



INSIGHT
Trial Exam Paper

2009

HISTORY: Revolutions
Written examination

Sample responses

This book presents:

- high-level sample responses
- mark allocations for globally marked questions (see page 30)

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SECTION A – Revolution One

America

Part 1 – Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events

Question 1

How did the ideas of Thomas Paine contribute to the development of a revolutionary situation in the American colonies by 1776?

Sample response

Firstly, Thomas Paine contributed to the development of the revolutionary situation by fuelling anti-British sentiment. Following the events of 19 April 1775 at Lexington and Concord, Thomas Paine – in his popular pamphlet *Common Sense* (published January 1776) – said that he would ‘reject the hardened, sullen-tempered pharaoh of England forever’. Paine’s *Common Sense* strengthened the call for independence by claiming that ‘Tis time to part’.

Secondly, Thomas Paine’s writings broadened opposition to the British government. Written in simple and accessible language, *Common Sense* sold over 100 000 copies in the three months after its publication. It drew heavily from the Bible, which was familiar to all. Because *Common Sense* was accessible to the masses, it resulted in increased levels of revolutionary sentiment among them.

Thirdly, Thomas Paine’s ideas helped develop revolutionary ideology. *Common Sense* not only reinforced the notion of ‘Republicanism’ but also consolidated the idea of ‘Natural Rights’, shifting the target of blame from Westminster (Parliament) to the Monarchy. This idea pushed many in the colonies to hold King George III responsible for their difficulties, leading to the Declaration of Independence in 1776.

10 marks

Question 2

Explain the importance of the colonial legislatures in the development of the American Revolution by 1776.

Sample response

Firstly, the actions of colonial legislatures contributed to the revolutionary situation by 1776 by inciting anti-British protest. Following the introduction of the Stamp Act in 1765, the Virginia House of Burgesses passed Patrick Henry’s ‘Virginia Resolves’ (1765), which caused a ‘general outcry over the continent’, according to Thomas Gage. The outcry caused by the actions of the Virginia House of Burgesses generated anti-British sentiment.

Secondly, the actions of colonial legislatures caused the development of revolutionary movements. The dissolved Virginia House of Burgesses – for its support of the Massachusetts Assembly’s defiance of the Coercive Acts (1774) – passed resolutions at Raleigh Tavern (27 May 1774) calling for the establishment of the Continental Congress (1774 and 1775). These resolutions were crucial in severing ties with Britain.

Thirdly, the acts of the colonial legislatures generated revolutionary leadership. This leadership was developed through various revolutionary movements, most notably the Continental Congress. The formation of the Continental Congress allowed for prominent figures such as George Washington to lead the Continental Army (formed in 1775 following Congress’s adoption of the ‘Declaration Of The Cause And Necessity To Take Up Arms’). The formation of this army made war with Britain imminent. The Continental Congress also gave Patrick Henry the opportunity to develop the revolutionary ideal of ‘Republicanism’ through such statements as ‘Give me liberty or give me death!’ These ideals provided a foundation for the Declaration of Independence in 1776.

10 marks

SECTION A – continued

Part 2 – Creating a New Society

Question 3

America [1776–1789]

Cooke, Alistair, *America*, p.131

‘The Articles of Confederation are now seen by every historian to have been unworkable from the start (a fine example of the football coach’s remark that “hindsight is always 20/20”). As an instrument looking not so much toward a noble and harmonious world as to the actual government of a scattering of small nations, it is quite as impressive as the Charter of the United Nations, another noble document of dubious practicality. The Articles presumed to set up “a firm league of friendship” that, in some hazy, undefined way, would serve as a practical substitute for Crown and Parliament. They suffered from the pious inhibitions and optimistic assumptions of later leagues of nations. Congress piously requested troops and money and never got them – it had no power to raise federal taxes to support the central government. Worse, it could not regulate shipping or commerce – it could but only deplore the piratical depredations of the enemy’s navy, and the free and easy way in which the states taxed and boycotted each other’s goods. The fatal weakness was that of the later League of Nations and then of the United Nations: Congress kept talking about an overriding authority that, in fact, it never possessed.’

3a. Identify from the extract **two** tasks Cooke suggests were ‘presumed’ by the Articles of Confederation.

Sample response

The Articles were presumed to:

- 3a. i.** set up a ‘firm league of friendship’
- 3a. ii.** be able to serve as a practical substitute for Crown and Parliament.

2 marks

3b. Identify from the extract **two** reasons Cooke gives for the failure of the Articles of Confederation.

Sample response

- 3b. i.** Congress had ‘no power to raise federal taxes to support the central government’.
- 3b. ii.** Congress did not ‘possess’ an ‘overriding authority’.

2 marks

- 3c.** Using your knowledge and the extract, explain the ideals underpinning the creation of the Articles of Confederation in 1781.

Sample response

The Articles of Confederation (proposed 1776 and ratified 1781) was a ‘government of a scattering of small nations’ or ‘loose union’ amongst the various states. It was designed to prevent tyranny from a central authority – a situation experienced under British rule. Congress was deliberately restricted in its power over the states, and as a result was so weakened that it had ‘no power to raise federal taxes to support the central government’ nor ‘regulate shipping or commerce’. These restrictions essentially rendered it powerless.

The fear of centralised power which was embodied by the Confederacy Government, though detrimental to the new society, corresponded to and derived from the revolutionary ideals of ‘Republicanism’, ‘Self-determination’ and ‘Nationalism.’ This is evident in the Government’s authorisation of state sovereignty, which gave the states legislative power and thus power over their respective economies. The title given to the Confederate – The United States of America (First Article) – echoes the notion of ‘Nationalism.’ Essentially, the fear of centralised power nullified Congress’ ‘overriding power’. This fear was due to the pre-existing libertarian mentality and ideology of the colonists in the states, and some outspoken leaders of the time.

6 marks

- 3d.** Evaluate the strengths and limitations of this extract as evidence to explain the formal creation of self-government in America. In your response, refer to different views of the new society.

Sample response

Cooke’s extract has value as evidence to explain the formal creation of self-government in America because it highlights the purpose and function of the Articles of Confederation (proposed 1776 and ratified 1781). This is achieved when he identifies that the Confederate government ‘presumed’ to form ‘a firm league of friendship’ between the states and thus ‘serve[d] as a practical substitute for Crown and Parliament’. Cooke also briefly discusses some of the weaknesses of the Confederacy, such as Congress’ inability to ‘raise federal taxes to support the central government’ and to ‘regulate shipping and commerce’ – both of which would lead to the establishment of the United States Constitution (ratified 1788). Many historians such as Gordon Wood agree that ‘the confederacy government was weak’. Historians such as Zinn argue that this was because the founding fathers were interested in ‘land, profit and political power’.

Limitations to the document include its overly brief account of the Confederate Government’s failure to address the post-War of Independence (1775–1783) economic crisis, which in turn prompted the formation of the Constitution. This crisis encompassed issues regarding heavy state-induced taxation, loss of major trading partners (namely Britain), and loss of slave labour (due to war). Added to this was high unemployment, the collapse of the local market and war debt (both to France and to veterans from the War of Independence).

The political anomalies caused by the actions of the states under the Articles are also not mentioned in the extract. These problems, including undemocratic voting procedures (such as open ballots in Maryland) and limited suffrage (with rights given only to land-owning men over the age of 21), were significant in the call for the Constitution. Coupled with the economic depression, they provided impetus to Shay’s rebellion (1786) and thus the Annapolis Convention (1786), which led to the Constitutional Convention in 1787. The inefficiencies of the Articles caused some, such as Washington, to view the Americans of the new society as ‘ridiculous and contemptible in the eyes of all’. However, some contemporaries such as Thomas Paine saw the revolution as ‘happily and gloriously accomplished’.

10 marks

France [1781 – 4 August 1789]

Part 1 – Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events

Question 1

Explain the importance of the Tennis Court Oath in the development of the French Revolution by August 1789.

Sample response

Firstly, the forming of the Tennis Court Oath on 20 June 1789 was a defining moment for the French revolution. Of primary significance was the Tennis Court Oath's declaration that the King had 'no right' to dissolve the meeting. This was a direct threat to the King's authority and encouraged revolutionary sentiment. Secondly, the Oath taken to not disband until a written constitution had been established for France was the first time the members of the Third Estate had clearly stated their intentions.

Thirdly, the Tennis Court Oath was a turning point that revealed the ancien regime as impractical and no longer suitable for France's society. This was demonstrated through the increased numbers of clergy and nobility joining the Third Estate in the week beginning 20 June. Also, the King's choice to reverse his previous decision in declaring all actions of the National Assembly 'null and void', and his acceptance of the Tennis Court Oath on 27 June, belittled his credibility and weakened him in the eyes of his country, reinstating his image as an indecisive leader.

10 marks

Question 2

Explain the importance of the Philosophes in the development of the French Revolution by August 1789.

Sample response

Firstly, the writings of the Philosophes provided guidelines for reform. They provided instruction and direction for the revolution by defining key subjects and aims for France to fulfil, such as religious tolerance as outlined by Voltaire in *On Ecclesiastical Law*.

