

INSIGHT

Trial Exam Paper

2007

HISTORY: Revolutions

Written examination

Sample responses

This book presents:

- high-level sample responses
- tips on approaching all parts of the examination
- alternative responses.

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General note

- The responses modelled here are not definitive ones. Obviously, there will be correct alternative responses. Teachers should be prepared to go through alternatives with their classes in the post-mortem discussion of their students' responses.

Note on the transliteration of Chinese names

- Pinyin is the preferred convention for the transliteration of Chinese names. In keeping with this, all Chinese names are spelt using the Pinyin spelling throughout.
- Here are some commonly used terms using both the Pinyin and Wade-Giles conventions for transliteration from Chinese:

Pinyin	Wade-Giles
Mao Zedong	Mao Tse-tung
Jiang Jieshi	Chiang Kai-shek
Sun Yixian	Sun Yat-sen
Guomindang (GMD)	Kuomintang (KMT)

SECTION A – Revolution One

Part 1 – Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events

For each question in Part 1, indicate the option (a., b., c. or d.) you have chosen in the box provided.

How to approach this part

- Choose **one** revolution to write on in your responses to Questions 1 and 2 in Section A.
- Avoid traditional introductions – make your first sentence your first main point.
- Try and make 4–5 main points and use 4–5 relevant pieces of evidence or detail.
- Try and keep to the space given – you should be able to answer each question satisfactorily in the lines given. If your answer ends up requiring more space you should avoid writing in the margin or cramming two lines into one. Instead you should use a script book and clearly label your responses.

Question 1

a. America (1763–1776)

Using three or four key points, explain how economic factors contributed to the revolutionary situation by 1776. Give evidence to support your answer.

Sample response

The economic difficulties faced by both England and its American colonies created hostilities which eventuated in conflict. England's massive debt after the end of the French and Indian War in 1763 forced parliament to attempt to levy taxes on the colonies. The Sugar Act (1764) and the Stamp Act (1765) both created outcry from the colonists, as James Otis led them in declaring that England had no right to lay taxes on America because its people had no representation in British parliament. Added to this were the tensions which existed as a result of mercantilism, the British economic policy which restricted the production of New England artisans. These tensions came to a head with the Stamp Act Riots (1765), which saw the colonists attack symbols of British authority and defy Britain's right to rule in America. Further taxation attempts were also resisted; the Townshend Acts (1767) were met with non-importation agreements across the colonies, while the Tea Act (1773) led to the conflict of the Boston Tea Party (1774). England's response in the form of the Intolerable Acts (1774) led to the creation of a revolutionary government, the Continental Congress (1775), which fermented rebellion. The colonists viewed Britain's economic policies and actions as oppressive, and this served to unite them in opposition and drive them toward conflict and revolution.

b. France (1781–1789)

Using three or four key points, explain how economic factors contributed to the revolutionary situation in France by 1789. Give evidence to support your answer.

Sample response

In the 1770s, France experienced an economic depression. Bad harvests caused bread prices to rise, which created discontent among the peasants – bread already cost 50% of their wages before the price rises, and with the increases it became unaffordable. An extremely bad harvest in combination with hailstorms in July 1788 caused food prices to skyrocket. At the same time the Eden Treaty allowed imports from England at lower dues. The Eden Treaty came into being in 1787 and caused employment in the textile industries to fall by 50%. This exacerbated the discontent among those of the Third Estate who relied on money from these industries to buy the food that had become so expensive. At the same time, the royal treasury had suffered as a result of funding three wars, including the recent American War of Independence (1775–1783). Hence the Crown was in a state of financial desperation, and looked toward ministers such as Necker to reform the tax systems in order to raise money more efficiently. The tax burden itself fell mostly on the poor Third Estate, further exacerbating their difficulties in buying food. These economic crises contributed to revolutionary sentiment in France, which reached its height in 1789.

c. Russia (1905–1917)

Using three or four key points, explain how economic factors contributed to the revolutionary climate in Russia by 1917. Give evidence to support your answer.

Sample response

Economic factors precipitated and fuelled the demands for political change that created a revolutionary climate by 1917. Having undergone a period of rapid industrialisation under Sergei Witte's reforms in the 1890s, the infrastructure of many major Russian cities was insufficient to support their growing populations, as a new urban proletariat class was formed. The first sign of protest against the poor working and living conditions in urban areas came in the form of the Bloody Sunday Massacre (January 1905), which marked the beginning of the public's deteriorating faith in the tsar. World War One further exacerbated the situation, as it redirected the nations' funds to the front, and placed enormous strain on the Russian economy. Labour shortages forced factories to shut down and food production to slump, as labour was redirected to the war effort. This was compounded by fuel shortages, which created further unemployment as more and more businesses were unable to cope with the burden of war. Inflation reached as high as 400% and the value of the rouble slumped. Food shortages were compounded by the transport crisis, which left many cities starving and led to protests and riots. A series of spontaneous bread riots culminated in the February Revolution, as workers and peasants showed their lack of trust in the tsarist regime and its ability to handle the economic crisis in Russia. Bolshevik leaders such as Lenin capitalised on Russia's continued involvement in the war and the Provisional Government's inability to redress the food and fuel shortages. The Bolsheviks were able to harness the economic hardships of the Russian masses and translate them into demands for political and economic change in October 1917. It was Lenin's promises of 'Bread!' and 'Land!' – of economic stability and security – that won public support for his party and contributed to the October Revolution in 1917.

d. China (1898–1949)

Using three or four key points, explain how economic factors contributed to the revolutionary situation in China by October 1911. Give evidence to support your answer.

Sample response

The Qing government seriously mishandled foreign encroachment, and this threatened China's economic stability and heightening calls for the government's overthrow. In September 1901, Empress Dowager Cixi signed the humiliating Boxer Protocol, which required a devastating \$660 million indemnity payment to the foreign powers affected by the Boxer Rebellion, and concessions which enabled these powers to further secure their 'spheres of influence' in China. These powers claimed exclusive domination over mining rights, railways and trade in these spheres, therefore siphoning revenue, resources and employment opportunities from the Chinese. The importation of European goods within these spheres also undermined local industry. The Qing government's decision to fund the centralisation and nationalisation of the Chinese railway system with money obtained through a large loan from a consortium of foreign banks further aggravated the situation. This loan meant that, until paid off, the railways were really the property of foreign banks. Many of the provincial *shenshi* (new Army officers and wealthy merchants), as well as many ordinary Chinese, were furious with the Qing government. 'Our iron road, sold to foreigners', wrote Li Chieh jen, echoing the thoughts of most Chinese. The unchecked advance of foreign powers in China weakened China's economy, causing the Qing government to appear weak and unwilling, or even unable, to protect the nation's sovereignty. This perception, along with China's economic instability, played an important role in fostering support for anti-Qing revolutionary groups.

10 marks

Mark allocation

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.

Tips

- These questions are assessing your knowledge, so it is important that you include as many details and as much evidence as possible – although you shouldn't include historians' quotes.
- It may also be a good idea to signpost the points that you are making, e.g. 'firstly', 'secondly' and so on.

Question 2

Choose one of the following questions. Write on the same revolution that you wrote on in Question 1.

a. **America (1763–1776)**

Using three or four key points, explain how Thomas Jefferson contributed to the American Revolution by 1776. Give evidence to support your answer.

Sample response

The ideas expressed and popularised through Thomas Jefferson's political documents were central in inspiring revolution in the American colonies. Not noted for his public speaking abilities, Jefferson spread his ideas through his writings. His 'Summary View of the Rights of British America' (1764) created a belief among colonials that their rights were being infringed upon by British parliament. It increased political awareness among the population and played a role in motivating rebellion (in the form of the Stamp Act Riots in 1765). A respected member of the colonial gentry, Jefferson promoted unity by helping to establish the intercolonial Committees of Correspondence in 1773 and calling for the Continental Congress in 1774. Here he advocated rebellion and revolution, and was put in charge of penning the 'Declaration of Independence' in 1776. This document encapsulated the motivations and justifications behind the Revolution, proclaiming the colonies' duty to separate from the 'destructive' British monarchy. He gained much support for the revolutionary cause, as evidenced by the rebellions which raged through major cities after independence was declared. The toppled statue of King George in New York symbolised the tie which had been broken between England and her colonies.

b. **France (1781–1789)**

Using three or four key points, explain how Louis XVI contributed to the revolutionary situation in France by 1789. Give evidence to support your answer.

Sample response

Louis XVI presided over the *ancien régime*, which was crumbling under the weight of economic burdens and political privilege. Louis misused his absolute rule by being too indecisive; these burdens eventually overwhelmed the estates of France and lead to revolution in 1789. Louis appointed a litany of financial controllers to resolve France's economic deficit, including Necker, Calonne and Brienne, but their proposals were refused by the French *parlements*, leading to the dismissal of the Paris Parlement in May 1788. The resultant aristocratic revolt threatened the authority of the King, who was presented as ineffectual and reactionary. In August 1788, the Estates-General was called to resolve the crisis – further evidence that Louis XVI had lost his absolute authority. The election of the Estates-General was accompanied by the drawing up of the *cahiers de doléances*, which suggested to the French people that change was imminent. Yet when Necker refused to allow voting by head it became clear that the King was trying to preserve the old order. Louis' inability to rule decisively led to the public questioning of his authority, and when he finally attempted to placate the Third Estate by ordering a royal session on 20 June 1789, the newly declared deputies of the National Assembly had grown in confidence and refused to accede to Louis' demands.

c. Russia (1905–1917)

Using three or four key points, explain how Lenin contributed to the Russian Revolution by 1917. Give evidence to support your answer.

