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YEAR 12 Trial Exam Paper

2011

HISTORY: Revolutions

Written examination

Sample responses

This book presents:

- high-level sample responses
- mark allocations for globally marked questions (see page 55)

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SECTION A – Revolution one**America****Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events – American Revolution 1763 to 1776****Question 1**

Using three or four points, explain how the actions and ideas of Patrick Henry contributed to a revolutionary situation in the American colonies between 1765 and 1776.

Provide evidence to support your answer.

10 marks

Sample Response

Firstly, Patrick Henry contributed to a revolutionary situation by developing ideas that prompted defiance of British authority. His widely publicised Virginia Resolves (May 1765) denied Britain's right to tax the colonies and were seen by contemporary British General Thomas Gage as the 'signal for a general outcry across the continent' with the resolves used as a justification for the Boston Stamp Act Riots (August 1765) and the intimidation of British officials in New York. When Henry's ideas were further utilised to justify the boycott of British goods in Philadelphia, Boston and New York (1765), sufficient economic pressure was applied to force British Parliament's repeal of the Stamp Act (1766), thus setting a successful precedent for resistance.

In addition, the actions of Patrick Henry encouraged a growing sense of colonial unity and identity. As a member of the Virginian House of Burgesses, Henry voted for the establishment of the first inter-colonial Committee of Correspondence (1773), which would coordinate colonial-wide opposition to the British, including the non-importation agreement of 1774. In his participation in the Raleigh Tavern meeting (1774), Henry said that 'an attack on one of our sister colonies is an attack on all' and proposed the first Continental Congress, the most significant display of colonial unity at the time (12 colonies sent delegates), thus contributing to the development of colonial identity.

Finally, Patrick Henry increased anti-British sentiment and contributed to revolution through his participation in revolutionary movements. As a member of the first Continental Congress, he voted for the adoption of colonial militias, which later confronted the British at Lexington and Concord (1775) – popularly seen as a turning point in the revolution. He also helped to create the consensus required to pass the Virginian Constitution (1776), which set a precedent for the Declaration of Independence (July 1776.) Thus Patrick Henry’s actions and ideas applied pressure for revolutionary change and fuelled a growing desire for independence.

Question 2

Using three or four points, explain how the Continental Congresses contributed to a revolutionary situation in the American colonies between 1774 and 1776.

Provide evidence to support your answer.

10 marks

Sample Response

Firstly, the Continental Congresses contributed to a revolutionary situation by increasing the sense of unity within the colonies. The attendance of 12 colonies at the first Continental Congress (September 1774) and the narrow rejection of the Galloway Plan (1774) demonstrated the growing support for revolutionary ideas of Nationalism and Self Determination, while the attendance of all 13 colonies at the second Continental Congress (May 1775) further demonstrated the strong support for these ideas. The adoption of the new Continental Flag in 1775 – in which the colonies were depicted as an unbroken union – also echoed the ideas of shared national identity and the creation of a confederacy, intensifying the sense of unity within the colonies.

Secondly, the Continental Congresses – primarily the second one – led to the colonies taking up arms. Following the Powder Alarms (December 1774) and subsequent events at Lexington and Concord (April 1775), George Washington attended the second Continental Congress in his militia uniform, signalling the intention of the colonists to secure their freedom. His appointment as Commander in Chief (1775) displayed the colonies’ willingness to enter into an armed conflict with Britain, and his co-ordinated control of the Continental Army was crucial in increasing British anger towards the colonies. The adoption of the ‘Causes and Necessities for taking up Arms’ (1775) further demonstrated the Colonists’ inclination to fight, leading to a revolutionary war (1775–1783).

Thirdly, the Continental Congresses led to a push towards separation, and eventually independence. The adoption of the Suffolk Resolves (1774) at the first Continental Congress

demonstrated the colonial frustration and dissatisfaction with British rule, setting the tone for further actions against the British. Following the rejection of Dickinson's 'Olive Branch Petition' (1776), the colonies felt betrayed by Britain, which led to the rejection of reconciliation with Britain. Thomas Paine's 'Common Sense' (published in January 1776) echoed the revolutionary ideas based on Natural Law, and it sold of 100,000 copies in three months. That publication, in conjunction with the influence of Congress, swayed the common man towards supporting independence. Then a Drafting Committee was formed – headed by Thomas Jefferson – which wrote the 'Declaration of Independence' (July 4 1776), formalising the revolution and sealing the colonies' independence. Thus, the Continental Congresses not only led to a revolutionary situation through their policies, but also through the eventual adoption of the Declaration of Independence.

Creating a new society – American Revolution 1776 to 1789

Question 3

The following text is a transcription of the first ten amendments to the Constitution in their original form. These amendments were ratified December 15, 1791, and form what is known as the 'Bill of Rights.'

Amendment I

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

Amendment II

A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

Amendment III

No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

Amendment IV

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

Amendment V

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

Amendment VI

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favour, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence.

Amendment VII

In Suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

Amendment VIII

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Amendment IX

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Amendment X

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

a. Examine Amendment 1. Identify **two** new rights of the people outlined in the document.

2 marks

Sample Response

Freedom of religion

Freedom of speech

b. Examine Amendment 10. Identify **two** groups who will hold power in the new nation.

2 marks

Sample Response

The People

The States

c. By quoting from the extract, and using your own knowledge, explain the reasons for the creation of the Bill of Rights in 1789.

6 marks

Sample Response

The Bill of Rights (1789) was created to build a consensus of support for the new constitution (ratified 1788) and to fulfil elements of revolutionary ideology. The Constitution, which increased the power of the federal government, divided the political landscape into federalists and anti-federalists; thus the new Constitution initially lacked the support of the states of Virginia, New York, Rhode Island and North Carolina, which made up 40 per cent of the population. The Constitution was only approved by Virginia, Massachusetts, and New York based on the provision of a Bill of Rights, which ‘reserved powers to the states or the people’,

with New York passing the Constitution by a margin of only three votes. In addition, the Bill of Rights was a fulfilment of the revolutionary ideals of freedom from tyranny, and the protection of ‘certain inalienable rights’ (Declaration of Independence, 4 July 1776.) The Bill of Rights was created as a means to enshrine such rights as ‘freedom of speech,’ the right to assemble and ‘the right to a fair and speedy trial,’ as these were some of the ideals for which the revolution was fought. Thus the Bill of Rights was drawn up to gain consensus for the Constitution by fulfilling revolutionary ideology.

d. Evaluate to what extent this extract is useful in understanding the formal creation of government in the new society between 1776 and 1789.

In your response quote parts of the extract and refer to different views of the new society.

10 marks

Sample Response

This extract from the Bill of Rights (1789) presents the first acts of Congress under the new Constitution. However, its content is not indicative of the progress of the new society as a whole, thus it provides only part of the picture of this new society and its government. The extract gives us an insight into one of the initial outcomes of the Constitution and the ratification debate, with many advocating the ‘provision of a Bill of Rights to guard against the dangerous encroachments of power’ (contemporary Mercy Otis Warren). It demonstrates the positive political moves taken by the new society, in fulfilling revolutionary ideas of ‘inalienable rights’ (Declaration of Independence, 4 July 1776) by safeguarding the ‘freedom of speech...[the right] to assemble’ and the preservation of powers for the people and the state governments. Historian Gordon Wood would see the document as evidence of ‘democracy and equality becom[ing] articles of faith to be fulfilled’, and the creation of (for its time) a radically liberal society. However, the document does not provide much information on the circumstances which led to the contentious political system that created it or the nature of this system. The document does not make reference to the initial creation of government in the Articles of Confederation (1778), which gave power to the state-governments, and which collapsed, with only one state responding to Federal Congress’ request for funding to raise a national army (1786) in the face of Shays’ rebellion. Indeed President George Washington commented that the Articles ‘did not invest Congress with ample authorities’ and called for a stronger federal government. Similarly the source does not examine the Constitution (1788), which described a democratically elected executive (the President), two Houses of Congress (a two thirds majority of which could override the President) and a judiciary, all of which claimed greater power than had been held by the confederation government, leading historian

Howard Zinn to label the Constitution a ‘counter-revolution.’ Finally, the extract makes no reference to the difficulties encountered in the formation of the new government, with the Bill of Rights itself serving as a concession to gain the support of the anti-federalist states of Massachusetts, Virginia and New York, in which the Constitution was ratified only by a narrow margin, leading historian Charles Beard to comment that ‘there is doubt whether the majority of voters actually approved’ of the Constitution. The document outlines a single initiative of the constitutional government, ignoring the nature of this government and the processes through which it was created, and is thus limited in giving us an understanding of the formation of government in the new society.

France

Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events – French Revolution 1781 to 4 August 1789

Question 1

Using three or four points, explain how the ideas of Abbe Sieyes contributed to a revolutionary situation in France by August 1789.

Provide evidence to support your answer.

10 marks

Sample Response

Abbe Sieyes' ideas contributed to a revolutionary situation by August 1789 due to his political theories on the Third Estate and his contribution to the ideas behind the Tennis Court Oath. Firstly, Sieyes wrote the revolutionary pamphlet 'What is the Third Estate?', which outlined the desires and frustrations of the alienated class of people that comprised the Third Estate. Sieyes stated 'What has it been until now in the political order? Nothing.', demonstrating the lack of political power the class held. The enlightened ideas of equality and political power in Sieyes' pamphlet educated the lower class of the Third Estate about the possibility of a new society. In 1789 his pamphlet was read and discussed all over the kingdom. Secondly, after the popularity of his revolutionary pamphlet, Sieyes was widely known and his influence reached most of the country. His influence contributed heavily to the uprising surrounding voting by head instead of order. Voting by order meant that the privileged First and Second Estates would always outnumber the Third Estate, especially on any matter that concerned the abolition of privileges. It was Sieyes' political theories that were so important in arguing that the Third Estate represented virtually the whole of the nation. Sieyes was a major influence for political radicalisation. Thirdly, Abbe Sieyes was a well-respected member of the Estates-General. He was one of the First Estate deputies to join the Third Estate in the fight against discrimination. Sieyes' political thinking assisted in the creation of the National Assembly. Following the prejudicial event when the King refused to see the Third Estate in the prestigious Hall of Mirrors and would only see them in a 'lesser' room, and the first two Estates rejecting the idea of voting by head, Abbe Sieyes proclaimed that because the Third Estate represented the nation, they had the right to manage their own affairs. On the 17th of June they declared they were the National Assembly. This later led to the famous Tennis Court Oath, which Abbe Sieyes helped write. He joined the First and Third Estates together, which brought unity and equality to the new society.

In conclusion, Sieyès' ideas led to a revolutionary sentiment by August 1789 because his pamphlet radicalised the way people thought about society. His influence in the Estates-General and in the general population made people question inequality and lack of political power. His contribution to the creation of the National Assembly and the Tennis Court Oath made him a major leader in the French Revolution as he became part of the new revolutionary government.

Question 2

Using three or four points, explain how the actions of the emerging bourgeoisie contributed to a revolutionary situation in France by August 1789.

Provide evidence to support your answer.

10 marks

Sample Response

The actions of the bourgeoisie contributed to a revolutionary sentiment by August 1789 due to three reasons. Firstly, unlike the peasants, merchants and labourers, the bourgeois were widely read and well-educated. They understood the ideas of Enlightenment writers such as Rousseau, Montesquieu and Voltaire who spoke of equality, separation of powers and freedom of speech and religion. As political tension rose before the Estates-General opened (5 May 1789) a Pamphlet War (1788–89) erupted where over 2000 pamphlets circulated in Paris putting forth revolutionary ideas such as those of the Enlightenment Philosophers. The majority of the writers that wrote of these revolutionary ideas were bourgeois; they incorporated the old ideas of the Enlightenment Philosophers to educate the lower uneducated Third Estate. This contributed to a revolutionary sentiment as it increased the tension between the three Estates, as the Third Estate learnt of the possibility of a new equal society.

