

INSIGHT

Trial Exam Paper

2010

HISTORY: Revolutions

Written examination

Sample responses

This book presents:

- high-level sample responses
- mark allocations for globally marked questions (see page 39)

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SECTION A**America****Part 1 – Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events****America [1776–1789]****Question 1**

Using three or four points, explain the importance of the Boston Tea Party of 1773 in the development of the American Revolution between 1773 and 1776. Provide evidence to support your answer.

Sample Response

Firstly, the Boston Tea Party (1773) contributed to the American Revolution from 1773 to 1776 by changing the relationship between Britain and the colonies as well as fuelling discontent. John Adams, a prominent member of the Sons of Liberty described the Boston Tea Party as ‘bold...it must have important consequences... so lasting I cannot but consider’. This is important in the context of the revolution, because it not only shows that the colonies were able to successfully resist the sale of the tea with their ‘lives and fortunes’ (resolved by Paul Revere and the North End Boston Caucus in October 1773), but it also distanced the view of both parties, and may have encouraged a review of British control over the colonies such as the Coercive Acts (1774).

Additionally, the Boston Tea Party contributed to the development of the American Revolution by uniting the colonies which would be an important precursor to revolution. The Boston Tea Party, leading to the Coercive Acts in 1774, inspired members of the Virginian House of Burgesses to resolve at Raleigh’s Tavern in Williamsburg in 1774 that an ‘attack made on one of our sister colonies ... is an attack made on all’. They also called for a general congress (i.e. the First Continental Congress in September 1774) to ‘deliberate on ... general measures’. Unity between the colonies is also evident when Connecticut donated 200 sheep to Boston in 1774 due to the closing of the Boston port, a part of the Coercive Acts. This is important in the evolution of the revolution as colonial unity and organizations would be important in spreading anti-British sentiments as well as organizing colonial defence.

Lastly, the Boston Tea Party contributed to the development of the American Revolution between 1773 and 1776 by spreading key Whig and Sons of Liberty’s ideas. As the Mohawks destroyed the £10,000 worth of tea at Griffin’s Wharf, they sang ‘For Liberty and Laws ... fighting freedom’s cause!’ This is important in the development of the revolution as these ideas would be used in later documents such as the Declaration of Independence (1776) where it mentions ‘life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness’, which would be vital in justifying change and independence.

10 marks

**SECTION A – continued
TURN OVER**

Question 2

Using three or four points, explain the importance of Enlightenment ideas in the development of the American Revolution by 1776. Provide evidence to support your answer.

Sample Response

Firstly, Enlightenment ideas contributed to the development of the American Revolution by 1776 by inspiring the action of revolutionary leaders which would increase anti-British sentiment and justify a need for change. Enlightenment ideas such as ‘natural rights’ and ‘natural law’ were first introduced into the American debate by James Otis in 1764, which he took from Locke and the Age of Enlightenment. These Enlightenment ideas became widespread among members of the Sons of Liberty such as Sam Adams, who refers to them as the ‘first law of nature’ in his ‘A State of the Rights of the Colonists’ in 1772. These ideas are also echoed in Thomas Paine’s ‘Common Sense’ in 1776, where they are referred to as the ‘equal rights of nature’. This is important in the development of the revolution as these ideas introduced by Otis to America would become the basis for future documents such as the Declaration of Independence (1776), where they are referred to as ‘certain unalienable rights’, such as popular representation and meritocracy, and thus would be important in justifying independence.

Additionally, Enlightenment ideas contributed to the American Revolution by generating anti-British protests and sentiment in the colonies. Enlightenment ideas such as ‘natural rights’ would be used to justify the anti-Stamp Act protests in Boston, August 1765. During these protests, mobs ransacked Stamp Act Representative Andrew Oliver’s house on the 14th August, and Lieutenant Governor Thomas Hutchinson’s house on the 28th August 1765. This was later described by Sam Adams, a key member of the Sons of Liberty, as the ‘happy day on which liberty arose from a long slumber’, which shows the willingness of the colonials to defy British authority. This is important because as the Stamp Act interfered with the Enlightenment idea of ‘natural rights’, and so would be used to validate colonial resistance.

Lastly, Enlightenment ideas contributed to the Revolution by acting as key revolutionary ideology which would be used to justify resistance to the British in the lead up to the revolution. The ideological plank formed by Otis in 1764 was used in the Boston Tea Party (1773). As the Mohawks destroyed the £10,000 of tea in Boston, 1773, they sang ‘For Liberty and laws ... fighting Freedom’s cause!’. This is important because the ideology brought forward by the Age of Enlightenment would be used to justify defiance of British authority.

10 marks

Part 2 – Creating a new society

America [1776-1789]

Question 3



Inauguration Celebration for George Washington (1845)
(Cornell University Collection of Political Americana, Cornell University Library)

Identify and briefly explain the significant event depicted in this visual representation.

Sample Response

The inauguration of George Washington as the first President of the United States in April 1789.

2 marks

a. Identify from the visual representation **two** symbols representing revolutionary ideas.

Sample Response

- i. Liberty is shown by both the white horse and the girls in white dresses.
- ii. Avoidance of tyrannical leadership shown by the three figures atop the horses, representing the three branches of government – executive, legislative and judicial.

2 marks

SECTION A – continued
TURN OVER

- c. Using your knowledge and the visual representation, explain the major features of the new government George Washington was to lead in 1789.

Sample Response

Following the failure of the 1781 Articles of Confederation and the numerous crises that ensued, it was evident that the new governmental structure required a strong central power to ensure success of the new society. The lack of central power under the Articles provoked economic crisis, characterised by \$73 million war debt and hyper inflation due to Federal Congress having no power to impose taxes on states. Social discontent also ensued, demonstrated by the event of Shays' Rebellion in 1786, a revolt against the debtor's courts calling for a new structure which saw the re-introduction of a strong central government. Ratified in 1788 and introduced at the Philadelphia Convention of 1787 by Virginian James Madison, the *Constitution* was characterised by a three-branch central government; executive, legislative and judicial (shown in the visual by the three prominent figures upon horseback) who would rule via a series of check and balances in order to avoid tyranny through power.

The formation of the Constitution was also an attempt to combat crises and saw the introduction of powers to Central Congress enabling it to tax colonies, limit changes to State Constitutions and work as a balanced power between the federal and state governments. The government under the Constitution was to be led initially by George Washington (depicted as the most prominent figure in the visual) and was celebrated as the dawning of the success of the new American society.