Sample response

Born Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, Lenin was driven by the socialist theories penned by Marx half a century before him. Yet, it was his ability to apply these theories to the practical situation in Russia, through writings such as ‘What is to be Done?’ (1902) and through public speeches, that made him the principal force behind the Revolution. Lenin was convinced of the need for a small professional revolutionary party, and this led to the split between the Bolsheviks and the Social Democrats in 1903. Lenin was in exile in Switzerland during the February Revolution, so his influence was not really felt until he returned to Petrograd in April 1917. Immediately after his return, Lenin began criticising the Bolsheviks’ cooperation with the Provisional Government, denouncing the government as ‘false’, ‘capitalistic’ and ‘bourgeois’. His leadership set the Bolsheviks aside as the only political party not marred by the failures of the Provisional Government. Lenin solidified the Bolsheviks as an alternative to the deteriorating Provisional Government by calling for a second stage of revolution, where power would shift from ‘bourgeois’ hands to the proletariat. The ongoing war disillusioned many Russians, as Kerensky’s administration seemed unable to handle the pressing domestic problems, such as the food and fuel shortages, that were ravaging the nation. Lenin also capitalised on these anti-war sentiments by calling for a full withdrawal from World War One, an ‘imperialistic war’ that did not represent the interests of the workers or the peasants. He coined slogans such as ‘All Power to the Soviets!’ and ‘Peace! Land! Bread!’. Lenin was also instrumental in convincing the Bolshevik leaders of the Central Committee to support a military takeover of Petrograd before elections for the Constituent Assembly began. Lenin’s condemnation of the Provisional Government, combined with his ability to present the Bolsheviks as the only alternative, garnered support from the masses while convincing party leaders of the need for a takeover. These factors made him an indispensable part of the October Revolution.

d. China (1898–1949)

Using three or four key points, explain how Mao Zedong contributed to the Chinese Communist Party's victory by October 1949. Give evidence to support your answer.

Sample response

Mao Zedong's apparent ability to adopt Sun Yet-Sen's 'Three Principles' more effectively than Chiang Kai-shek, combined with his ideology (implemented and refined during the Yenan Period), paved the way for the Chinese Communist Party's victory over the Guomindang in 1949. Under Mao's initiative, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) did not flee Yenan but rather 'marched north to fight the Japanese', projecting a very nationalistic image of a party who strove determinedly toward enabling China to become an independent sovereign state of the people. Mao's leadership ability and political manoeuvring during the Long March (1934–35) highlighted the fact that this was a party prepared to put the needs of the nation before their own. Mao's democratic 'three-thirds' system and his alliance of the 'four revolutionary groups' under New Democracy were viewed by the public as steps towards the democratic, representative constitutional government that Sun had envisioned. Mao's 'massline' (leadership 'from the people to the people') was welcomed as a viable way to sort through problems facing the peasantry. It also gave the appearance that the CCP was concerned with local issues. The land reforms which Mao introduced (the redistribution of landlord property and rent reductions) reduced economic hardship. The discipline of the Red Army (ardently enforced by Mao) and the Maoist virtues of diligence, self-denial and selflessness brought respect to the CCP and eager recruits to its army. The CCP's conduct stood in stark contrast to the corruption and nepotism of the Guomindang (GMD). Mao's revolutionary ideals and his ability to apply Sun Yet-Sen's rhetoric fostered popular support and high morale among the Communists, both vital factors in their 1949 victory.

10 marks

Mark allocation

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.

SECTION A – continued

Part 2 – Creating a new society

Mark allocations for part c. and d,

These questions are globally marked. The following mark allocations give you an idea of how to achieve full marks.

Mark allocation for part c.

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

Mark allocation for part d.

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.

Question 3

Choose **one** of the following questions. Write on the **same** revolution that you wrote on in Questions 1 and 2.

America (1763–1776)

Jensen on the American Constitution

Reference: Merrill Jensen, *The Making of the American Constitution*, Anvil, New York, 1964, p8–9.

The delegates recognized that the United States in 1787 did not suffer from the maldistribution of property which had characterized ancient states and which was true of contemporary Europe. But they believed it inevitable that in the future the United States would become like every other state in history, and that the majority of the American people would, in time, be without property. Experience since 1776 demonstrated, so more than one delegate said, that the American state governments were too democratic. The task before the delegates was, therefore, a double one: to check the ‘leveling spirit’ which, they believed, had arisen since 1776, and to provide protection for property in that future time when property owners would be a minority in the United States. It was in such specific terms that James Madison explained what the Convention should do, and no delegate disagreed with him.

- a. Identify from the extract **two** aims of the constitutional delegates.

Sample response

- i. To check the ‘leveling spirit’ of the new nation.
- ii. To provide protection for property in preparation for a future time when property owners would become a minority.

2 marks

Mark allocation

- 1 mark for each aim identified.

Tip

- *This is a basic comprehension question, so the answer should be easily identifiable in the source material. You should be able to use your reading time to read the source and mentally answer the question.*

- b. Identify **two** ideas that the constitutional delegates believed were inevitable about the future of the United States, according to Jensen.

Sample response

- i. That at some future time, the majority of people in the United States would be without property.
- ii. That the United States would become like every other state in history.

2 marks

Mark allocation

- 2 marks for identifying two ideas that the constitutional delegates believed, according to Jensen.

Tip

- *This is also a basic comprehension question, so the answer should be easily identifiable in the source material. You should be able to use your reading time to read the source and mentally answer the question.*

c. Using your own knowledge and the extract, examine how effectively the new Constitution unified the American people.

Sample response

The new Constitution, created in 1787 and ratified in 1788, was created in response to the range of economic and social problems which arose in the United States under the Articles of Confederation. It sought to unite the individual states – which until this time had been acting in accordance with their own interests – under a strong central government for the overall good of the nation. Yet there was much division over the ratification of the Constitution. Southern colonies such as Virginia were wary of the risk that it posed to their economic interests, believing that a national government could free all slaves if it so desired. Despite the checks and balances built into the Constitution to ensure a spread of power, many colonists in New England, such as Samuel Adams, were wary of a reversion to the autocratic practices of the English monarchy. They were wary of all the power being given to one central government. Such division slowed the process of ratification. Yet by 1790, all the states had agreed to the new form of government and the Constitution had succeeded in bringing the American people closer together.

6 marks

Mark allocation

- *See page 9.*

Tip

- *This question asks you to draw on your broader knowledge of the topic. It is a good idea to prepare notes on several topics when studying your chosen revolutions, to help you with questions such as these. To prepare for this question, identify the main themes of each Revolution and make sure that you can write a detailed response based on these themes.*

d. Explain the strengths and limitations of this extract as evidence to explain the direction taken by the new political order between 1776 and 1789. In your response refer to different views of the Revolution.

Sample response

This extract is valuable in that it places emphasis upon the economic motivations of the Founding Fathers, which influenced the formation of the Constitution; the framers of the Constitution ensured that the future power of the ‘democratic’ state governments would continue to be held in check by the elite property-owning minority. Left-wing historian Howard Zinn supports this claim, contending that the aim of the Constitution was to protect the power and wealth of those who created it – the upper class. Yet this view is limited as it disregards the influence of the American public; liberal historian Gordon S. Wood views the role of the people as integral to the evolution of the American political system. For Wood, this is evidenced by the population’s reactions to events such as Shays’ Rebellion (1786–87) and by the fact that the leaders aimed to oblige the peoples’ desire for ‘democracy and liberty’ rather than ‘protection for … a minority’ as this extract suggests. Thus this extract is only useful to a limited extent, as it concentrates solely on the interests of the upper class in directing the new political order.

10 marks

SECTION A – PART 2 – continued

Mark allocation

- *See page 10.*

Tips

- *It is essential that you include an analysis of historiography in this question, and this includes being able to use short quotes. At the very least you should be able to identify different ways that different people could interpret the same event. Discuss the role of bias if relevant.*
- *You should also discuss the strengths and limitations of sources, as this is a key component of the question.*

OR

France (1781–1789)

Reference: DMG Sutherland, *France 1789–1815: Revolution and Counterrevolution*, Fontana Press, London, 1990, p97.

The oath to the Civil Constitution is rightly considered one of the great crises of the Revolution because it gave the counterrevolution a popular base. In order to understand why this was so, it is necessary to make a distinction between the reasons some clerics rejected it and why certain regions of the country supported that decision. There were many elements in the Civil Constitution which made the decision to take or reject the oath very difficult. The residence requirements for bishops, the reduction of scandalous incomes to respectable salaries, the prerequisite of pastoral experience which opened the episcopate to the lower clergy, and the assurance of a decent income for themselves, not to mention the welcome secular reforms, were close to many of the demands expressed in the clerical cahiers of 1789. Yet the clergy had dreamed that the national regeneration inaugurated by the calling of the Estates-General would have a religious gloss, which in some cases came close to advocating theocracy. Could this be done without the security of an established, self-governing order, the sacrifice of which was far greater than that asked of the nobility? Many of the cures who took the oath, soon to be called constitutionals, were convinced not only that it could, but that the Civil Constitution was the voice of God. Those who refused, the refractories, were not so sure and could point to the Declaration of Rights, the dissolution of religious vows, the defeat of a motion by the reformer Dom Gerle in April declaring Catholicism the state religion, and the talk of permitting divorce as indications that the laity had no intention of being led by the clergy.

