

HISTORY: Revolutions

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

The following guide is to be used in conjunction with the sample exam. It offers possible responses to the questions set. Please note that these are suggestions only; students and teachers should bear in mind that other approaches are possible.

America

Part 1-Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events

Question 1

How did the actions and ideas of colonial organisations contribute to a revolutionary situation in America by 1776? (10 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

- Revolutionary groups could be divided into two groups: politically sanctioned/elected groups and quasi-political groups formed of like-minded men and women who agitated through direct action.
- However it is difficult to differentiate between the groups as individuals were often members of both groups. For example, Sam Adams involved in Sons of Liberty and also elected member of the Massachusetts Assembly.
- Politically elected groups were formed in relation to specific events or problems. In 1765 the Virginia House of Burgesses met and adopted a series of resolves. They expressed a number of revolutionary views concerning the idea of representation. They denounced parliamentary measures and asserted the colonists' rights to be taxed by their own elected representatives.
- In Oct 1765 when the elected representatives met in New York for the Stamp Act Congress the idea of representation was again the central issue debated. The actions included a formal declaration and petition denying Parliament's right to tax them. Other actions included boycotting British goods and a formal petition.
- Meetings were a common response to subsequent British legislation. Under Boston's leadership Massachusetts towns began organising committees of correspondence. In 1772 a fiery document 'Votes and Proceedings' of the Boston town meeting was circulated to 260 Massachusetts towns. The document listed British violations of American rights such as legislating without the colonists' consent and introducing Standing Armies. These actions were followed in other colonies.
- Following the actions of the Boston Tea Party and the imposition of the Coercive Acts (1774) the elected representatives of the colonists met in the First Continental Congress. Here they shared ideas and took actions that propelled colonists along the road to revolution. The Congress pledged loyalty to the King but asserted colonial rights. The language of the resolutions was stronger than in the past and called for more autonomy. The second Continental Congress (1776) drafted the Declaration of Independence which outlined the justification for independence focussing especially on the issue of political representation.
- Unlike the elected organisations, groups like the Sons of Liberty resorted to more direct action. They too talked of rights such as liberty and representation but their violent actions (Boston Massacre, tarring and feathering of tax officials and destruction of property in Boston Tea Party) were more economically inspired. The group Daughters of Liberty also utilised the power of direct action through non-importation of British goods and the formation of sewing bees and a determination to only buy locally produced goods.

Question 2

How did Britain's decision to become more involved in the management of the colonies after 1763 lead to tension with the colonies? (10 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

- In 1763 the Treaty of Paris ended the French-Indian war. Prior to the war Britain had followed a policy of salutary neglect. This meant that British management of the colonies was lenient and laws (eg. tax laws) were not always enforced. At the end of the war Britain reassessed its management of the colonies.
- The Proclamation Act of 1763 was a means by which Britain tried to stop westward migration by colonists. This had resulted in expensive wars and required an extensive network of forts to defend. The Proclamation Act ruled that all land west of the Appalachians was Indian Reserve and further colonial land claims in the area were refused. The colonial reaction varied; for example, Washington saw it as a temporary measure that could be ignored, while others saw it as a deliberate effort to restrict colonial expansion.
- The cost of the war (£ 130 million) meant that British politicians were eager to exploit colonial tax revenues to make the empire more efficient. There was a belief that the colonists should contribute to the cost of war and ongoing costs of administration.
- The Revenue Act 1764 meant Britain could tax colonies to improve the revenue of the empire. The Sugar Act of 1764 was a revenue raising measure and the Bill of Rights 1765 called upon the colonies to contribute to the upkeep of troops sent to the colonies for defence reasons.
- Britain's Declaratory Act of 1766 asserted the British intention to pass laws relating to the colonies in all matters whatsoever.
- All Acts stimulated an intense reaction; colonial protest took a number of forms such as violence, protest through petitions and deputations and agreements on the non-importation of British goods.
- From 1770 onwards, British regulation of the colonies tightened and legislation was not only directed at economic control of the colonies but also political control (eg. Coercive Acts which followed the Boston Tea Party).
- It was evident that Britain and the colonies were headed for violent showdown as each sought to reassert its position and rights.

Part 2 – Creating a new society

Question 3

America [1776 - 1789 Inauguration of George Washington]

- a. What form of approval was needed to ratify the Constitution? (2 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

Nine of the thirteen state conventions were required to ratify constitution.

- b. Provide two examples of amendments which seemed to make the new government a 'guardian of the people's liberties.' (2 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

Any two of the following: to speak, to publish, to worship, to petition, to assemble, to be tried fairly, to be secure at home against official intrusion.

- c. Using your own knowledge and the representation, outline the content and the intended function of the Bill of Rights. (6 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

An answer to a question about the content and the intended function of the Bill of Rights could include some of the following:

- By July 1788 nine states had approved the Constitution: without the remaining states (which contained 40% of the population) it would have been a quasi-union. The Bill of Rights was something of a compromise between those who wanted a national government with enough power to regulate the economy and those who feared the infringements on personal liberty that this power might permit (Thompson).
- During the ratification debates the Federalists had agreed to add a list of rights to the Constitution. At the first meeting of the United States Congress one of the items for discussion was consideration of amendments to the constitution.
- Ten amendments were added to the Constitution in 1789 and were collectively known as the Bill of Rights. The Bill of Rights was passed by two-thirds of the Congress, as required by the Constitution and three-fourths of the States also had to approve.
- The Bill of Rights drew on the language, ideas and concepts from a number of source documents: the Virginia Declaration of Rights (1776), The English Bill of Rights (1689) and perhaps the Magna Carta (1215).
- The first four amendments list the general rights of Americans. These include: religious freedom, freedom of speech, and the right to peacefully assemble and petition the government, the infamous right to bear arms and a guard against the government lodging soldiers in private homes without approval and searching people/property without good reason.