Secondly, the Philosophes highlighted inequalities within the third estate. Rousseau's *The Social Contract*, for example, highlighted the plight of the peasants, suggesting that due to the 50 per cent rise in the price of bread between August 1788 and February 1789, peasants were spending up to 88 per cent of their daily wages on bread by the spring of 1789.

Thirdly, the Philosophes increased political agitation to bring about a revolutionary situation. The ancien regime had been under attack by the Philosophes of the Enlightenment; this, combined with a failing economy, increased already rising revolutionary sentiment by August 1789.

Finally, not only did the Philosophes inspire revolutionary sentiment, but they also initiated and debated key ideas regarding the direction of the new society, suggesting alternative political structures such as a constitutional monarchy and a republic.

10 marks

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

Part 2 – Creating a new Society

Question 3

McPhee, Peter, *The French Revolution, 1789–1799*, p.151

‘It was above all the battle of Fleurus (26 June) – finally ending the threat of Austrian troops on French soil – which exposed the contradictions in the popular alliance of the year II. The geographic incidence of executions during the terror had been concentrated in departments where the military threat had been the greatest; now, as the military threat receded, the number of executions for political opposition increased. The removal of the immediate military threat starkly exposed the new purpose for which the Terror was being used: from March 1793 to 10 June 1794, 1,251 were executed in Paris; following the law of 22 Prairial (10 June), 1,376 were guillotined in just six weeks. These weeks were not a time of unrelenting repression; in mid-July seventy-one Girondin deputies who might have joined their fellows at the guillotine in October 1793 but for Robespierre’s intervention were reinstated as full members of the Convention. However, they were not in a forgiving mood. Robespierre’s speech to the Convention on 26 July (8 Thermidor), with its vague threat to unnamed deputies, provided the motivation for reaction. Among those who plotted his overthrow were Fouché, Collot d’Herbois, Fréron, and Barras, fearful that Robespierre intended to call them to account for their bloody repression of Federalism in Lyons, Toulon, and Marseilles. When he was arrested the following day, he could not look for support to the *sans-culottes*’ movement, shattered by the Jacobins’ own measures, the death of its leaders, and the alienation of wage earners. Only seventeen of the forty-eight sections responded to calls to save him, and soon dispersed.’

3a. Identify from the extract **two** different consequences of the battle of Fleurus.

Sample response

Consequences of the battle were:

- 3a. i. ending the threat of Austrian troops on French soil
- 3a. ii. exposing the contradictions in the popular alliance of the year II.

2 marks

3b. Identify from the extract **two** reasons McPhee suggests prevented Robespierre from gaining the support of the *sans-culottes* movement.

Sample response

Two reasons preventing him gaining support of the *sans-culottes* movement were:

- 3b. i. the death of its leaders
- 3b. ii. the alienation of wage earners.

2 marks

- 3c.** Using your knowledge and the extract, explain the events that led to the overthrow of Robespierre and his supporters in Thermidor in July 1794.

Sample response

This extract suggests that it was above all the war that led to the overthrow of Robespierre and his supporters, however, other factors contributed to this event in July 1794. Robespierre's introduction of the 'Supreme Cult of Being' was sought to regain Catholics' trust, but instead it further distanced him from them: many Catholics disliked it, as it didn't follow the Catholic Doctrine. Furthermore, many anti-clericals dismissed the policy, as they believed it to be the first step towards the reintroduction of Catholicism. The Philosophes were also opposed to the 'Supreme Cult of Being', believing it to be explicitly opposed to reason. In 1793 the assignat had fallen to 36 per cent of its face value, and the Law of Maximum was therefore applied to wages. This backfired however, and resulted in wages halving, causing widespread discontent among the *sans-culottes* – and also in the provinces – towards Robespierre and his followers. Further, the continuation of the Terror after the war ended in 1794 led many citizens to wonder why this was necessary after the foreign threat had diminished. After disappearing for over a month, Robespierre addressed the Convention on 26 July 1794 accusing members of being traitorous but refusing to name names. Members of the Convention felt threatened, so the following day when Robespierre attempted to speak to the Convention, he was shouted down, arrested, and taken to the Hotel de Ville. He attempted suicide while there, but succeeded only in shooting off his lower jaw. On 28 July 1794 Robespierre and his followers were executed by the guillotine, silencing him forever and finalising his overthrow.

6 marks

- 3d.** Evaluate the reliability of the representation as evidence to explain the significance of the fall of Robespierre and his supporters in the creation of the new society. In your response refer to other views of the Revolution.

Sample response

This secondary extract by historian Peter McPhee was written to justify the reasons for Robespierre's downfall. It supplies a moderate view in explaining the significance of the fall of Robespierre and his supporters in the creation of the new society. Its strengths can be found in its recognition of the potential of Robespierre, and how his downfall on 28 July 1794 was essential in creating a new society. As Doyle asserts, it was '...the beginning of a new phase of the Terror, when people would die for their potential as much as specific crimes'.

This extract also successfully shows that Robespierre's downfall led to the end of the great terrorising anarchy from within Paris, which led to a more moderate path being taken. This moderation was shown through the punishment of the 20 May 1795 Journée, where 4000 militants were deported to a military prison on a remote island known as the 'dry guillotine' instead of being executed. Historian Lefebvre wrote that this marked the end of the revolution and the creation of new society, as '...its mainspring (the guillotine) had been broken', and terror was no longer used. Overall, this extract supplies a moderately reliable view in explaining the significance of the fall of Robespierre and his supporters in the creation of the new society.

10 marks

Russia

Part 1 – Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events

Question 1

Russia [1905 – October 1917]

How did Trotsky contribute to the development of a revolutionary situation in Russia by 1917?

Sample response

Leon Trotsky joined the Marxists in 1897 and was one of the few socialists present and active during the events of 1905. He organised and became chairman of the St. Petersburg Soviet, instigated the October strikes and criticised the Tsar's October Manifesto and those who accepted its concessions. Following his exile from Russia between 1906 and 1917 Trotsky returned in May 1917, choosing to leave the Mensheviks and align himself with the Bolsheviks following the July Days.

Trotsky was a superb military organiser and tactician, and was instrumental in organising military forces to 'protect' the Provisional Government during the Kornilov affair (August 1917) as well as mobilising Bolshevik numbers in the Petrograd Soviet following his election as Chairman in September. Following this, as leader of the Military Revolutionary Committee he planned and executed the logistical and tactical October coup – about which Stalin claimed 'the party is indebted primarily and principally to Comrade Trotsky' for what it saw as the successful Bolshevik takeover of Russia.

10 marks

Question 2

Russia [1905 – October 1917]

Explain the importance of the actions of the Provisional Government in the development of the Russian Revolution between February 1917 and October 1917.

Sample response

From the outset, the Provisional Government (the Fourth Duma in a new form) lacked legitimate authority and widespread support. Having been 'appointed by the revolution itself' in February 1917, the Provisional Government was often unsure of its own power (as it intended only to be a temporary body until the Constituent Assembly was elected later that year). This enabled bodies such as the Petrograd Soviet to restrict the Government's authority: for example, 'Soviet Order Number 1' (released March 1917) limited the Provisional Government's control over the military. As the Provisional Government also inherited a virtually bankrupt nation, it was forced to keep Russia in the war as it was reliant on supplies and foreign capital from its war allies. The consequential focus on the war front restricted the Provisional Government's ability to address the more pressing social and economic problems of food and land. By the end of August 1917 the daily bread ration in Petrograd and Moscow had dropped to half a pound (225 grams). The hope of land redistribution had also been dismissed, with the majority of the Provisional Government belonging to the land-owning nobility. This resulted in widespread discontent and peasant land seizures. The government-ordered Cossack expeditions to the countryside in an attempt to halt the seizures only increased the sense of antagonism. However, the Provisional Government's fatal mistake was the Kerensky-ordered release from prison and arming of the Bolsheviks in August 1917, in response to the fear of a perceived military coup led by General Kornilov. This enabled the Bolsheviks to gain strength and support, and, in conjunction with the Provisional Government's inability to address the problems of 'Peace, Bread and Land' facing Russia, led to a revolutionary situation by October 1917.

10 marks

SECTION A – continued

Part 2 – Creating a New Society

Question 3

Russia [November 1917 – 1924 death of Lenin]

Rosenberg, William G, ‘NEP Russia as a “Transitional” society’ in Fitzpatrick, Sheila et. al. (ed.), *Russia in the Era of NEP – Explorations in Russian Society and Culture*, p.1

‘As students of Soviet history know quite well, the period between the end of the Civil War and the onslaught of collectivization and rapid industrialization in late 1929 is known as NEP because of a series of new economic policies introduced by the Bolsheviks in the spring of 1921. These had to do first and foremost with ending food requisitions from the countryside and eliminating tight restrictions on private trade and production. With victory in the Civil War assured, the confiscation of grain and the effort to maintain rigid controls on the pricing and distribution of goods no longer made political or economic sense. Wholesale peasant resistance had culminated in massive uprisings in Tambov province late in 1920, just as the anti-Bolshevik “Whites” and their European allies were being defeated. Workers in Petrograd and elsewhere appeared on the verge of revolt over scarcities and harsh working conditions. Opposition had broken out openly within the party itself. Early in March 1921 sailors at Kronstadt seized the island fortress to demand “land and bread” and a Soviet government without the Bolsheviks. Bolshevik leaders everywhere were quickly persuaded that the party had to retreat, at least for a time, that the policies of “War Communism” had to give way to a more relaxed period of recovery and transition.’