- a. Identify from the extract two aspects of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy that were close to the demands of the clerical cahiers in 1789, according to Sutherland.

Sample responses

Your answer could include any two of the following points:

- The reduction of scandalous incomes to respectable salaries.
- The residence requirements for bishops.
- The prerequisite of pastoral experience, which opened the episcopate to the lower clergy.
- The assurance of decent incomes.
- The welcome secular reforms.

2 marks

Mark allocation

- 1 mark for each aspect identified.

Tip

- *This is a basic comprehension question, so the answer should be easily identifiable in the source material. You should be able to use your reading time to read the source and mentally answer the question.*

- b. Identify two reasons why the refractory priests believed that the clergy was losing influence in France, according to Sutherland.

Sample responses

Your answer could include any two of the following points:

- The dissolution of religious vows.
- The defeat of a motion by the reformer Dom Gerle in April declaring Catholicism the state religion.
- The Declaration of Rights.
- The talk of permitting divorce.

2 marks

Mark allocation

- 1 mark for each reason identified.

Tip

- *This is also a basic comprehension question, so the answer should be easily identifiable in the source material. You should be able to use your reading time to read the source and mentally answer the question.*

- c. Using your own knowledge and the extract, explain why the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was introduced.

Sample response

The Civil Constitution of the Clergy was introduced by the Constituent Assembly, primarily to streamline the unwieldy and awkward bureaucracy of the Catholic Church in France. The Church was seen by many National Assembly members as a relic from the feudal era, and the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was their attempt to modernise and democratise the structure of the Church, to bring it into line with the rest of revolutionary France. The most contentious parts of the Constitution – the marginalisation of the Pope, the ban on contacting foreign clergy and the oath of loyalty – were all designed to ensure that the clergy were loyal to France and came under no external influences.

6 marks

Mark allocation

- See page 9.

Tip

- *This question asks you to draw on your broader knowledge of the topic. It is a good idea to prepare notes on several topics when studying your chosen revolutions, to help you with questions such as these. To prepare for this question, identify the main themes of each Revolution and make sure that you can write a detailed response based on these themes.*

- d. Explain the strengths and limitations of this extract as evidence to explain the direction taken by the new political order between 1789 and 1791. In your response refer to different views of the Revolution.

Sample response

Sutherland's extract describes the schism that occurred within the Church in the wake of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, but it does not reflect the broader effect that the Constitution had on the rest of France. With the collapse of the *ancien régime*, the National Assembly set about enacting a wide range of reforms based upon the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity. The reshuffle of French society into more equitable categories and the reorganisation of the entire administrative system seemed to indicate that a similar reordering of the Church would follow. Yet many in the French population believed that the National Assembly overstepped the mark by interfering in ecclesiastical affairs, despite the fact that the National Assembly showed no interest in influencing the dogma of the church. As Simon Schama wrote, 'The Civil Constitution was not simply another piece of institutional legislation. It was the beginning of a holy war'. The National Assembly held to the belief that to end privilege and create a more equal society, the order of the First Estate could not expect special treatment. The Civil Constitution was thus the logical extension of the ideas that supported the new political order in the initial years of the Revolution. Revisionist historian William Doyle sees the Civil Constitution as an 'opinion poll' of the Revolution. With over a third of the population siding with the refractory priests, the introduction of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was the first clear indication that the wider population of France thought that the sweeping reforms had gone far enough.

10 marks

Mark allocation

- See page 10.

Tips

- *It is essential that you include an analysis of historiography in this question, and this includes being able to use short quotes. At the very least you should be able to identify different ways that different people could interpret the same event. Discuss the role of bias if relevant.*
- *You should also discuss the strengths and limitations of sources, as this is a key component of the question.*

OR

Russia (1905–1917)

Reference: Richard Pipes, *The Russian Revolution 1899–1919*, Harvill Press, 1997, p816

The Bolsheviks had practiced Terror from the day they seized power, intensifying it as their power grew and their popularity declined. The arrest of the Kadets in November 1917, followed by the unpunished murder of the Kadet leaders Kokoshkin and Shingarev had been acts of terror, as was the closing of the Constituent Assembly and the shooting of the demonstrators marching in its support. The Red Army troops and Red Guards who in the spring of 1918 dispersed and manhandled, in one city after another, the soviets that had voted the Bolsheviks out of power, perpetrated acts of terror. The executions, mainly carried out by provincial and district Chekas under the mandate given them by Lenin's decree of February 22, 1918, pushed terror to a still higher level of intensity: the historian S. Melgunov, then residing in Moscow, compiled from the press evidence of 882 executions in the first six months of 1918.

- a. Identify from the extract **two** events that Pipes cites as evidence that the Bolsheviks intensified their use of Terror after November 1917.

Sample response

Pipes cites

- i. The disruption of anti-Bolshevik soviets.
- ii. The 882 executions carried out by the Cheka in the first six months of 1918 as evidence of the growing use of terror by the Bolsheviks after November 1917.

2 marks

Mark allocation

- 1 mark for each event identified.

Tip

- *This is a basic comprehension question, so the answer should be easily identifiable in the source material. You should be able to use your reading time to read the source and mentally answer the question.*

- b. Identify **two** reasons for the Bolshevik intensification of Terror, according to Pipes.

Sample response

- i. The increase of the Bolshevik's power.
- ii. The decline of public support for the Bolshevik regime.

2 marks

Mark allocation

- 1 mark for each reason identified.

Tip

- *This is also a basic comprehension question, so the answer should be easily identifiable in the source material. You should be able to use your reading time to read the source and mentally answer the question.*

- c. Using your own knowledge and the extract, explain the effect that the Terror had on the peasant population between 1918 and 1921.

Sample response

The Bolsheviks, led by Lenin, had come to power through a relatively bloodless coup; yet they found their hold on power slipping as Russia spiralled into a Civil War (1918–21). Many party leaders and supporters, Lenin included, saw the use of violence as a necessary measure to make the transition from capitalism to socialism. As Trotsky observed, their ‘theoretical considerations went hand in hand with the use of sharpshooters’. The Red Terror, enforced through the Cheka and the Red Army, was designed to eliminate those who opposed the Bolshevik rule and to coerce the masses into cooperating with the new regime. Lenin felt that the fear of the Terror would force the peasant population into producing more grain, and thus solve Russia’s food crisis, in accordance with the theories prescribed by War Communism (1918–20). Contrary to his beliefs, however, the use of violence to confiscate grain from the peasants only served to alienate further a naturally conservative class. Efficient peasants, who were able to produce more grain than their neighbours, were labelled ‘Kulaks’ and accused of grain hoarding; they were targeted by the Cheka. Rather than ameliorating the situation, the Terror took away the peasants’ incentive to produce surpluses and resulted in a nationwide famine by 1921. Peasants grew more and more dissatisfied with the Bolshevik use of the Terror, as evidenced with the marked increase in anti-Bolshevik uprisings during the period 1920–21.

6 marks

Mark allocation

- See page 9.

Tip

- *This question asks you to draw on your broader knowledge of the topic. It is a good idea to prepare notes on several topics when studying your chosen revolutions, to help you with questions such as these. To prepare for this question, identify the main themes of each Revolution and make sure that you can write a detailed response based on these themes.*

- d. Explain the strengths and limitations of this extract as evidence to explain the direction taken by the new political order between 1918 and 1920. In your response refer to different views of the Revolution.

Sample response

This extract highlights the Bolshevik's use of the Terror as a principal strategy in their consolidation of power, and their reliance on this strategy as the public support for the new regime declined. This view is supported by Lenin's willingness to physically coerce both his armed opponents and his political foes during the Civil War – 140, 000 people were deemed 'anti-revolutionaries' and killed by the Cheka. However, Lenin also realised (perhaps a little too late) when to abandon the use of the Terror as a means to consolidate Bolshevik power. This is evidenced by the introduction of the New Economic Policy in March 1921, which replaced War Communism and the associated Terror. Liberal historians such as Orlando Figes support the idea that the use of the Terror 'was implicit in the regime from the start' and that it became an increasingly prominent feature of Russian society, used to 'subjugate a society [the Bolsheviks] could not control by other means' (Figes). This view, however, fails to consider the revisionist standpoint, which holds that the use of the Terror, rather than being planned and intended, was 'the outcome of improvisation' (Steve Smith) that 'grew piecemeal' (J.P. Nettl) from the growing opposition to the Bolsheviks. The extract also fails to mention other steps that the Bolsheviks took to solidify their hold on the new society, including the political centralisation of power in the Sovnarkom, which in effect gave the Bolshevik party elite control over government and official appointments. This article, while accurate in its portrayal of the Red Terror, fails to consider the motivations behind it or the alternative methods used by Bolsheviks to retain power.

10 marks

Mark allocation

- See page 10.