Secondly, the bourgeois made up the majority of the representatives of the Third Estate, simply because they were the only ones who could afford it. During the Estates-General the deputies of the Third Estate were being heavily discriminated against. This included the First Two Estates refusing to vote by head instead of by order and the King refusing to see the Third Estate in the Hall of Mirrors. This contributed to increased political tension between the three Estates.

In addition, it was bourgeois leaders including Robespierre that created the National Assembly, the First Revolutionary government and helped raise the revolutionary sentiment that eventually led to the taking down of the Bastille (14 July 1789).

Finally, the raised expectations of the bourgeoisie played a key role in the revolution. When their ambitions were thwarted by the dominance of the aristocracy in bodies such as the Assembly of Notables and actions such as the Parliament's attempts at financial reform, they became increasingly frustrated by failed efforts for reform.

Creating a new society – French Revolution 5 August 1789 to 1795 (Dissolution of the Convention)

Question 3

...We must smother the internal and external enemies of the Republic or perish with it; now in this situation, the first maxim of your policy ought to be to lead the people by reason and the people's enemies by terror.

If the spring of popular government in time of peace is virtue, the springs of popular government in revolution are at once virtue and terror: virtue, without which terror is fatal; terror, without which virtue is powerless. Terror is nothing other than justice, prompt, severe, inflexible; it is therefore an emanation of virtue; it is not so much a special principle as it is a consequence of the general principle of democracy applied to our country's most urgent needs.

It has been said that terror is the principle of despotic government. Does your government therefore resemble despotism? Yes, as the sword that gleams in the hands of the heroes of liberty resembles that with which the henchmen of tyranny are armed. Let the despot govern by terror his brutalized subjects; he is right, as a despot. Subdue by terror the enemies of liberty, and you will be right, as founders of the Republic. The government of the revolution is liberty's despotism against tyranny. Is force made only to protect crime? And is the thunderbolt not destined to strike the heads of the proud?

Source: Robespierre: *On the Moral and Political Principles of Domestic Policy*, February 5, 1794.

a. Identify **two** groups of 'enemies' that Robespierre suggests should be 'smothered'.

2 marks

Sample Response

Internal enemies of the Republic and external enemies of the Republic.

b. Identify **two** ‘springs of popular government’ as identified by Robespierre.

2 marks

Sample Response

Virtue and terror.

c. By quoting from the extract, and using your own knowledge, explain Robespierre’s role in the implementation of the Terror.

6 marks

Sample Response

Robespierre had a pivotal role in the implementation of the Terror. He joined the Committee of Public Safety on 27 July 1793, and, owing to his influence in the Jacobin Club and the Commune, was expected to provide a link between the Sans Culottes and the middle-class Jacobins. Known as the ‘incorruptible’ for putting the good of the country above all, he was often described as a moral fanatic for his love of ‘virtue’. He became the most influential member of the Committee as it moved to take radical measures against the ‘internal and external enemies of the Republic’. He rapidly pushed the Committee to take ferocious measures, such as the Law of Suspects (17 September 1793), which gave very wide powers of arrest, defined ‘suspects’ in very broad terms, and implied that the ‘government resemble despotism’. He also implemented the Decree on Emergency Government in October 1793, which authorised the revolutionary government to pass laws beyond accepted constraints and limits, confirming that Terror was ‘nothing other than justice, prompt, severe, inflexible’ required in extraordinary times. Although he cannot be considered the sole responsible figure, Robespierre, through his actions and his passionate speeches in favour of a ‘prompt, severe, inflexible’ justice, was instrumental in the implementation of the Terror in France.

d. Evaluate to what extent the document is useful in explaining the implementation of the Terror between 1793 and 1794. In your response, quote parts of the extract and refer to different views of the new society.

10 marks

Sample Response

Robespierre’s justification of the Terror is of limited use in explaining its implementation. It

is useful to comprehend that the revolutionary government faced ‘internal and external enemies of the Republic’; however, the document fails to identify these enemies precisely or to explain the measures the Convention was to take. In order to face mounting crises including a civil war, military defeats, severe economic problems and anti-republican opposition, the Convention passed a range of measures to ensure the survival of the Revolution (10 March 1793 to 20 May 1793). Robespierre and the Committee of Public Safety were given the task to ‘subdue by terror the enemies of liberty’. McPhee argues that the ‘prime objective of the Jacobin Committee of Public Safety was to... strike Terror in the hearts of the counterrevolutionaries’. In order to do so, the Committee designed the revolutionary tribunal (10 March 1793), which was to become the main instrument of the machinery of terror. They also sent the infamous Representatives on missions to the provinces and they, along with the *Comités de Surveillance*, provided many victims to the tribunal. Their powers were increased in 19 March 1793 with the Summary Execution Decree, which stated that any rebels captured with arms were to be executed immediately.

The document also fails to identify the economic motivation for the implementation of the Terror. In a time of intense food crisis, the *Sans Culottes* and the *Enragés* pushed for the death penalty for hoarding food supplies (July 1793). The pinnacle of the economic Terror was reached on 29 September 1793 with the law of the General Maximum, which fixed the price of bread and other essential goods at 1/3 of the price of June 1790. It divided the French into two camps with the peasants refusing to sell their grain at a loss and the *Sans-Culottes* roaming the countryside with the *armée révolutionnaire*. Schama identifies the Terror as ‘a war against commercial capitalism,’ which is an accurate description as not only was the ‘central purpose of the Terror ... to institute the emergency measures necessary at a time of military crisis’ (McPhee), but as Robespierre pointed out, it aimed to install a government by ‘virtue’. Lastly, the document fails to show that Terror was not simply a response to a threat but also ‘revealed a Jacobin vision of a regenerated society worthy of the grandeur of the Enlightenment’ (McPhee).

Russia**Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events—Russian Revolution 1905 to October 1917****Question 1**

Using three or four points, explain how Tsar Nicholas II contributed to a revolutionary situation in Russia by February 1917.

Provide evidence to support your answer.

10 marks

Sample Response

Tsar Nicholas II contributed to the development of a revolutionary situation in Russia by February 1917 through his inability to provide meaningful reform, his involvement in World War I and his apathetic leadership.

Firstly, the Tsar's inability to address the people's grievances and afford any sort of meaningful reform contributed to an increase in anti-Tsarist sentiment. In the October Manifesto (17 October 1905), the Tsar promised to give to the people a representative form of government, the Duma, and that this representative body was to be elected based on 'a universal franchise.' Furthermore, no law was to take effect until approved by the Duma. However, the Fundamental Laws (23 April 1906), issued by the Tsar and the changes made to the electoral system by Stolypin (3 June 1907) significantly undermined the power afforded to the Duma and greatly restricted the franchise. The Fundamental Laws reiterated the Tsar's autocratic power; the Tsar retained the authority to appoint ministers accountable to him alone, all laws needed his approval before being enacted and he retained final control over all foreign and military affairs and state emergencies. The Imperial Council was also upgraded from a supervisory body to working in conjunction with the Duma, with laws having to pass through both houses. Stolypin's changes made to the electoral system were designed to ensure a conservative was voted in by only giving the right to vote to certain classes. After Stolypin's changes, only one in six males was eligible to vote and one per cent of the population was responsible for the election of 300 of the 441 Duma deputies. This lack of meaningful reform caused widespread discontent amongst the proletariat and the liberal intelligentsia.

Secondly, the Tsar's involvement in World War I generated widespread disenchantment among the population regarding the Tsarist regime. The Russian war effort was characterised by devastating defeats, such as the defeat of the Russian Second Army at the Battle of Tannenberg (August 1914), which resulted in 70,000 Russian casualties and 100,000 soldiers being taken prisoner, and the defeat of the First Army at the Battle of Masurian lakes, which led to the death 60,000 Russian soldiers. By 1917, 1.7 million troops had been killed, 8 million wounded and 2.5 million taken prisoner. As a result, a substantial portion of the population was directly affected by the war through the loss of family members and this greatly increased opposition to the war and to the Tsarist regime. Additionally, the Tsar's dismissal of Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolaevich as commander of all Russian forces and the Tsar's ascension to the role (August 1915) only served to augment discontent towards the Tsar. The Tsar lacked military experience, was unable to inspire his troops and was now personally responsible for any defeat incurred by the Russian forces.

Finally, the Tsar's ambivalent leadership of the country while at the front generated contempt among the proletariat and liberals for the Romanov regime and the Tsarist system. The Tsar was opposed to the organisation of the home front and of the Central War Industries Committee (Established 1915) as he believed that this would facilitate organised revolution. Moreover, in response to the programme of reform (25 August 1915) proposed by the Progressive Bloc, the Duma was subsequently dissolved by the Tsar (2 September 1915) only adding to his alienation from the people. In the Tsar's absence, Tsarina Alexandra and Rasputin were left in control of the Winter Palace. The Tsarina's German heritage was called into question and resulted in the proletariat and peasantry distrusting her, whilst the power afforded to Rasputin, a simple monk, further discredited the regime. In addition, during the dual reign of the Tsarina and Rasputin, numerous ill-conceived and unnecessary ministerial changes were made, so that between September 1915 and February 1917 Russia had four Prime Ministers, five Ministers of the Interior and three Foreign Ministers, amongst a host of other changes. This 'Ministerial Leapfrogging' also encouraged vexation towards the Romanovs and the Tsarist system.

Question 2

Using three or four points, explain how the period of Dual Authority contributed to a revolutionary situation in Russia between February and October 1917.

Provide evidence to support your answer.

10 marks

Sample Response

The period of Dual Authority (February–October 1917) contributed to the development of a revolutionary situation in Russia by providing the Soviets with a power base, provoking discontent among the population and making the Bolshevik seizure of power an easy task. Firstly, during the period of Dual Authority, the Soviets were handed a power base in the form of the 160,000 men of the Petrograd garrison. Under the Soviet Order Number 1 (1 March 1917), the military was placed under the control of the Soviets and the Soviets agreed to follow the Duma only so long as its orders did not conflict with those of the Soviets. This gave the Soviets significant power; as Kerensky stated ‘The Soviets had power without authority...the Provisional Government authority without power.’ The Soviets then further strengthened their military control through the formation of the Military Revolutionary Committee or Milrevcom (16 October 1917) in response to Kerensky’s attempt to move the Petrograd garrison to the front. The Milrevcom was led by a group of five Soviet members, three of whom were Trotsky and two other Bolsheviks. The Milrevcom was used to retake control of Petrograd from Kerensky (24–25 October 1917), and eventually to storm the Winter Palace (25–26 October 1917).

