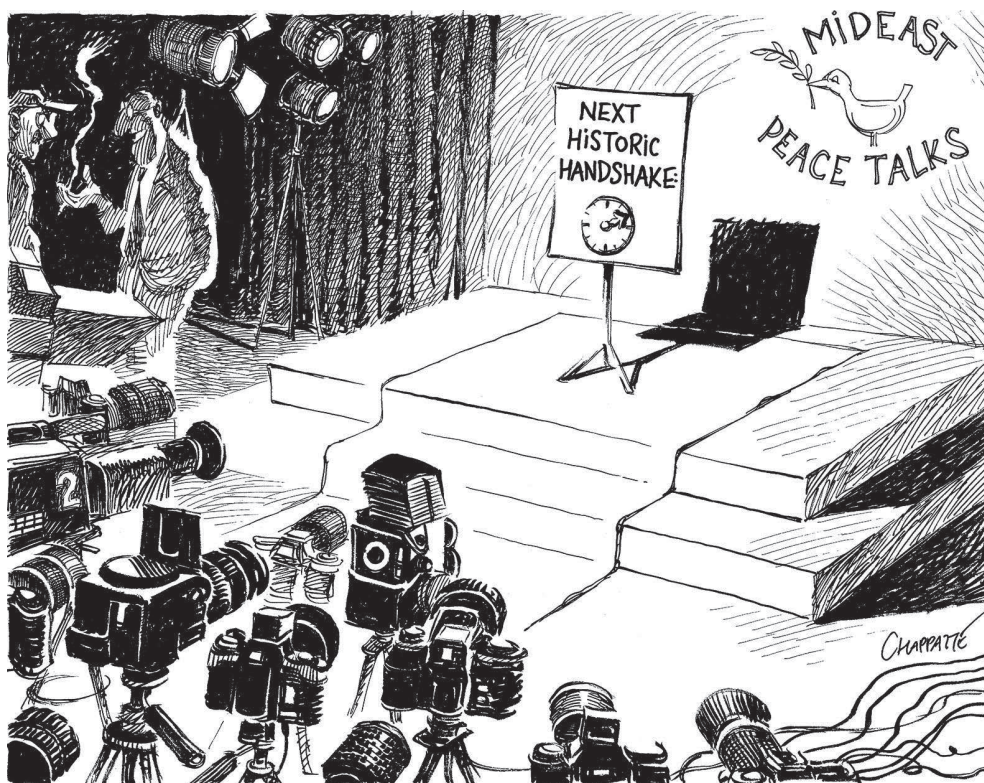
When the majority of the Palestinian people was uprooted from its homeland in 1948, the Palestinian struggle for self-determination continued under the most difficult conditions. We tried every possible means to continue our political struggle to attain our national rights, but to no avail. Meanwhile, we had to struggle for sheer existence. Even in exile we educated our children. This was all a part of trying to survive ...

Through our militant Palestine national liberation movement, our people's struggle matured and grew enough to accommodate political and social struggle in addition to armed struggle. The PLO was a major factor in creating a new Palestinian individual, qualified to shape the future of our Palestine, not merely content with mobilising the Palestinians for the challenges of the present.

**See next page**

**Source 3**

(Cartoon entitled 'Peace Process', by Lebanese-Swiss cartoonist Patrick Chappatte, published in *Le Temps*, Switzerland on 2 November 1999. The world's press is depicted as being on standby, awaiting an announcement.)

**Source 4**

(Extract from an interview with Israeli Revisionist Historian, Benny Morris, in 'Fathom', an online Israeli publication, Autumn 2015. Morris discusses his views on the differing stances of Israelis and Palestinians towards peace and a Two-State Solution.)

But when it came to the crunch, when he was offered a two-state solution in 2000 by [Ehud] Barak, and then got an even better offer from [Bill] Clinton at the end of 2000, Arafat said 'no'... From that point on, I lost a lot of sympathy for the Palestinians – and I came to understand that they are not willing to reach a two-state solution ...