Tips

- *It is essential that you include an analysis of historiography in this question, and this includes being able to use short quotes. At the very least you should be able to identify different ways that different people could interpret the same event. Discuss the role of bias if relevant.*
- *You should also discuss the strengths and limitations of sources, as this is a key component of the question.*

OR

China (1898–1949)

Reference: Jung Chang, *Wild Swans – Three Daughters of China*, Harper Collins, London, 1991, p292–3.

A huge furnace was erected in the parking lot where the chauffeurs used to wait. At night the sky was lit up, and the noise of the crowds around the furnace could be heard 300 yards away in my room. My family's woks went into this furnace, together with all our cast-iron cooking utensils. We did not suffer from their loss, as we did not need them anymore. No private cooking was allowed now, and everybody had to eat in the canteen. The furnaces were insatiable. Gone was my parents' bed, a soft, comfortable one with iron springs. Gone also were the iron railings from the city pavements, and anything else that was iron. I hardly saw my parents for months. They often did not come home at all, as they had to make sure the temperature in their office furnaces never dropped.

It was at this time that Mao gave full vent to his half-baked dream of turning China into a first-class modern power. He called steel the 'Marshal' of industry, and ordered steel output to be doubled in one year – from 5.35 million tons in 1957 to 10.7 million in 1958. But instead of trying to expand the proper steel industry with skilled workers, he decided to get the whole population to take part. There was a steel quota for every unit, and for months people stopped their normal work in order to meet it. The country's economic development was reduced to the simplistic question of how many tons of steel could be produced, and the entire nation was thrown into this single act. It was officially estimated that nearly 100 million peasants were pulled out of agricultural work and into steel production. They had been the labour force producing much of the country's food. Mountains were stripped bare of trees for fuel. But the output of this mass production amounted only to what people called 'cattle droppings', meaning useless turds.

- a. Identify from the extract **two** items that were thrown into the furnace.

Sample response

- i. Woks
- ii. Cast-iron cooking utensils

2 marks

Mark allocation

- 1 mark for each item identified.

Tip

- *This is a basic comprehension question, so the answer should be easily identifiable in the source material. You should be able to use your reading time to read the source and mentally answer the question.*

- b. Explain what effect Mao's steel quotas had on the people of China, according to Chang.

Sample response

- i. They were forced to stop work for months in order to fulfil the steel quota.
- ii. They often neglected their families or their regular routine in order to fulfil their steel quotas.

2 marks

SECTION A – PART 2 – continued

Mark allocation

- 2 marks for identifying and explaining each effect.

Tip

- *This is also a basic comprehension question, so the answer should be easily identifiable in the source material. You should be able to use your reading time to read the source and mentally answer the question.*

- c. Using your own knowledge and the extract, examine what effect Mao's Great Leap Forward had on the peasants.

6 marks

Sample response

The success of the First Five-Year Plan in heavy industry encouraged Mao to seek greater revolutionary achievements. Thus he set in motion his Second Five-Year Plan, the 'Great Leap Forward' (1958–1962), with the objective to harness the power of the masses in order to significantly increase China's agricultural and industrial capabilities. China's 750, 000 agricultural cooperatives were collectivised into 20, 000 collectives, in an attempt to facilitate this goal. Nurseries and communal kitchens, intended to increase the number of peasants available to work in the fields and at the steel furnaces, constituted a drastic social change: they decimated the traditional family unit in provincial China and forced peasant families into new and quite alien roles. Furthermore, communal kitchens meant that farmers were no longer working to sustain only their families; famers lacked the motivation to produce more than was needed by the state quota, so collectivisation actually reduced production rates. This, combined with 'official' grain figures (which were often fallacious and exaggerated), the preoccupation with backyard steel production and Mao's insistence on adopting Lysenko's bizarre farming techniques, led to a grain deficit which resulted in the devastating famine of the 'three bad years' (1959–61) and the deaths of 30–40 million peasants from starvation.

Mark allocation

- See page 9.

Tip

- *This question asks you to draw on your broader knowledge of the topic. It is a good idea to prepare notes on several topics when studying your chosen revolutions, to help you with questions such as these. To prepare for this question, identify the main themes of each Revolution and make sure that you can write a detailed response based on these themes.*

- d. Explain the strengths and limitations of this extract as evidence to explain the direction taken by the new political order during the Second Five Year Plan. In your response refer to different views of the Revolution.

10 marks

Sample response

According to Mao, the Great Leap Forward would allow China to ‘walk on two legs’: small-scale industries in urban and rural communities would endeavour to be more self-reliant and increase the production of raw materials and food, thereby assisting the further expansion of the heavy industry sector. In essence, the manner by which the Great Leap Forward was to be achieved reflected one of Mao’s most ardent values: the power of the masses. While it is true, as Jung Chang contends, that some of Mao’s ‘experimentations’ during this time were reckless, imprudent and irresponsible, not all of the Mao’s endeavors were as disastrous as the backyard steel furnaces described in this extract. Chang’s account is anecdotal and therefore especially subjective; it does not attempt to analyse the overall effect of The Great Leap Forward. Huge engineering feats were accomplished, including the construction of new bridges, dams and canals, and the expansion of Beijing’s Tiananmen Square – though at a great cost to human life. All projects were completed by the power of the people, not by large machinery and private corporations. Although the small-scale production of steel was a horrific failure, backyard uranium mines were a success. However, mass labour certainly did have its flaws, as this extract points out, and in the final analysis proved to be ill-conceived. Mass labour, as Michael Lynch contends, ‘does not necessarily result in mass production ... Good will did not produce good steel’. Ordinary people, despite their best intentions and their revolutionary zeal, were not necessarily the best steel workers or the best bridge builders. Mao once asserted ‘If you are too realistic, you can’t write poetry’, and as a poet of the Revolution, Mao had no intention of becoming bogged down in reality (Craig Dietrich). As the extract reveals, Mao’s strategy of people power was one of idealism, not one of practicality.

Mark allocation

- See page 10.

Tips

- *It is essential that you include an analysis of historiography in this question, and this includes being able to use short quotes. At the very least you should be able to identify different ways that different people could interpret the same event. Discuss the role of bias if relevant.*
- *You should also discuss the strengths and limitations of sources, as this is a key component of the question.*

END OF SECTION A

SECTION B – Revolution Two

Part 1 – Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events

Mark allocations for part c. and d.

These questions are globally marked. The following mark allocations give you an idea of how to achieve full marks.

Mark allocation for part c.

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

Mark allocation for part d.

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.

Question 4

Choose one of the following questions.

America (1763–1776)**The Stamp Act of 1765**

An act for granting and applying certain stamp duties, and other duties, in the British colonies and plantations in America, towards further defraying the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the same; and for amending such parts of the several acts of parliament relating to the trade and revenues of the said colonies and plantations, as direct the manner of determining and recovering the penalties and forfeitures therein mentioned...

And for and upon every pack of playing cards, and all dice, which shall be sold or used within the said colonies and plantations, the several stamp duties following (that is to say)

For every pack of such cards, the sum of one shilling.

And for every pair of such dice, the sum of ten shillings.

And for and upon every paper, commonly called a pamphlet, and upon every news paper, containing publick news, intelligence, or occurrences, which shall be printed, dispersed, and made publick, within any of the said colonies and plantations, and for and upon such advertisements as are herein after mentioned, the respective duties following (that is to say)

For every such pamphlet and paper contained in half a sheet, or and lesser piece of paper, which shall be so printed, a stamp duty of one halfpenny, for every printed copy thereof.

For every such pamphlet and paper (being larger than half a sheet, and not exceeding one whole sheet) which shall be so printed, a stamp duty of one penny, for every printed copy thereof...

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| a. | Identify from the extract two reasons why the Stamp Act was applied. |
|-----------|---|

Sample response

Your answer could include any **two** of the following points:

- To help with ‘defraying the expenses’ of protecting the American colonies.
- To help with securing the American colonies.
- To help with amending parts of the acts of parliament relating to the trade and revenues of the colonies and plantations.
- To help with determining and recovering the penalties and forfeitures therein mentioned.

2 marks

Mark allocation

- 2 marks for identifying and explaining the answer.

Tip

- *As in Question 3a., the answer for this question comes directly from the source material. Use your reading time to read the source and mentally answer the question.*

- b. Identify from the extract what stamp duty was placed on playing cards and on dice.

Sample response

- i. One shilling was placed on every pack of playing cards.
- ii. Ten shillings were placed on every pair of dice.

2 marks

Mark allocation

- 1 mark for identifying the stamp duty on playing cards.
- 1 mark for identifying the stamp duty on dice.

Tip

- *This is another question that can be answered only with reference to the source material. If you read the material carefully, this question should be easy marks!*

- c. Using your knowledge, explain how the colonies reacted to the implementation of the Stamp Act.

6 marks

Sample response

The American colonies reacted to the Stamp Act of 1765 with non-compliance and violence. Led by James Otis, many colonists claimed that the act was a violation of their 'natural rights', as they could not be taxed by Britain without 'actual representation' in British parliament. Patrick Henry's Virginia Resolves in the House of Burgesses, the first outspoken opposition to the act, urged defiance and proved to be the 'signal for general outcry across the continent'. The subsequent Stamp Act Riots saw mobs rage through major cities from Boston to Virginia, attacking symbols of British authority and intimidating British officials and soldiers sent to enforce the Stamp Act. By November 1765, the month in which the act was due to begin, Georgia was the only state with stamps left to sell. The colonists' non-importation agreements had reduced the profits of English merchants to the point where they successfully petitioned parliament to repeal the act.