Secondly, the Provisional Government’s inability to satisfy the people’s grievances led to dissatisfaction and discontent among the population. Although the Provisional Government was able to resolve some of the people’s grievances, such as recognising an 8-hour working day, abolishing the Okhrana and releasing all political or religious prisoners, the problems of peace, land, food and fuel still remained. Furthermore, the Provisional Government were not seen by the people as the legitimate leaders of Russia because they lacked popular support, with leaders such as Miliukov claiming that they ‘were appointed by the revolution itself.’ This dissatisfaction with the Provisional Government enabled Lenin to win support for himself and the Bolshevik party. On his arrival at Finland Station (3 April 1917), Lenin claimed that the Provisional Government was ‘parliamentary-bourgeois’ and that there should be no cooperation with it. Lenin also announced the slogans ‘Peace, Bread and Land’ and ‘All Power to the Soviets’. These two slogans directly targeted the grievances of the people. Lenin’s April Thesis (4 April 1917) further supported his cause, declaring that there would be ‘no support for the Provisional Government’ and that ‘the Soviets of Workers’ Deputies [were] the only possible form of revolutionary government’. Lenin also promised that there would be no concession to ‘revolutionary defencism’ and that land would be given to the peasantry. Through his slogans and his April Thesis, Lenin was able to win support in favour of revolution.

Finally, The Provisional Government's inadequate rule made the Bolshevik seizure of power an easy task. During the Kornilov Affair (24–27 August 1917), Kerensky ordered the release and arming of approximately 800 Bolshevik prisoners taken during the July Days (3–6 July 1917) in order to defend Petrograd from Kornilov's right wing coup. This event allowed the Bolsheviks to strengthen their military forces, which would be used to overthrow the Provisional Government. Kerensky's decision to strengthen the position of the Provisional Government and restrict the Bolsheviks (23–34 October 1917) gave Trotsky an excuse to use the Milrevcom to take control of Petrograd. This move by Kerensky also provided Lenin and the Bolshevik Central Committee with a perfect time to seize power from the Provisional Government.

Creating a new society – Russian Revolution November 1917 to 1924 (Death of Lenin)

Question 3

11-8-18

Send to Penza
To Comrades Kuraev,
Bosh, Minkin and
other Penza
communists

Comrades! The revolt by the five kulak volost's must be suppressed without mercy. The interest of the entire revolution demands this, because we have now before us our final decisive battle 'with the kulaks.' We need to set an example.

- 1) You need to hang (hang without fail, so that the public sees) at least 100 notorious kulaks, the rich, and the bloodsuckers.
- 2) Publish their names.
- 3) Take away all of their grain.
- 4) Execute the hostages – in accordance with yesterday's telegram.

This needs to be accomplished in such a way, that people for hundreds of miles around will see, tremble, know and scream out: let's choke and strangle those blood-sucking kulaks.

Telegraph us acknowledging receipt and execution of this.

Yours, Lenin

P.S. Use your toughest people for this.

TRANSLATOR'S COMMENTS: Lenin uses the derogative term kulach'e in reference to the class of prosperous peasants. A 'volost' was a territorial/administrative unit consisting of a few villages and surrounding land.

Hanging Order of the Kulaks, 1918

a. Identify **two** groups Lenin orders to be hanged.

2 marks

Sample Response

'The rich' and the 'bloodsuckers'.

b. Identify **two** other punishments Lenin orders to be carried out.

2 marks

Sample Response

Confiscate the kulaks' grain and execute all the hostages.

c. By quoting from the extract, and using your own knowledge, explain the circumstances leading to this order.

6 marks

Sample Response

Lenin's 'hanging order' was a part of a series of harsher restrictions placed upon Russians at the commencement of 'Red Terror' (mid-1918 to 1921). After the October Revolution (1917), which marked the beginning of Civil War (1918–1921), the Bolsheviks were forced to focus on retaining power, rather than upholding their revolutionary ideals. Pressured by the White and Green Armies, combined with foreign interventionists, and a flailing economy, Russia embarked on the new economic policy of War Communism (1918–1921). This new policy was characterised by the persecution of 'notorious kulaks' and the policy of 'grain requisitioning'. The development of these more stringent policies was their solution to dealing with an increase in widespread civil discontent with the new regime. Traditional areas of agriculture, such as the Ukraine, were cut off from the main cities of Petrograd and Moscow, and hence provinces like Penza were required to forcefully hand over their grain to authorities. In May of that year, Bolshevik troops killed a number of workers striking over food shortages in Kolipno, and after the assassination of the German ambassador by Socialist Revolutionaries, it was perceived by Lenin that immediate action was needed in 'the interest of the entire revolution'.

d. Evaluate to what extent this extract is useful in explaining the implementation of the Red Terror in Russia during the Civil War. In your response quote parts of the extract and refer to different views of the Revolution.

10 marks

Sample Response

This extract presents the view that the Bolshevik Party desired to 'set an example' to rural Russians that any acts of 'revolt' would be punished by a hanging. The document successfully highlights the importance Lenin placed on controlling the Russian populace, in this instance by instilling fear in the people. As the Commissar of Justice at the time suitably summarised, 'we must execute not only the guilty. Execution of the innocent will impress the masses even more.' The extract thus correctly identifies a key characteristic of the period of Red Terror: that the Bolsheviks were more than willing to use violence to achieve their aims, particularly in the interest of remaining in control. As historian Service aptly states, 'Lenin, Trotsky and Dzerzhinsky believed that over-killing was better than running the risk of being overthrown.' The extract states that the Bolsheviks' 'toughest people' are needed for this task, which is likely a reference to the CHEKA (implemented December 1917). The CHEKA policed labour camps, conducted grain requisitioning, subjected political opponents (on both the right and the left) to torture and execution, and put down peasant rebellions, worker riots, and mutinies in the Red Army. During the Civil War, the CHEKA killed between 100,000 to 500,000

Russians. Historian Volkogonov sums up the popular feeling toward the CHEKA during Red Terror by suggesting ‘the two syllables, CHE-KA, would stop any conversation’. However, with the exception of the mention of ‘kulak revolts’, the extract does not mention other key factors that contributed to the implementation of Red Terror. These rebellions, combined with the assassinations of the German Ambassador (July 1918), the head of Petrograd CHEKA (August 1918) and mostly importantly the assassination attempt on Lenin (August 1918), cemented the need for an even more violent stance in the eyes of the Bolsheviks. In addition, the reasons behind the Penza revolt, which resulted in the Hanging Order, namely food shortages and forceful grain requisitioning, are not discussed. Therefore, the extract is partially but not wholly effective in explaining why ‘from now on individuals would count for nothing’ (Pipes).

China

Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events – Chinese Revolution 1898 to 1949

Question 1

Using three or four points, explain how Chiang Kai-Shek contributed to a revolutionary situation in China during the time leading up to 1949.

Provide evidence to support your answer.

10 marks

Sample Response

The actions of Chiang Kai Shek were instrumental in contributing to revolution within China. Firstly, Chiang instigated the somewhat failed Northern Expedition, which was supposed to ‘overthrow all warlords’ in order to create a sense of national unity, something lacking within China, with its different ethnic groups, languages and warlords. However, although the 85,000 GMD and CCP troops were successful in defeating the 750,000 warlord soldiers, many simply made alliances with Chiang, or the GMD army was reinvigorated with deserted troops. Thus, the fight became rather purposeless, as the ideology of a unified China was disposed of—something that became even more evident in the later years of Nationalist rule. Furthermore, the Northern Expedition was fundamental in the orchestration of the Shanghai Massacre, which occurred on the 12th of April 1927, in response to Chiang’s rising desire for Nationalist rule, and the end to the Communist Party. Mao accurately stated that ‘Chiang is stubborn, but fundamentally he is a gangster’ and this was demonstrated by the massacre, which led to the deaths of five to ten thousand Communists and Unionists, who were slaughtered at the hands of the Nationalists and the Green Gang (the leader of which, Huang Jinrong, was a well-known associate of Chiang’s). This massacre highlighted to the country, as well as the Communists, that the Nationalists preferred violence over political intervention. The elimination of the majority of the Communists was essential in the lead-up to a revolutionary situation by 1949, as it was through this elimination that revolutionary leaders such as Mao Zedong came to power within the Jiangxi Soviet. Thirdly, Chiang made an instrumental mistake in 1931 that had far-reaching consequences and lasted well into the next decade: allowing, or at least not disputing, the Japanese invasion of Manchuria. This was instrumental in the contribution to a revolutionary situation by 1949, as it led the people, particularly the peasants who made up 80 per cent of the population and were harshly treated by the Japanese, to turn to the Communists throughout the period of 1934–35 and the Long

March, as well as from 1935–37 (the prosperous era of the Yan'an Soviet). Thus Chiang's belief that 'Communists are a disease of the soul; they affect the whole body, caused the people to become disenchanted with the Nationalist regime, and enamoured with the CCP, who promised to 'march north, to fight the Japanese.' Finally, the terrible treatment of the peasant conscripts within the Nationalist army, resulting directly from Chiang's own decrees, was fundamental in creating revolution within China. One peasant remarked that 'the sons of the rich never enter; the sons of the poor cannot escape,' which exemplifies the terrible and biased treatment the poor received within the GMD army. This, coupled with the fact that conscripts were taken from their home provinces and forced to join at gun point, as well as the reality that conscripts were chained together to prevent desertion, certainly contributed to revolution. During the civil war, captured Nationalist troops more often than not joined the Communists of their own free will, helping Mao and the Communists to prevail, and eventually declare the People's Republic of China on October 1st 1949.

Question 2

Using three or four points, explain how the warlords contributed to a revolutionary situation in China during the time leading up to 1949.

Provide evidence to support your answer.

10 marks

Sample Response

The presence of the warlords within China was an essential element in the creation of a revolutionary situation by 1927. Firstly, their existence demonstrated the lack of unification within China; mostly due to its large land mass, different religions, races and languages. This enabled power to be seized by the warlords, especially after Yuan Shikai's abdication in 1916, followed swiftly by his death, whereby the country was left with no real authority or common cause. This lack of unification or sense of Nationalism was imperative in the lead-up to a revolutionary situation by 1927, as it was the concept of being 'united' that defined many future events. Furthermore, it was due to the warlords that Sun Yatsen, and his successor Chiang Kai-shek, instigated the United Front in 1923, and then the subsequent Northern Expedition in 1926. Chiang firmly believed that, 'to protect the welfare of the people, we must overthrow all warlords', and this sentiment was echoed by many other Chinese: as demonstrated by the 85,000 GMD and CCP troops that joined Chiang in the fight for Nationalism, an ideology previously endorsed by the 'father of revolution', Sun Yatsen, and his three principles of the people. However it was this expedition, initiated because of the

warlords, that led to the disastrous Shanghai Massacre, on the 12th of April 1927. Though the expedition had begun with the sole ideal of eliminating the different sources of disunity throughout China, Chiang soon discarded this hope, instead focusing on the elimination of the Communists. Five to ten thousand Communists, Unionists and sympathisers were killed in the bloodbath that ensued, exemplifying Chiang's, and the GMD's, desire for total autocratic power. Thus it is clear that the warlords were essential to the creation of revolutionary sentiment by 1927, as, arguably, without them the massacre that led to the revolutionary purge of a large majority of Communists would not have occurred.

Creating a new society—Chinese Revolution 1949 to 1976 (Death of Mao)

Question 3

Hundred Flowers Speech, February 27, 1957

VIII. ON 'LET A HUNDRED FLOWERS BLOSSOM, LET A HUNDRED SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT CONTEND' AND 'LONG-TERM COEXISTENCE AND MUTUAL SUPERVISION'

'Let a hundred flowers blossom, let a hundred schools of thought contend' and 'long-term coexistence and mutual supervision'--how did these slogans come to be put forward? They were put forward in the light of China's specific conditions, in recognition of the continued existence of various kinds of contradictions in socialist society and in response to the country's urgent need to speed up its economic and cultural development. Letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend is the policy for promoting progress in the arts and sciences and a flourishing socialist culture in our land.