6 marks

- d. Evaluate the usefulness of this visual representation as evidence to explain the structure of the new society in 1789. In your response refer to different views of the revolution.

Sample Response

The representation provides insight into the structure of the new society under the 1788 Constitution, yet omits numerous aspects of this new structure that characterised the new American society of 1789. The visual successfully depicts the "capital achievement" (Morison) of the new society in the 'sharing of power' through a three-branch government system (shown by the three prominent figures on horseback) that existed under the 1788 Constitution as a way to avoid tyrannical leadership by ensuring a series of checks and balances between the three branches.

The visual explores elements of the new society in 1789, such as the celebration of George Washington (shown by the celebratory mood of the crowd and his position as central figure in the visual) as he was viewed as a "prudent and wise" hero by the people of America (Wood). Washington and the other two white men are displayed as important in the visual as the three prominent figures on horseback. Historian Zinn would argue a main characteristic of the new society by 1789 was that all leaders of the nation were 'wealthy elite;' contrasting with the revolutionary ideal of equality in the new society. The importance of the idea of liberty in the new society is shown by the strong white horse upon which Washington sits, as well as the white dresses and presence of women in the document. Democracy of the new society is shown to an extent by the important figures existing under the symbols of America (flags and eagle). Arguably, the visual shows this idea that the government under the Constitution was to serve 'America' but does not highlight the important concept that the new government was to serve the people rather than the people to serve the government.

A criticism of the reliability of the visual is that there is no depiction of the integral aspect of the new society in the 1789 Bill of Rights, a series of amendments to the Constitution to protect individual liberties, as a result of the debate between Federalists and Anti-Federalists concerning the inherence of individual liberties in the Constitution (Freedom of speech, press and assembly, Right to life and Liberty).

10 marks

SECTION A – continued

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

Using three or four points, explain the importance of Necker's *Compte Rendu* in 1781 in the development of the French Revolution by August 1789. Provide evidence to support your answer.

Sample Response

The *Compte Rendu* was the first public account of the financial situation of the French state to be published (February 1781), designed to boost confidence amongst lenders and ordinary people of the state of the nations finances. The document created a false sense of financial stability, reporting a seemingly prosperous 10 million livres surplus with ordinary revenues greatly exceeding expenditure. As a consequence, the French government was able to raise new loans to pay for the costs of the continued involvement in the American War of Independence, albeit at high interest rates. However, Necker's reporting of the accounts obscured the financial problems which the country was facing as it did not report the extraordinary account where the real costs of the war were to be found. These accounts showed that France was running a significant deficit between 1777 and 1781. The document allowed the financial crisis of the state to further deteriorate eventually resulting in the bankruptcy of the state in August 1788, forcing Louis and the then-financial minister Calonne to call the Estates-General.

The *Compte Rendu* was also arguably a factor in causing resistance to attempts in 1787 by Calonne to reform the financial system. The Assembly of Notables, to whom the reforms were initially proposed, were sceptical of the urgency for the need of radical reform, possibly as a consequence of the belief that France remained in a strong position from the time of Necker sparking the aristocratic revolt. Furthermore, Necker's popularity increased as a result of the *Compte Rendu* and his sacking in 1789 (July 12) provoked unrest and contributed to the urban revolt in July 1789. This greatly contributed to the development of the French revolution by creating a climate of financial instability and further fuelling suspicion and mistrust towards the administration and the King by August 1789.

10 marks

**SECTION A – continued
TURN OVER**

Question 2

Using three or four points, explain the importance of Enlightenment ideas in the development of the French Revolution by August 1789. Provide evidence to support your answer.

Student Response:

Enlightenment ideas were highly critical of *ancien regime* institutions and practices and created a climate for questioning and criticism of the traditional order. The philosophes challenged a whole range of views which were widely accepted at the time, eroding the unquestionability of the monarchy and condemning the intolerant and corrupt church. The most famous of these were Voltaire, Montesquieu and Rousseau. Montesquieu's 'Spirit of the Laws' was an inspiration to many revolutionaries to separate judicial, executive and legislative power. Rousseau's 'Social Contract', suggesting that the nature of society was a contractual arrangement between its members, was the inspiration for the draft of the Constitution of 1789. While Voltaire argued for fiscal equality, stating that everyone "should bear the expenses of the state equally, because they belong to the state equally".

The Enlightenment ideas resulted in a great leap of thought which influenced the actions of many people, particularly the Third Estate deputies who argued for all three orders to meet in common as well as voting by head instead of order at the Meeting of the Estates-General, influenced by the ideas of their social utility as has been argued by more current publications such as Abbe Sieyes' 'What is the Third Estate'. Many of the ideas and principles also formed the basis of initial reforms of the National Assembly such as the abolition of feudalism through the August Decrees (1789) and the creation of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen (August 26 1789) which was to form the basis of the new Constitution.

The Enlightenment publications were widely read by the educated bourgeoisie and they prepared people intellectually to the changes brought about by the revolution. The ideas articulated the grievances of many people, and their radical views assisted in the development of the revolution by weakening the ideological defences of the old regime, fomenting intellectual opposition, and fostering a growing sense of criticism, dissatisfaction and opposition to the existing government.

10 marks

Part 2 – Creating a new society

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

Question 3



Guillotining of Marie Antoinette in 1793

a. Identify **two** groups represented in the visual representation.

Sample Response

- i. Sans Culottes shown amongst the crowd.
- ii. Jacobin leaders on the stage.

2 marks

b. Identify **two** revolutionary ideals depicted in the visual representation.

Sample Response

- i. The removal of the influence of the monarchy.
- ii. Equality in justice as shown by Marie being executed in the same way as all the other victims of the guillotine.

2 marks

SECTION A – continued
TURN OVER

- c. Using your knowledge and the visual representation, explain the events that led to the execution of Marie Antoinette in 1793.