Mark allocation

- *See page 23.*

Tip

- *As in Question 3c., you can prepare for this question by preparing notes on different topics to do with your Revolution. This is a good approach for questions that require you to draw on your broader knowledge.*

- d. Explain the extent to which this extract presents an adequate explanation of the development of revolutionary sentiment in America. In your response refer to different views of the Revolution.

10 marks

Sample response

This document adopts an economic stance in its analysis of the causes of the revolutionary situation in America. It refers only to the financial justifications and effects of the Stamp Act, thus implying that the colonists' rebellion was grounded purely in fiscal motivations. Historian Charles Beard supports this view, contending that the rhetoric of revolutionary leaders such as Sam Adams and John Hancock was really just a ploy to gain the people's support for a revolution that would protect the financial interests of the elite. However this interpretation overlooks the contribution of libertarian ideology in motivating the American Revolution. Liberal Bernard Bailyn points to the 'transforming libertarian radicalism' of American society prior to the Revolution, which caused the colonists to oppose pieces of British legislation and motivated rebellions such as the Stamp Act Riots (1765). This interpretation is certainly supported by the key phrases surrounding the Revolution (such as 'no taxation without representation'), which express the colonists' desire for fair treatment, rather than their economic concerns. As such, this extract presents only part of the explanation for the development of the revolutionary situation in the American colonies.

Mark allocation

- *See page 24.*

Tip

- *This question requires you to discuss different views of the Revolution, so it is important to include quotations or refer to the work of different historians.*

OR

France (1781–1789)

Account to the King from *Compte rendu au Roi* (Jacques Necker, Geneva, Duvillard, 1781, p1–3).

Having devoted all my time and my strength in the service of YOUR MAJESTY since you appointed me to this position, it is important for me to give you some public explanations concerning the success of my works and the actual state of the Finances.

I would have renounced to the satisfaction of... explaining my behavior, if I had not thought that by doing so, all this [information] could have been very useful to YOUR MAJESTY's affairs. Such an institution, if it became permanent, would be the source of the most important advantages because the obligation to publicly show his administration would influence a Finance Minister from the first steps in his career. Darkness and obscurity favor nonchalance... This report would also allow each of the people—who are part of YOUR MAJESTY's Councils—to study and follow the situation of the Finances. Such an institution could have the greatest influence on public confidence.

In fact, if one fixes his attention on the huge credit England enjoys, and which constitutes their main strength in war, it would be impossible to attribute it entirely to the nature of its Government. Because whatever the authority of the French Monarch is, his interests will always depend on fidelity and justice...

Another reason for the great credit of England is the public notoriety to which the state of Finances is submitted. Each year this state is presented to the Parliament, then it is printed. And all the lenders who regularly know the proportion that is maintained between incomes and expenses are not troubled by suspicions and fanciful fears, which are always part of darkness.

In France, the state of Finances has always been a mystery. If sometimes somebody talked about it, it was only in the preambles of Edicts, and always when money had to be borrowed. But these words, too often the same to be true, have necessarily lost their authority, and men of experience only believe in it because of the moral nature of the Finance Minister. It is important to found confidence on more solid bases...

- a. Identify from the extract two reasons for a public report on the state of the French finances.

Sample response

- i. It would allow the population to study and follow the situation of the national finances, which would have a positive effect on public confidence.
- ii. All money lenders would be aware of France's financial situation, which means that they will not be suspicious or fearful of lending money.

2 marks

Mark allocation

- 1 mark for each reason identified.

Tip

- As in Question 3a., the answer for this question comes directly from the source material. Use your reading time to read the source and mentally answer the question.

- b. Identify from the extract two ways in which the state of the English finances differ from the state of the French finances.

Sample response

- i. England enjoys huge credit.
- ii. Each year, the state of the English finances is made public.

2 marks

Mark allocation

- 1 mark for each reason identified.

Tip

- *This is another question that can be answered only with reference to the source material. If you read the material carefully, this question should be easy marks!*

- c. Using your knowledge, explain the effect of the *Compte rendu au Roi*.

6 marks

Sample response

Necker's *Compte rendu au Roi* (1781) was a statement that attempted to assure creditors that their money was safe. It was the first public statement of the royal finances, and it showed that there was a surplus of 10 million livres, due mainly to the fact that it distinguished between peacetime expenditure and wartime expenditure. When the war was included, of course, the finances fell into deficit by over 1000 million livres. One of the main effects of the *Compte rendu au Roi* was that it made it difficult for future controllers-general such as Calonne and Brienne to increase taxes, because the public had been led to believe that it was possible to maintain a costly war and remain in surplus. This, along with the refusal of the royal court to curb expenditure, made it difficult for Calonne to gain support for his broad-based tax reform in 1786, which included a uniform tax with no exemptions for the nobility or the clergy.

Mark allocation

- *See page 23.*

Tip

- *As in Question 3c., you can prepare for this question by preparing notes on different topics to do with your Revolution. This is a good approach for questions that require you to draw on your broader knowledge.*

- d. Explain the extent to which this extract provides an adequate explanation of the development of revolutionary sentiment in France before 1789. In your response refer to different views of the Revolution.

10 marks

Sample response

Necker's *Compte rendu au Roi* (1781) was important in the development of a revolutionary situation in France. Indeed, revisionist historian Simon Schama sees the *Compte rendu au Roi* as an 'exercise in public education' and an 'attempt to form an engaged citizenry' where one had not previously existed. However, other factors, including the institutionalised rejection of much-needed reform, saw the French economy stagnate and this came to undermine the King's authority by 1789. In 1786, Calonne proposed a three-stage program for reform. He proposed an end to separate land taxes, so that all people paid a tax on land – there were no exceptions for the privileged orders. He also proposed an end to internal trade barriers. These reforms were rejected by the Assembly of Notables. Later, Brienne also proposed some economic reforms, which included a new central treasury. His reforms were rejected by the *parlements*, who were dismissed in May 1788 for their refusal to cooperate. The resultant aristocratic revolt, which Marxist historians such as George Rudé and Albert Soboul attribute in part to the *Compte rendu au Roi*, occurred as the Crown finally realised it was bankrupt in August 1788. This was mostly due to the ineffectiveness of the controllers-general Necker, Calonne and Brienne in the face of institutionalised opposition. The kings of the Bourbon dynasty had always had trouble with the *parlements*, but these troubles increased toward the end of the tumultuous 1780s, under the rule of Louis XVI. The clergy also joined the aristocratic revolt in protest against the King's demands of them, calling for a smaller *don gratuit*. These tensions and conflicts, resulting from the failure of reform, eventually led to a widening revolt that incorporated members of all three estates. It led to an increase in revolutionary sentiment in France by 1789.

Mark allocation

- See page 24.

Tip

- This question requires you to discuss different views of the Revolution, so it is important to include quotations or refer to the work of different historians.

OR

Russia (1905–1917)

The Manifesto on the Improvement of the State Order (October Manifesto), issued by Emperor Nicholas II, 17th October 1905.

We, Nicholas II, By the Grace of God Emperor and Autocrat of all Russia, King of Poland, Grand Duke of Finland, etc., proclaim to all Our loyal subjects:

Rioting and disturbances in the capitals and in many localities of Our Empire fill Our heart with great and heavy grief. The well-being of the Russian Sovereign is inseparable from the well-being of the nation, and the nation's sorrow is his sorrow. The disturbances that have taken place may cause grave tension in the nation and may threaten the integrity and unity of Our state.

By the great vow of service as tsar We are obliged to use every resource of wisdom and of Our authority to bring a speedy end to unrest that is dangerous to Our state. We have ordered the responsible authorities to take measures to terminate direct manifestations of disorder, lawlessness, and violence and to protect peaceful people who quietly seek to fulfill their duties. To carry out successfully the general measures that we have conceived to restore peace to the life of the state, We believe that it is essential to coordinate activities at the highest level of government.

We require the government dutifully to execute our unshakeable will:

(1) To grant to the population the essential foundations of civil freedom, based on the principles of genuine inviolability of the person, freedom of conscience, speech, assembly and association.

(2) Without postponing the scheduled elections to the State Duma, to admit to participation in the duma (insofar as possible in the short time that remains before it is scheduled to convene) of all those classes of the population that now are completely deprived of voting rights; and to leave the further development of a general statute on elections to the future legislative order.

(3) To establish as an unbreakable rule that no law shall take effect without confirmation by the State Duma and that the elected representatives of the people shall be guaranteed the opportunity to participate in the supervision of the legality of the actions of Our appointed officials...

- a. Identify from the extract **two** essential foundations of civil freedom.

Sample response

Your answer could include any **two** of the following points:

- Freedom of speech
- Freedom of conscience
- Freedom of assembly
- Freedom of association
- Genuine inviolability of the person

2 marks

Mark allocation

- 1 mark for each essential freedom identified.

Tip

- *As in Question 3a., the answer for this question comes directly from the source material. Use your reading time to read the source and mentally answer the question.*

- b. Identify from the extract **two** proposed features of the State Duma.

Sample response

- i. Voting for the State Duma should be opened to all classes of the population.
- ii. No law shall be passed without the Duma's approval.

2 marks

Mark allocation

- 1 mark for each proposed feature identified.