- d. Evaluate the reliability of this extract as an assessment of the American Constitution. In your response you should refer to different assessments of the American Constitution. (10 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

Evaluation of the reliability of this representation by Zinn could mention the following:

- Zinn is a radical left-wing historian who takes a rather cynical view of the motives of the Founding Fathers and the documents they drafted. He characterises the leaders of the revolutionary as white propertied-men determined to protect their rights and wealth.
- In the last sentence Zinn refers to the government as being composed of the rich and powerful and suggests that the Bill of Rights was a form of inducement to guarantee support for the constitution and new government.
- There is evidence to support Zinn's claim that the Founding Fathers were wealthy and that their interests were economically motivated (eg. treatment of slaves and taxation in the constitution supported the interests of wealthy in both northern and southern states).
- Zinn supports the arguments of Charles Beard, an economist who in the 1930s shocked Americans with his criticism of the Founding Fathers. He argued that not one member of the Constitutional Convention represented the small farming or mechanic classes and that the overwhelming majority of members were to a greater or lesser extent beneficiaries from the adoption of the Constitution.
- Yet, there are other interpretations of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. Bernard Bailyn says the American Constitution is the final and climactic expression of the ideology of the American Revolution and that even now it is profoundly relevant. He bases this on the challenges the Founding Fathers faced and the balance they struck between a government that functioned (as opposed to the Articles of Federation that had failed) and the rights of the individual.
- Similarly Brogan agrees that the Constitution should be assessed in a positive light and argues that while it was 'not perfect...in practice it worked exceedingly well'. He claims it was a nationalistic document and as such it was far in advance of its time. He concludes saying it crowned the American Revolution and provided a safe compass for the future.

France

Part 1-Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events

Question 1

How did the actions of the French royal family contribute to pressure for revolutionary change in France in the period 1781-1787? (10 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

This question chooses the earlier period of the Ancien Regime so it is vital that students stay within the parameters of 1781-1787. Students could comment on the manner in which the actions and perception of King Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette contributed to criticism of their right to rule.

For this question students might consider:

- The perception of Royal largesse that was derived from the figures released publicly in the Compte Rendu;
- The actual and rumoured extravagance that the Royals and particularly Marie-Antoinette were guilty of indulging in – the gambling with the Count D'artois, the construction of unnecessary buildings/gardens at Versailles, her moniker as Madame Deficit;
- The scandal (undeserved as it was) that surrounded Marie Antoinette in 1785-6 re: the 'Diamond Necklace Affair';
- The character of King Louis - 'Timidity and mistrust of himself were at the centre of his character' Guy-Marie Sallier;
- The questionable relationships that surrounded Marie Antoinette and the proliferation of these rumours on the streets and in salons;
- The proliferation of pornographic or political pamphlets discrediting the royals that were allowed to be distributed;
- Louis XVI's disastrous intervention in the proceedings at the Paris Parlement in November 1787.

Question 2

Explain how different groups within the Third Estate contributed to the development of the French Revolution between May and August 1789. (10 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

For this question students might consider:

- The actions of the bourgeois members of the National Assembly at the Estates-General in early May;
- Their subsequent establishment of a National Assembly on the 17th June and their declaration of the Tennis Court Oath three days later;
- Their establishment of a government in waiting in July-August and centred at the Palais Royale in Paris;
- The role of the Paris Mob in supporting the National Assembly;
- The Storming of the Bastille;
- The rural uprising of peasants in the Great Fear – July 10-August 4th.

Part 2 – Creating a new society

Question 3

France [5 August 1789–1795 Dissolution of the convention]

a. Identify two social groups depicted in the representation. (2 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

- The sans-culottes;
- The clergy – the victims;
- The National Guard.

b. Identify two features of this representation that illustrate the satirist's disapproval of the nature of the new society. (2 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

Question 'b' asks you to identify features – when a question asks for features; it refers to things you can actually see in the representation. In this instance, you could mention:

- The appearance of the sans-culottes viewing the scene – his nudity, his armaments;
- The disregard for the victims;
- The crowds of onlookers presumably supporters of the violence;
- The caption;
- The skull at the base of the crucifix on the right hand side.

- c. Using your own knowledge and the representation, explain what the cartoon suggests about the incidence of violence allowed by the new government. (6 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

Question 'c' asks students to display their contextual knowledge of the period and refer to specific events that involved the new government allowing violence to occur.

For this question students could cite and describe the following events:

- The attack on Refractory clergy in the years following the declaration of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy;
- The Storming of the Tuileries – 10 August 1792;
- The picture is clearly referring to the 'September Massacres' – 2-6 September 1792;
- The escalation of violence during 1793 – the Jacobin Terror.

- d. Evaluate the reliability of the representation as evidence of how the new society was shaped after August 1792. In your response refer to other views of the Revolution. (10 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

Question 'd' asks students to evaluate the reliability of the representation and students should recognise that this is a work of propaganda; therefore the representation is of diminished use.