3a. Identify from the extract the **two** primary aims of the new economic policies.

Sample response

The two primary aims of the new economic policies were to end:

- 3a. i.** food requisitioning in the countryside
- 3a. ii.** the tight restrictions on production and trade in the cities.

2 marks

3b. Identify from the extract **two** actions of opposition to the Bolsheviks that emerged under the policy of War Communism.

Sample response

Two actions of opposition against the Bolsheviks that emerged during the period of War Communism were the:

- 3b. i.** Tambov uprising in late 1920
- 3b. ii.** uprising of Kronstadt in early 1921.

2 marks

3c. Using your knowledge and the extract, explain the events that led to the introduction of NEP in 1921.

Sample response

As stated by this extract, despite winning the Civil War, the Bolsheviks still faced a series of threats in the forms of both economic conditions and popular uprisings in 1921. These threats ultimately forced them to alter their economic policies in March that year. In terms of the economy, War Communism had not brought about its desired outcomes in the industrial or agricultural sector, with industrial output falling to 15 per cent of pre-war levels and agricultural production to 60 per cent of pre-war levels. Both the urban and rural populations rebelled against these strict policies, with urban workers fleeing to the countryside; Moscow lost half its population and Petrograd three quarters by 1921. This left the factories without adequate manpower. Peasants adopted a subsistence method of farming and murdered members of grain-requisitioning squads: 7000 members were murdered in 1918 alone.

As this extract explains, this discontent and resentment towards the Bolsheviks and their policies accumulated into two main movements – the Tambov (Autumn 1920 – Summer 1921) and Kronstadt (March 1921) rebellions – that forced the government to reconsider its rigid policies. The former was led by Alexander Antonov and the Union of Toiling Peasants and, despite being put down by the Red Army and Cheka, highlighted the discontent of the peasantry and was claimed by Lenin as ‘the greatest threat his regime had ever had to face’. The latter saw the Kronstadt sailors, the ‘heroes of the revolution’, along with over 15 000 supporters (mostly striking workers) protest against the government they had helped to power and demand the realisation of their initial promises of ‘land and bread’. This uprising, in conjunction with the events and situations that preceded it, forced the Bolsheviks to introduce the NEP as it demonstrated the lack of popular support for (and effectiveness of) their policies of War Communism.

6 marks

- 3d.** Evaluate to what extent this representation is reliable evidence to explain the reasons for the transition from War Communism to NEP in the new society. Refer to other views in your response.

Sample response

This secondary extract by William Rosenberg attempts to explain the reasons behind the Bolsheviks’ transition from War Communism to NEP in Russia, 1921. Rosenberg claims that it was the end of the Civil War that prompted the transition between these two economic policies: following the Bolshevik victory, the rigid measures of War Communism (most notably those of grain requisitioning and strict centralised control of industrial workplaces) ‘no longer made political or economic sense’. This view is supported by the CPSU, who claimed that War Communism was purely pragmatic, ‘the product of war and blockade’, hence the end of the Civil War would naturally mark the end of War Communism.

However, this extract fails to address the ideological basis of this transition in economic policy, as well as the Bolsheviks’ continuance of War Communism after the direct threat posed by the Civil War had subsided in 1920 (although some counter-revolutionary activity continued past this date). Although the extract indicates that the transition was provoked by popular opposition in the form of the Tambov and Kronstadt rebellions, it fails to mention that the introduction of the NEP was also a result of the Bolsheviks’ failed ‘attempt to introduce full blown Communism’, as claimed by Richard Pipes. Ideologically, many of the Bolsheviks saw the NEP as a retreat as it re-introduced capitalist elements that they had been fighting against under the tsarist regime – elements such as the reinstatement of a market economy and the restoration of money to its traditional place in society. Therefore, although this extract addresses some of the reasons why the Bolsheviks abandoned War Communism and implemented the NEP (such as popular resistance), it fails to acknowledge the widely supported view that the policy change was also due to the ideological failure of War Communism as an economic policy which Trotsky himself admitted was a ‘theoretical mistake’.

10 marks

SECTION A – continued

China

Part 1 – Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events

Question 1

China [1898–1949]

How did Sun Yat-Sen contribute to the development of the Chinese Revolution before his death in 1925?

Sample response

Sun Yat-Sen, an incredibly popular leader, instilled a revolutionary consciousness in China's middle and lower classes through the development of his 'Three Principles' and through the formation of the Tongmenghui. Sun Yat-Sen's 'Three Principles' called for China to become more nationalistic, claiming 'China for the Chinese'; in addition, he stressed the need for 'Democracy' and the 'People's Livelihood', which would give peasants and workers political and social rights that they would never achieve under the Qing. Sun Yat-Sen also formed the Tongmenghui; this revolutionary group played a vital role in the 'double-ten' revolution (10 October 1911) which C P Fitzgerald describes as 'a most radical step'. However, political mismanagement also contributed to the revolutionary situation. For example, Cixi's 'Railways Recovery Movement' of 1911, which in effect gave the railways back to foreign banks, enraged most of China's middle class.

10 marks

Question 2

China [1898–1949]

How did the Chinese Communist Party contribute to a revolutionary situation in China by 1949?

Sample response

The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) created a revolutionary situation by 1949 by presenting themselves as a superior government to the Nationalist regime. The CCP reinforced their appeal by creating a legendary public image through the struggle of the Long March under Mao (1934), the ideal of the Yanan years (1935–1946) and their approach to the Sino-Japanese War (1937).

The Long March covered around 12 000 kilometres through 11 provinces. The peasants who encountered the Red Army soldiers found them to be polite, always insisting on paying for their food; news of their honesty, as well as of their courageous feats, spread throughout the peasant classes. The land reforms, women's rights initiatives and education initiatives set up by the Communists in Yanan presented an ideal alternative government to the Chinese peasants. In the Sino-Japanese War of 1937 not only did the CCP take an active role against the Japanese (something Chiang failed to do), but they also treated captured soldiers (often peasants) very well, usually paying for the return trip to their homes. The CCP gained the favour of the peasants – something Chiang could not do – and thus were seen by the peasants, and so the majority of China, as an ideal government.

10 marks

Part 2 – Creating a new Society

Question 3

China [1949 – 1976 death of Mao]

Snow, Edgar, ‘The Other Side of the River’ in Morcombe, Margot and Fielding, Mark, *The Spirit of Change – China in Revolution*, p.175

‘[The Communes suffered because of] the incredible haste with which they were established; the lack of adequate experimentation and preparation; the suddenness of the mass levelling imposed on the prosperous villagers and the prosperous individual farmers when they were equalised with the poorer ones; the lack of incentives to replace the drastic withdrawal of autonomous village control; the threat to home life before a broad community life had been fully established to replace it; the enormous technical responsibility and initiative demanded from inexperienced and poorly trained cadres, and the ruthless disregard of ‘the principle of voluntariness’ by a vast army of township bureaucrats who mushroomed overnight and began to take charge of every hour of the people’s lives. When unbelievably bad weather added its powerfully negative vote, the communes were rapidly driven back into a preparatory stage which the party tried to jump over in 1958 – at great cost to production’.

3a. Identify from the extract **two** reasons the communes suffered.

Sample response

The communes suffered because of:

- 3a. i.** inexperienced and poorly trained cadres
- 3a. ii.** unbelievably bad weather.

2 marks

3b. Identify from the extract **two** consequences of the bad weather that added to the suffering of the communes.

Sample response

The Communes were ‘rapidly driven back to a preparatory stage’ which in turn was a ‘great cost to production’.

2 marks

- 3c.** Using your knowledge and the extract, explain the reasons for the failure of the Great Leap Forward by 1961.

Sample response

The extract explores one of the key reasons for the failure of the Great Leap Forward by 1961 – the failure of the communes. As the extract states, the Communes were rushed into, not catering for the ‘levelling’ of ‘prosperous’ individuals, the destruction of the family unit, and poorly trained cadres. However, a major reason the Communes failed was the false production figures created by overly competitive Commune leaders under the directives of party officials during the ‘backyard steel’ initiative. The creation of backyard furnaces led to the production of substandard steel (i.e. steel that was too weak to use for its original purpose of building, or worse still, steel that was used to build structures that often collapsed soon after construction). This substandard steel also resulted in quickly-built farm machinery produced by factory workers attempting to meet unrealistic quotas – again, this machinery often broke upon use. Perhaps the most devastating reason for the failure of the Great Leap Forward was the impact that the backyard production method had on the production of food. The backyard production method took many workers away from their fields, resulting in much-needed food not being harvested, and leading to China’s worst famine. Mao stated that ‘nobody tells me the truth anymore’; the lies perpetuated about the quantity of food led to the government’s belief that they had a 65 billion tonne surplus which didn’t exist, causing thirty million people to die of starvation between 1959 and 1961.