...A period of trial is often needed to determine whether something is right or wrong. Throughout history at the outset new and correct things often failed to win recognition from the majority of people and had to develop by twists and turns through struggle. Often, correct and good things were first regarded not as fragrant flowers but as poisonous weeds.

a. Mao argues that two aspects of Chinese society need to be sped up. Identify these **two** aspects of Chinese society.

2 marks

Sample Response

‘Economic development’ and ‘cultural development’.

b. Mao argues that the policy will promote progress in two features of Chinese society. Identify these **two** features of Chinese society.

2 marks

Sample Response

‘Arts and sciences’ and ‘a flourishing socialist culture in our land’.

c. By quoting from the extract, and using your own knowledge, explain the circumstances leading to creation of the Hundred Flowers Movement in 1956 – 57.

6 marks

Sample Response

In the early years of Communist power (1949 – 1956), the party had been somewhat successful in winning the hearts and minds of the people. Early reforms, such as the Agrarian Reform Law (1950) and Marriage Reform Law (1950 – 1951), won support from the people. In addition, the First Five Year Plan, which increased industrial production by 10 – 16% as well as reducing inflation from 85,000% to just 15%, consolidated this early success. With such success, Mao Zedong wanted to ensure the people of China were happy with the government’s methods and he encouraged that ‘a hundred schools of thought contend’, in order to achieve widespread satisfaction among the people. ‘A period of trial’ was necessary to discover ‘whether something [the party’s techniques] was right or wrong’, and Mao hoped that ‘open’ criticism and compliment would improve the party’s popularity. Hence, Mao launched the ‘Hundred Flowers Campaign’.

d. Evaluate to what extent this extract is useful in explaining the implementation of the Hundred Flowers Campaign (1956 – 57).

In your response, quote the extract and refer to different views of the new society.

10 marks

Sample Response

This speech, given by Mao Zedong in 1957 at the launching of the Hundred Flowers Campaign, is useful in showing Mao's belief in the involvement of the masses in building the new society. Mao wanted 'a hundred schools of thought [to] contend' in order to 'promote' progress, and this document shows how Mao was relying on 'free discussion' of ideas from the intellectuals in order to win further support from the people. The document clearly shows Mao's distaste with the old society; he claims that growth in his society would be 'far superior' to the old ways. Edgar Snow, a historian, believed that the campaign had 'good intentions' for China's future; however, it is unclear what Mao's intentions truly were for the campaign.

Mao later contended that the campaign was designed to 'entice the snakes from their lairs', though the document does not show any signs of this negative motive. Chang and Halliday, authors of *Mao: The Unknown Story*, believe Mao 'decided it was not wise to be blatant about launching a purge' and he 'cooked up a devious plan' to disguise his intentions. This would be due to, as the document fails to show, past similar events such as the Futian Purges of 1930 where Mao oppressed criticism with violence that 'claimed up to 20,000 people over the course of the year' (Shuyun). The people of China would be nervous to voice their criticism with events such as the 'Anti-Campaigns' that resulted in a large amount of denunciations and executions.

SECTION B – Revolution two

America

Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events – American Revolution 1763 to 1776

Question 1



a. Identify **two** groups which are represented in the drawing.

2 marks

Sample Response

The colonists and the British Parliament.

b. Identify **two** features of the drawing which are identified as ‘fuelling’ tension in the colonies.

2 marks

Sample Response

The Quebec Bill and the Boston Port Bill.

c. Using your knowledge, as well as with reference to the drawing, explain the circumstances that led to the creation of this document in December of 1774.

6 marks

Sample Response

The increased presence of British Redcoats, indicating a tightening of British control over the colonies, coupled with provocative legislation (a key focus of the drawing) led to the deterioration of the relationship between Britain and the colonies by December of 1774. The document demonstrates increased British control (represented by the British Parliamentarians seated at the top of the drawing) and scrutiny of the colonies (represented by the Parliamentarian holding a magnifying glass to the colonies) as adding fuel to the fire by attacking the seemingly defenceless and innocent symbolic representation of the colonies in the centre of the drawing. In March 1770, the Boston Massacre—in which five colonists were killed—led to a changed perception of the British as oppressors. In addition, the extension of the Quartering Act (1774) would lead to an increased British Redcoat presence, fuelling the Powder Alarms (May 1774), in which 30,000 citizens of rural Massachusetts were roused by the increased presence and perceived threat of the British, as represented by the British figures in the document. The image largely focuses on the Coercive Acts of 1774 (Massachusetts Bill, Boston Port Bill, Quebec Act), acting as bellows to the fire of revolutionary sentiment. Following the colonial defiance of the Tea Act (1773), the British responded by passing a series of highly-restrictive and crippling laws known as the Coercive Acts (or Intolerable Acts). Consequently, colonial revolutionary sentiment gained significant momentum (as represented by the broken tea pot). The meeting at Raleigh Tavern (May 1774)—sparked by the authoritarian nature of the Coercive Acts—led to Patrick Henry’s declaration that ‘an attack upon a sister colony is an attack upon us all’, further painting the British as the demonic enemies of the colonies (as suggested by the devil on the cloud in the image). This led to the meeting of the First Continental Congress in Philadelphia in September of 1774.

d. Evaluate to what extent this drawing is useful in assessing the causes of anti-British sentiment in the colonies from 1763 – 1776. In your response refer to parts of the drawing and to different views of the period.

10 marks

Sample Response

This document provides a useful insight into the causes of anti-British sentiment in the colonies in the latter period of the revolution (1763 – 1776). It accurately depicts the increased presence and scrutiny of British representatives in the colonies as adding fuel to the

fire following the colonial defiance of the Tea Act (1773), as represented by the broken teapot shown at the base of the stairs. Acts of colonial defiance such as this prompted the British to pass further restrictive measures, such as the Quartering Act (1774), which in turn prompted events such as the Powder Alarms (May 1774) in protest to Britain's increasingly authoritarian control. This document also makes reference to the Quebec Bill (1774), the Boston Port Bill (1774), and the Massachusetts Bay Bill (1774). These, as part of the Coercive Acts (1774), were seen as a series of 'intolerable acts' by the colonists and acted as bellows to the fire of revolution, as depicted in the document. This document presents views in opposition to Imperial historians, such as Andrews and Osgood, who would argue that the British approach to her American colonies in the pre-revolutionary period was not a result of conscious British tyranny, but was rather due to political instability and mismanagement in the mother country. This sparked further dissent against the British—as demonstrated by the meeting at Raleigh Tavern (1774) in which Patrick Henry resolved that an 'attack upon a sister colony is an attack upon us all!' This eventually led to the First Continental Congress in September of 1774. This document, however, makes no explicit reference to the earlier British Acts, which were prominent in causing mounting tension between the British and the colonists, while also paving the way for revolution. The Sugar Act (1764), the Stamp Act (1765), and the Townshend Acts (1767) were a series of revenue-raising Acts that gave rise to initial instances of colonial defiance, such as the Stamp Act Riots (August 1765) and the Boston Massacre (March 1770). It was as a result of the Boston Massacre that the British became painted as oppressive and violent, (as suggested in the image), through propaganda such as 'An account of the horrid massacre at Boston' (1770). This document also makes no clear link between the Coercive Acts (1774) and the First Continental Congress (September 1774), the latter of which was a key movement leading to the unification of the colonies, and thus, a further rebellion against Britain. The ensuing Second Continental Congress (May 1775) was another essential movement in which anti-British sentiment was created through the adoption of the 'Declaration of the Causes and Necessities of taking up Arms' (1775) – in response to the events at Lexington and Concord (April 1775) – as well as through the rejection of the Olive Branch Petition (1776). Historian Gordon Wood argues that pivotal movements such as this 'helped create a society unlike any that had existed before.' In conclusion, although this document provides an insight into the creation of anti-British sentiment surrounding the Coercive Acts in 1774, it fails to make clear links to the diminishing reputation of the British in the colonist's eyes in the earlier and final stages of the revolution.

Creating a new society – American Revolution 1776–1789

Question 2

The preamble to the Constitution of the United States of America outlines the aims of the document as being ‘to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity.’

To what extent had life improved for the people of America by 1789?

Provide evidence to support your answer.

20 marks

Sample Response

In 1776, the revolutionary government set out to create a new society under a democratic government in which the ‘inalienable rights’ of its citizens were protected. However, it would be an exaggeration to assume that by 1789 the Constitution had managed to achieve these ideals, or that the revolution had brought any major improvement to the lives of most Americans; rather, the extent to which life improved under the new society varied significantly over time. The period of the War of Independence (1775–1783) would see a decline in the living standards of many Americans, and this trend would continue in the post-war economic crisis under a Confederation Government. The period in which the Constitution was developed saw an improvement of living standards comparable with that enjoyed before the revolution. While the revolution created an independent government which was radically democratic for its time, it had little material effect or improvement on the lives of ordinary citizens.

The War of Independence, from the Declaration of Independence in 1776 to the Treaty of Paris in 1783, saw a decline in the average standard of living as the government fought to preserve independence. Poor military performance from the Continental Army led to the British capture of Philadelphia (the seat of Congress) in September 1777. This, in turn, would result in Washington being granted sweeping power by Congress to command the war effort and the military, and ordering the execution of the ringleaders of an attempted mutiny in 1777. For the soldiers themselves, life was worse under the new regime, with 2000 of the Continental Army’s 5000 troops dying of starvation in their camp at Valley Forge in the winter of 1777 – 1778. In addition, Congress’ empty treasury meant that by 1783 the continental soldiers hadn’t been paid for their services in the war; a military coup was only narrowly avoided through the intervention of George Washington, suggesting that the revolution had failed to improve the lives of many of its citizens. Economically, the new

society had also seen a decline, with the Continental currency reaching 700% inflation by 1780. Hyper-inflation made many staple goods unaffordable and with the currency's use being enforced by the military, this added a further economic burden to the lives of many Americans. Loyalists, dissatisfied with independence and sympathetic to the British, saw their freedoms of speech and assembly impinged upon; State Governors were notorious for confiscating the property of loyalists, with the state of New York trying over 1000 loyalists throughout the course of the war. This led to over 80 000 loyalists permanently emigrating from the United States by the end of the war – suggesting that the new society had failed to improve the lives of all its citizens and had failed to provide greater freedom and prosperity. However, not all groups saw a decline in their quality of life throughout the war. The 1781 Quock Walker Case would see the abolition of slavery in Massachusetts. However, the overall trend in this period was one in which the strain of the Revolutionary War resulted in a decline in living standards. Historian, Dennis Phillips, commented that the war did not immediately effect change at a grass roots level because it was ‘a war for political independence’, rather than a struggle for economic equality or increased prosperity. The period following the war (1784–1786) would see a further decline in living standards, as the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation resulted in economic crisis and rebellion. The Articles of Confederation (ratified in 1781) were deliberately weak; and the federal government possessed very little coercive power over the state legislatures (i.e., it could not raise taxes, form a national army, or regulate the state economies). Thus, Rhode Island was free to print its own currency, which it forced inter-State merchants to accept regardless of the fact that it was worthless in other States. New York and Pennsylvania were free to set up inter-state tariff barriers to protect their own farmers, but this resulted in a huge loss of profits for New Jersey farmers. This – combined with the flooding of the American market by cheap British goods (putting local artisans out of business) and the collapse of the American merchant shipping industry (as they could no longer trade duty-free with Great Britain) – created a significant economic crisis under which the State governments were free to place numerous taxes on their citizens. Between 1784 – 1786, various State governments burdened their people with more taxes than Great Britain ever had; those unable to pay were prosecuted. In Worcester County, Massachusetts alone, over 4000 men were prosecuted for debt. The high taxes caused a rise in liberty meetings, suggesting that the new society had failed to deliver on its promises and improve the lives of its citizens. The response of Massachusetts Governor, James Bowdoin, was to suspend freedoms of speech and assembly and the writs of habeas corpus, demonstrating that the new society was trespassing on the ‘inalienable rights’ of its citizens more than the British had, and that the liberties of the

American citizens were more uncertain than they had been under British rule. Eventually, these tensions would flare up in Shays' rebellion (1786–1787), in which 600 armed men marched on the Massachusetts Supreme Court in Springfield, Massachusetts – further evidence of discontent with the new government. After being initially unable to combat the rebellion (with only one State responding to Congress' call for funding for a national army) the Confederation government was eventually able to crush Shays' forces with a partly mercenary army in January 1787. However, the rise in liberty meetings, along with the rise of Shays' rebellion, are both evidence that the new society had failed to deliver the prosperity and freedom of taxation which it had promised. Living standards remained as they had in the years leading up to independence, and in some areas, were worse than they were under British rule.