For this question students might consider:

- Elaborating upon what aspects of the image are useful by providing evidence regarding the atrocities of the September Massacres;
- Enlisting the support of historians who viewed the sans-culottes and the Revolutionary Government in a manner sympathetic to this, for example, Simon Schama;
- Students could then provide evidence of how the image does not represent the behaviour of the sans-culottes nor the government of the New Society;
- Comparing this view to the views of historians like Soboul, Rudé who endeavour to ennoble the role of the sans-culottes and view the Terror as an unintended point of departure from revolutionary goals.

Russia

Part 1-Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events

Question 1

How did the actions of the Russian royal family contribute to the pressure for revolutionary change in Russia in the period 1905–1916? (10 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

This question gives a strict time period and students should confine themselves to these parameters. Students could discuss actions from a range of years within the time period.

For this question students might consider:

- Nicholas II's response to Bloody Sunday and 1905 Revolution;
- The distance between the Tsar and his people;
- The reversal of freedoms promulgated in the Fundamental Laws of 1906;
- Nicholas II's dismissal of the Dumas in 1906-07;
- The appointment and subsequent sanctioning of Stolypin's repressive policies from 1906-1911;
- The alleged or actual influence of Rasputin on Alexandra and Nicholas;
- The decision to take personal command of the Russian forces in WWI in 1915;
- The role and perception of Alexandra in Nicholas' absence in 1916.

Question 2

Explain the importance of the actions of the Bolshevik Party in the development of the Russian Revolution between February and October 1917. (10 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

Outline the actions of the Bolshevik Party in the critical year of 1917.

For this question students might consider discussing:

- The seizure of public sympathy on the back of Lenin's April Theses;
- The content of the Theses and the slogan – Peace, Bread and Land;
- The support for the Soviets esp. the Petrograd Soviet;
- The sustained attack on the Provisional Government and later Kerensky for the continued failure of Russian involvement in the War;
- The July Days and the subsequent lessons learned from their failure;
- The 'Bolshevisation' of the Soviets – Bolsheviks increased their numbers in Soviets by October 1917;
- The role of Trotsky and the formation of the Military Revolutionary Committee;
- Their response to Kornilov in August-September;
- The actions of October.

Part 2 – Creating a new society

Question 3

Russia [November 1917–1924 death of Lenin]

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

This painting is a representation of Lenin in a famous and much-copied pose. The painting is entitled *Lenin Speaks*, 1920 and students should stick to this time period in their discussion. It is clearly a work of propaganda and clearly attempts to portray the decisions and actions of Lenin in a positive manner. Students should be aware of this bias in their responses.

a. What attitude or impression is the artist trying to convey about the character of Lenin? (2 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

Students could state:

- The artist is attempting to convey Lenin as an impassioned speaker who has the crowd on his side – note the flailing of his arms and the removal of his (workers) cap so he can make his point and allow his speech to hit a crescendo.

b. Identify two features of the crowd's behaviour that indicate support for what Lenin is speaking about. (2 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

Students could state:

- applause;
- waving of arms and flags;
- the launching of hats;
- the focussed attention on Lenin.

- c. Using your knowledge, explain the role of Lenin in directing the structure of the new society by 1920. (6 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

Question 'c' asks students to display their contextual knowledge of the period. Lenin was critical in almost all of the policies and structures set up by the CPSU in the period from November 1917- 1920.

For this question students could cite and describe the following events:

- The structure of the CPSU in the period immediately following the October Revolution and Lenin's role in organising that;
- Lenin's closure of the Constituent Assembly in January 1918;
- Lenin's direction to Trotsky re: formation of Red Army and Brest-Litovsk Treaty;
- The role of Lenin in the Civil War;
- The methods that Lenin and the Bolsheviks resorted to in securing their power;
- The implementation of grain requisitioning and other policies under War Communism;
- The impact of War Communism and Lenin's response to grain hoarders or suspected 'white' sympathisers.

- d. To what extent is this representation useful in explaining the support that Lenin enjoyed in the period 1919-1921? Refer to other views in your response. (10 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

Question 'd' asks students to evaluate the reliability of the account and students should recognise that this work is highly questionable in terms of its production; displaying the severely biased view of the CSPU, the extract can only be of limited use.

For this question students might consider:

- Elaborating upon which aspects of the representation are useful – Lenin did have popular appeal, a view supported by historians such as Sheila Fitzpatrick;
- Commenting that Lenin retained his power in the period not by brute force alone, his popularity was far greater than the Tsar's and White forces;
- Comparing this interpretation to the many contrary portrayals by historians like Pipes and Conquest.

China

Part 1-Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events

Question 1

What role did Sun Yixian (Sun Yat-sen) play in China's revolutionary movement up to 1925? (10 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

- Sun Yixian was educated overseas and believed China needed reform to participate in a modern world.
- His revolutionary movement (Revive China Society) was based overseas. His ideas were inspired by concepts of nationalism and republicanism.
- In 1905 Sun assumed leadership of the Tongmenghui- an alliance of revolutionary groups.
- He developed an ideological program based on three principles - nationalism, democracy and people's livelihood. Nationalism was aimed at re-establishing Chinese pride through the expulsion of foreign imperialists and the Qing dynasty (also considered foreigners). Democracy addressed the issue of representation but also had a wider scope in that it sought reform of executive and judicial branches of government. People's livelihood focussed on societal reform and in particular looked at the peasantry and land ownership issues.
- The Tongmenghui was implicated in a number of failed uprisings but also participated in successful 1911 Wuhan revolution. Sun Yixian was absent when the 1911 revolution occurred, but returned soon after.
- Elected president of the Chinese Republic in 1912, Sun Yixian stood aside in favour of Yuan Shikai who had military support and a measure of control over the warlords.
- After Yuan Shikai's death, Sun Yixian was again influential and restructured the GMD with Soviet assistance. This was reflected in the amended three principles which included the campaign to defeat the warlords and redistribute the land to the peasants.
- Under Soviet instructions the GMD and CCP were united for the Northern Expedition against warlords but Sun Yixian died in 1925, forestalling the initiative.
- Sun Yixian is acknowledged within China as the father of the revolution and both Mao Zedong and Jiang Jieshi claim to have been inspired by his ideology.