Sample Response

Marie became French royalty following her marriage in 1770 to King Louis XVI as part of a political alliance between Austria and France. The people of France despised Marie due to her Austrian background, as shown by the cheering crowd in the image at her execution. As a result, ‘Madame Deficit’ was unduly attributed for the bankruptcy of the nation in August 1788 due to public perception of her frivolous spending, though this only accounted for 6% of the royal budget. Rumours of her sexual misconduct destroyed her reputation and political pornography tarnished her image, as did the ‘Diamond Affair’ (1784-86) in which she had minimal, if any, involvement. Both scandals not only discredited the monarchy in the eyes of the French people, but also painted Marie as a figure who was truly out of touch with the French workers. This is also evident in the image, where the jubilant crowd encourages the brutal execution of the Queen in 1793. Marie supported war against Austria in 1792 as she hoped that France would lose resulting in a restoration of absolute power to Louis. As power passed to the Legislative Assembly and then the more radical National Convention led by the Jacobins, Marie was put on a mock trial, convicted of treason and sentenced to be guillotined, 9 months after the execution of Louis, on 16 October 1793. It is this key event that the visual document depicts.

6 Marks

- d. Evaluate the reliability of this visual representation as evidence to explain the impact of the Terror on France between 1793 –1794. In your response refer to different views of the revolution.

Sample Response

The guillotining of Marie Antoinette (1793) is a beneficial primary source when assessing the impact of the terror, as it highlights how all aspects of the *ancien regime* were purged during the reign of terror. While the document focuses on the execution of the Queen, this period was also characterised by the killing of those with links to the monarchy in addition to the mass migration of others to various European countries – an aspect not explored by the visual. The image highlights the hatred of the crowd towards Marie as they cheer at her execution and accurately reflects public perception of her at the time, as well as showing how terror was widely used to ‘cleanse’ France of enemies of the revolution. Schama supports this view, arguing that the new regime had a “dependence on organised killing to accomplish political ends.” The source is also beneficial as it shows the role of the militant Sans-Culottes in driving the revolution onto more violent and radical ends. The “Jacobin policy and popular action coincided” (McPhee) for the whole radical phase of the revolution as the Jacobins were reliant on their popular support.

However, the document is limited as it does not account for the vastness of the impact of the terror as not only royalty, but thousands of people were purged. The revolution appeared to be under attack from all angles with counter-revolution in the provinces such as the Vendee, émigré and foreign armies on the border as well as the Girondins attempts to silence the radical Parisians and the murder of Marat. The terror was not just an attempt to solve the problems of 1793 but was born from those same problems. More than 300,000 people were arrested and 40,000 would die of which 70% were urban workers and peasants whilst only 8% were aristocracy such as Marie. Doyle argues that it was “resistance that made the revolution violent”, whilst Tackett asserts that “attitudes towards kingship ... invasion and conspiracy helped pave the way for the reign of terror”. Overall the image is reliable and beneficial in an assessment of the role of the sans-culottes and the government’s need to destroy all aspects of the *ancien regime*, yet it contains some limitations as it fails to account for the enormity of the impact of the terror from 1793–1794.

10 marks

SECTION A – continued

Russia

Part 1 – Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events

Russia [1905-October 1917]

Question 1

Using three or four points, explain the importance of World War One in the development of the Russian Revolution between July 1914 and October 1917. Provide evidence to support your answer.

Sample Response

World War One exacerbated the pre-existing social and economic turmoil within Russian society to an irreparable extent and generated new political controversy. Despite an initial blaze of patriotism in support of the Russian cause, the Tsar's decision to meddle with this international conflict proved disastrous for the stability of major cities. Moscow and Petrograd received only a third of their required food and fuel supplies, whilst excessive printing of currency yielded an inflation rate of nearly 400% by 1916. The costs of basic goods skyrocketed as the financial needs of the public were sacrificed for those of the army. The resultant impact was an unstable society in which "the country had everything it need[ed] but [could not] make adequate [use] of it" (Rodzianko.) Many were demoralised, with elevating war-weariness as a result of military failures such as the 30,000 casualties at Tannenberg (28 August, 1914.) This condition was worsened considerably when the Tsar himself assumed control of the armed forces in September 1915, thereby associating him with the array of defeats and making him more accountable for the collapse of Russian society. Nicholas' inherent incompetence was acknowledged by Brusilov, who claimed that he gave "contradictory orders" and "knew nothing about military matters." Russia lacked the support systems to engage in war effectively and this only served to seem a reflection of its leadership. The erosion of confidence in the Tsar's leadership at this point was to become a crucial pillar in the "absolute distrust" (Rodzianko) of tsarism as a ruling system.

Furthermore the Tsar's distraction with World War One prompted new political problems through his absence on the home front. Petrograd became effectively controlled by the controversial combination of Rasputin and the Tsarina, both of whom embarked upon a period of 'ministerial leapfrogging' during which ministers were frequently changed, shown by the four different Prime Ministers and five Ministers for the Interior (1914-1917), leaving them perplexed as to their proper roles and to whom they were accountable. The spread of pornographic cartoons suggests the popular sentiment that Russia was being "run by lunatics" (Paleologue, French Ambassador) and ultimately presented the Tsar as an ineffectual, compromised and thereby obsolete leader. Hence, World War One worsened already concerning social and economic discontent, made the Tsar more accountable for military defeats and opened the door for an array of political problems that acted as catalysts for regime change by 1917.

10 marks

SECTION A – continued
TURN OVER

Question 2

Using three or four points, explain the importance of Marxist ideology in the development of the Russian Revolution by October 1917. Provide evidence to support your answer.

Sample Response

Marxist ideology, articulated perhaps most clearly in *The Communist Manifesto*, was to form the intellectual foundation for protest and eventually the October Revolution, 1917. The Bolshevik Party was instrumental in applying the idea of a ‘dictatorship of the proletariat’ to Russian society, which faced a ‘crisis of modernisation’ (Hill) and a resultant array of industrial and residential problems. Lenin expressed his wish for a group of “professional revolutionaries” to assume power and begin a transition from capitalist tendencies to communism, in favour of the interests of the working class (*What is to be done?*, 1902.) This rhetoric inspired resistance within the factories of Moscow and Petrograd, serving as the basis for the wave of protests and riots in 1905. Contemporaries would acknowledge that the rights of the working class as advertised by Marxism were to constitute the “prologue” (Trotsky) or the “dress rehearsal” (Lenin) for eventual regime change.

The significance of Marxist ideology is most pronounced in the build-up to the October Revolution. Lenin pragmatically adapted Marxism within the *April Theses* to include the peasantry, which constituted 82% of Russian society, through the promises of “Peace, Bread and Land” and “All Power to the Soviets.” Marxist ideology for the revolutionaries evolved from a theoretical concept into a program of practical action. Hence the failures and inaction of the Provisional Government allowed ample space for the Bolsheviks to present themselves as an effective political alternative through the advocacy of Marxist ideas.