Tip

- *This is another question that can be answered only with reference to the source material. If you read the material carefully, this question should be easy marks!*

- c. Using your knowledge, explain what was meant by the phrase 'unrest that is dangerous to Our state'.

Sample response

Subjected to terrible working and living conditions, the rapidly growing proletariat class first petitioned for their rights and freedoms in January 1905, in an event that became known as the Bloody Sunday Massacre. A peaceful march of 111, 000 civilians carrying a petition to the tsar, led by Father Gapon, was brutally massacred by the tsar's Cossack forces. It is estimated that 200 people were killed. The tsar's violent reaction to this peaceful protest alienated many of his subjects, who brought the Russian economy to a standstill with strikes that spread from the factories to the banks. Discontent spread into the armed forces; the crew of the Potemkin mutinied in July 1905 as the tsar's authority grew still more unstable. Opposition to the rule of the tsar began to take hold, and Trotsky established the St Petersburg Soviet in October 1905. The growing unrest and the power of the spontaneous masses finally forced Nicholas II to concede to the reforms outlined in the October Manifesto.

6 marks

Mark allocation

- *See page 23.*

Tip

- *As in Question 3c., you can prepare for this question by preparing notes on different topics to do with your Revolution. This is a good approach for questions that require you to draw on your broader knowledge.*

- d. Explain the extent to which the October Manifesto suppressed the growth of revolutionary sentiment in Russia prior to 1917. In your response, refer to different views of the causes of revolutionary sentiment in Russia.

Sample response

The October Manifesto, although it suppressed some revolutionary sentiment in the short term, actually contributed to the tensions that culminated in revolution in 1917. The promise of a State Duma satiated the calls of many reformists, such as the Kadets and Octobrists, who were advocating the introduction of a representative democracy. However, the publication of the Fundamental State Laws (April 1906), the dissolution of the first and second Dumas and the alteration of the electoral laws to ensure that future Dumas would be conservative in nature, all soon made it clear that the tsar had no real intentions to reform the parliamentary system. Within 20 months the tsar had, in effect, nullified all that he had promised in the October Manifesto. These failed reforms, Richard Malone argues, were worse than no reforms at all. Not only did they give people a glimpse of a better life that was unsustainable, but they undermined the power of reform to achieve any lasting change. Such inflexibility on the tsar's behalf led moderates 'disillusioned with the failure of the 1905 Revolution [to believe that] ... violence was the only means by which to change the oppressive yet incapable Tsarist regime' (Michael Lynch). Revisionist historians agree with this argument, contending that it was the Nicholas' 'obstinate refusal to concede reforms [that] turned what should have been a political problem into a revolutionary crisis' (Orlando Figes). Soviet historians, however, do not give as much credit to the impact of the October Manifesto's failure, arguing that 'Tsarism came out of the experience of 1905 alive and strong enough' (Leon Trotsky). They suggest that it was the Bolsheviks and their subsequent spreading of revolutionary sentiment that prompted the Revolution. The October Manifesto, while effective as a short-term fix, soon became a cause of, rather than a cure for, revolutionary sentiment in Russia.

10 marks

Mark allocation

- See page 24.

Tip

- *This question requires you to discuss different views of the Revolution, so it is important to include quotations or refer to the work of different historians.*

OR

China (1898–1949)

Boxer Protocol (Peking, 7 September 1901)

ARTICLE VI.

By an Imperial Edict dated the 29th May, 1901, His Majesty the Emperor of China agreed to pay the Powers an indemnity of 450,000,000 of Haikwan taels...

ARTICLE VII.

The Chinese Government has agreed that the quarter occupied by the Legations shall be considered as one specially reserved for their use and placed under their exclusive control, in which Chinese shall not have the right to reside, and which may be made defensible... In the Protocol annexed to the letter of the 16th January, 1901, China recognized the right of each Power to maintain a permanent guard in the said quarter for the defence of its Legation...

ARTICLE VIII.

The Chinese Government has consented to raze the forts of Taku, and those which might impede free communication between Peking and the sea. Steps have been taken for carrying this out.

ARTICLE IX.

The Chinese Government conceded the right to the Powers in the Protocol annexed to the letter of the 16th January, 1901, to occupy certain points, to be determined by an Agreement between them for the maintenance of open communication between the capital and the sea. The points occupied by the Powers are:— Huang-tsung, Lang-fang, Yang-tsung, Tien-tsin, Chun-liang-Cheng, Tong-ku, Lu-tai, Tong-shan, Lan-chou, Chang-li, Chin-wang Tao, Shan-hai Kuan.

- | |
|---|
| a. Identify from the extract two conditions imposed on China by the foreign powers. |
|---|

Sample response

Your answer could include any two of the following points:

- The Qing were pressured to destroy the Taku forts between Tianjin and Beijing.
- The Qing allowed the quarter occupied by the Legations to be under their exclusive control.
- The Emperor was forced to pay an indemnity of 450, 000, 000 Haikwan taels.
- Chinese government agreed to allow the Powers to occupy certain points: Huang-tsung, Lang-fang, Yang-tsung and several others.

2 marks

Mark allocation

- 1 mark for each condition identified.

Tip

- *As in Question 3a., the answer for this question comes directly from the source material. Use your reading time to read the source and mentally answer the question.*

b. Identify from the extract two points to be occupied by the Powers.

Sample response

Your answer could include any two of the following points:

- Huang-tsун
- Lang-fang
- Yang-tsун
- Tien-tsin
- Chun-liang-Cheng
- Tong-ku
- Lu-tai
- Tong-shan
- Lan-chou
- Chang-li
- Chin-wang Tao
- Shan-hai Kuan

2 marks

Mark allocation

1 mark for each point identified.

Tip

- *This is another question that can be answered only with reference to the source material. If you read the material carefully, this question should be easy marks!*

c. Using your knowledge, explain the effect of the Boxer Protocol on the Qing government.

Sample response

The humiliation of the Boxer Protocol destroyed what little power and prestige the Qing government still wielded. It caused Empress Dowager Cixi, albeit quite grudgingly, to concede that reform was needed to reclaim the nation's honour, restore China's military power and strengthen its political institutions. The principles advocated by exiled reformer Kang Youwei now came to the fore as the Qing government set about implementing a comprehensive reform program that aimed to modernise education, the military and political policy. The anachronistic banner armies were phased out and replaced by the New Army, who were equipped with modern arms and led by officers with Western-style military training. However, the two-year prohibition on the importation of arms, as outlined in the Boxer Protocol, impeded this process of modernisation and caused the Chinese to feel powerless against the foreign invaders, despite these reforms. The Confucian examination system was forcibly disbanded by the Boxer Protocol in the forty-five districts where the Boxers had been active, and abolished entirely in 1905 by the Qing government in favour of a modern education system. With access to previously banned sources of knowledge, Chinese students developed new skills based on thinking critically and interrogating sources of information. They also came into contact with revolutionary propaganda. At this time the Qing government also put in motion plans for constitutional reform. The first step in this reform process was the creation of Provincial Assemblies that were to act as an advisory body to the government. However, the assemblies soon became a forum for voicing popular criticisms, and an important training ground for China's future revolutionary leaders. Thus they became another step toward decentralised power. These reforms were intended to stabilise Qing government's power and rally much-needed support for the government in the wake of the Boxer Protocol, but the reforms just highlighted the inadequacies of the whole imperial system.

6 marks

SECTION B – PART 1 – continued

Mark allocation

- See page 23.

Tip

- As in **Question 3c.**, you can prepare for this question by preparing notes on different topics to do with your Revolution. This is a good approach for questions that require you to draw on your broader knowledge.

- d. Explain the extent to which this extract presents an adequate explanation of the development of revolutionary sentiment in China. In your response refer to different views of the period between 1898 and 1911.

Sample response

The terms of the Boxer Protocol, some of which are set out in this extract, represented a culmination of imperialist intrusion into China. Buggy argues that it ‘seemed to confirm China’s status as a sub-colony of the west and... convinced many that the Qing dynasty was unfit to rule China’. This extract, with its embarrassing and devastating foreign concessions, certainly supports the validity of this statement. However, it was not the Protocol alone that caused the Chinese people to agitate more fervently for revolutionary change. As Deng Mao Mao notes, ‘China resembled a long-suppressed volcano’; the Protocol was simply the latest in a long line of concessions that the ‘magnanimous’ (Mao Mao) Qing government granted to the foreign invaders – and for the Chinese people, it was one too many. The humiliation of the Boxer Protocol, as Immanuel Hsu argues, created an overpowering desire among the Chinese population to rid themselves of the Qing government, whose prestige was now at its lowest. However, it was the reforms after the Boxer Protocol that enabled the Chinese to comprehend the depth of the anachronisms in their society. The reforms implemented by the Qing ‘sowed the seeds of their own eventual destruction’ (Terry McDonald) as they created alternative sources of power and allowed Sun Yet-Sen to take the stage. His three principles of nationalism, democracy and the people’s livelihood became especially salient following the Boxer Protocol.

10 marks

Mark allocation

- See page 24.

Tip

- This question requires you to discuss different views of the Revolution, so it is important to include quotations or refer to the work of different historians.

Part 2 – Creating a new society

Question 5

Choose **one** of the following questions and write an extended response, using the space provided. Write on the **same revolution** that you wrote about in Question 4.