I understood that it wasn't really a question of a bit of territory here or there – it was a matter of the Palestinians non-acceptance of the legitimacy of the Jewish state. That was what lay behind Abbas's [PLO Negotiator in 1990s peace talks and current President of State of Palestine] inability to accept any Jewish state next to a Palestinian state. This is really what it has always been about: for Arafat, for Abbas, and before them for [Haj Amin] al-Husseini in the 1930s and 1940s ...

I understood that even if there were some Palestinians who were genuinely moderate and conciliatory<sup>1</sup>, and willing to live with a two-state solution, they would always be out-flanked, or crushed, by the much larger segment of the Palestinians who would be completely rejectionist.

<sup>1</sup>conciliatory – likely to be less hostile

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

### Set 1: Elective 1: Australia 1918–1955

- Source 1** Hughes, W. M. (1919, October 30). *Australian Federal Election Speech*. Retrieved May, 2023, from <https://electionspeeches.moadoph.gov.au/speeches/1919-billy-hughes>
- Source 2** Low, D. (1919). The Melting pot [Cartoon]. *The Bulletin*. Retrieved May, 2023, from [https://www.dhi-paris.fr/fileadmin/user\\_upload/DHI\\_Paris/07\\_Newsroom/2017/CfP\\_Paris\\_Peace\\_Conference\\_2019\\_ENG.pdf](https://www.dhi-paris.fr/fileadmin/user_upload/DHI_Paris/07_Newsroom/2017/CfP_Paris_Peace_Conference_2019_ENG.pdf)
- Source 3** *1951 Referendum pamphlet (Z458-18)*. (1951). Retrieved May, 2023, from <https://archives.anu.edu.au/exhibitions/reds-under-bed-100-years-communism-australia/1951-referendum>
- Source 4** McKernan, M. (2005). *Menzies and Curtin Contemporary Perspectives*. Retrieved May, 2023, from <https://john.curtin.edu.au/ww2leaders/mckernan.html>

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

- Source 1** Lenin, V. I. (1917, April 10). *Speech Delivered at a Meeting of Soldiers of the Izmailovsky Regiment April 10 (23), 1917*. Retrieved May, 2023, from <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1917/apr/10.htm>
- Source 2** Berryman, C. (1920, August 14). Lenin's Dream [Cartoon]. *The Evening Star*. Retrieved May, 2023, from <https://newspaperarchive.com/washington-dc-washington-evening-star-aug-14-1920-p-1/>
- Source 3** El Lissitzky. (1937). *The Constitution* [Poster]. Retrieved May, 2023, from <https://soviethistory.msu.edu/1936-2/stalin-constitution/stalin-constitution-images/#bwg92/605>
- Source 4** Bullock, A. (1991). *Hitler and Stalin Parallel Lives*. Harper Collins, p. 569.

### Set 3: Elective 3: China 1935–1989

- Source 1** Adapted from: Tse-tung [Zedong], M. (1937). *For the Mobilization of all the Nation's Forces for Victory in the War of Resistance*. Retrieved May, 2023, from [https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-2/mswv2\\_02.htm](https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-2/mswv2_02.htm)
- Source 2** Franklin, S. (1967, June 19). China is Now Big and Strong [Cartoon]. *Daily Mirror*. Retrieved May, 2023, from <https://www.original-political-cartoon.com/cartoon-gallery/buy/china-is-now-big-and-strong/3313/>

**Source 3** Qizhong, W. (1976). *Deepen the Criticism of Deng Xiaoping, Strike Against the Right Deviationist Wind of Reversing Verdicts* [Poster]. Retrieved May, 2023, from <https://chinese posters.net/posters/e13-967>

**Source 4** Walker, T. (2022, January, 10). 'To Get Rich is Glorious': How Deng Xiaoping set China on a Path to Rule the World. Retrieved May, 2023, from <https://theconversation.com/to-get-rich-is-glorious-how-deng-xiaoping-set-china-on-a-path-to-rule-the-world-156836>

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

**Source 1** Burroughs, H. (1948). [Photograph of young Berliners getting a Christmas treat at US Army Tempelhof Airport]. Retrieved May, 2023, [https://gdb.rferl.org/545C75C7-0233-4010-82BD-8AF4A90120F6\\_w1023\\_s.jpg](https://gdb.rferl.org/545C75C7-0233-4010-82BD-8AF4A90120F6_w1023_s.jpg)