Ultimately, by October 1917 Lenin had encouraged apathy towards the fate of the Provisional Government and managed to unite his party sufficiently under a firm ideological stance based on the suggestions of Marx and Engels. The 700,000 workers on strike throughout 1–4 September 1917 suggests that the ‘dictatorship of the proletariat’ and the ‘spectre of communism’ (Marx) was indeed a powerful popular motivation for the removal of the Provisional Government and the rise of the Bolsheviks. The 37.8% rise in Bolshevik municipal seats (June–August 1917, Moscow) similarly reflects a growing acceptance for Lenin’s version of Marxism. Hence, Marxist ideology was to form the basis for urban civil disobedience as far back as 1905 and proved crucial in the revolutionary sentiment that prompted dissatisfaction with the Provisional Government and presented the Bolsheviks as a more suitable ruling party than their competitors.

10 marks

Part 2 – Creating a new society

Russia [November 1917-1924 death of Lenin]

Question 3



The Proletarian Dictatorship's Year: October 1917–October 1918. (1918)

- a. Identify the **two** classes represented in the visual representation.

Sample Response

- i. The peasantry
- ii. The working class

2 marks

- b. Identify **two** revolutionary ideals depicted in the visual representation.

Sample Response

- i. Improved economic welfare (shown by the production of the factories in the distance).
- ii. The dictatorship of the proletariat (achieving this ideal through collaboration with the peasantry).

2 marks

**SECTION A – continued
TURN OVER**

- c. Using your knowledge and the visual representation, explain why this image would have been created in October 1918.

Sample Response

Marking the first anniversary of Bolshevik rule, this image would have been produced to eulogise the triumphs of the Revolution and legitimise the rule of Lenin and his party. Triumphs such as the collaboration of the proletariat and peasantry resulting in increased productivity, is celebrated in the visual. Widespread public support for the regime is also depicted in the image, confirming the success and popularity of the Bolshevik regime as the sun dawns on a new era for Russia. This was essential propaganda, as at the time of production in October 1918, Russian society faced a considerable challenge in the form of civil war. The opposition of several ‘counter-revolutionaries’ such as the Komuch or foreign interventionists prompted a ‘militant’ (Pipes) style of communism, as exemplified by Trotsky’s slogan of “everything for the front.” The introduction of War Communism through the nationalisation of industries (28 June 1918) and similar legislation was an attempt to fulfil both economic ideology and the aim of defeating social unrest as per a program of “class extermination” (Latsis). This involved the promotion of Cheka authorities (5 September 1917), which had in its first six months already executed 882 civilians. Hence, at the time of production, the Bolshevik Party faced considerable opposition and difficulty in delivering their promises. Their ‘retaliatory’ introduction of somewhat harsh and controversial social and economic policy prompted the need to justify them to the general public. This poster reflects such a strategy of advertisement to convince many that this legislation had allowed a year of ‘proletarian dictatorship.’

6 Marks

- d. Evaluate the reliability of this visual representation as evidence to explain the situation in the new society in October 1918. In your response refer to different views of the revolution.

Sample Response

As a piece of nationalistic propaganda, this visual is considerably limited and presents a sensationalised, utopia-like view of Russian society. In spite of its celebratory tone, the poster is useful in providing an insight into the initial social improvements achieved through the 116 Sovnarkom decrees (October-November 1917.) The celebration of workers, peasants and women alike reflects the success of decrees on Workers’ Control (14 November 1917), Land (27 October 1917) and indeed women’s rights, which were promoted under the leadership of Kollontai to allow women to “feel equal to any man” (Ella Shistyer.) The Soviet perspective would praise the suggestions of the image, suggesting that by October 1918 Lenin had already “accomplished the vast and simple desires of the most profound strata of the people” (Reed) and achieved a vision of “cultural betterment” (Nove).

Nonetheless, the image blows these improvements out of proportion through its avoidance of considerable social opposition and persistent economic problems. The anti-communist prejudices of the liberal view, as exemplified by Pipes, would suggest that the new regime “marked a reversion to the autocratic practices of tsarist Russia” and yielded no significant improvement whatsoever. The increasing number of Cheka executions, justified by Dzerzhinsky on the premise that “we have no need for justice now” and the depleted economic state made it nigh impossible for the new society to enjoy any sort of stability or indeed celebration. The productive factories in the distance contradict the poor efficiency of industries, which yielded only 43% of required levels in 1918, whilst the proud stance of the peasant in the foreground fails to acknowledge the increasingly low harvest yields, which had dropped to 37% of pre-war levels. Most historians are unanimous that by October 1918

SECTION A – continued

Russia suffered considerable social and economic turmoil in which “nothing seemed to have changed for the better” (Rosenberg.) Figs would dismiss this poster as a piece of Bolshevik propaganda, reflected by the use of agitprop trains and the ‘Bolshevisation’ of all activities “deemed to be religious” – hardly a realistic portrait of the new society in October 1918.

10 marks

SECTION A – continued
TURN OVER

China

Part 1 – Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events

China [1898-1949]

Question 1

Using three or four points, explain the importance of the Boxer Rebellion of 1900 in the development of the Chinese Revolution. Provide evidence to support your answer.

Sample Response

The 1900–1901 Boxer Rebellion was an event of monumental importance in the development of the Chinese Revolution. This was firstly due to its establishment of the fact that the Qing dynasty was largely unfit to rule China. The Qing government’s humiliating failure to defend China against foreign powers “eroded confidence in the old order” (McDonald) and increased a need for new leadership and revolution. Secondly, the Western-imposed Boxer Protocol – a consequence of the Rebellion – humbled China and weakened its already unstable economy with its harsh reparations – \$340 million, with Western troops stationed in Beijing – leading to a spread of further discontent and pressure for change. Thirdly, the outcome of the Boxer Rebellion convinced Empress Dowager Cixi that the Qing dynasty had no real hope of survival, given rising revolutionary sentiment, unless they radically modernised China. This led to the disastrous Qing reforms. The Empress Dowager Cixi, who was bitterly opposed to reform in 1898, felt that these reforms would bolster respect for the dynasty internally and abroad. Finally, the increasing dissent at Qing rule prompted the formation of several revolutionary groups which gave anti-Manchu feeling a common voice, including Sun Yatsen’s 1905 Alliance League, which went on to become instrumental in the development of the Revolution.