- a. Discuss the extent to which war influenced the Revolution.
Provide evidence to support your response.

- b. Discuss the extent to which the new regime compromised their ideals to maintain power in the new society.
Provide evidence to support your response.

- c. Discuss the extent to which the social order was improved by the Revolution.
Provide evidence to support your answer.

20 marks

Sample response to Question 5a. – America (1763–1776)

The wars which surrounded the American Revolution largely influenced the lines along which the new nation formed. The wars of the British Empire in the lead-up to the Revolution, most notably the French and Indian War (1754–63), were to provide the basis for the conflict between England and her American colonies, which escalated toward open rebellion. Yet it was the War of Independence (1776–83) and the resultant crisis that were central in dictating the lines along which the new society was formed.

The War of Independence (1776–83) between England and the newly created United States of America forced the colonists to compromise their original plans and ideals in order to ensure the survival of the Revolution. Despite the Declaration of Independence (which vowed that the new nation would support liberty and equality), the free exercise of these rights jeopardised the colonists' success. Loyalists and those who did not wish to support the Continental army in their fight were not afforded the same rights as others. Men who failed to swear their allegiance to the rebels were liable for punishment – which ranged from fines and the forfeiture of voting rights to hanging. Over 75, 000 people were forced to leave America forever due to their failure to support the loyalist cause. After Washington was granted near-dictatorial powers by the Continental Congress in 1777, the Continental army was able to arrest and detain those who did not support them or were 'disaffected' with their cause. Historian Howard Zinn asserts that this control was in excess of that which England had originally sought to exercise over her colonies. This autocratic style of leadership represented the rebels' exchange of ideals for pragmatism, as the dire circumstances of the war forced them to adapt in order to gain victory.

War with Britain also succeeded in consolidating rebel support for the Revolution, both within America and abroad. Although John Adams estimated that in 1776 'one full third [of the American people] were adverse to the revolution', the support that the Continentals received from their own people continued to escalate throughout the war against Britain. This was largely due to war atrocities committed by English troops, which convinced many undecided locals to take up arms. Officers such as James Beard encouraged cruel behaviour by punishing any English soldier 'who [took] a prisoner', and this gave the Redcoats a reputation for brutality. This reputation resulted in growing support for the Revolution throughout rural areas, which previously had largely been passive. The Revolutionary War was also integral in gaining international

recognition and aid for the new nation. France entered into an alliance with the United States in 1778. France viewed this as a chance to overcome their traditional rivals, the English. This alliance proved crucial in threatening Britain's naval supremacy and it challenged the English control of the colonies. The war allowed the Continental forces to consolidate their support behind the Revolution, which eventuated in their independence.

The crisis faced by the Continental Congress following the Revolutionary War served to change the structure of the post-Revolution government. Congress' failure to pay its soldiers (due to its war debt of 27 million pounds), combined with the post-war depression (which was largely caused by the end of mercantilism) saw a large portion of lower-class Americans placed in a desperate economic situation. Uprisings followed, such as Shays' Rebellion in 1786, and this caused a revision of the Articles of Confederation at the Annapolis and Philadelphia Conventions in 1777. The subsequent decision to do away with the articles and institute a new system of government under the Constitution had a large impact on the result of the Revolution. Many historians believe that this document represented the success of the Revolution, as it solved not only economic issues but the social issues of political representation and law as well. Gordon S. Wood contends that this document allowed 'the ideas of democracy and equality ... to be fulfilled'. Thus war was essential in highlighting the problems in the new society and allowing them to be rectified.

The impact of war had a lasting effect on the new society in the United States. Not only did war provide one of the key justifications for the Revolution and a means for the country to win independence from Britain, but it influenced the evolution and improvement of both economic and social conditions for the American people.

Sample response to Question 5a. – France (1781–1789)

It is clear that war was an important factor in shaping the new order, because it exacerbated crisis in the new regime by promoting counterrevolution. In the end, war with Austria and Prussia affected the Revolution greatly by radicalising it further. As revisionist historian D.G. Wright notes, ‘the declaration of war [on Austria on the 20 April, 1792] revolutionised the revolution’.

Between 1792–1794, the National Convention was in government, after the abolition and execution of Louis XVI. It was also at this time that the government of France began to consolidate its position and assert initiatives in political and economic matters. This can be seen firstly through the War of the First Coalition, where France attempted (unsuccessfully) to extend its borders. Clearly, this act contradicted the original beliefs of the National Assembly, who vowed ‘no conquests or annexations and the French would never employ force against the liberties of any people...’ The French attempt failed, as the joint venture of Britain, Holland and Austria quickly nullified their attack. It is clear, however, that the government was now compromising their original beliefs for gains in power: the slogans of ‘liberty’ and ‘equality’ were certainly no longer being used so readily. Revisionist historian Simon Schama notes: ‘for all the talk of unity and indivisibility, the requirements of state-hood... bore fruit in division and conflict’.

Even more critical was the effect that the war had on French citizens. Particularly important were the initiatives taken to suppress counterrevolution: a response to the civil war in the Vendée in March–October 1793, and a response to halt the federalist revolts in Lyon, Marseilles and Toulon in May–September 1793. By the end of 1792, war contributed to the upsurge of counterrevolution across France. In the Vendée region, the residents were dissatisfied with the results of the Revolution: the peasants were paying more in land tax than they had under the *ancien régime*, and it was here that the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was hated most. Many priests in this region resisted the oath of loyalty, and nearly all people disliked the sale of Church land, because the bourgeoisie bought most of the large plots and monopolised trade by selling off smaller sections at inflated prices. This latent anger was then sparked by the call for conscription in February 1793, as the situation at the war front became increasingly dire. In reaction to these calls, the peasants formed the *Vendéan militaire* and resisted the government’s policy of conscription. Uprisings swept four departments south of the Loire, and the rebellion grew so uncontrollable that 30, 000 troops from the front were called to deal with the rising. However, because these Vendéans lacked training, the rebellion was soon stifled, resulting in 20, 000–25, 000 deaths. A similar story was played out in the Federalist Revolts in Lyon, Marseilles and Toulon. However, their grievances came not only from those who were present in the Vendée. Many former nobles and priests who lived there also resented the new regime for having given their previous position to the bourgeoisie. They resented the influence of the Jacobins and the Paris Commune over the Convention. The Girodin ministers, who were overthrown on the 2nd June 1793, utilised this discontent and sought to regain power through it. Again, the course was a haphazard affair, though in these cities the local Jacobin clubs were shut down, and the ministers in power were killed. The untrained volunteers were quickly captured and the revolts stifled; but in Toulon, the revolt went as far as negotiations with the British Navy, who briefly landed on the 28th August 1793. Many Republicans blamed the violence on the narrow self-interest of Catholic priests who incited the parishioners; however, what is clear is that war can again be seen as the spark that lit the fire, because the conscription issue pushed all the peasants toward revolt. The existence of this threat made the government able to restrain opposition with violence. Radicalism ensued, under the direction of the *sans-culotte* and the Jacobins. As revisionist historian Palmer says, ‘after the beginning of September 1793 ... the Terror was organised [in suppressing counterrevolution] and became for the first time a deliberate policy of government’.

The turbulent years between 1789–1794 marked great changes, and it is clear that the new regime was forced to compromise on a number of its original ideals to maintain power in the face of a myriad of crises. War was, however, one of the most significant of these crises because it directly challenged the sovereignty of the new government and it bred discontent and counterrevolution throughout the provinces. The Convention sought to use terror to maintain its authority and move further away from the ideals of 1789, and this shows how real the perceived crisis actually was. War, therefore, greatly affected the attempt to consolidate the Revolution between 1792 and 1794.

Sample response to Question 5b. – Russia (1905–1917)

It has been argued that the Bolsheviks were able to seize power in October because of their unique mix of ruthlessness and flexibility. Although driven largely by Marxist ideals, the Bolshevik leaders were realists, and often placed political theory second to the practical situation at hand in order to ensure their party's success. As a result of this pragmatic approach, the Bolshevik party largely compromised on its original ideals of a socialist economy and a 'dictatorship of the proletariat' in order to maintain power in the new society. In line with Marxist–Leninist theories, the Bolsheviks initially intended to establish a 'dictatorship of the proletariat', led by a 'vanguard' of professional revolutionaries who would then wage a class war against the middle and upper classes. The Bolsheviks betrayed this ideal in two stages.

The first compromise came with the Bolsheviks' realisation of the importance of the peasants' support if they were to consolidate their power. As Russia was largely an agrarian society, 85% of the population lived as peasants. Until September 1917, the Bolsheviks had been almost solely representative of the workers, dismissing the peasants as the 'pack animals of history', incapable of voicing revolutionary dissent. However, the peasant masses were increasingly radicalised by the hardships pressed upon them by World War One, and the Bolsheviks adapted their ideology to include the peasants in their 'dictatorship'. Having no clear policies to cater for the peasants, the Bolsheviks simply espoused the Socialist Revolutionary Party's land policies as their own, and used catch cries such as 'Peace! Land! Bread!' to win the support of the masses. The Decree on Land (December 1917) was expressly designed to satiate the discontent of the peasants, and it cemented the Bolshevik compromise on the ideal of a worker's state.