6 marks

- 3d.** Evaluate the strengths and limitations of this extract as evidence to explain the outcomes of the Great Leap Forward. Refer to other views in your response.

Sample response

This article offers limited insight into the reasons for the failure of the Great Leap Forward. While it does account for the failure of an integral aspect of the Great Leap Forward (i.e. the communes) it fails to explore some of the major reasons for the overall failure of Mao’s initiative.

Edgar Snow, an English journalist, gained most of his information first hand from Mao. This explains the bias in the text: the blame is laid upon the ‘prosperous’ and ‘inexperienced cadres’, never on the high-ranking Communist officials who initially set the movement in motion. Also, the ‘backyard steel’ initiative is never mentioned, even though this caused a further fall in food production as peasants were making sub-standard steel instead of growing crops. Finally, this article fails to mention that the result of the Great Leap Forward, i.e. the famine causing thirty million people to die of starvation between 1959 and 1961, was the worst famine in Chinese history. Jung Chang and Jon Halliday describe Mao as a ‘mass murderer’, a view substantiated by the massive number of deaths caused by the Great Leap Forward, and one Snow fails to address.

10 marks

SECTION B – Revolution Two

America

Part 1 – Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events

Question 1

America [1763–1776]



‘The Bloody Massacre Perpetrated in King Street Boston on March 5th, 1770’
(engraving by Paul Revere, 1770, Wikimedia Commons)

1a. Identify **two** groups shown in the representation of the Boston Massacre.

Sample response

1a. i. British Redcoats

1a. ii. Bostonians

2 marks

- 1b.** Identify **two** features of the representation that suggest actions of British tyranny in the colonies.

Sample response

- 1b. i.** The British are shooting at the Bostonians.
- 1b. ii.** There are collapsed, bleeding figures (Bostonians) in the left-hand corner of the image.

2 marks

- 1c.** Using your own knowledge and the representation above, explain the events that led to the Boston Massacre in March 1770.

Sample response

The representation is a form of propaganda created by the prominent Sons of Liberty figure, Paul Revere, depicting the events of 5 March 1770. The origins of the 'Boston Massacre' (5 March 1770) begin with the imposition of the Townshend Acts of 1767 (a series of duties placed on various common items, most notably tea) following a period of relative peace between the colonies and the British. In response, John Dickinson's *Letters from a farmer in Pennsylvania* (November 1767) – according to Wood, the most popular pamphlet of the 1760s – argued that parliament had only a supervisory legislative right, therefore having no coercive power over the colonies, a claim that fuelled revolutionary ideology. This was supported by Sam Adams' *Circular Letter* (1768), which argued that it was a violation of 'Natural Rights' to use taxes to support British governors and judges and denounced the Townshend Acts as an infringement of the principle, 'No taxation without representation'. Consequently, tensions rose leading to the outbreak of mobs, anger and outrage, compelling Westminster to send three Redcoat regiments to Boston – as seen in the representation – to break mob momentum and enforce adherence to the Townshend duties. This angered the Bostonians – not only because it was an increased presence of troops in peacetime but also because Redcoats, aside from their military duties, competed for casual employment with locals. These tensions were exploited by the Sons of Liberty, who distributed propaganda in the form of posters depicting British tyranny and articles describing Redcoats as murderous, dangerous and rapacious. Tensions hence exploded with the 'Boston Massacre', as shown in the image.

6 marks

- 1d.** Evaluate to what extent this representation presents a reliable view of the events in Boston in March 1770. In your response refer to different views of the revolution.

Sample response

The representation, created by Paul Revere – a prominent Sons of Liberty Bostonian – gives a purely colonialist view of the events of the ‘Boston Massacre’ in March 1770. Indeed it was part of an account titled *A Short Narrative of the Horrid Massacre in Boston*, produced by the Sons of Liberty and distributed throughout England and the Colonies as part of a propaganda campaign. It therefore has value in this sense, as it allowed an anti-British perspective to be represented. Further, it depicts events that actually occurred. During the ‘Boston Massacre’ four Bostonians were killed, corresponding with the representation in which four figures are either dead or dying. It is therefore reasonable to say it has value in this sense.

However, the representation is limited. It does not depict the rowdy crowd that was present on the night of 5 March: the same crowd that knocked a British Redcoat to the ground and shouted a tumult of abuse at the Redcoats. It therefore does not acknowledge that the colonists were partly at fault for provoking the violence. Secondly, the British are presented as sadistic through their expressions and rigid, ordered positions. The representation thus suggests that their shooting at the crowd was premeditated. Patrick Carr, a witness of the ‘Boston Massacre’ and one who eventually died after being struck, claimed that the British soldiers were not to blame for the incident and only acted out of self-defence, a view the image fails to acknowledge. Additionally, the image does not recognise the actions of the Sons of Liberty, Sam Adams and William Molineux, in generating anti-British protest through creating propaganda posters, writing anti-British articles in the *Journal of the Times* and inciting the drunken crowd against the British. This anti-British mentality would progress the American struggle for independence, a goal which was achieved in 1776 with the Declaration of Independence.

Some contemporaries of the period believed that independence was ‘gloriously and happily accomplished’ (Thomas Paine). Others, like Philips, contended that the revolution came out of a ‘fit of incredible idealism’ as the Americans would be the first to ‘write into their most sacred political document the right of the people to rebel against a destructive government’. Commager and Morris agree with this view, arguing that ‘independence stimulated both material and intellectual enterprise’.

10 marks

France [1781 – 4 August 1789]**Part 1 – Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events****Question 1****France [1781 – 4 August 1789]**

‘The Third Estate carrying the Clergy and the Nobility on its back’
(artist unknown, 1790s, Wikimedia Commons)

1a. Identify **two** different groups symbolised by the figures in the representation.

Sample response

1a. i. Third Estate

1a. ii. Clergy

2 marks

1b. Identify **two** features of the representation that criticise the ancien regime.

Sample response

- 1b. i.** The man representing the third estate is leaning over, showing the heavy burden carried by the Third Estate.
- 1b. ii.** The Third Estate is carrying the First and Second Estates, representing inequality between the three estates. Furthermore, the difference in dress between the estates suggests a position of privilege for the First and Second Estates.

2 marks

1c. Using your own knowledge and the representation, explain the events which influenced the creation of visuals such as this in the 1790s.

Sample response

This representation suggests that one of the causes of the revolution was inequalities between the estates and the heavy burden borne by the Third Estate. The heaviest burden of the Third Estate was taxation – the main taxes being the gabelle (salt tax), the aides (tax on food and drink) and the corvée, which was paid to landlords. The calling of the Estates-General attempted to resolve this, highlighting the nation's desperate need to unite since the Estates-General's last meeting in 1614. It convened on 5 May 1789, but instead of resolving issues it further increased the tension between the Third Estate and the other two estates.

Therefore on 20 June, after finding themselves locked out, the majority Third Estate and other parish priests named the National Assembly formed the Tennis Court Oath, swearing not to disband until there was a constitution. This was of vital importance, because it laid the foundations of the revolution and represented the first political act towards genuine change. The seizure of the Bastille on 14 July 1789, however, put these orders into action. Shown through King Louis' withdrawal of 5000 troops around Paris and his reinstating of Necker on 16 July, the fall of the Bastille saved the National Assembly and successfully shifted power towards the Third Estate. These events inspired the creation of a variety of visuals in the 1790s.

6 marks

1d. Evaluate to what extent this representation presents a reliable view of the causes of revolution up to 4 August 1789. Refer to other views in your response.

Sample response

This representation presents a moderately reliable view in understanding the causes of the revolution up to 4 August 1789. Its strengths can be found in its recognition of the heavy burden, such as taxation, carried by the Third Estate. Lefebvre asserts that 'under this accumulation obligation the peasant himself, little more than the beast of burden he was'. However, this representation omits the significance of the fall of the Bastille on 14 July 1789 and how it ended the political struggle between the King and National Assembly. Schama refers to the fall as '... the bringer of light into the citadel (fortress) of darkness', a view supported by the event of King Louis' withdrawal of 5000 troops around Paris and his reinstatement of Necker on 16 July. This representation also fails to address the impact of Enlightenment thinkers, who had been criticising the status of the Third Estate in the ancien regime since the early 1740s. Rousseau, for example, in *The Social Contract*, wrote that 'Man is born free, and yet is everywhere in fetters', highlighting the heavy burdens borne by the peasantry such as the price of bread amounting to 88 per cent of an average person's daily income. This representation therefore presents a moderately reliable, but not wholly sufficient, understanding of the causes of the revolution up to 4 August 1789.