10 marks

Question 2

Using three or four points, explain the importance of revolutionary ideas developed during the Yenan period of 1937–1947 in the development of the Chinese Revolution by 1949.

Sample Response

The revolutionary ideas developed in the 1937–1947 Yenan period were instrumental in the development of the revolution, beginning with the extension of the “March North to Fight the Japanese” campaign. Mao stated that Yenan provided a base from which the CCP could take on the invading Japanese, as was evidenced by Edgar Snow’s report in *Red Star Over China* – a policy that won the CCP much popularity, in stark contrast to the GMD’s policy of “retreat to drain resources.” Secondly, landlord-owned land was redistributed among the peasantry – a policy that was a “shining light” to the peasants, and caused them to support the CCP in the 1945 Civil War. Thirdly, Mao’s 1941 Rectification Campaign or ‘Zhengfeng’, though initially described as a “chaotic attempt to segregate the Party” (Schram), made him the undisputed leader of the soviet and left him decisively in control. Finally, positive model created by the CCP policy of guerrilla tactics – “surrounding the cities with countryside”, and only killing “Little Chiangs”, resulted in the Red Army successfully defeating the GMD Army, contributing to their success in the Revolution.

10 marks

SECTION A – continued

Part 2 – Creating a new society

China [1949-1976 death of Mao]

Question 3



*The Happy Life Chairman Mao Gave Us. (1954)
(image courtesy of the IISH/Stefan R. Landsberger Collection)*

- a. Identify from the visual representation **two** perceived improvements Mao brought to the Chinese people.

Sample Responses

- increase in food supply/food availability
- increase in living standards
- access to modern appliances
- affluence

2 marks

- b. Identify **two** revolutionary ideals depicted in the document.

Sample Responses

- portrait of Chairman Mao – reference to Nationalism and Cult of Mao in new society
- white dove – signifying peace in new society
- happy family – reference to People's Livelihood
- conspicuous absence of traditional Chinese furniture or articles – signifying break from the past

2 marks

**SECTION A – continued
TURN OVER**

- c. Using your knowledge and the visual representation, explain why this visual would have been created in 1954.

Sample Response

The visual “The Happy Life Chairman Mao Gave Us” was created to project the image of peace and prosperity in the new society (suggested by the white dove and the abundance of food in the image) and reinforce the Maoist ideals (suggested by the prominence of his portrait) in the early years of the establishment of the People’s Republic of China. The May 1950 Marriage Law granted women extensive rights, including easier access to divorce and freedom to remarry, after Mao’s declaration that “women [held] up half the sky”; while the June 1950 Agrarian Reform Law redistributed land to the peasantry and forced landlords to undergo punishments such as “struggle sessions” and “self-criticisms”. Following these reforms, Mao was eager to project an image of a peaceful and prosperous China, and “interweave Maoist thought” into everyday life of the new regime. This is clearly the purpose of this blatant propaganda. The visual also reflects the positive morale given by the successful 1953–1957 First Five-Year Plan – an attempt to increase China’s industrial output. The First Five-Year Plan was largely successful, with steep production rising from 1.3 million tonnes in 1952 to 5.2 million tonnes in 1957 – exceeding the target of 4.5 million tonnes. It is this image of increased productivity and hence, better living standards that is the focus of this visual representation.

6 Marks

- d. Evaluate the reliability of this visual representation as evidence to explain the situation in the new society in 1954. In your response refer to different views of the revolution.

Sample Response

The image reliably conveys the success of early reforms – such as the liberation of women in the May 1950 Marriage Law, and the improvements to the peasantry in June 1950’s Agrarian Reform Law – and the success with which these reforms were achieved. The image depicts a happy, united, well-provided-for family, a supposed consequence of Mao’s early reforms and assumption of power. This view is supported by Edmund Chubb, who states that it was the “advancement of the People’s Republic [that] was [Mao’s] primary concern.” However, this image could be considered propaganda, which carries a heavy bias and cannot be relied on to give an accurate view of the 1954 society. The image also fails to detail several events prior to 1954 that would have had a profound effect on the society – namely 1951’s San Fan (Three Anti’s) and 1952’s Wu Fan (Five Anti’s) – campaigns to rid China of “waste, corruption and bureaucracy”. Both San Fan and Wu Fan – extensions of Mao’s 1941 Rectification campaigns which he later admitted had “gone too far” – resulted in many quick trials and the executions of those with Western connections or unsuitable backgrounds. Chang and Halliday acknowledge the devastating effects of San Fan and Wu Fan, describing the campaigns as a “case-in-point illustration of [Maoist] sadism”. The image accurately conveys the success of early reforms, but fails to acknowledge the image of later campaigns on the new society in 1954.

10 marks

END OF SECTION A

SECTION B**America****Part 1 – Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events****Question 1****America [1763-1776]**

Extracts from Thomas Paine's 'Common Sense', January 1776.

There is something exceedingly ridiculous in the composition of monarchy; it first excludes a man from the means of information, yet empowers him to act in cases where the highest judgment is required. The state of a king shuts him from the world, yet the business of a king requires him to know it thoroughly; wherefore the different parts, unnaturally opposing and destroying each other, prove the whole character to be absurd and useless...

I have heard it asserted by some, that as America hath flourished under her former connection with Great Britain, that the same connection is necessary towards her future happiness, and will always have the same effect. Nothing can be more fallacious than this kind of argument...

America would have flourished as much, and probably much more, had no European power had any thing to do with her...

But she has protected us, say some...

We have boasted the protection of Great Britain, without considering, that her motive was interest not attachment; that she did not protect us from our enemies on our account, but from her enemies on her own account, from those who had no quarrel with us on any other account, and who will always be our enemies on the same account...

Europe is too thickly planted with kingdoms to be long at peace, and whenever a war breaks out between England and any foreign power, the trade of America goes to ruin, because of her connection with Britain. The next war may not turn out like the Past, and should it not, the advocates for reconciliation now will be wishing for separation then, because, neutrality in that case, would be a safer convoy than a man of war. Every thing that is right or natural pleads for separation. The blood of the slain, the weeping voice of nature cries, 'TIS TIME TO PART.

- a.** Identify from the extract **two** criticisms of the Anglo-American relationship.

Sample Response

- i.** Britain wasn't protecting America for her safety during the war, but rather for Britain's 'own account' (Common Sense).
- ii.** When Britain is at war, America's trade 'goes to ruin' (Common Sense).