Question 2

What ideas and practices were developed by the CCP during the years referred to as the Yan'an Period 1935-1945? (10 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

- The Yan'an Period was a time when the CCP was in isolation.
- Mao developed his ideology during the Yan'an Period (1935-1947). His revolutionary ideology focused on the peasants as a revolutionary force, the Maoist ideology of 'mass line' and 'revolutionary nationalism' became the twin pillars of the CCP. A further concern was to maintain a correct ideological consciousness and solidarity in order to succeed in revolution.
- The principle of mass line was aimed at developing close links between the party and the peasants. In practical terms this meant that Party workers were released 'downwards' (xiaofeng) to participate in production. The idea was for party cadres to mix among the people and learn from them, so that elitism was avoided. The obverse side was that the peasants could be educated about the revolution.
- Mao believed that the Chinese people had 'an almost inherent revolutionary socialist consciousness'. Mao argued that the Party must take the ideas of the masses and concentrate them through study then go to the masses and propagate and explain the ideas until 'the masses embrace them as their own'. The idea and movement can be summed up in the saying 'from the masses to the masses'.
- McDonald claims that these movements of bureaucrats also meant that the top heavy central administration was cut. When in the villages, the party leaders had to be able to communicate with the people, adapt to local conditions and make decisions independent of central authority.
- Mao was also concerned about the purity of communist ideology and between 1941 and 1944 during a series of 'struggle' campaigns (the Zhengfeng movement) the party was rectified. The party had expanded very rapidly and it was felt that the new cadres needed to be provided with systematic political education. The campaign required party members to engage in study sessions. It was during this period that the CCP developed independence from the USSR.
- The other pillar was revolutionary nationalism, which focused on developing a pride in China and defeating its enemies. In the 1930s the Japanese invaded China and according to Mao it was necessary for all social classes to unite under the CCP and fight the Japanese. The Communists spread their influence from Yan'an until they held 18 bases with a population of 100 million. Using guerrilla tactics they fought the Japanese. Soldiers were taught to respect the peasants and by working alongside them earned their respect.

Part 2 – Creating a new society

Question 3

China [1949–1976 death of Mao]

- a. Identify two groups of people portrayed in the poster. (2 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

- the military (man with the bugle).
- the peasants (seen in the background).

- b. According to the text on the poster, what type of organisational structure was suggested for the Great Leap Forward? (2 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

- The organisational structure was a military footing and collective footing.

- c. Using your own knowledge and the representation, explain the aims of the Great Leap Forward campaign. (6 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

- In late 1957, the leaders of the CCP began to experiment with a new scale of social organisation, mobilising the peasants in new tasks.
- The program was widened and the goals of the Great Leap Forward were to increase rural productivity in order to boost China's industrial growth.
- The key was mass mobilisation and across China, 740,000 cooperatives were merged into 26,000 communes; these comprised 120 million rural households (99% of the rural population). The Central Committee claimed 'the people have taken to organizing themselves along military lines working with militancy and leading a collective life' (this is reflected in the propaganda poster).
- Mao promoted the idea of sustained growth through the mobilisation of mass will and energy. Economic activity was decentralised and the masses were mobilised in huge irrigation projects, mass plantings and the backyard furnace movement.

- d. How useful is the representation in understanding the Great Leap Forward? In your response you should refer to different assessments of this period. (10 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

- The poster highlights the mobilisation that was required to meet the quotas posted by the CCP leadership.
- The First Five Year Plan had achieved an economic growth rate of 9% by 1957. However, the economy showed signs of slowing and there was concern that the current levels of agricultural production would not provide the capital for heavy industrial growth.
- Mao's response to the disappointing agricultural production on the cooperative farms was a strategy of heightened production through moral incentives and mass mobilisation.
- In 1957 the CCP Politburo ordered urban-based cadres to 'go down' to the countryside and work to increase production under the campaign slogan of 'more, faster, better, cheaper.'

The outcomes did not fulfil the optimistic hopes of the party leaders:

- At the time Sino-Soviet relations were reflected in influential Soviet advice and backing for the project;
- The theories of Lysenko which were applied to agriculture failed dismally. The combination of farming techniques and the withdrawal of peasants from farms to work on large scale projects led to massive famine;
- Dr Judith Bannister (USA) undertook a major investigation of China's population statistics. Using past figures she estimated 30 million excess deaths during 1958-61. Chen Yizi, a senior Chinese Party official who fled to America in 1979, claimed that figures of 50 and 60 million deaths were cited at internal meetings of senior party officials;
- The official report of the Central Committee of 26th August 1959 recognised that the figures published previously for economic achievement during 1958 were exaggerated by 40-50 %. The Chinese still claim that natural calamities were an important contributor to 'the lean and bitter years' although they acknowledge that the policies were also flawed.