**Source 2** Bevin, E. (1948, September 22). *Foreign Affairs - Debate to the House of Commons*. Retrieved May, 2023, from <https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1948-09-22/debates/0bab6308-dd63-43f8-bc55-ae546d7f4c59/ForeignAffairs?highlight=berlin%20blockade#contribution-f93faa19-6915-4c3b-8b20-cfba14191fb9>

**Source 3** Lang, E. M. (1948, October 28). *Atlantikpakt in Sicht* [Cartoon]. Retrieved May, 2023, from [https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/cartoon\\_by\\_lang\\_on\\_nato\\_30\\_october\\_1948-en-c52ef2d1-b69d-4bb5-becb-878727211fa5.html](https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/cartoon_by_lang_on_nato_30_october_1948-en-c52ef2d1-b69d-4bb5-becb-878727211fa5.html)  
This cartoon is available at [www.cvce.eu](http://www.cvce.eu)

**Source 4** Khrushchev, N. (2007). *Memoirs of Nikita Khrushchev Vol. 3: Statesman (1953–1964)*. In S. Khrushchev (Eds), (G. Shriver Trans). Retrieved May, 2023, from [https://kiatipis.org/Books\\_Hosted\\_gr/Nikita.Khrushchev/Memoirs-of-Nikita-Khrushchev%5bVol3%5d.pdf](https://kiatipis.org/Books_Hosted_gr/Nikita.Khrushchev/Memoirs-of-Nikita-Khrushchev%5bVol3%5d.pdf)

#### **Set 5: Elective 2: Australia's engagement with Asia**

**Source 1** Special Broadcasting Service (SBS). (2019, March 26). *Cherry Parker Arrives in Australia with her Husband Gordon Parker and her Family* [Photograph]. Retrieved May, 2023, from <https://www.sbs.com.au/topics/voices/culture/article/2019/03/18/cherry-parker-war-bride-who-created-shift-white-australia-policy>

**Source 2** Spender, P. C. (1950, December 20). *Australia's Financial Contribution to the Colombo Plan for Co-operative Economic Development in South and South East Asia*. Retrieved May, 2023, from <https://wragge.github.io/dfat-documents-web/volumes/volume-24-australia-and-the-colombo-plan-1949-1957/131-press-release-by-department-of-external-affairs/>  
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**Source 3** Minhinnick, G. E. G. (1964, 17 April). *The Strong Stand* [Cartoon]. Retrieved from May, 2023, from <https://teara.govt.nz/en/cartoon/41737/minhinnick-on-intervention-in-vietnam-1964>

**Source 4** Armstrong, M. (2023, 1 January). *Gough Whitlam and the Vietnam War*. Retrieved May 2023 from <https://redflag.org.au/article/gough-whitlam-and-vietnam-war>

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

**Source 1** Capa, R. (1948). *Ceremony of the Declaration of the State of Israel: David Ben-Gurion Reading the Proclamation of Israel's Statehood, Tel Aviv Museum, May 14, 1948* [Photograph]. Retrieved May, 2023, from <https://collections.artsmia.org/art/5527/ceremony-of-the-declaration-of-the-state-of-israel-robert-cap>

**Source 2** Arafat, Y. (1974, November 13). *United Nations General Assembly Twenty-Ninth Session: Official Records (Agenda Item 108: Question of Palestine)* [Transcript of address]. Retrieved May, 2023, from <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/united-nations-general-assembly-official-records-29th-session-2282nd-plenary-meeting>

**Source 3** Chappatte, P. (1999, November 2). Peace Process [Cartoon]. *Le Temps*. Retrieved May, 2023, from <https://www.chappatte.com/en/images/peace-process>

**Source 4** Brahm, G.N. (2015). *'There is a Clash of Civilisations': An Interview with Benny Morris*. Retrieved, May, 2023, from <https://fathomjournal.org/there-is-a-clash-of-civilisations-an-interview-with-benny-morris/>

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