2 marks

- b.** Identify from the extract (i) one warning and (ii) one suggested action Paine offers to the American colonists.

Sample Response

- i.** Warning: That the next war that Britain participates in may not be victorious, and so would affect America ultimately.
- ii.** Suggested action: That 'everything that is right or natural pleads for separation from Britain.'

2 marks

SECTION B – continued
TURN OVER

- c. Using your own knowledge and the extract, explain the development of revolutionary ideas in the colonies between 1763 and 1776.

Sample Response

Revolutionary ideas developed in the colonies between 1763 and 1776 for several reasons. Natural law first introduced to the American colonies by James Otis in his ‘The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved’ in 1764 was adapted from the ideas of John Locke and the Age of Enlightenment. Further refined and applied to the colonial situation, this idea gave way to the colonial grievance with ‘taxation without representation.’ Otis introduced these ideas in response to the announcement of the Stamp Act in 1765. These would then later be used to justify colonial resistance such as the Anti–Stamp Act protests in Boston, August 1765 and the Boston Tea Party in 1773. These ideas were further refined in Sam Adams’s ‘A State of the Rights of the Colonists’ in 1772, however, other revolutionary ideas were also introduced by Adams in this pamphlet such the right to ‘property’. Furthermore, these ideas were echoed in Thomas Jefferson’s ‘Summary View of the Rights of British America’ (1774) where he suggests the colonists possessed ‘a right which nature has given to all men’. Thomas Paine’s ‘Common Sense’ also espoused such ideas, exploring the ‘equal rights of nature’ and primarily the ideal of anti-monarchism. This is introduced when Paine suggests that government by kings has laid the ‘world in blood and ashes’. These ideas are certainly drawn on in the Declaration of Independence in 1776. This document, like Paine’s Common Sense explores the ‘unalienable rights’ of the colonists, in addition to listing the wrong doings of the King – a tone first adopted by Paine. Ultimately, these revolutionary ideas that were first introduced in 1764 in the colonies, and continuously refined up until 1776, were used to justify colonial resistance, and more importantly, independence. Paine clearly puts forward the idea of independence in Common Sense, claiming ‘Tis time to part.’

6 Marks

- d. Evaluate to what extent this extract presents a reliable view of the revolutionary situation in the colonies in January 1776. In your response refer to different views of the revolution.

Student Response

This extract from Thomas Paine’s ‘Common Sense’ (1776) provides a limited view of the revolutionary situation in America in January 1776. The extract outlines the problems faced by the colonies as a result of being under British rule, such as how ‘the trade of America goes to ruin’ (Paine) when Britain was at war. This extract primarily explains the shift in colonial thought in January 1776, emphasising the increasingly negative perception of the King and British Parliament. This is supported by the fact that the pamphlet sold 100,000 copies in the first three months of circulation. Historians such as Kelly and Boorstin would support the use of such a document to exemplify the popular movement towards revolution.

However, the extract is limiting in that it doesn’t acknowledge the multiplicity of factors that lead to and caused a revolutionary situation in America in January 1776. It neglects the role played by economic issues that Britain faced, and how this led to the implementation of the Stamp Act (1765). This act not only fuelled anti-British sentiment in the colonies such as the anti-Stamp Act protests in Boston, August 1765 which was later described by Sam Adams as the “happy day on which liberty arose from a long slumber”, but also led to the development of key ideology. Ideology such as ‘natural law’ and ‘no taxation without representation’ was important in justifying independence. It is this ideology that historians such as Wood would argue “helped create a society unlike any that had existed before.”

The extract is also limiting in that it doesn’t mention key acts of protest such as the Boston Tea Party (1773), and how such events sparked a change in British policy in America. This led to the Coercive Acts (1774), which united the colonies, which is evident with the resolutions passed at Raleigh’s Tavern in Williamsburg in 1774 by members of the Virginian House of Burgesses that an ‘attack made on one of our sister colonies ... is an attack made on all’. Unification proved vital in further spreading anti-British sentiments in the colonies, but also organising colonial defence. The extract is limiting in that it doesn’t outline the beginnings of the Revolutionary War (described by Phillips as a conflict born out of “incredible idealism”) such as Lexington-Concord (April, 1775) and Bunker Hill (June, 1775). It was these initial conflicts that not only boosted colonial confidence for future battles, but also strained the relationship between Britain and the colonies, eventually leading to independence in July 1776.

10 marks

SECTION B – continued
TURN OVER

France

Part 1 – Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events

Question 1

France [1781-4 August 1789]

Extracts from Abbe Sieyes' 'What is the Third Estate?' January 1789

Who then shall dare to say that the Third Estate has not within itself all that is necessary for the formation of a complete nation? It is the strong and robust man who has one arm still shackled. If the privileged order should be abolished, the nation would be nothing less, but something more. Therefore, what is the Third Estate? Everything; but an everything shackled and oppressed. What would it be without the privileged order? Everything, but an everything free and flourishing. Nothing can succeed without it, everything would be infinitely better without the others...

The noble order is not less estranged from the generality of us by its civil and political prerogatives. What is a nation? A body of associates, living under a common law, and represented by the same legislature, etc.

Is it not evident that the noble order has privileges and expenditures which it dares to call its rights, but which are apart from the rights of the great body of citizens? It departs there from the common law. So its civil rights make of it an isolated people in the midst of the great nation. This is truly *imperium in imperia*.

In regard to its political rights, these also it exercises apart. It has its special representatives, which are not charged with securing the interests of the people. The body of its deputies sit apart; and when it is assembled in the same hall with the deputies of simple citizens, it is none the less true that its representation is essentially distinct and separate: it is a stranger to the nation, in the first place, by its origin, since its commission is not derived from the people; then by its object, which consists of defending not the general, but the particular interest.

The Third Estate embraces then all that which belongs to the nation; and all that which is not the Third Estate, cannot be regarded as being of the nation.

What is the Third Estate?

It is the whole.

- a. Identify from the extract (i) the image used to describe the Third Estate and (ii) the image used to describe the Third Estate without the privileged order.

Sample Response

- i. A strong and robust man who has one arm still shackled.
- ii. Everything; but an everything free and flourishing.

2 marks

- b. Identify from the extract **two** privileges afforded to the noble order.

Student Response

- i. Political privileges, they have special representatives; which are not charged with securing the interests of the whole nation and only look after their own interests.
- ii. Legal privileges which allow them exemptions from common law so that their civil rights are different to the rest of the nation.