10 marks

Russia [1905 – October 1917]

Part 1 – Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events

Question 1



‘Bloody Sunday 1905’
(artist unknown, Wikimedia Commons)

1a. Identify **two** groups shown in the representation of Bloody Sunday.

Sample response

Two groups represented in this image are tsarist troops (represented by those armed on horseback) and petitioning workers (represented by the injured and unarmed figures to the right of the image.)

2 marks

1b. Identify **two** features of the representation that criticise the Tsarist regime.

Sample response

Two features of this image that criticise the tsarist regime are the fact that in contrast to the tsarist troops the protesters are not armed, and secondly that they are significantly outnumbered and wounded.

2 marks

SECTION B – Question 1 – continued

- 1c.** Using your own knowledge and the representation, explain the events that led to Bloody Sunday in January 1905.

Sample response

As this image indicates, Bloody Sunday began with a group of unarmed workers and their families who sought Tsar Nicholas' help in alleviating their social and economic discontent. However, as depicted by the large number of troops firing upon the crowd in this image, political repression had long been a part of the tsarist regime and shaped the monarchy's response to the protest. The march to the Winter Palace (led by Father Gapon) on 22 January 1905 saw protesters come 'in quest of justice and protection', with the hope of presenting the Tsar with the Workers' Petition that would inform him of their dire conditions and the fact that they were 'overburdened with excessive toil'. These unfavourable conditions had stemmed from Sergei Witte's reforms, implemented in the early 1900s in an attempt to industrialise Russia. These reforms saw both Moscow and Petrograd receive a mass migration of workers from the countryside – the two cities doubled in size between 1881 and 1914. This led to severe overcrowding (up to 10 workers per room) and poor conditions (12–15 hour days and meals of stale bread), and developed a new class of exploited and aggrieved people. Further, the end of the worldwide industrial boom and subsequent economic downturn in the early 1900s left a large portion of this new class unemployed and embittered. Ultimately it was the members of this new class who formed the march and petition to the tsar and were fired upon by his troops in January 1905.

6 marks

- 1d.** Evaluate to what extent this representation presents a reliable view of the events in Russia in 1905. Refer to other views in your response.

Sample response

This image depicts the year 1905 as one of brutal events such as Bloody Sunday, where the tsarist regime ruthlessly repressed any opposition that presented itself. Although this idea is supported by the CPSU, who claim that the actions of the tsar and the revolution of 1905 'disclosed that tsardom was the sworn enemy of the people', this image fails to acknowledge many of the other significant movements and events of 1905. The image does not represent additional groups who opposed tsardom yet did not endure the harsh treatment suffered by the workers on Bloody Sunday, such as the sailors and soldiers who mutinied throughout the year (most notably on the Battleship Potemkin from 14 June to 24 June), all those involved in the General Strike and formation of the Soviets in October, and those from the countryside who established the Peasants' Union to demand a representative assembly and land redistribution.

However, despite the significant number of groups rebelling against the government, Trotsky claims that the opposition faced by the Tsar in 1905 was not truly revolutionary and as a result 'Tsarism came out of the experience of 1905 alive and strong enough'. More importantly, this image does not illustrate the measures taken by the Tsarist government to meet the demands of those opposing the regime.

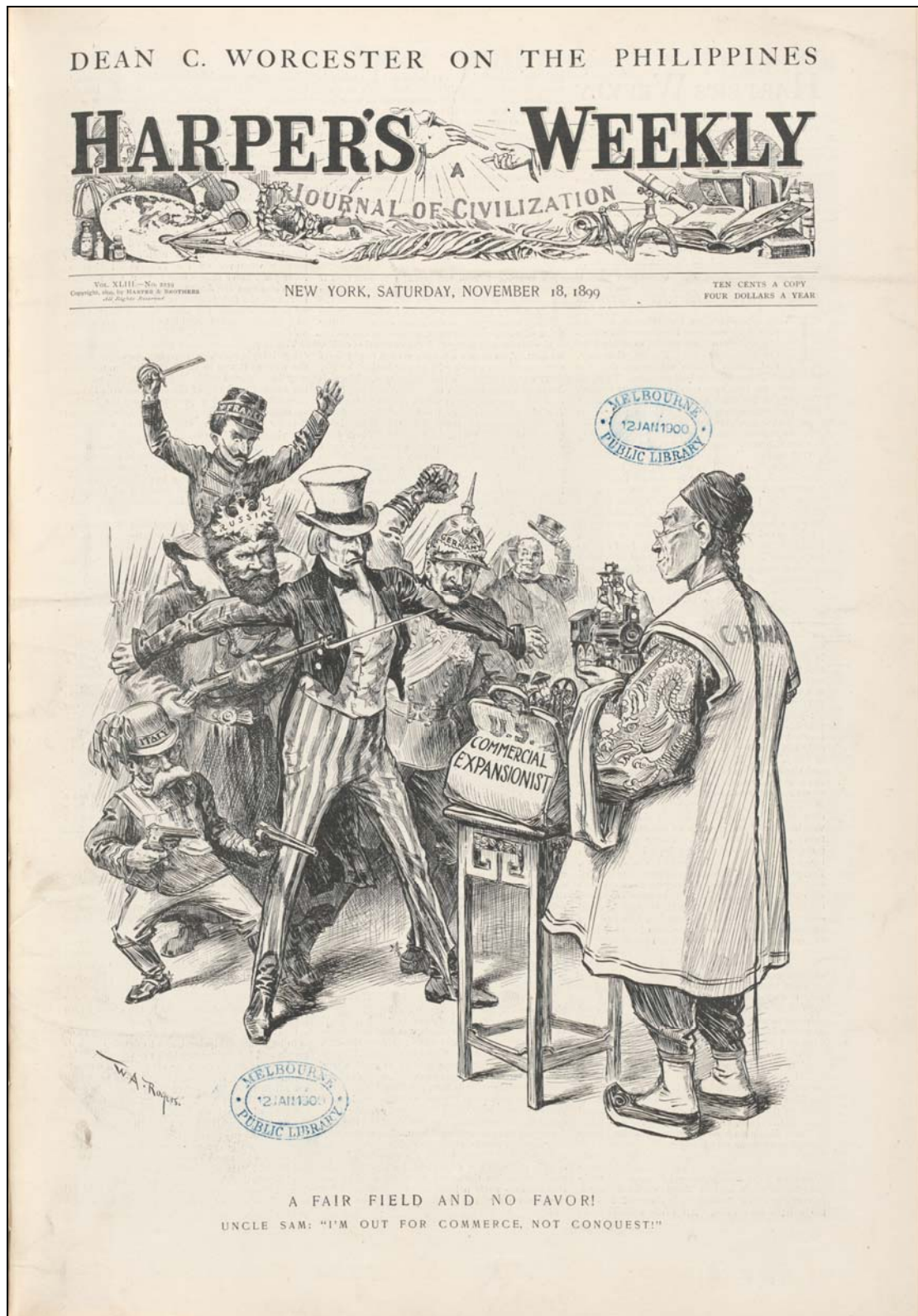
These legal, civic and political measures were included in the Tsar's October Manifesto, which provided the desired political representation in the form of a legislative duma and some financial stability for peasants through the phasing out of mortgage repayments on their land. This legislative and non-violent approach of the tsar to the opposition is not reflected in the image, yet is claimed by Figes as having enabled the tsarist regime to 'succeed in restoring order'. Therefore, although this image accurately depicts some of the violent actions taken by the tsarist regime during 1905, it fails to address the more moderate attempts of the government to restore order and its authority during the period.

10 marks

China [1898–1949]

Part 1 – Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events

Question 1



‘A Fair Field and No Favor! Uncle Sam: “I’m Out For Commerce, Not Conquest!”’
(cartoon by W. A. Rogers from *Harper’s Weekly*, Vol. 43, No. 2239, November 18, 1899)

1a. Identify **two** figures appearing in the crowd in the representation.

Sample response

Two figures appearing in the crowd are:

1a. i. ‘Uncle Sam’ representing America

1a. ii. an old-fashioned Chinese man representing China’s archaic economy.

2 marks

1b. Identify **two** different symbols used in the representation to suggest European industrial or imperial expansion in China.

Sample response

Two such symbols are:

1b. i. the bag of American money labelled ‘U.S. Commercial Expansionist’

1b. ii. the train the Chinese man is holding, which symbolises industrial expansion.

2 marks

1c. Using your own knowledge and the representation, explain the events which influenced the creation of this document in 1899.

Sample response

While the Western economic expansion into China proved to be necessary for China, it also proved extremely detrimental. As represented in the *Harper’s Weekly* cartoon, many Western countries participated in a ‘scramble for China’ with a view to economic gain, as illustrated by the bag labelled ‘U.S. commercial expansionist’. Kang Youwei, the leader of a new reformist movement that had a large amount of influence over the then-emperor Kuang-Hsu, stressed in his article ‘China in Decay’ the need for China to reform and become a ‘new building’. Economic ventures like the railways, represented in the illustration, would help China to modernise. China’s economic backwardness, here represented by the old-fashioned dress of the Chinese man, included archaic farming techniques in an agrarian economy, as well as an ancient, feudal economy. China needed to modernise, as is depicted in the cartoon, however the ‘spheres of influence’ held by the pictured Western nations fostered resentment amongst the increasingly nationalistic Chinese lower and middle classes. Events such as these influenced the creation of this document in 1899.