America

Part 1 – Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events

Question 1

America [1763-1776]

- a. Identify the setting and the type of people shown in the painting. (2 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

- Boston Harbour, the boats (eg. Dartmouth) were British, and cargo was tea.
- The group comprises Bostonians supportive of the Sons of Liberty.

- b. Describe the action being taken by the group on the larger ship. (2 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

The Sons of Liberty dressed as Mohawks boarded British ships and destroyed the cargo of tea.

- c. Using your own knowledge and the representation, explain the events leading up to the Boston Tea Party. (6 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

- Events leading up to the Boston Tea party had their origins in the Townshend Duties which placed a tax on tea.
- In protest the colonists drank smuggled Dutch tea which impacted on the British East India Company. Parliament addressed the financial plight of the company by allowing them to ship tea directly to the colonies. In defiance the colonists maintained boycott.
- In 1773 a situation arose over three ships which sat in Boston Harbour with an unloaded cargo of tea. (See image).
- Governor Hutchinson forced the issue by pointing out that as ships had entered the harbour they were liable to tax and would be confiscated. Patriots were fearful the confiscated tea would be distributed and sold, breaking the boycott.
- In a series of meetings, radical revolutionaries decided the tea should be destroyed and on 16 December disguised themselves as Mohawk Indians and assembled at Griffens Wharf; they boarded the Dartmouth and disposed of 342 chests of tea worth £ 18,000 (see image).
- The wilful destruction of British property led to the Coercive Acts which were designed to punish and control the colony of Massachusetts.

- d. Evaluate the usefulness of this representation as evidence to explain the tensions between the colonists and Britain in the period leading up to 1776. In your response refer to different views of the American Revolution. (10 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

- The representation is useful as it shows an incident which was pivotal in widening the divide between Britain and the colonies. The actions of the radical colonists, the destruction of British property, could not be treated lightly by Parliament and in 1774 Parliament passed the Coercive Acts which were harsh punitive measures that had the effect of unifying the colonists and leading to the First Continental Congress.
- John Adams said at the time: 'This is the most magnificent moment of all.' Hutchinson noted that it was 'the boldest stroke which has yet been struck in America.'
- Yet, the Boston Tea Party cannot be seen in isolation. It was the culmination of colonial resistance to a range of legislation which had been imposed on the colonies since 1763. This legislation had become more invasive, and colonial resistance was more violent over the period. However the intention of the more moderate colonists was not separation from Britain, and not all colonies agreed with the actions of the Bostonians who they regarded as 'hotheads'. The first Continental Congress was rather conservative in terms of its resolutions (Olive Branch petition).
- Historical opinion regarding the importance of the Boston Tea Party as a catalyst to revolution is varied. Modern historian Brogan claims 'the Tea Party was the last straw for Britain. They were now resolved on very different measures.' Gordon Wood says 'To the British the Boston Tea Party was the ultimate outrage. It led to the Coercive Acts which convinced Americans once and for all that Parliament had no more right to make laws for them than to tax them.'

France

Part 1 – Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events

Question 1

France [1781–4 August 1789]

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

The Tennis Court Oath sworn on the 20th June 1789 is an important document which galvanised many revolutionaries to further their cause. It is also immortalised in David's later painting.

- a. What, according to the extract, had the National Assembly been originally called to establish? (2 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

According to the document the National Assembly exists wherever its members are gathered and it was established to:

- Produce a constitution;
- Regenerate public order;
- Return the monarchy to its 'true principles'.

- b. What did the Oath require assembly members to do? (2 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

Those who pledged the oath were bound:

- Never to separate from the National Assembly;
- To provide a sustainable constitution of the realm.

- c. Using your own knowledge, explain the events which led up to the declaration of the Tennis Court Oath. (6 months)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

Question 'c' requires students to apply their contextual knowledge of the period and consider the build up to the publication of the document.

For this question students might consider:

- The aggravating events of the first (Feb – May 1787) and the second (Nov – Dec 1788) Assembly of Notables, contributed to calling for the Estates General;
- The call for the Estates-General and consequential drafting of the Cahiers de Doleances (Feb 1789), allowed the Third Estate to voice their grievances and as such, publicised the inequalities present in France;
- The treatment of the participants in the first weeks of the Estates-General;
- The announcement of a National Assembly on the 17th June and the recruitment of 1st and 2nd deputies to the cause;
- The intended or accidental locking of the Estates-General hall on the morning of the Tennis Court Oath.

- d.** To what extent is this extract useful in understanding the contribution of revolutionary leaders to a revolutionary situation in France by 1789? Refer to other views in your response. (10 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

Question 'd' asks students to assess the role of leaders like Bailly and the other deputies present at the Oath.

For this question students might consider discussing:

- Other revolutionary acts by leaders and their impact;
- The impact of other leaders – liberal nobility, Lafayette and Mirabeau;
- Other pamphleteers and journalists, Desmoulins;
- The manner in which some historians have recorded the influence of leaders;
- Most importantly, what other factors contributed to revolution that are not related to leadership.

Russia

Part 1 – Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events

Question 1

Russia [1905–October 1917]

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

This document refers to the days before the Bolshevik coup of October 1917 and outlines Lenin's plan to usurp authority in the name of the Soviets.

a. What actions does Lenin call for? (2 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

Question 'a' simply asks you to identify that Lenin calls for:

- Immediate violent action;
- Stop conferring and rise up and arrest the government;
- Disarm the officer cadets.

b. Why does Lenin claim that it is not important who must take power at this point? (2 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

In question 'b' students should mention:

- It will only be temporary; and
- whoever does it will ultimately relinquish power to the people.

c. Using your own knowledge, explain the events that led up to this 'call for power'. (6 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

Question 'c' requires students to apply their contextual knowledge of the period and consider the factors and events that led up to the October Coup of 1917.