2 marks

- c. Using your own knowledge and the extract, explain the importance of this document in causing revolution in France in August 1789.

Sample Response

Abbe Sieyes' 'What is the Third Estate' (January 1789) was the most eloquent and stirring expression amongst a flood of pamphlets following the scheduling of the Meeting of the Estates-General (May 5, 1789). It was a critical source of political ideas and expressed a desire for representation of the Third Estate in politics as it represented 99% of the population and thus '*the whole*' nation. The revolutionary pamphlet influenced the Third Estate's decision to revolt following disputes over voting by order or head (June 10) and declaring their intention to constitute a National Assembly (June 17). The pamphlet was a call to revolution; the issue being privilege and the battleground to be the Estates-General. It vehemently attacked the privileged orders who were '*stranger[s] to the nation*' and pointed out that the people of the Third Estate farmed, manufactured, sold and traded goods, engaged in private enterprise and bore the burden of taxation yet had no representation. The document influenced the Third Estate deputies to assert themselves as the representatives of the nation and was highly influential in instigating the leap in thought which resulted in what Lefebvre describes as the 'bourgeois revolt'.

6 marks

SECTION B – continued
TURN OVER

- d. Evaluate to what extent this extract presents a reliable view of the causes of revolution in France in August 1789. In your response refer to different views of the revolution.

Sample Response

Abbe Sieyes' 'What is the Third Estate' (Jan 1789) provides a reliable view of some of the causes of the French revolution as it directly resulted in the establishment and circulation of ideas, such as the concept of popular sovereignty and provided the justification that allowed social grievances to become political demands. The extract provides an insight into why the Third Estate deputies chose to revolt at the meeting of the Estates-General and form the National Assembly (June 17 1789). Inequality in French society and the undeserved privilege granted to the First and Second Estate heightened tensions and created conflict amongst the three estates. As Historian Lefebvre asserts "The ultimate cause of the revolution was the rise of the bourgeoisie".

However, the document is limited as it doesn't account for the role of other financial and political factors which played an important role in the development of the revolution. The failure of the Assembly of Notables, described by Schama as "the first revolutionaries" and Paris Parlements to pass financial minister's Calonne and Brienne's reforms further exacerbated the situation and resulted in the bankruptcy of the state (August 1788) which forced Louis to schedule the Estates-General. Louis' lack of leadership on the matter of voting by order or by head also resulted in the creation of a revolutionary situation as a stalemate ensued between the privileged orders and the Third Estate. Historian Soboul argues that "[the autocratic revolt] resulted in a paralysis of the monarchy that led to the revolution"; whereas revisionist historians such as Bossenga blame the financial weakness of the absolute monarchy stating that it was "a result of its inability to service its debts, [which] led to its collapse in 1789".

Overall the extract provides a reliable view of the long term grievances of the Third Estate and how these contributed to 'the bourgeois revolt' and the creation of the National Assembly (17 June 1789), however, is limited as it does not account for short term factors such as the fiscal and political crisis which provided the spark that resulted in the moderate bourgeois led revolution by August 1789.

10 marks

Russia

Part 1 – Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events

Question 1

Russia [1905-October 1917]

Extracts from Lenin's 'April Theses' 1917

1. In our attitude towards the war not the slightest concession must be made to 'revolutionary defensism', for even under the new government the war on Russia's part unquestionably remains a predatory imperialist war owing to the capitalist nature of that government. The widespread propaganda of this view among the army on active service must be organised.
2. The specific feature of the present situation in Russia is that it represents a transition from the first stage of revolution, which led to the assumption of power by the bourgeoisie – to the second stage, which must place power in the hands of the proletariat and the poor strata of the peasantry.
3. No support must be given to the Provisional Government; the utter falsity of its promises must be exposed.
4. It must be explained to the masses that the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies is the only possible form of revolutionary government and that therefore our task is to present a patient, sympathetic and persistent explanation of its errors and tactics.
5. Abolition of the police, the army and the bureaucracy.
6. Confiscation of all landed estates, nationalisation of all lands in the country.

(adapted)

- a. Identify from the extract (i) **one** criticism of the War and (ii) **one** criticism of the Provisional Government.

Sample Response

- i. It is imperialistic and predatory by nature
- ii. It is a capitalist institution

2 marks

- b. Identify from the extract **two** specific actions Lenin suggests the people of Russia must take in order to progress the revolution.

Sample Response

- i. Offer no support to the provisional government.
- ii. Present a patient, sympathetic and persistent explanation of the errors and tactics of the Soviet.

2 marks

SECTION B – continued
TURN OVER

- c. Using your own knowledge and the extract, explain the role of Lenin and his ideas in causing revolution in October 1917.

Sample Response

Lenin's role in causing the October Revolution was both ideological and practical. Firstly, Lenin was instrumental in providing the intellectual foundation for revolution through the ideas expressed in 'What is to be done?' (1902) and significantly in the 'April Theses' (April 1917.) Lenin's suggestion of a 'dictatorship of the proletariat' and popularised slogans of 'All Power to the Soviets' and 'Peace, Bread and Land' effectively appealed to the interests of average citizens. Contemporaries such as American journalist John Reed acknowledged that the Bolsheviks pursued a "definite program of action," and through its advertisement of ideals generated apathy for the Provisional Government and encouraged many to offer it "no support" and "expose... the utter falsity of its promises." Secondly, Lenin organised the Bolshevik Party into a group capable of staging revolution. Lenin's direction was, to many of his colleagues, inspiring, reflected by Antonov-Ovseenko's remark; "To work! Our Leader is with us!" upon Lenin's arrival in Petrograd in October 1917. His collaboration with Trotsky was crucial in the administration of the Milrevcom and ultimately the military basis of revolution, whilst his chairing of meetings such as the Central Committee on 10 October 1917 were critical in organising the practical elements of the events of 25–26 October 1917. Hence, Lenin's role in causing revolution is twofold, taking place on the levels of ideological and strategic direction.

6 Marks

- d. Evaluate to what extent this extracts presents a reliable view of the revolutionary situation in Russia in April 1917. In your response refer to different views of the revolution.