6 marks

1d. Evaluate to what extent this representation presents a reliable view of the causes of revolution in China in 1911. In your response, refer to different views.

Sample response

This cartoon depicts the ‘scramble for China’ and the economic power held by the Western nations, which contributed greatly to the 1911 revolution; however, it fails to illustrate the political mismanagement that was one of the primary causes of the revolution. The ‘spheres of influence’ held in China by other world powers fostered resentment among China’s lower and middle classes, which erupted in the Boxer rebellion of 1899 with slogans such as ‘expel the foreign bandits’. However, as R.D. Walshe claims, ‘the revolution of 1911–12 resulted from the Manchu decay’. The cartoon does not illustrate the defeat China suffered at the hands of foreign powers following the Boxer rebellion, which caused Dowager empress Cixi to lament that she ‘never dreamed that the Boxer movement would have such results for China’; also, Cixi handed the railways to foreign banks in the Railways Recovery Movement of 1911, enraging China’s middle class. The period of 1908–1911 has been described by Lynch as ‘... a revolution waiting to happen’. This cartoon therefore fails to illustrate the tense revolutionary situation in China in 1911, and does not show the complex political situation that led to it.

10 marks

SECTION B – continued

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.

Discuss the extent to which the new regime's responses to crises shaped the new society.

Sample response

Russia

Following the October Revolution (1917) Russia's new society was faced with a wide range of both new and pre-existing challenges. As Lynch claims, 'the successful Bolshevik coup of October 1917 marked the beginning rather than the end of the Russian Revolution'. Two of the key crises faced by the Bolsheviks during this period included extending their control and gaining support across the entire country, and stabilising an economy that had entered into an unsustainable state of disrepair. These challenges proved difficult to overcome. As a consequence, the way in which the Bolsheviks governed Russia changed severely as the revolution progressed – they became a domineering party whose 'promise to create a new society without oppression, police rule and terror... was swallowed up by the imperatives of Bolshevik survival and never retrieved' (Volkogonov).

The absence of widespread control of and support for the Bolsheviks was evident immediately following the October Revolution. This was first demonstrated by the results of the Constituent Assembly elections held on 12 November 1917, and continuously re-emphasised by the outbreak of the Civil War and uprisings such as Kronstadt in February 1921. Despite Lenin's initial support for the idea of a Constituent Assembly, the election results proved problematic – the Bolsheviks gained a mere 24 per cent of the seats. In response to this threat to the party's survival, the Red Guards were ordered to forcibly dissolve the Assembly at its first meeting in January 1918. After this, 'the machine gun became for them the principle instrument of political persuasion ... and they could use it with impunity' (Pipes).

This marked the beginning of what Lenin claimed to be a 'revolutionary dictatorship' and resulted in the outbreak of Civil War (in mid-1918). Many of the former representatives in the Assembly and Provisional Government (such as Kerensky and Kornilov) took up arms and openly opposed the Bolsheviks. For the most part, however, this war was backed by famine, with the people of Russia opposing the new regime due to its inability to address the country's pressing needs for food – the Petrograd bread ration reached 50g per day in March 1918 – and other basic necessities such as transport and favourable working conditions. These hostilities towards the Bolsheviks turned into some of the largest threats to the party during its consolidation of power, and played a major role in shaping the way in which they sought to establish their rule. The opposition initially prompted the Bolsheviks to employ brutal tactics to enforce compliance with their policies. The Cheka was established in December 1917, which was transformed from a 26-man force into a force of 10 000 men personally responsible for atrocities against the white armies in the Civil War, dissident workers and wealthy peasants known as 'kulaks'. However, following their victory in the Civil War, rebellions such as the one on the island of Kronstadt saw the Bolsheviks' greatest supporters during the October Revolution oppose their policies and methods, forcing them to rethink some of their rigid policies (i.e. War Communism). The lack of control and absence of support for the new regime proved an ongoing challenge for the Bolsheviks, and ultimately shaped their approach to forming the new society.

The fragile state of Russia's economy proved equally challenging. The Bolsheviks had inherited a bankrupt nation which was involved in a costly war with Germany and suffering from severe food shortages and land disputes. The party had had little chance to create a policy to consolidate the economy due to the vast political and military opposition it was facing. The Bolsheviks had to learn about methods of governing, administration and economic management as they went along. Their initial desire to put Marx's theory into practice and create a socialist state proved impossible as Russia had not sufficiently modernised: it was predominantly agrarian and had been devastated by years of war.

As mentioned before, in a bid to both win the Civil War and begin the transition to a socialist society, the Bolsheviks introduced a series of harshly restrictive economic measures known as War Communism in June 1918. This economic policy consisted of the nationalisation of industry in the cities and the requisitioning of grain in the countryside. The former proved ineffective, as it 'did nothing to increase industrial production' (Lynch) with industrial output falling to 15 per cent of pre-war levels. Similarly, the policy of direct coercion of grain by the Cheka resulted in even less food becoming available as peasants adopted a method of 'subsistence farming', agricultural output consequently falling to 60 per cent of pre-war levels. The policy also worsened the already failing Russian economy, with hyperinflation prompting the rouble to drop to 1 per cent of its 1917 value and money to cease to function as a medium of exchange. Ultimately this economic policy became a crisis in itself, leading to widespread famine and discontent as well as opposition, not only from the workers and peasants of Russia, but also from members of the Bolsheviks themselves (most notably Shlyapnikov and Kollontai, who led a Workers' Opposition movement against the excesses of the policy and claimed 'the party had severed ties with the masses').

The failings of War Communism and the opposition it had created forced the party to consider alternatives (and in many ways admit an ideological defeat). The chosen alternative was the New Economic Policy which embraced many capitalist elements that had been present in tsarist Russia. In reintroducing the market, restoring money back into circulation and instigating small-scale privatisation the economy was able to recover. However, there were still difficulties such as the 'Scissors Crisis' (a term referring to the widening gap between industrial and agricultural prices) and the reluctance of many members of the Central Committee to accept the NEP, who saw the policy as 'the first sign of the degeneration of Bolshevism' (Trotsky).

In conclusion, the crises faced by the Bolsheviks in their consolidation of the new society – most notably those of the Constituent Assembly, the Civil War and War Communism – were extremely influential in shaping the party's actions and policies on both the economic and political fronts during the period. Not only did these events force the Bolsheviks to alter and compromise their original revolutionary ideals, but they also prompted the beginning of the violence and repression that would become characteristic of the new Russian society, which ultimately saw the 'replacement of one form of state authoritarianism with another' (Lynch).

20 marks

OR

Discuss the extent to which war and conflict shaped the new society.

Sample response

America

America, in the creation of the new society, would encounter both war and conflict. Perhaps the war and conflict that had the greatest influence on the creation of the United States of America was the War of Independence (1775–1783) and Shay's Rebellion (1776).

The War of Independence had a major economic effect on the formation of the new society. Following the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1783, American independence was formally recognised and there was no longer monarchical rule. However, the ramifications of the War saw America facing a severe post-war economic crisis. The war caused the loss of a major trading partner (Britain) and introduced high import duties with new trading partners. This was further exacerbated by the flood of cheap surplus goods from Britain, which put numerous artisans and merchants out of business or under pressure. Added to this were the high prices on basic goods and commodities, making life increasingly difficult for the common person. The collapse of the local market prevented farmers from selling their produce. Consequently, they were compelled to borrow from creditors on the eastern coast. If unable to repay their debt, they were taken to debtors' courts, where they were subject to incarceration or foreclosure. The most drastic example of this was the prosecution of 4000 men between 1784 and 1786, in Worchester County, Massachusetts. The problem of debt to war veterans and France also lingered, as did high unemployment.

America's victory in the War of Independence also allowed the newly-formed nation to establish the Articles of Confederation (proposed 1776 and ratified 1781). This was a 'loose union' among the states that limited a strong central authority (i.e. Congress) by redirecting power towards the states. Though in theory this governmental structure seemed to correspond with the revolutionary ideals, it was ineffective in a practical sense. Even celebratory historians such as Gordon Wood argue that 'the Confederacy government was weak'. The Articles of Confederation produced political anomalies within the states, by allowing state legislature to limit suffrage (permitting only land-owning men over the age of 21 to vote) and carry out undemocratic voting procedures (such as Maryland's open ballots). The articles also fuelled the impending economic crisis. States under the Articles imposed heavy taxation (to be paid in specie, which was scarce), failed to support their respective currencies (leading to hyperinflation) and unnecessarily enforced trade duties and tariffs, making goods more expensive. Therefore, the War of Independence profoundly shaped the new society as it induced economic and political anomalies.