For this question students should refer to at least three of the following:

- The February Revolution and the political vacuum created by Dual Authority;
- The failure of the July days;
- The actions of Kerensky in August in releasing Bolsheviks to deal with Kornilov threat;
- The change of tactics and increased manpower of the Bolsheviks and the formation of the Military Revolutionary Committee.

- d. Evaluate to what extent this extract is useful in illustrating the role of Lenin and the Bolsheviks in pursuing revolution in October 1917. Refer to other views in your response. (10 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

Question 'd' asks students to determine how useful this document is in explaining the role of Lenin in the period immediately prior to October 1917.

For this question students might consider:

- This would suit a Soviet version of the events of 1917;
- Some historians would question the motives and methods of Lenin – most notably Pipes;
- In this vein, liberal historians would seize upon the duplicity inherent in this document and use it as damning of Bolshevik methods;
- Others would suggest that the failure of the existing regime to maintain control had more to do with revolution.

China

Part 1 – Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events

Question 1

China [1898-1949]

- a. What actions did Mao Zedong claim the peasants would take? (2 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

Mao claimed the peasants would sweep away the imperialists, warlords, corrupt officials, local tyrants and evil gentry.

- b. According to Mao, what alternatives confronted the rest of the population as a consequence of the peasant movement? (2 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

Mao believed that in light of the peasants' actions the Chinese people had three alternatives: to march with them, to trail behind them or to stand in their way and oppose them.

- c. Using your own knowledge and the representation, outline Mao's ideas about peasant revolution. (6 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

- The Comintern believed that China had to develop capitalism for the revolution to progress. They advised the CCP to submerge itself in the GMD and work to keep the party as left wing as possible.
- Mao was deeply impressed with the revolutionary potential of the peasantry and doubtful that a revolution could be effected through the urban proletariat. He thought it better to focus on the discontented poor peasants and build up a revolutionary army and establish rural military bases. He advocated that revolution focus on the peasants rather than on the urban proletariat, as prescribed by orthodox Marxist-Leninist theoreticians.
- In 1927 Mao held the position of Director of the Peasant Department of the Communist Party in Shanghai. It was during this time that he wrote his report on an investigation into the peasant movement in Hunan (the extract is part of this report).
- Mao said, 'Rely on the poor peasants and landless farm hands; unite with the middle peasants, restrict the rich peasants and liquidate the landless, local bullies and bad gentry.'
- Despite the failure of the Autumn Harvest Uprising of 1927, Mao continued to work among the peasants of Hunan Province.
- Mao retreated to the countryside (Jiangxi) because of the strength and power base of the GMD armies lay in the cities. Mao believed that it would be possible to extend the areas controlled by the revolutionary bases and gradually win the support of most of the peasants. Guerrilla tactics would be used until they built up strength and only when the Communist forces had gained strength superior to that of the enemy should their armies engage in positional warfare and attempt to capture the cities.

- d. Evaluate the usefulness of this representation as evidence to explain the thinking of the CCP in the 1920s and 1930s concerning the role the peasantry would play in the revolution. In your response refer to different views of the Revolution. (10 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

- This source is very useful because it shows how Mao saw the peasants as integral to the revolution. Eventually the CCP was to embrace Mao's adaptations of Marxism in the theory which became known as Maoism.
- The role of the peasants in the revolution was a contentious one and it divided the party. Soviet orthodoxy focused on the cities and urban areas as the place for revolutionary cells and action. CCP leadership was dominated by people put forward by the Comintern.
- Contrary to traditional Marxist thinking Mao emphasised the peasant (rural) masses and not the industrialist (urban) proletariat. He said "'correct consciousness' is the key to class status, not one's economic base.'
- Mao's views were not accepted by the CCP leadership. Leader of the CCP at this time was Li Lisan. He had no confidence in the peasants as leaders of the revolution, and saw them as petty bourgeoisie. Nevertheless he ordered Mao, Peng Dehuai and Zhu De, who were organising peasant armies, to attack key points. When these failed it appeared that Li Lishan had been correct about the peasant armies.
- Gradually the potential of the peasants was realised by the CCP leadership. The most successful campaigns launched by the CCP were achieved at Jiangxi (a remote area where the peasants were trained).
- Mao kept up his opposition to the party leadership (Li Lisan and then 28B). The debate came to a head at Zunyi in January 1935 and Mao's thinking prevailed. He was elected leader of the CCP.
- Historical interpretations of this period of history and the debates that surrounded the role of the peasantry differ. Terence Buggy claims that the emphasis on peasant revolution was begun by other communists such as Li Dazhao and Peng. Fairbank and Goldman claim that Mao successfully blended theory and practice which was a major motif of Confucian philosophy. They claim that it was Mao who saw that China's revolution must lie in the careful intellectual analysis of the various classes in the countryside. Spence does not agree and contends that Mao's edicts concerning the peasants were dictated more by practical rather than theoretical considerations.

Part 2 – Creating a new society

Question 2

Write a short essay in the space provided on the essay topic for the revolution you have chosen for Section B. You must write on the revolution you have chosen for Section B.