The years following Shays' rebellion saw the creation of a new Constitution that allowed for a stable, but liberal, government, which could be seen to have improved the lives of Americans. The Philadelphia convention (1787) was formed in response to the political and economic chaos culminating in Shays' rebellion, with the aim of providing a strong and stable central government. After much debate, the model agreed upon was a three-tiered republican system; a democratically elected executive (the President), a Congress consisting of two houses (the House of Representatives and the Senate, which gave equal votes to each state) and a two-thirds majority which could override the President's veto power, and finally, a Judiciary which interpreted the Constitution to determine the legality of laws proposed by Congress. In this way, the new Constitution ensured against the tyranny and arbitrary government which the revolutionaries had fought against. In addition, the new federal government had the power to raise a national army to combat dangerous civil unrest and could also regulate the national economy, putting an end to the rampant inflation and heavy taxation of the post-war years. This would restore a degree of economic prosperity by managing trade-relations and removing inter-state tariff barriers and state currencies. While historian Howard Zinn argued that the Constitution, by creating a stronger central government, was a 'counter-revolution' which didn't end 'slavery or inequality,' the Constitution still preserved a democratically elected government. Whereas the conditions of slaves and women remained relatively unchanged, Philadelphia had granted every adult male resident the right to vote in state and federal elections when the Constitution was ratified in 1788. In addition, the Bill of Rights (1789), the first act of the new Congress, outlined the protection of the 'inalienable rights' of the citizens, including freedom of speech, religion, assembly, the press, and the right to a fair and speedy trial. Thus, liberties which had been infringed upon by British authorities' pre-independence became enshrined by Congress in the Constitution and were safeguarded for all

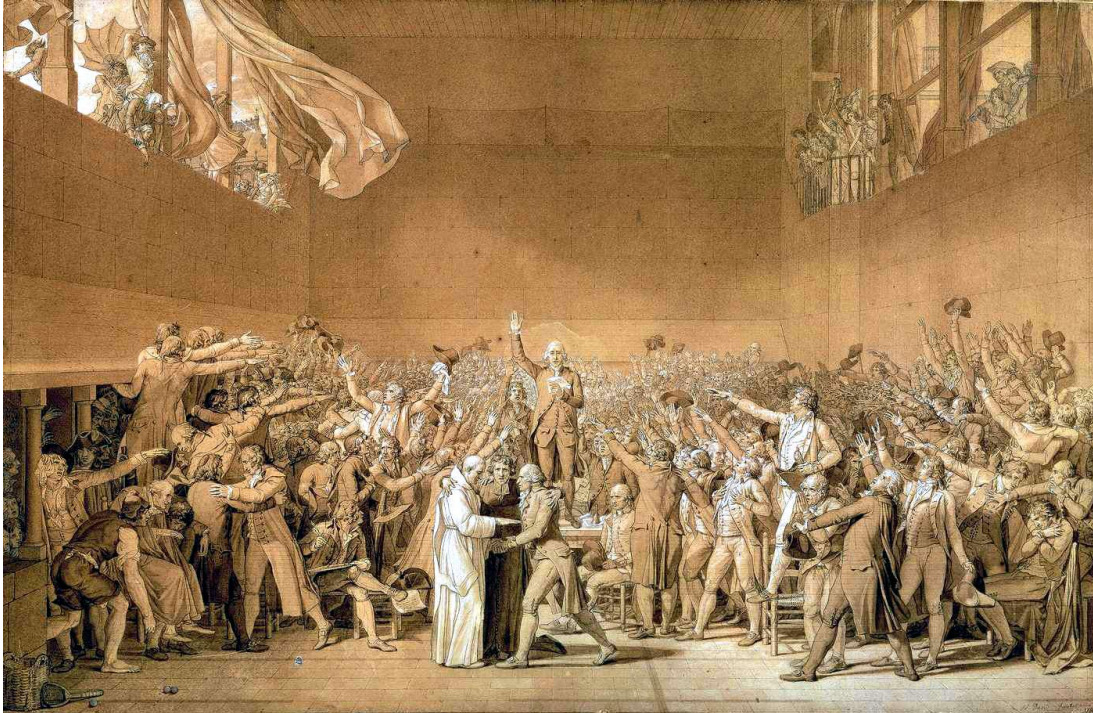
citizens. One could therefore argue that the new Constitution ‘secured the blessings of liberty’ by creating a system in which most American citizens could participate and voice their grievances; it ‘established justice’ through the creation of the Supreme Court; and it improved ‘domestic tranquillity’ by regulating the economy and defence. The period in which the new Constitution was created and implemented would lead to an improvement in the lives of many Americans, as their liberties were now protected by a government which restored economic and political stability. However, the effect on the material existence of most citizens was not particularly significant and the changes brought by the revolution were still confined mainly to the realm of government.

The new society provided unprecedented liberties and rights of self-government to its citizens, leading historian Gordon Wood to argue that the revolution was radical for its time. It brought about few ‘far reaching social and economic changes’ (Dennis Phillips, historian) and the extent to which quality of life improved or declined varied over time, with few significant changes. The period from 1776–1783 saw a decline in living standards as the new society struggled to maintain the war effort; the period from 1784–1786 saw a further decline, as the nation faced economic and political crisis; but the period from 1787–1789 saw the creation of a new federal government that brought some improvement to the civil liberties and living standards of its people. By 1789, the lives of most Americans had improved greatly. The most significant changes were not in the material lives of the people but were confined to the political structure of the nation.

France

Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events – French Revolution 1781 to 4 August 1789

Question 1



a. Identify **two** groups which are represented in the drawing.

2 marks

Sample Response

The Third Estate and the First Estate.

b. Identify **two** revolutionary ideas which are represented in the drawing.

2 marks

Sample Response

Not to separate, and to reassemble wherever the circumstances require.

Freedom of speech represented by the figure refusing to take part.

c. By referring to parts of the drawing, and using your own knowledge, explain the circumstances that led to the event depicted in this document in June, 1789.

6 marks

Sample Response

The drawing depicts the unification of the First and Third Estate. This was fueled by the continuing exclusion of the newly formed National Assembly. They believed themselves to be under threat by the King. During the Royal Session, the King asked that each estate come into the Hall of Mirrors individually to explain their grievances. The Third Estate representatives waited three hours outside the Hall. Before they could proceed inside the Hall of Mirrors, the King refused and took them to a ‘lesser salon’ and listened to them. By making apparent the social differences, the Third Estate was aggravated and believed that inequality was apparent. The National Assembly were led to believe they were under threat because they were refused voting by head and were permitted to vote only by order—which they believed would lead them to be outvoted. The First and Second Estates rejected the Third Estate’s idea of voting by head instead of by order, as the First and Second Estate each had only 300 deputies each while the Third Estate had 610 deputies. Since the Third Estate had the majority, they didn’t want to be outvoted by ‘the masses’. This created tension between the Third Estate and the First and Second Estates, and was a catalyst for the Tennis Court Oath. On the 20th of June, after the Royal Session was called, The National Assembly went to the allocated room to prepare for the royal session. Upon their arrival they discovered that the King had deliberately ordered the room to be locked. This was considered a direct attack on the National Assembly, which had since been considered illegal. As the drawing illustrates, the National Assembly retreated to a tennis court to declare an oath to undermine the King’s power. They declared ‘not to separate’ until they ‘maintain(ed) the true principles of monarchy’ and gave France a constitution.

d. Evaluate to what extent this drawing is useful in understanding the role of the National Assembly in creating a revolutionary situation in France by August 1789.

In your response, refer to the drawing and to different views of the period.

10 marks

Sample Response

The drawing is of limited use in understanding the role of the National Assembly in creating a revolutionary situation by August 1789. It focuses on the Third Estate's desire for political reform, such as the creation of a Constitution, while also drawing on the revolutionary desire to highlight that 'Man is born free', taken from Rousseau's 'The Social Contract'. This revolutionary idea was demonstrated by the formation of the National Assembly on the 17th of June 1789. Fenwick and Anderson, authors of *Revolution: France*, suggest that this act highlighted the 'first formal act of disobedience to the monarchy'. The drawing fails to represent the other desires of the Third Estate and of the First and Second Estates portrayed in the *Cahiers de Doleances*. The burden of the unfair taxation system, for example, was carried by the Third Estate and reflected the revolutionary desire of the French society in 1789 – an aspect that (although not portrayed in the drawing) was the primary reason for the calling of the Estates-General. The Third Estate was required to pay such taxes as: Gabelle (salt tax); Vingteme (direct tax to the King for war); Capitation (tax per head); Aides (tax on food and drink); and the Tithe (for the upkeep of the Clergy). However, the First and Second Estates were afforded the 'privilege' of being exempt from paying taxes. It was this 'forest of privileges' (Schama) that led to the desire for revolutionary change. The drawing also fails to explore the financial situation of the monarchy. The Third Estate carried not only the burden of tax, but also the repercussions of France's decision to take part in America's revolution. The many outstanding war debts to foreign powers, which took up 50 per cent of the crown's income and therefore increased many taxes, contributed to the revolutionary desires, and Leferbve suggests it was the financial crisis that was the 'immediate cause of the revolution'. In addition, 91 per cent of the population endured terrible living conditions, which resulted in most of French society longing for revolutionary change. Unfortunate bad harvests from 1778–1788 increased the price of bread from 50 per cent of an average workers wage to 80 per cent by 1789. According to George Rude, 'The primary cause of the... Revolution lay in the shortage of bread'. Although this document points to the National Assembly as playing a pivotal role in the development of a revolution, it fails to address other key causes of the revolution.

Creating a new society – French Revolution 5 August 1789 to 1795 (Dissolution of the Convention)

Question 2

The Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen states that ‘men are born, and remain, free and equal in rights’, and also claims to preserve ‘the natural and imprescriptible rights of man... liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression.’

To what extent had life improved for the people of France by 1795?

Provide evidence to support your answer.