Shay's Rebellion (1786) prompted a change in the political scheme of the United States. The economic depression saw many citizens (particularly farmers, due to the debtors' crisis), displeased with their respective state governments, leading to the conflict and, according to some such as Washington 'render[ing] [the Americans] ridiculous and contemptible in the eyes of all'. The depression prompted James Madison – in collaboration with George Washington – to call for the Annapolis Convention, which saw the establishment of the Constitutional Convention in 1787. The Constitution of the United States of America (ratified 1788) was created as a consequence, superseding the Articles of Confederation (ratified 1781).

The Constitution channelled power back to a central authority through the 'Great Compromise' – a separation of powers through a series of checks and balances designed to prevent any form of tyranny from rekindling. The Congressional branch – which was the lawmaker – was divided into the House of Representatives and the Senate. The Executive branch of power consisted of the president and the cabinet. The president was commander-in-chief of the military, and could veto congress and appoint judges to the Judiciary. The role of the Judiciary was to serve and interpret the constitution. Some historians such as Zinn argue that 'the Constitution serves the interests of the wealthy elite'. Charles Beard agrees, claiming that the impelling motive for the creation of the

constitution ‘was the economic advantages which the beneficiaries expected they would accrue to themselves’.

Out of the Constitutional Convention also emerged the ‘Three-fifths Compromise’. This authorised slaves as only three-fifths of a person for purposes of taxation and representation. Finally the convention also formed the Northwest Ordinance that provided the terms and conditions for a western state to become officially recognised. It resulted in 16 of 55 delegates at the convention refusing to sign the Constitution, prompting the ratification debate – between the Federalists and the anti-Federalists – in 1788. The Bill of Rights (designed to protect the inalienable rights of individuals), was created in 1789 following the ratification debate. Thus, Shay’s Rebellion in 1786 can be said to have triggered a series of events that changed the nature of American politics and thus shaped the new society.

The War of Independence (1775–1783) shaped the new society by inducing a post-war economic crisis and allowing for the formation of the Articles of Confederation. Shay’s Rebellion (1786) shaped the new society by triggering a series of events that revolutionised the new society politically and created a democratic model political system that was, according to Wood ‘a utopian hope for a new moral and social order’.

20 marks

OR

Discuss the extent to which the new regime was able to fulfil its revolutionary aims.

Sample response

France

Although initially fulfilled, revolutionary aims were significantly modified in creating a new society in France between 1789 and 1795. Motivated by the Philosophes of the enlightenment, the ideals of the French revolution were summarised in the Declaration of the Rights of Man in 1789, which included such sentiments as ‘all men are born free and equal in rights’, and ‘liberty, equality, fraternity’. To determine the extent to which these aims were fulfilled within the French revolution, it is necessary to evaluate the original ideals of a constitutional monarchy, the introduction of the Terror in 1793 and the policy of Dechristianisation.

The first and most important aim of creating a new society was to replace France’s ‘absolute’ rule with a constitutional monarchy. This was achieved in 1791 where the King held limited authority over the National Assembly (to be replaced by a legislative assembly) with the power of a ‘suspensive veto’. Yet this authority was short-lived, and deteriorated after the King’s Flight to Varrenes on 20 June 1791. The King’s attempted ‘escape’ destroyed any last forms of support for the monarchy and resulted in an increasingly radical support for a republic, in contrast to the more moderate view of constitutional monarchy. It was, as Tackett asserts, ‘a turning point in the history of the Revolution ... an enormous immediate impact on Paris, on the National Assembly, the whole of France and of Europe’. After the King’s Flight to Varrenes the original aim of a constitutional monarchy was abandoned by most and the call for a republic was finalised on 22 September 1792. This signified a failure to fulfil, and significant modification of, the original aims of the ‘men of 1789’, and created a new society within the French revolution.

The introduction of *The Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen* (DORMAC) on 27 August 1789 outlined the original ideals and aims of the French revolution. It included statements such as ‘freedom of speech, and press’, and although these notions were accepted, they were only momentarily achieved. The introduction of the Terror on 5 September 1793 assured that these ideals were not fulfilled: as Barere stated to the Convention, ‘let terror be the reign of the day’. Followed by the Law of Suspects and the Law of 22 Prairial, fair trials soon disappeared and were replaced with short prosecutions in which death was the only sentence for defendants who were found guilty. The ideal of freedom of speech was also destroyed, as no-one dared speak out

SECTION B – Question 2 – continued

against the government. The aim of this was, as McPhee asserts, to ‘strike terror into the hearts of counter revolutionaries’, and for revolutionary leaders to maintain power and control over the country. Therefore, although the promises of ‘freedom of speech, and press’ were initially fulfilled, this success was only brief. As a result, the original aims of the revolution were modified.

Another aim blueprinted in DORMAC was that of ‘religious tolerance’. This was accomplished in late 1789 when Protestants were given civil rights and in September 1791, when Jews were given a similar status. Although this was a great success, the expectations of ‘religious tolerance’ were soon abolished, beginning with the confiscation of church property (*biens nationaux*). The introduction of the Civil Constitution of Clergy further intensified on 27 November 1790, when the Clerical Oath was added. This was heightened by the government’s implementation of Dechristianisation. The *sans-culottes* believed that Catholicism was betraying the revolution and directly attacked the Church as a result of this belief. The best example of this was in the Vendee Rebellion of 1793, in which 30 000 men were sent under the command of General Westermann to deal with the growing discontent in the region of the Vendee: this rebellion was eventually crushed in December of 1793. These attacks showed how although DORMAC had offered religious tolerance to Jews and Protestants, it had not done so to Catholics. Far from the original aims of religious tolerance, this significantly modified revolutionary leaders’ primary ideals. As Furet writes ‘... the revolution had turned the Catholic Church into an auxiliary of the state’.

Therefore, although revolutionary aims were fulfilled at the beginning of the process of creating a new society within France, they were only temporary, and were significantly modified to meet the demands of the people. The idea of a constitutional monarchy was completely deserted, while the use of terror was used as a temporary act to sustain power from above so as not to have opposition from below, and Dechristianisation significantly modified the original theory of religious tolerance. As McPhee stresses, the French revolution, although founded by liberal ideals, was ‘forced by circumstances ... to compromise some of its founding principles’.

20 marks

OR

Discuss the extent to which the new regime was able to fulfil its revolutionary aims.

Sample response

China

Some ideals of the revolution were realised in the New Regime, for example social reforms such as women’s rights, and the empowerment of the peasants and workers, as well as Mao’s ideal of ‘continuous revolution’. However, ideals integral to Mao Zedong’s thoughts, such as the Mass Line and Sun Yat-Sen’s ideal of ‘People’s Livelihood’ were not only forgotten, but destroyed.

The ideals of the revolution can be seen during the time that the Communists spent in Yenan, 1935–1946. Here social reform was one of the major priorities, especially in regard to women’s rights. Mao famously stated that ‘women hold up half the sky’, a truly revolutionary statement for a country that, for centuries, treated women as lower than second-class citizens. The ‘Marriage Law’ of 1950 carried this revolutionary ideal through into the new regime. This law not only gave women the same legal rights as men, but banned marriage contracts, child marriages and foot binding, and allowed women to work. Where women in China had previously been restricted solely to the house, under the New Regime they were educated and given an active role in creating what they believed to be a new China.

When Mao was in Yenan he also instigated radical land reform, empowering the peasants and allowing them to take land from the landlords. This ideal ballooned to massive proportions under the New Regime, when the Anti-Movements were introduced. These mass meetings of peasants meant not only that they seized the land of the landlords, but also that they emotively voiced

SECTION B – Question 2 – continued

years worth of grievances, culminating in a wave of revenge that caused the deaths of around five million people. Whilst they resulted in murderous bloodshed, Anti-Movements such as the San-Fan Anti-Movement of 1951 and the Wu Fan Anti-Movement of 1952 continued to empower peasants and thus allow them to take the land that they worked, much like the peasants did in Yen-an. Mao's theory of 'Continuous Revolution' was also upheld here as the peasants were constantly fighting for rights to land and against the wrongs that had been committed against them for centuries.

However, some ideals integral to the revolution were reversed under the New Regime. Mao's theory of Mass Line dictates that 'leadership should come from the people to the people'. He stressed the need for communication between those in power, and the lower and middle classes. The 'Hundred Flowers Campaign' pretended to uphold this ideal, but with the death of the many intellectuals that spoke out in opposition, one of the fundamental ideals of the revolution also died.

The separation between those in power and the lower classes continued under the Great Leap Forward. Mao stated that 'nobody tells me the truth anymore', and to an extent this was true. Some Communist officials were too scared to tell Mao the truth about the failure of the Communes; also, most food production figures were false. However, when Peng Duhui told Mao of the failure of the Great Leap Forward at the Lushan conference in 1959, Mao threatened to start guerrilla warfare against those who took Peng's 'side'. A theory such as Mass Line could not exist under such a regime.