The promise of a 'dictatorship of the proletariat' was compromised even further, especially during the years of Civil War (1918–21). The initial nationalisation of industry and the introduction of worker welfare systems indicated that the Bolsheviks were indeed representative of the lower classes. Having seized power in the name of the masses, the new regime even went on to wage a 'class war' through the Cheka – effectively eliminating royalty (the assassination of the Romanovs in July 1918), destroying nobility and forcing the bourgeoisie to 'become proletarians' or emigrate by limiting their food rations. However, as the Civil War drew on, the interests of the party and the interests of the workers diverged. The Bolsheviks, seeing success in the Civil War as essential to the consolidation of their rule, introduced War Communism in 1918, which 'subordinated every aspect of Russian life to the task of winning the Civil War' (Michael Lynch). Although War Communism was deemed essential to Bolshevik survival, it severely dilapidated Russia's economy and standards of living through the forced requisitioning of grain and labour. Industrial output fell to 15% of pre-war levels by 1921 as workers fled cities in search of food – only to be faced with widespread famine, which claimed up to 9 million lives. The Bolsheviks also resorted to the use of political repression (banning trade unions in 1920) and physical coercion (the Red Terror) to quell dissenters, regardless of their class or origin.

Opposition to Bolshevik policies grew steadily as it became clear that the new regime was willing to put its own political survival before the interest of its subjects. Within the party, Alexandra Kollontai began the Worker's Opposition faction, claiming that the 'party had severed all ties with the masses'. Outside the party, strikes and protests became more commonplace, as exemplified by the Kronstadt Uprising (March 1921) in which the sailors at the naval base in Kronstadt, long considered 'the barometers of public opinion', revolted. Liberal historians argue that the only objective of the Bolshevik party was to establish a 'one party dictatorship' (Richard Pipes), and that they had never intended to protect the interests of the lower classes in the first place. Revisionist historians are more lenient, contending that the new regime's harsh policies were the 'outcome of improvisation' (Steve Smith) that 'grew piecemeal from every challenge' (J.P. Nettl). In either case, the Bolsheviks compromised the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' that they had promised in order to maintain power.

Another major Bolshevik ideal was the establishment of a socialist economy, free of capitalist markets and the private ownership of land. The early Bolshevik decrees on nationalisation (June 1918), land (November 1917) and the policies of War Communism (1918–20) were a manifestation of such ideals. However, the dismal failure of War Communism soon revealed the failure of revolutionary theory, which did not seem to be viable in a practical sense. Industrially, War Communism halved Russia's industrial output (1921) from pre-war levels as resources and labour were redirected toward the war effort. Agriculturally, the forced requisitioning of grain led many peasants to resort to subsistence farming methods, and the resulting famine is estimated to have claimed up to 9 million lives. Bolshevik attempts to coerce the peasantry and proletariat into increased productivity led to widespread anti-Bolshevik uprisings in 1920–21, which illuminated for Lenin, 'like a flash of lightning', the need for drastic change. Lenin's response was the New Economic Policy, proposed at the Tenth Party Congress in March 1921. Labelled by liberal historians as the 'ultimate failure of communism' (Pipes), the New Economic Policy aimed to improve the economy by restoring capitalist markets and abandoning requisitioning. Although Lenin attempted to justify his actions as a 'strategic retreat', the betrayal of fundamental socialist theories at the heart of the revolutionary ideals 'disillusioned many rank and file communists...[into] believing that the revolution had reached an impasse' (Sheila Fitzpatrick). Lenin's realism forced him to admit the impracticality of maintaining an economy based purely on ideological lines, and he allowed the reemergence of capitalist markets in order to ensure Bolshevik survival. Once again, the Bolsheviks had been forced to compromise their ideology to sustain their tentative hold on power.

The Bolsheviks' ability to adapt ideology to suit their situation gave them the edge over their political opponents. However, it also meant that many of their revolutionary ideals were compromised in order to maintain the party's hold on power.

Sample response to Question 5c. – China (1898–1949)

The Chinese Revolution aimed to improve the social order in China, and while it is true that the Revolution brought about substantial social changes in everyday life, the extent to which they can be understood as an improvement from the old regime is contentious. Under Mao's leadership, the government abolished many of the more anachronistic policies enduring from the Qing Dynasty. This move away from the oppressive life of the old regime resulted in more freedom for many Chinese people. For instance, women's rights altered the social order significantly and opened up previously unimaginable opportunities for women in China. However, many of the government's more experimental and revolutionary policies, such as the Great Leap Forward, collectivisation and the Cultural Revolution, had devastating consequences for both the rural and the urban Chinese population.

The Great Leap Forward (1958–1962) was one of Mao's more audacious initiatives, and its underpinning aim was to encourage all economic endeavours to be performed 'faster, better, and more economically' (Mao). It was a plan that would bring about massive social changes in the countryside. Peasant communes were a bold scheme, set up with the aim of making the countryside more productive while also bringing the peasantry under centralised control. China's 750, 000 agricultural cooperatives were collectivised into 20, 000 People's Communes, with each commune consisting of up to 2, 000 families. Communal kitchens and nurseries were established to increase the number of peasants available to work in the fields. This move away from the traditional family unit was the beginning of a drastic social change. The family unit was shunned in favour of a productive collective. As the Party's official paper, *The People's Daily*, proclaimed: 'the main features of the people's commune are that it is bigger and more socialist'. However, bigger and more socialist does not necessarily mean more productive. The move away from private farming to collectivisation, as Michael Lynch argues, harmed production rates due to a lack of incentive to produce more than was required by the State quota. Communal kitchens meant farmers were no longer working to sustain their families. Additionally, the commune officials wish to please their beloved Chairman Mao and to exceed the set production targets. As Hinton contends, this led to falsified and exaggerated grain figures that, consequently, caused a grain deficit. The social order was certainly changed during the Revolution, however the outcome of this change was often far from positive. Mao's experimentation with socialist principles such as collectivisation resulted in the devastating famine of the 'three bad years' (1959–61) and the deaths of 30–40 million people from starvation.

The Cultural Revolution was designed as a mass revolutionary movement to encourage communist social values and incite revolutionary zeal, both in the party and the Chinese population. Mao and Lin Biao called for the Red Guards to criticise all 'those in positions of authority taking the capitalist road' and to attack the 'four olds' (culture, thoughts, customs and habits) in order to purify society. Adherence to this 'it is right to rebel' creed caused the Cultural Revolution to develop rapidly into brutality and blind fanaticism. All those people whom the Red Guards saw as 'bad elements' representing China's past – the 'stinking ninth category' of university academics, doctors, teachers, principals, intellectuals and other such 'ghosts and monsters' – were apprehended and made to endure demeaning, cruel and physically debasing 'struggle sessions'. Formal education ground to a halt as teachers and university professors were denounced. Young Chinese men and women attended rallies in the nation's capital, embarking on attacks against perceived revisionism. China had lost its humanity; as former Red Guard Lo Yiren writes, 'There was not a human being left in China. We were worse than beasts. At least beasts do not slaughter their own kind'. These Red Guard attacks on figures in positions of authority and people possessing knowledge signified a profound change in society's attitudes and in the social order as a whole. Yet young people denouncing their elders was inconceivable in China under the old regime and it can hardly be interpreted as an improvement to society.

However, under Mao's leadership, there were some significant and wide-reaching improvements made to the Chinese social order. Mao's policies concerning women's rights, for example, were some of the most revolutionary and long lasting of the Revolution. Mao had once proclaimed that 'Women hold up half the sky'. The new Communist government subsequently brought about significant benefits in the economic and social standing of women in China. The Marriage Law (May 1950) allowed women equal legal rights with men and outlawed ancient customs such as forced family marriage contracts, polygamy, child marriages and the practice of bride purchasing. Women were finally free to choose their own marriage partners and to divorce abusive husbands. Other laws guaranteed women the right to equal pay, childcare in the workplace and maternity benefits. Women's associations were established to offer support and advice to women in need and women's rights were enshrined in Article 48 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China: 'Women in the People's Republic of China enjoy equal rights with men in all spheres of life, in political, economic, cultural, social and family life'. However, a change in traditional patriarchal attitudes did not automatically follow. It was nevertheless a very important first step, as the new policies did allow Chinese women a chance to enjoy an improved standard of living and a social status not previously given to their sex.

The Chinese Revolution certainly revolutionised the social order in China, however not always in a positive way. Many of Mao's more experimental and revolutionary policies, such as the Cultural Revolution and collectivisation, had detrimental consequences for society, such as horrendous famine and the creation of an uneducated generation. These outcomes often overshadow the improvements to the social order that Mao did manage to implement. His policies on women's rights were not only revolutionary in China at the time but also for most Western societies. Mao certainly did change the social order in China, if only in the short term, but predominantly these changes were not an improvement from the day-to-day life of the old regime.

Mark allocation

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

Tips

- *Your essay needs to be completed in 30 minutes so you will not have time to cover everything you know. The real talent in this form of writing often lies in what you choose to leave out. Make sure that the points you raise are directly relevant to the question.*
- *Complete a quick plan before writing. Remember, this is an argumentative piece, not a narrative. You should include a great deal of evidence and much detail to support your view.*
- *It is useful to include the views of different historians in a question such as this, even though the assessment does not specifically demand it.*
- *Remember that you are writing about Area of Study 2 – Creating a new society. Make sure that you do not write about what happened before the Revolution.*

END OF SAMPLE RESPONSES