20 marks

Sample Response

‘I pray God that the blood you are about to shed may never be required of France’ said Louis XVI on 21 January 1793, as he stood before the large crowd gathered on the Place de la Revolution, the shadow of the guillotine on his back. From the auspicious beginnings of the night of the 4th of August 1789 and of the Declaration of the Rights of Men and Citizen, to the darkest page of France’s history, the Jacobin Terror, the people of France reached the end of the Revolution on their knees, as Louis predicted. However, despite the bloodshed, the wars, and the atrocities, life had improved significantly by 1795. It would be a vast exaggeration to argue that the whole of France benefited from the tumultuous period of 1789–1795, but if the dismantling of the Ancien Régime did not necessarily increase the spending power of the whole nation, it gave wider political rights to French people, a more efficient administrative system, and a fairer taxation system. It also permitted the emergence of a new leading class, the Bourgeoisie. According to Georges Rudé in 1795 France was a ‘new republic of proprietors’.

Pushed by the Municipal Revolution and the Great Fear of July 1789, the Deputies of the National Constituent Assembly set out to implement immediate societal changes aimed at improving the life of the people. The August decrees (5–11 August 1789) set out to ‘abolish the feudal regime in its entirety’ and the legal distinction between the Estates disappeared. The privileges of the nobles, the church, and the Pays d’Etats were removed, and on 19 June 1790, the nobility was abolished altogether (although it returned under Napoleon). This had a deep social impact because it put an end to venal offices and careers became open to talent in the bureaucracy, the army, and the Church (August decrees). The legal system was transformed and new regular courts of laws were introduced for both civil and criminal cases. In August of 1790 it was decreed that judges would be elected for a period of six years (old venal office), a jury system was introduced, and torture was abolished. Decapitation became

the only method of capital punishment – in the old regime it was reserved for the nobility, but now all citizens were equal before the law. In 1792, the guillotine replaced the sword as a more humane method of execution. The administrative structure of the country was reformed: the *generalités*, *intendants*, old courts of law and 13 parliaments ‘presenting a picture of chaos’ (Lefebvre) were replaced by the modern structure with its departments, districts and communes. The Revolution ignited a steady movement towards standardisation and in August of 1793 the National Convention introduced a common system of weights and measures, something which had been demanded in the original *Cahiers de doléances*. The Convention argued this decree would be ‘one of the greatest benefits it could offer’. When it comes to the most divisive socio-economic issue – the long-standing taxation debate – it is obvious that the Revolution did improve the life of the people. The forest of direct taxes (*taille*, *capitation*, *vingtieme*) and indirect taxes (*gabelle* and *aides*) was dismantled and replaced by a more uniform and universal system. The Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizen offered the blueprint of what was to be achieved, stating that ‘...general taxation is indispensable for the upkeep of the public force and the expenses of the government. It should be borne equally by all citizens in proportion to their means’. Nine years later, the Directory had reduced the fiscal system to four basic forms of direct taxation: tax on trading licences, a land tax, a tax ‘*mobiliere*’ (on movable property) and a tax ‘*immobiliere*’ (on doors and windows). These improvements were so revolutionary that they survived until 1914.

The Revolution improved the life of the people as it cemented democratic republicanism in the minds of the French. No other document had a more profound impact than the Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizens of 27 August 1789. Tainted by Rousseau’s idea of personal liberty and law by the General Will, influenced by Voltaire’s belief in religious freedom and by Montesquieu’s idea of the separation of powers, this humanist document firmly established the principles of the new society. It underlined the importance of the sovereignty of the people arguing that ‘law is the expression of the General Will’ and it presented freedom of speech as ‘one of the most precious rights of man’. Its preamble reinstated what the dismantling of the Ancien Regime had started with its most famous line: ‘all men are born free and equal in rights’. The declaration was above all a statement of bourgeois ‘idealism’ (McPhee) as it insisted that ‘The right to property is inviolable and sacred’. It also improved people’s lives by suppressing the hated *Lettres de Cachet* and freeing them from arbitrary arrest, granting ‘security and resistance to oppression’. However, these gains were later tempered by the Constitution of Year III (23 September 1795), which marked a return to moderation. Boissy d’Anglas, the president of the Convention, pointed out ‘we should be ruled by the best citizens ... you will find such men amongst men of property’ and only wealthy, propertied

men could now vote for the new government as they were the only ones who could be trusted to run the nation marking the definite emergence of the bourgeoisie as the leading class. It instated two houses of parliament, the Council of Five Hundred, and the Council of Ancients. Therefore, it could be argued that from a political perspective, life only improved for a fraction of the population: the Bourgeoisie.

It is difficult to argue that life improved in France from an economic point of view, as situations varied greatly. Traditionally, Marxist historians view the Revolution as a wave sweeping the feudal economic system. This created opportunities for people to improve their standards of living. Albert Soboul argues that it ‘marked a decisive stage in the transition from feudalism to capitalism’ although non-Marxist historians see the Revolution as ‘not for, but against capitalism’ (Cobban). International trade suffered from the domestic turmoil as the Atlantic colony of Saint Domingue, which provided 75% of France’s colonial trade, faced a slave’s revolt from 14 August 1791. The British Navy also enforced a tight blockade from 1793. Bordeaux and Nantes, the main Atlantic ports, suffered greatly from the burden of the British military manoeuvres. Indeed, by 1797, France had only 200 ocean-going vessels, about a tenth of the pre-Revolution number. The sugar, tobacco, and linen manufacturers who depended on imported materials endured the most hardship. On the other hand, the iron, coal and textile industries expanded to meet the demands for military equipment.

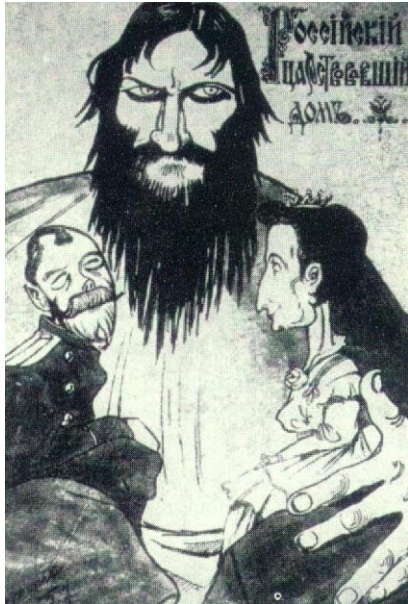
On a more personal level, it is not difficult to discern the winners and losers of the Revolution. Post 1791, the Bourgeoisie provided all the leaders of the Revolution. Men such as Danton, Robespierre and Marat were all from the educated upper-middle class and it should come as no surprise that their class became the main beneficiaries of the redistribution of the feudal system’s wealth. The end of the venal offices did not benefit the uneducated peasants and urban workers. When the Church’s land was sold as the *Biens Nationaux*, the Bourgeoisie rushed to this opportunity. By 1799, they owned 40 per cent of French land. Coupled with their new-found political rights (one could argue privileges), the Bourgeois saw their life improving greatly thanks to the Revolution. The peasantry experienced mixed results. In many areas rent rose by as much as a quarter when the landlords were allowed to add the value of the abolished tithe to their rents. The Levee en Masse and conscription of 1793 meant labour was lost on many holdings. Food-growing peasants were badly affected by the grain requisition for the army and perhaps all the more by the law of General Maximum of 29 September 1793, as it fixed the price of essential goods such as bread at one-third of what it was in 1790. Added to de-Christianisation, this led to a vast anti-revolutionary sentiment from the peasantry, which explains the over-representation of peasants amongst the victims of

the Terror (60 per cent). However, peasantry also benefited from the abolition of indirect taxes and their total tax burden was reduced. They saved money on the abolition of the tithe and of the feudal dues and profited from the raging inflation that grew steadily from 1792–1797. The peasantry even benefited, to some extent, from the right to self-government granted to local authorities, especially at a municipal level. As a whole, life improved for the rural economic elite during the Revolution. Peter John points out that ‘those who managed to survive ... experienced a real improvement in purchasing power’. The Revolution did not reward its driving force: the urban workers. Although the Committee of Public Safety gave in to many of the demands of the Sans Culottes, in the long run their lives did not improve. The merciless market economy imposed from 1794, coupled with the harsh winter of 1794–1795, reduced them to despair and triggered the uprisings of Germinal and Prairial (April and May 1795). Normally, about one-quarter of the urban population relied on poor relief. But as unemployment numbers increased, the provider of such relief, the Catholic Church, was impacted. When the Biens Nationaux was nationalised and the tithe was abolished, the Church could no longer afford poor relief and 60 years after the beginning of the Revolution, the number of hospitals in France was 42 per cent lower than it had been in 1789. In the town of Rouen, during the year 1795, the mortality rates doubled due to malnourishment. Therefore, it is arguable that life did not improve for ordinary folk in France up to 1795. To conclude, Doyle ponders ‘was, then, the Revolution worth it in material terms? For most ordinary French subjects turned by it into citizens, it cannot have been’. Yet economically speaking, the Revolution produced more winners than losers and allowed the Bourgeoisie to hold France in its power for the following 200 years. There were also immense social progresses and political advances that were to inspire the rest of Europe and, perhaps, the world. The French Revolution proves to be far more complex than a mere set of fiscal reforms and will be debated for centuries to come.

Russia

Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events – Russian Revolution 1905 to October 1917

Question 1



a. Identify **two** figures in the cartoon.

2 marks

Sample Response

Rasputin and Tsar Nicholas II.

b. Identify **two** features in the cartoon that criticise the Tsarist regime.

2 marks

Sample Response

Rasputin appears to be the largest figure, being more dominant than the Tsar and Tsarina.
Both Tsar and Tsarina appear small, frail and weak.

c. Using your knowledge, and making reference to the cartoon, explain the circumstances that led to the production of images such as this one in 1915.

6 marks

Sample Response

In 1915, popularity for the Tsarist Regime had decreased substantially due to key issues such as Russia's involvement in World War I (1914 – 1919), Tsar Nicholas taking control of the army, and Rasputin's influence over the royal family. As shown by the Tsar's diminished figure in the cartoon, both the Russian people and the rest of Europe had come to the realisation that Russia was no longer the 'Russian Steamroller' after their humiliating defeat in the Russo-Japanese War (1904 – 1905) and subsequent losses in the early stages of World War I. Russia's unpreparedness for war was characterised by the crushing defeat of the Russian Second Army at the Battle of Tannenberg (August 1914), which resulted in 70 000 Russian casualties and 100 000 soldiers being taken prisoner, and also, by the defeat of the First Army at the Battle of Masurian Lakes (February 1915), which led to the death 60 000 Russian soldiers. These defeats further increased anti-Tsarist sentiment among the people. This 'weakness' is further shown in Russia's failure to modernise and Nicholas's inability to effectively provide for his citizens; by the end of 1914, 6.5 million soldiers had been enlisted but only 4.6 million rifles had been issued. The Tsar's fatal mistake of assuming the role of Commander-in-Chief (August 1915) meant that he came to be personally associated with the continuing losses at the front. Furthermore, his decision to leave the Tsarina in charge in his stead was viewed as a fatal act, due largely to her German heritage and her reliance on Rasputin – the 'mad monk' represented as the large, domineering figure in the cartoon. At Rasputin's advice, a period of 'ministerial leapfrogging' ensued, seeing four Prime Ministers in little less than two years. Rasputin's relationship with the royal family only served to discredit them further. The Russian people were frustrated by the amount of power the Tsar gave to an illiterate, rural monk and this caused the Tsar to become further alienated from his people. Rasputin's dominance in imperial matters is illustrated in the cartoon by the portrayal of the Tsar as Rasputin's puppet. This suggests that it was Rasputin, rather than the Tsar, who held the greatest power in Russia in 1915.

d. Evaluate to what extent this cartoon provides an accurate representation of the causes of revolution in Russia (February 1917).

In your response, refer to the cartoon and to different views of the period.