During the years leading up to 1949 the Communists claimed to be fighting for the principles of Sun Yat-Sen, including one of the fundamental ideals: 'People's Livelihood'. Mao also outlined, in *An Investigation into the Peasant Movement in Hunan*, that the true revolutionary class of China was the peasantry. He stated, when addressing fellow revolutionaries, that 'the peasants are the sea and we are the fish'. However, the Great Leap Forward held no regard for the peasants. On the large construction projects, such as the expansion of Beijing's Tiananmen Square, it was very common for workers to be killed. The result of this massive social and economical experiment was the largest famine in China's history: thirty million people died of starvation by 1960.

Some of the aims of the Chinese revolution were realised, especially in regard to social rights, as well as some of the extreme ideals such as 'Continuous Revolution'. This was at the cost of many fundamental principles of the revolution, mostly those that valued the livelihood and wellbeing of the class that was the driving force of the revolution in the beginning: the peasantry.

20 marks

END OF SAMPLE RESPONSES

Mark Allocations

SECTION A

Part 1, Question 1

- 9–10 marks** Demonstrates a sophisticated understanding of the question and uses appropriate historical terms and concepts. Applies evidence in a sophisticated manner to support arguments and conclusions. Demonstrates detailed knowledge of the commencement and ongoing development of the revolution. Demonstrates detailed knowledge of the key events, factors, individuals and/or groups influencing the revolution. Provides a sophisticated analysis of the revolutionary struggle.
- 6–8 marks** Demonstrates a sound understanding of the question and uses appropriate historical terms and concepts. Applies well developed evidence to support arguments and conclusions. Demonstrates knowledge of the commencement and ongoing development of the revolution. Demonstrates knowledge of the key events, factors, individuals and/or groups influencing the revolution. Provides some analysis of the revolutionary struggle.
- 3–5 marks** Demonstrates some understanding of the question and sometimes uses appropriate historical terms and concepts. Applies some evidence to support arguments and conclusions. Demonstrates some knowledge of the commencement and ongoing development of the revolution. Demonstrates some knowledge of the key events, factors, individuals and/or groups influencing the revolution. Provides limited analysis of the revolutionary struggle.
- 0–2 marks** Demonstrates limited or no understanding of the question and rarely uses appropriate historical terms and concepts. Applies little or no evidence to support arguments and conclusions. Demonstrates little or no knowledge of the commencement and ongoing development of the revolution. Demonstrates little or no knowledge of the key events, factors, individuals and/or groups influencing the revolution. Provides no analysis of the revolutionary struggle.

Part 1, Question 2

- 9–10 marks** Demonstrates a sophisticated understanding of the question and uses appropriate historical terms and concepts. Applies evidence in a sophisticated manner to support arguments and conclusions. Demonstrates detailed knowledge of the commencement and ongoing development of the revolution. Demonstrates detailed knowledge of the key events, factors, individuals and/or groups influencing the revolution. Provides a sophisticated analysis of the revolutionary struggle.
- 6–8 marks** Demonstrates a sound understanding of the question and uses appropriate historical terms and concepts. Applies well developed evidence to support arguments and conclusions. Demonstrates knowledge of the commencement and ongoing development of the revolution. Demonstrates knowledge of the key events, factors, individuals and/or groups influencing the revolution. Provides some analysis of the revolutionary struggle.

- 3–5 marks** Demonstrates some understanding of the question and sometimes uses appropriate historical terms and concepts. Applies some evidence to support arguments and conclusions. Demonstrates some knowledge of the commencement and ongoing development of the revolution. Demonstrates some knowledge of the key events, factors, individuals and/or groups influencing the revolution. Provides limited analysis of the revolutionary struggle.
- 0–2 marks** Demonstrates limited or no understanding of the question and rarely uses appropriate historical terms and concepts. Applies little or no evidence to support arguments and conclusions. Demonstrates little or no knowledge of the commencement and ongoing development of the revolution. Demonstrates little or no knowledge of the key events, factors, individuals and/or groups influencing the revolution. Provides no analysis of the revolutionary struggle.

Part 2, Question 3c

- 6 marks** Demonstrates a sophisticated understanding of the question and uses appropriate historical terms and concepts. Applies evidence in a sophisticated manner to support arguments and conclusions. Demonstrates detailed knowledge of the commencement, ongoing development and/or consolidation of the revolution. Demonstrates detailed knowledge of the key events, factors, individuals and/or groups influencing the revolution and its consolidation.
- 4–5 marks** Demonstrates a sound understanding of the question and uses appropriate historical terms and concepts. Applies evidence to support arguments and conclusions. Demonstrates knowledge of the commencement, ongoing development and/or consolidation of the revolution. Demonstrates knowledge of the key events, factors, individuals and/or groups influencing the revolution and its consolidation.
- 2–3 marks** Demonstrates some understanding of the question and sometimes uses appropriate use of historical terms and concepts. Applies some evidence to support arguments and conclusions. Demonstrates some knowledge of the commencement, ongoing development and/or consolidation of the revolution. Demonstrates some knowledge of the key events, factors, individuals and/or groups influencing the revolution and its consolidation.
- 0–1 marks** Demonstrates limited or no understanding of the question and rarely appropriate use of historical terms and concepts. Applies little or no evidence to support arguments and conclusions. Demonstrates little or no knowledge of the commencement, ongoing development and/or consolidation of the revolution. Demonstrates little or no knowledge of the key events, factors, individuals and/or groups influencing the revolution and its consolidation.

Part 2, Question 3d

9–10 marks	Demonstrates a sophisticated understanding of the question and uses appropriate historical terms and concepts. Applies evidence in a sophisticated manner to support arguments and conclusions. Demonstrates detailed knowledge of the commencement, ongoing development and/or consolidation of the revolution. Demonstrates detailed knowledge of the key events, factors, individuals and/or groups influencing the revolution and its consolidation. Provides a sophisticated analysis of the revolutionary struggle and the creation of a new society.
6–8 marks	Demonstrates a sound understanding of the question and uses appropriate historical terms and concepts. Applies evidence to support arguments and conclusions. Demonstrates knowledge of the commencement, ongoing development and/or consolidation of the revolution. Demonstrates knowledge of the key events, factors, individuals and/or groups influencing the revolution and its consolidation. Provides a sound analysis of the revolutionary struggle and the creation of a new society.
3–5 marks	Demonstrates some understanding of the question and sometimes uses appropriate historical terms and concepts. Applies some evidence to support arguments and conclusions. Demonstrates some knowledge of the commencement, ongoing development and/or consolidation of the revolution. Demonstrates some knowledge of the key events, factors, individuals and/or groups influencing the revolution and its consolidation. Provides some analysis of the revolutionary struggle and the creation of a new society.
0–2 marks	Demonstrates limited or no understanding of the question and rarely uses appropriate historical terms and concepts. Applies little or no evidence to support arguments and conclusions. Demonstrates little or no knowledge of the commencement, ongoing development and/or consolidation of the revolution. Demonstrates little or no knowledge of the key events, factors, individuals and/or groups influencing the revolution and its consolidation. Provides no analysis of the revolutionary struggle and the creation of a new society.

SECTION B

Part 1, Question 1c

- See mark allocation for Section A, Question 3c.

Part 1, Question 1d

- See mark allocation for Section A, Question 3d.

Part 2, Question 2

Mark allocation

16–20 marks	Demonstrates a sophisticated understanding of the question and uses appropriate historical terms, concepts, commentaries and interpretations. Applies evidence in a sophisticated manner to support arguments and conclusions. Demonstrates detailed knowledge of the commencement, ongoing development and/or consolidation of the revolution. Demonstrates detailed knowledge of the key events, factors, individuals and/or groups influencing the revolution and its consolidation. Provides a sophisticated analysis of the revolutionary struggle and the creation of a new society. Provides a sophisticated evaluation of change in the revolution.
11–15 marks	Demonstrates a sound understanding of the question and uses appropriate historical terms, concepts, commentaries and interpretations. Applies evidence to support arguments and conclusions. Demonstrates detailed knowledge of the commencement, ongoing development and/or consolidation of the revolution. Demonstrates detailed knowledge of key events, factors, individuals and/or groups influencing the revolution and its consolidation. Provides some analysis of the revolutionary struggle and the creation of a new society. Provides some evaluation of change in the revolution.
5–10 marks	Demonstrates some understanding of the question and uses appropriate historical terms, concepts, commentaries and interpretations. Applies some evidence to support arguments and conclusions. Demonstrates some knowledge of the commencement, ongoing development and/or consolidation of the revolution. Demonstrates some knowledge of key events, factors, individuals and/or groups influencing the revolution and its consolidation. Provides limited analysis of the revolutionary struggle and the creation of a new society. Provides limited evaluation of change in the revolution.
0–5 marks	Demonstrates limited or no understanding of the question and rarely uses appropriate historical terms, concepts, commentaries and interpretations. Applies little or no evidence to support arguments and conclusions. Demonstrates little or no knowledge of the commencement, ongoing development and/or consolidation of the revolution. Demonstrates limited knowledge of key events, factors, individuals and/or groups influencing the revolution and its consolidation. Provides no analysis of the revolutionary struggle and the creation of a new society. Provides no evaluation of change in the revolution.

END OF MARK ALLOCATIONS