America [1776-1789]

Gordon Wood claims that by 1789 the Americans had become the ‘most liberal, the most democratic, the most commercially minded and the most modern people in the world.’

Do you agree with this view? Use evidence to support your answer. (20 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

Sample introduction:

The quote by Gordon Wood celebrates the achievements of the American Revolution and would tend to suggest that the aims of the revolutionaries had been fulfilled. Not all historians have assessed the outcomes of the American Revolution in such glowing terms and some have criticised the Founding Fathers who drafted the constitution for ignoring the rights of women, indigenous people, slaves and propertyless white men. Yet, Wood might defend his claim by arguing that the American Revolution must be judged in context and that comparative to changes occurring elsewhere in the world the developments in America were revolutionary.

Students might use the following examples to support an argument for this question:

- Changes to the political structure of America were indeed radical, especially in a time when most nations were headed by some form of monarchical control.
- At the time when Americans were considering the structure of the new nation there were few distinct models that the revolutionaries could copy. Only two things were certain in 1776: one was that the new America would be republican, the other was that the new states would have written constitutions. It was only after years of debate and experience under a weak alliance (the Articles of Confederation) that the American Constitution took form;
- The final document with its accompanying Bill of Rights was a complex arrangement involving a series of checks and balances designed to prevent one branch of government predominating over another. The House of Representatives was based on the concept of democracy with the more populous states having more representatives. The Senate provided for equal representation of all states regardless of size. Two other branches of government were created, the executive and the judiciary.
- Initially the economy suffered from the war situation and the inability of Congress to tax the citizen. Consequently the American governments (State and Federal) borrowed from abroad and the printing of paper currency and bills of credit led to inflation. However, these negative effects were countered by the creation of the necessities of an army and with new opportunities for trade, farmers and entrepreneurs developed skills to exploit these chances;
- This economic development was encouraged under the leadership of Alexander Hamilton, the first Secretary of the Treasury. Hamilton argued for the federal government to take over the debts of the old Continental Congress allowing for the development of a centralised and prosperous capitalist economy. The positive changes effected in the economic sphere are reflected in Wood’s claim that the ‘revolution released latent economic energies that set America on a course of rapid commercial development rarely matched by any country in the history of the world.’;
- The loosening of political ties also opened up many opportunities for commercial growth and in the decades following the revolution the economy expanded to exert influence internationally;

- It was in the social sphere that change was less pronounced yet even here there was transition, from what Wood has termed a 'hierarchy-ridden' society, to a meritocracy. But the class that benefited most from the revolution were 'white men of property'. The departure of the 60,000 to 80,000 loyalists, during and immediately after the war, was the catalyst for social change in the upper echelons of society. Social status was no longer based on family connections and heritage but rather on wealth. Wealth was far more unequally distributed after the revolution;
- Feminist historians have been critical of the revolution for failing to address the inferior social status and the lack of power accorded to women. Marxist historians such as Zinn claim these failings were extended to other groups, Native Americans, slaves and poor labourers.

France [5 August 1789-1795 Dissolution of the convention]

'The actions and character of the Jacobin government prove that revolutionaries always compromise their ideals in the hope of maintaining power.'

Do you agree with this view of the French revolutionaries? Use evidence to support your answer. (20 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

Students could argue successfully for either side of this question and they might use some of the following points to frame an argument:

- The Jacobins outline their platform in the Jacobin demands in 1792 – it could be argued that they sustain or renege on these policies;
- The Jacobins did compromise their ideals but in the face of crisis not as a grasp for power – the extra pressures of international conflict – caused by expenses of war as well as the restriction of international trade – the people of France were in strife, the price of bread had risen 750% and food riots erupted. The Jacobins responded by contradicting the former bourgeoisie concept of laissez-faire and introduced the very strict Law of Maximum – restricting prices for goods, regulating wages;
- The Jacobins were in support of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy and of a Republic – their actions simply followed those principles up. After the imposition of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy and mass conscription, as well as the external threats of war – internal dissent led to anti-republic, counter-revolutionary activities in civil war. When the Republican armies were sent to suppress the revolt, the result was utter atrocities, brutalities and bloodshed;
- Students could elaborate upon Schama's claim that violence was an inherent aspect of revolution;
- They could compare this interpretation to the many contrary portrayals by historians like Lefebvre and Soboul;
- Did the Terror cause the Revolution to veer off course as some historians claim or was violence a 'cancer' from the beginning?
- The Jacobins were ultimately removed from power so surely this defeats the notion that they compromised ideals.

Russia [November 1917-1924 death of Lenin]

'The New Economic Policy was an absolute compromise of Bolshevik ideals and illustrated Lenin's desire to maintain power, for power's sake.'

Do you agree with this view of the Bolshevik revolutionaries? Use evidence to support your answer. (20 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

Students could argue successfully for either side of this question and they might use some of the following points to frame an argument:

- The Communist response to the challenge of poverty, famine and general economic management was the establishment of the Vesenkha and the institution of War Communism. This system, whilst ideologically the closest Russia ever came to achieving its communist goals, was brutal to the people. The requisitioning of grain from peasants to feed industrial workers was justified by Lenin who stated that the primary task in a ruined country is to save the working people. This repressive policy, with its understanding that he who does not work, shall not eat, has been condemned by some historians;
- However by 1921 it became evident that rather than aiding agricultural and industrial production, War Communism had suppressed its growth and at the Tenth Party Congress, Lenin introduced what he acknowledged as two steps forward, one step back; his New Economic Policy. Because the new plan involved reversing some of the centralisation established under War Communism and allowing market trade to resurface, Lenin was criticised even by party members such as Trotsky who announced it to be the first sign of the degeneration of Bolshevism, yet here again we can see Lenin's pragmatism and ability to hold tenaciously to power. In this way, Lenin distinguished himself from the tsarist regime by being able to change, introducing the view that we must not be afraid of Communists 'learning' from bourgeois specialists and showing flexibility fatally absent from Nicholas II's rule;
- Lenin instituted Land Reform and then revoked it - one of the first changes made by the Bolshevik Party was their Decree on Land of November 8th 1917, which stated that private ownership of land shall be abolished forever and effectively began their reallocation of land based ostensibly upon Marxist principles, but in reality was motivated more by opportunism and bitterness towards the bourgeoisie. In this way, the Communist government under Lenin made limited changes to the status quo.
- Lenin provided peace but at the cost of a civil war – WWI was dealt with in an ambiguous way, as seen in Trotsky's catchcry 'no peace, no war', caught between their desire for a worldwide revolution and the need to consolidate Russia's own revolution; an issue that would divide the party many times. The signing of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty on March 3rd 1918, depriving Russia of not only of 27% of its farmland and 62 million people, but 74% if its iron ore and coal, has been presented by liberal historians as an early indication of Lenin's political expediency.

China [1949-1976 Death of Mao]

‘After his death, even the Chinese Communist Party was critical of Mao, claiming his personal political power had led to violence and chaos.’

Do you agree with the assessment that Mao’s personal political power led to violence and chaos in China? (20 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

Sample introduction

Controversy surrounds the legacy of Mao Zedong. Many Chinese people continue to regard him as a great revolutionary leader, although there is an acknowledgement that he made mistakes, especially in his later years. In 1982 Deng Xiaoping issued an authoritative historical verdict, sanctioned by the CCP, claiming that Mao was ‘seventy-percent right and thirty-percent wrong’. Supporters of Mao point to his early years in which he unified China and established a new communist nation, while critics claim that the Great Leap Forward and Cultural Revolution were major disasters caused in part by his unbridled ego.

Students might use the following examples to support an argument for this question:

- Mao became leader of the CCP during the Long March and during the time at the Yan’an base and in the war against the Japanese and then later the civil war with the Nationalists, he reinforced his position;
- In 1945 the Thought of Mao Zedong was enshrined in the CCP’s new constitution. Mao was given formal powers to act unilaterally in certain instances;
- In 1949 Mao held the Chairmanship of the CCP Central Committee, the Politburo, the Central Secretariat, the People’s Republic Revolutionary Council and the National People’s Congress;
- Following the consolidation of power, Mao launched a phase of rapid collectivisation, lasting until around 1958. Land was taken from landlords and more wealthy peasants and given to poorer peasants. Large scale industrialisation projects were also undertaken;
- Teiwes claims ‘Mao approximated the ideal charismatic leader, whose exceptional abilities were acknowledged as the key to success, as well as the ideal founder of a new dynasty, with all the implications of obedience that role carried in traditional culture’;
- Mao became the subject of a major personality cult and Harrison Salisbury argues that when Mao moved into part of the Forbidden City in October 1949 ‘he had no doubt that he was emperor’;
- Mao’s authority was further enhanced by his major initiatives in the period 1949-57; the decision to go to war in Korea to stem the northward movement of the US and the campaign to speed up the pace of agricultural collectivisation in mid-1955.
- It was during the Hundred Flowers Campaign that Mao revealed the extent to which he was prepared to go to protect his personal political power. Debate surrounds the reasons for the launching of the Hundred Flowers Campaign but the result was a torrent of criticism of the CCP leadership. Mao reacted quickly in the anti-rightest campaign and the intellectuals were targeted: 550,000 individuals were labelled “rightists” and subject to thought reform;
- The Hundred Flowers movement led to the condemnation, silencing, and death of many intellectuals;
- Blame for the failure of the Great Leap Forward was placed largely on Mao. The impetus for the GLF came from the CCP’s recognition that the Soviet model of industrial growth was not suited to Chinese conditions. Mao was convinced that the key to economic development lay in the countryside and agricultural production which through a massive organisation of rural labour power could provide the base for industrial growth. Mao chose the pace and the country was whipped into a frenzy of activity to meet unrealistic goals. It was Mao’s policies and the compliance of the senior members of the CCP that were ultimately responsible for the national disaster which resulted in an excess of 30 million deaths. It has been claimed that ‘looming behind the many factors at play in the GLF was the personality and ego of Chairman Mao’ (Fairbank);
- Between 1963-65 Mao began the Socialist Education Movement to continue the revolution along revolutionary ideals and then in 1966 he launched the Cultural Revolution which some historians see as Mao’s attempt to reassert absolute power. Mao became the ‘object of a cult of veneration and the acknowledged superior in the organization’ (Fairbank and Goldman);

- The Cult of Mao was integral to the Cultural Revolution. In October 1966, Mao's *Quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong*, was published. Chinese people were encouraged to carry a copy of this Little Red Book with them and possession was almost mandatory for Party members. Mao's image and statues of him were seen everywhere;
- China was plunged into chaos as Mao unleashed the Red Guards and politically the CCP was decimated with the purging of key Party members. Economically the country was brought close to economic ruin, and socially the country was rent by the stigmatisation of people seen to be following the 'capitalist road'. The Cultural Revolution also led to the destruction of much of China's cultural heritage.