10 marks

Sample Response

This cartoon portrays the view that the Tsar was an ineffective leader, and therefore a ‘puppet’ of other forces (i.e., Rasputin). Historian Richard Pipes summarises a view held by many Russians of the time when he suggests that ‘Nicholas fell not because he was hated, but because he was held in contempt’. Rasputin’s relationship with the royal family served only to discredit them further in the eyes of the people, leading to the creation of several suggestive images such as this during the war. Tsar Nicholas’s decision to assume the post of Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Army (August 1915) meant that not only did his support plummet as he became personally linked to war losses and subsequent domestic impacts of war, but Petrograd was now governed by his German wife, who acted on Rasputin’s questionable advice. The Tsarina continually appointed and reappointed new ministers during a period of ‘ministerial leapfrogging’, resulting in an unstable and inefficient government; in two years Russia had four Prime Ministers. However, the cartoon fails to address the fact that the Rasputin issue was not the only factor contributing to the February Revolution of 1917. As historian Michael Lynch states, ‘The Rasputin scandal had been a bizarre symptom of the disease affecting Russian politics’. Problems more central to the everyday Russian are not portrayed in the cartoon. For many, it was food shortages and poor working conditions that sparked their involvement in the revolution. By 1916, Petrograd and Moscow were receiving barely one-third of their food and fuel supplies. Russia’s involvement in World War I (1914 – 1919) was deeply unpopular and a point that revolutionaries rallied against. Humiliating defeats, such as the Battle of Tannenberg (August 1914), in which 70 000 Russian soldiers died, only exemplified the problem as more soldiers chose to desert. Furthermore, the cartoon does not show the impact that revolutionary groups, like the Bolsheviks, had on pushing for revolution. Revolutionary groups took advantage of Tsarist problems by encouraging strikes and mutinies, both on the home front and with troops fighting in the war. By 25th February 1917, there were approximately 300 000 workers striking in Petrograd. *The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* states that ‘the patience of the people was coming to an end’. An important point not illustrated in the cartoon is that the Tsar’s dismissal of the Duma (created out of the 1905 October Manifesto) alienated him from all political allies in Petrograd – a crucial mistake, as it was members of the Fourth Duma (1912–1914) that would oust the monarchy and form the new government; the Provisional Government

(February 1917–October 1917). Therefore, the cartoon fails to highlight some significant aspects of the causes of the 1917 February Revolution. However, it is clear that its main purpose is not to show the causes of revolution in Russia; it mainly seeks to draw attention to Rasputin's dominance over his 'puppets', the Tsar and Tsarina. Orlando Figes, another historian, concurs with the cartoon's representation in his argument: 'the Tsarist downfall was not inevitable, but its own stupidity made it so'.

Creating a new society – Russian Revolution November 1917 to 1924 (Death of Lenin)

Question 2

In 1918, Lenin argued that 'the dictatorship of the proletariat alone can emancipate humanity from the oppression of capital, from the lies, falsehood and hypocrisy of bourgeois democracy.'

To what extent had life improved for the people of Russia by 1924?

Provide evidence to support your answer.

20 marks

Sample Response

In some cases, the Bolsheviks did attempt to improve the quality of life for the people of Russia; however, this objective was, in most cases, unfulfilled – largely due to the historical circumstances. The Bolsheviks made a significant effort to improve social conditions in the new society, passing numerous decrees intended to advance the social welfare of the proletariat and peasantry. The position of women was also greatly improved in the new society. However, the increased threat posed by the Civil War (1918–1921) led the Bolsheviks to turn to violence and terror in order to win compliance amongst the people. Although this severe repression was ended after the Civil War, the population remained under surveillance. Economically, life did improve for the people of the new society, but only for a brief period of time. Civil War and the introduction of War Communism (June 1918–March 1921) resulted in harsh policy and poor conditions for the proletariat and peasantry. The oppressive and violent aspects of War Communism were dropped after the Civil War and, with the introduction of NEP (March 1921), the economic condition of the new society gradually improved. To a large extent, however, the political nature of the new society remained unchanged. That is to say, the people gained little power in the new society, whilst power remained firmly in the hands of a select few.

Having seized power, the Bolsheviks sought to improve the social welfare of the oppressed masses through a series of decrees. Marxist historian, Hill, claimed that ‘the Revolutionary process abolished a regime of despair and created a new world of hope.’ Decrees such as the ‘Declaration of the Rights of the People of Russia’ (2 November 1917), which allowed minority groups the right to national self-determination, and the decree abolishing all formal ranks and titles denoting social class (10 November 1917), are but two examples of how the Bolsheviks endeavoured to improve life for the people of Russia. Education in the new society was also significantly improved and by the mid 1920s, 51 per cent of Russians could read compared to 23 per cent at the turn of the century. Furthermore, the Bolsheviks significantly improved the social position of women in the new society. Revisionist historian, Sheila Fitzpatrick, believed that ‘the Bolsheviks saw women as an exploited group’. As such, the Bolsheviks passed legislation, including the Decree on Marriage (5 December 1917) and the decree legalising abortion (November 1920), in order to benefit women in the new society. Along with implementing new legislation, in 1919 the Bolsheviks established ‘The Women’s Department of the Central Committee Secretariat’ (Zhenotdel) to promote women’s rights, improve women’s literacy and to encourage female participation in the workplace. However, the onset of Civil War (1918–1921) meant that the social welfare of the population became secondary to securing Bolshevik power; this was largely achieved through the use of violence and terror. Historian, Service, asserts that ‘Lenin, Trotsky and Dzerzhinsky believed over-killing was better than running the risk of being overthrown’. During the Civil War the Cheka (established 7 December 1917) evolved from an investigative body into an organ of terror. Under the Decree on ‘Red Terror’ (5 December 1918), the Cheka was afforded the authority to establish concentration camps and also to arbitrarily execute suspected enemies. The Commissar of Justice affirmed that the Cheka ‘must execute not only the guilty. Execution of the innocent will impress the masses even more.’ It is estimated that the Cheka executed 114,000 civilians during the Civil War. This extreme violence drew to a close following the Civil War; however, the Cheka, under the name of the GPU and NKVD (February 1922) then the OGPU (July 1923), continued to repress any form of opposition in the population. Thus, although the Bolsheviks did try to improve social conditions for the proletariat and peasantry, Civil War and the need to ensure Bolshevik power led to violence and terror engulfing the new society. However, the party’s actions must be viewed within their ‘historical conditions’ (Holquist).

The Bolsheviks did attempt to improve economic conditions for the people of the new society, and also tried to increase their participation in running the economy. However, during

the Civil War and with the introduction of War Communism, life became increasingly difficult and strict central control was implemented. After the Bolshevik seizure of power and under State Capitalism (1917–June 1918) the proletariat and peasantry were handed a larger role in the running of their economy. The Decree on Land (27 October 1917) gave peasants the legal right to seize the land of the gentry and distribute it appropriately; a process they had previously undertaken illegally. Furthermore, the Decree on Workers Control (14 November 1917) gave factory workers the ability to apply for the right to establish self-management committees to replace their bourgeois employers. However, as Civil War commenced and added pressure was placed on an already strained economy, the Bolsheviks were forced to turn to much stricter and more centralised economic policy in the form of War Communism (June 1918–March 1921) in order to try and increase production, supply the Red Army and secure food for the population. War Communism began with the Decree on Nationalisation (28 June 1918), giving the Bolsheviks control over key industries such as mining, metallurgy, textile and electricity. War Communism also resulted in the militarisation of the workplace. Trotsky asserted that ‘a deserter from labour, is as contemptible and despicable as a deserter from the battlefield.’ Workers’ control was rolled back in favour of central control, hours were increased in all industries, workers were given no choice as to their place of employment and absentees faced a reduction of rations or more strenuous labour. The Cheka was also used to enforce labour conscription and striking workers faced execution or imprisonment. The Bolsheviks also introduced Subbotniki, or ‘Communist Saturday’, pressuring workers to partake in volunteer weekend work. Along with nationalising industry, the Bolsheviks issued a decree banning all private trade (21 November 1918) in an attempt to abolish money and become the sole provider of consumer goods. In order to procure food for the population, Lenin launched his ‘Crusade for Bread’ (May 1918). Lenin believed that the lack of food was due to the avarice and hoarding of the Kulaks (rich peasants) and as a result the Kulaks were persecuted. Lenin’s ‘Hanging Order’ (August 1918) demanded the hanging of ‘at least 100 of the most notorious Kulaks’. In addition, a decree was passed establishing the Kombedy (11 June 1918), which aimed to incite the poorer section of peasants against the Kulaks in order to uncover and requisition any hoarded grain. However, the Kombedy was unsuccessful (dissolved 2 December 1918) due largely to the sense of peasant solidarity. After the failure of the Kombedy, Grain-Requisitioning Squads were formed (January 1919), comprising Cheka agents and armed workers, both of whom were used to sweep the countryside and, using force if necessary, requisition any hoarded grain. Squads often took all the grain they could find, leaving no seed, which only compounded the food shortages. Discouraged from

producing, land cultivation fell by 40 per cent between 1917 and 1921 and harvests fell to 37 per cent of previous levels. Although the introduction of NEP at the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party (8–16 March 1921) abolished the harsh policies of War Communism such as Subbotniki and grain requisitioning, it did not give the proletariat a significant role in the running of the Russian economy. Revisionist historian, Sheila Fitzpatrick, sees NEP as a ‘symbolic parting of the ways between the working class and the Bolshevik party’. However, yields did increase and there was a 300 per cent increase in electrification between 1921 and 1924.

The Bolshevik’s attempts to increase the people’s role in running their economy and improving their economic situation were short-lived, due to the pressure of the Civil War. The political nature of the new society remained largely unchanged from Tsarist times, with power remaining in the hands of a small section of society. All ministers of the new Sovnarkom government were Bolshevik party members. The CEC did initially involve members of the Mensheviks and SRs. However, although theoretically possessing more authority than the Sovnarkom, the CEC exerted little influence and of the 480 decrees made in the first year of Soviet rule, only 68 passed to the CEC for approval. Furthermore, non-Bolshevik members were soon expelled from their post with the Menshevik and SR delegates were expelled on 14 June 1918 and Left SRs on 9 July 1918. The ruling group was further reduced in March 1919, when the party was restructured. This led to the creation of the Politburo: a group of five key communist leaders who held the highest authority in the country. As promised, the Bolsheviks did allow for the election of the Constituent Assembly and it was convened on the 5 January 1918. On that day, martial law was declared in Petrograd and a large group of people marching in favour of the Constituent Assembly was dispersed with gun fire. The Bolsheviks had only won 24% of the vote, while SRs had a majority with 52%. The Bolsheviks did have a majority in the city and this, according to Lenin, was more significant. He claimed that ‘the town cannot be equal to the country...the town inevitably leads the country.’ Thus, the Constituent Assembly was dissolved at gun point (6 January 1918), demonstrating the Bolsheviks’ intolerance of political opposition. Liberal historian, Richard Pipes, claims that after this event ‘the machinegun became...the principle means of political persuasion’ for the Bolsheviks. Further evidence of the Bolsheviks’ ardent intolerance of any political opposition can be seen in their response to the Kronstadt Revolt (March 1921). After witnessing the harsh treatment of the Moscow and Petrograd workers, the Kronstadt sailors assembled in Anchor Square (1 March 1921) to endorse a resolution calling for changes to be made in society. They called for ‘Soviets without Bolsheviks’ and believed that Tsarism had been replaced by a ‘Commissarocracy’.

The sailors did not oppose the revolution; on the contrary, they were described by Trotsky as ‘the reddest of the red’. The sailors did, however, demand that the Bolsheviks follow their original revolutionary ideals. The Bolsheviks did not wish to compromise and took a hard-line approach to the rebellion in order to portray an image of strength. Trotsky asserted that opposition would ‘be shot like partridges’ and thus, the Bolsheviks launched a 50,000 man offensive (7 March 1921) against Kronstadt, which was defended by 16,000 sailors. The Bolsheviks overran Kronstadt (17 March 1921), killing 5,000 sailors and executing a further 2329. The political nature of the new society was not at all improved for the people of Russia; the revolution led to ‘the replacement of one form of state authoritarianism with another’ (Lynch).

The Bolsheviks did initially attempt to improve life for the people of Russia and, in some cases, did succeed. The rights of women, education and modernisation are some notable successes. However, the Bolsheviks’ attempts to improve life were largely unsuccessful and this was often the result of external circumstances, such as the Civil War. Primarily, the Bolsheviks’ attempts to improve society for the people of Russian were ‘swallowed up by the imperatives of Bolshevik survival and never retrieved.’ (Volkogonov)

China

Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events – Chinese Revolution 1898 to 1949

Question 1



a. Identify two symbols in the drawing which identify the group depicted.

2 marks

Sample Response

The red flag that is being carried by the men.

The clothing worn is not that of a soldier but of a regular peasant or worker.

b. Identify two revolutionary ideas which are represented in the drawing.

2 marks

Sample Response

Unity expressed by the figures clumping close together—Mao Zedong wanted unity among the people.

The flames represent oppression of the Nationalists and the image depicts the Communists' strong will to fight against and withstand their opponents.

c. Using your knowledge and making reference to the drawing, explain the circumstances that led to the event depicted in this document in May 1935.

6 marks

Sample Response

In March 1929, the Nationalist decade began with Chiang Kai-shek leading the Party. He was faced with regional and financial pressures, and his response to these problems was cause for further distaste and dissatisfaction with the ways of the Chinese government. Forty-four new taxes were introduced, including taxes on land, uniform alteration, and on seemingly-ridiculous items, such as the kettle and cereal taxes. When the war with Japan began, the Communists saw the opportunity to unite the country against a common enemy without directly targeting the Nationalists and stirring up internal conflict. When the communists were flushed out of Jiangxi due to the encirclement campaigns launched by Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist armies in 1934, they began the Long March—a supposed 'march north to fight the Japanese' which may have actually been a disguised retreat from the Nationalists—and attempted to show the population that they were not the aggressors in their feud with the Nationalists. The 6500-mile march from Jiangxi province to Yan-an became a powerful propaganda tool for the Communists in their methods to win support from the people of China. This epic journey was to be depicted in several powerful images, such as this drawing. Mao Zedong expertly used the Long March and, in particular, key achievements such as the taking of Luding Bridge (depicted in the drawing) to promote Communist ways to the countryside towns of China. Rural Chinese were astonished by the way in which the Communists moved through the towns peacefully without leaving a trail of damage such as that left behind by the Nationalist armies when they passed through. The Long March and the heroism of the Communist party, as depicted in images such as this one, became one of the most important events in the Communist Party's rise in popularity and power.

d. Evaluate to what extent this drawing provides an accurate representation of the Long March (1934 – 1935).

In your response, refer to the drawing and to different views of the period.

10 marks

Sample Response

This image of the Chinese Communists crossing Luding Bridge on the 29th of May 1935 portrays many important elements of the Long March. The image shows a group of men crossing the bridge, flying the Communist flag in the face of peril, and displays the courage shown by those involved in the Long March. It signifies the determination of the men

involved and how their camaraderie did not falter, even against the toughest elements and opposition. The condition of the bridge (i.e., missing planks and having been set on fire) shows some of the obstacles the Long Marchers had to overcome. However fictional this story may be, it demonstrates the great potential the Long March had for propaganda. The Communists used this potential in their ‘march north to fight the Japanese’ and against their internal enemies, the Nationalists. Historian Snow referred to this as ‘amazing revolutionary optimism’. Snow’s relationship with Mao, however, is cause to argue that there is bias in his accounts of the events of the Long March. Snow and Mao were close friends and, also, Snow was a scribe for Mao’s account of the supposed events of the 1934 – 1935 March. Historian Philip Short believed that ‘the reality [of the Long March] was... the myth Snow created’. The drawing fails to show some events of the march, including the appalling conditions suffered by the marchers through the mountains and high grasslands, which resulted in 90% of the marchers dying over the 6500-mile journey from Jiangxi. The drawing also does not show the Nationalists (the real enemy of the marchers) or any offensive made against the marchers. Historians Chang and Halliday remark that ‘there was no battle at Dadu River’. Chinese Nationalists argue that the men did not flee from the oncoming Communists, and it is highly unlikely that there had even been men guarding the bridge, let alone a small battalion with high powered weaponry.

Creating a new society—Chinese Revolution 1949 to 1976

(Death of Mao)

Question 2

In 1957, Mao argued: ‘under this system [democratic centralism], the people enjoy extensive democracy and freedom, but at the same time they have to keep within the bounds of socialist discipline.’

To what extent had life improved for the people of China by 1976?

Provide evidence to support your answer.

20 marks

Sample Response

Historian Joseph Esherick stated that ‘the People’s Republic of China ushered in a better world,’ which, whilst useful in understanding the initial successes of the regime, omits many details of the later reforms made by the party that severely degraded the standard of living for the people of China by 1976. Though it must be acknowledged that during the early years of the party’s rule there were some key initial economic and social successes made, after the Communist takeover on the 1st of October 1949, these were simply overshadowed by the disastrous reform of the Great Leap Forward (GLF), 1957–61, and subsequently, by the Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution (GPCR), 1968–76. Through these two periods of chaos, destruction and starvation, it is clear that the new regime of Mao’s PRC failed to improve life for the Chinese People.

After the Communist takeover in Beijing in 1949, where Mao proclaimed the People’s Republic of China, there were many initial successes made by the regime (and Mao) in improving life for the everyday Chinese. Mainly, this was achieved through providing peace and stability within Chinese society. Through industrial stimulation, factory output increased by 10–15 per cent, allowing the hyper-inflation that the country had been experiencing for a number of years to decrease, from 85,000 per cent to a mere 15 per cent by 1951. There were also numerous amounts of social amendments instigated by the new administration, such as the Agrarian Land Reform (1950), which gave long-suffering peasants access to land which had been previously occupied by landlords. The Marriage Act of 1950 was another key social reform, as it helped improve the everyday life of the average Chinese. It outlawed concubinary, child brides, foot binding, and also gave women rights and freedoms that, prior to 1949, had been only distributed amongst the men. Mao, however, believed that ‘women hold up half the sky,’ and that equality was necessary within the Communist society. As a result of this increase in women’s rights, along with cleanliness drives and an effective way of administering aid to those in need, many historians, such as Maurice Meisner – who stated that, ‘for once the cities were governed honestly and efficiently,’ – believed that the new regime was imperative in improving the lives of the Chinese people, which had been suffering for centuries under the rule of dynasties, tyrants and warlords. The implementation of the First Five Year Plan was also another remarkable success. It helped inflate agricultural output, and reforms, such as *Wufan* and *Sanfan*, the three and five anti’s, which aimed to eliminate issues such as corruption within both the society and the party, were imperative in improving the life of the people. However, though this period undoubtedly had many successes in improving the lifestyle of the people, the disastrous era of the Great Leap Forward (GLF) soon

SECTION B – continued

overshadowed what reforms had been made, and demonstrated the inability of Mao and the party to truly improve the people's everyday life.

Historian Sidney Rittenburg stated that there was a 'drastic change in Mao' after the Communist takeover in 1949. This was portrayed throughout 1957, when Mao implemented the One Hundred Flowers Campaign at the urging of his friend, Zhu De, who encouraged the Chairman to support the 'socialist ideals' of the people. According to Mao, the One Hundred Flowers Campaign aimed to 'let one hundred flowers bloom, let one hundred schools of thought contend'. However, when criticism from intellectuals began to be aimed at Mao, he launched an anti-rightist campaign; claiming that the One Hundred Flowers Campaign had been designed to 'entice the snakes from their lairs.' This period of repression and violence, where over 1000 intellectuals were purged from society, was only a prequel for what was to occur within the Great Leap Forward. Mao, believing that the peasants had been unwittingly left out of the first Five Year Plan, set about instigating another, with the idea of capitalising on the successes of the first. However, disastrous practices were imposed upon the peasantry; backyard smelters, as well as the reform of Communes, that became legislation in 1958, led to a reduction in grain production, with peasants' tools being used as steel material, and their time normally spent harvesting and tending crops being instead used for harvesting firewood. This, coupled with the failed theory of Lysenkioism and the 'three bad years' of 1959–61, led to the deaths of over thirty million people by starvation; something Historian John Fairbank described as a 'Mao-made catastrophe.' These issues, however, were only further extenuated during the repressive and chaotic period of the Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution.

With the failure of the Great Leap Forward, Mao admitted that 'everyone has shortcomings', at the Lushan Plenum of 1959. This didn't help Peng Duhai, however, who was expelled from the party for being too critical of the Chairman and his actions. However, Mao decided to stand down as President of the state, and Lui Shaoqi and Deng Xioping, along with the chief economist Chen Yun, set about rebuilding China and its economy, which had been ravaged by the three bad years and the failed implementation of the second Five Year Plan through the slowing down of the Great Leap Forward. Mao, however, saw this to be a threat to the socialist way of life, and set about encouraging chaos to reinstate himself within Chinese politics by using the Youth of China to attack the 'four olds' (culture, customs, ideas, and habits). Along with the establishment of the Red Guards, led by Lin Biao, this turned China into a chaotic state of brutal bashings, attacks and killings. The 'cult of Mao' and hard-liners, such as Mao's estranged third wife, Jiang Qing (who believed 'the more brutal, the more revolutionary') targeted teachers and intellectuals. 'Even chess (was seen to be) too Russian,' according to Ryan, and Lui and Deng fell victim to the 'hysteria', both labelled 'capitalist

SECTION B – continued

readers.’ The cult worship that permeated China at that time was facilitated by Mao’s ‘Little Red Book’ and the circulation of propaganda, implemented by Chen Boda; seen through the 65,000 propaganda posters hung at Beijing University. At the time, 1000 re-education camps were established and an estimated 30 million people were killed after being incorrectly, or correctly, labelled ‘rightists’. It is this that truly reflects the brutal repression that occurred at the time, which ultimately worsened the daily lives of the Chinese people. Michael Lynch states that Mao ‘deliberately ordered mass destruction,’ and while this is a common belief, other historians, such as Stanley Karnow, are inclined to believe that Mao wished to prevent ‘the reestablishment of bureaucratic rule,’ which was portrayed during Lui Shaoqi and Deng Xioping’s rule. However, it must be acknowledged that this time of repression, murder, and chaos did little in improving the people’s lives.

After 1949, the Chinese people did experience some freedoms and, to an extent, a general improvement of their lifestyles. Unfortunately, after this period of new-found freedoms, rights, and fertility, improvements was overshadowed by the repressive nature of the harsh social and economic policies of firstly the Great Leap Forward, and then its consequence, the Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution.

Mark Allocations**SECTION A****Part 1, Question 1**

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| 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 makes 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 makes 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

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 some 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 SAMPLE RESPONSES BOOK