Sample Response

Lenin's *April Theses* is useful in providing an insight into the emergence and importance of revolutionary ideals in April 1917, as well as suggesting the "falsity" and war-involvement of the Provisional Government. The extract identifies the basis of much revolutionary sentiment in the transfer of power to the "proletariat and the poor strata of the peasantry" and his declaration of "no support for the Provisional Government." Soviet historians such as Golub herald the April Theses as the quintessential justification for revolution and perhaps the most significant event of April 1917, highlighting the "creative power of Lenin's genius." Revisionists such as Fitzpatrick would similarly acknowledge the *Theses'* importance by suggesting it was "more in tune with popular feeling" and resounded well among the working class throughout April. Lenin's mentioning of the 'Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies' furthermore indicates the question of legitimacy plaguing the operation of the Provisional Government, a body of "authority without power" (Kerensky.) Most historians are unanimous in the interpretation that the Provisional Government struggled to deal with the "crucial issues of the day" (Nove) and "by keeping Russia in the war, it destroyed its chances of survival" (Lynch.) Nonetheless, the extract is limited as a commentary of the specific timeframe of April 1917 as the *April Theses* did perhaps not reach considerable popularity until following the Kornilov Affair, August 1917.

Pipes rejects the ideology of the Theses as "out of touch with reality" and celebrates the Provisional Government as Russia's first opportunity for a democratic, capitalist state. Thus

SECTION B – continued

the extract is more useful in foreshadowing future events, rather than the situation in Russia at the time. The 37.8% rise of Bolshevik popularity in Moscow municipal seats, June–August 1917, suggests that the afore-mentioned ideals were not embraced warmly until much later. This extract can be seen more as a declaration of intent, rather than an immediate observation of current social trends. Furthermore, the Theses suggest that the revolution progressed at this time solely on the basis of ideas. Revisionists such as Lynch would contend that while revolutionary sentiment was accumulating, this was perhaps more a product of anti-war frustration than Bolshevik inspiration. The events of April 1917 thus occurred “by default, rather than design.” Hence, while this extract is useful in providing a portrait of revolutionary ideals in April 1917, it is limited in showing the extent to which they became widespread at this time and were ultimately significant in the development of revolution.

10 marks

SECTION B – continued
TURN OVER

China

Part 1 – Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events

Question 1

China [1898-1949]

Excerpts from Edgar Snow’s account of the Long March

Source: Red Star Over China, by Edgar Snow (rev. ed.; Grove Press, 1968)

The journey of the Kiangsi [Jiangxi] Reds thus far had provided them with much food for reflection. They had won many new friends and made many bitter enemies. Along their route they had provisioned themselves by “confiscating” the supplies of the rich—the landlords, officials, bureaucrats, and big gentry. . . .

There were big “surpluses”—more than the Reds could carry—and these were distributed among the local poor. In Yunnan the Reds seized thousands of hams from rich packers there, and peasants came from miles around to receive their free portions—a new incident in the history of the ham industry, said Mao Tse-tung. Tons of salt were likewise distributed. In Kweichow [Guizhou] many duck farms were seized from the landlords and officials, and the Reds ate duck until, in the words of Wu Liang-p’ing, they were “simply disgusted with duck.” From Kiangsi [Jiangxi] they had carried Nanking notes, and silver dollars and bullion from their state bank, and in poor districts in their path they used this money to pay for their needs. Land deeds were destroyed, taxes abolished, and the poor peasantry armed.

Except for . . . western Szechuan, the Reds told me they were welcomed everywhere by the mass of the peasantry. Their Robin Hood policies were noised ahead of them, and often the “oppressed peasantry” sent groups to urge them to detour and “liberate” their districts.

- a. Identify from the extract **two** groups the Reds ‘confiscated’ supplies from.

Sample Response

- i. The landlords.
- ii. The officials.

2 marks

- b. Identify from the extract **two** actions of the Reds that made them popular with the peasantry.

Sample Response

- i. The Reds firstly, ‘seized thousands of hams from rich packers’ and distributed the seized goods amongst the peasantry.
- ii. The Reds paid the peasants for their (the communists) needs in ‘silver dollars and bullion from their state bank.’.

2 marks

- c. Using your own knowledge and the extract, explain the significance of the Long March in the development of the Chinese Communist Party by 1949.

Sample Response

From October 1934 to October 1935, nearly 100,000 communists led by individuals such as Mao Zedong, Zhu De and Zhou Enlai embarked on a journey that would cover a distance of 6,000 miles and culminate with the communists' arrival at Yanan. The Long March stemmed from the success of Chiang Kai Shek's Fifth Encirclement Campaign, forcing the communists to evacuate from the sanctuary of the Jiangxi Mountains, the area to which they had fled as a consequence of the 1927 Shanghai Massacre and White Terror. The Long March was integral to the development of the Chinese Revolution of 1949, firstly due to the ensuing support from the peasantry. Contradicting the oppressive methods of the Nationalists, the communists distributed 'big surpluses' of food and goods amongst the peasantry, provided arms, and abolished taxes as portrayed within the extract. This was essential to the establishment of a peasant base on which the 1949 communist revolution was built.

Secondly, the Long March provided an opportunity for the CCP to spread their Marxist ideology to the 'mass of the peasantry'. Mao referred to the Long March as 'a manifestation, an agitation corps, a seeding machine', portraying its usefulness in converting Marxism to a practised ideology, rather than an intellectual theory. Thirdly, the Long March was employed as an effective propaganda tool, with Lynch referring to the expedition as 'the stuff of legend'. Though only 20,000 of 100,000 survived the March, the communists were successfully depicted as martyrs and true revolutionaries, a depiction that contributed to the popularity of the CCP and eventual 1949 revolution.

6 Marks

- d. Evaluate the extent to which this extract presents a reliable view of the events of the Long March between 1934 and 1936. In your response refer to different views of the revolution.

Sample Response

The extract, to a certain extent, is reliable in depicting the Long March of 1934–1935. British historian Edgar Snow acknowledges the favourable elements of the March, and the heroic light in which the communists were perceived by the peasantry. Snow firstly proves that “(the communists) used (‘silver dollars and bullion from their state bank’) to pay for their needs”, secondly that “land taxes were destroyed”, and thirdly states generally that “(the communists) were welcomed everywhere by the masses of the peasantry.” Snow’s contention is supported by Mao himself, who reflected upon the expedition and stated that “it proclaimed to the world that the Red Army is an army of heroes.” Though Snow, within the extract, acknowledges the communist influence on the peasantry during the Long March, his view is somewhat romantic and disregards the practical, military and social difficulties encountered by the communists.

The extract firstly fails to acknowledge the burden of menacing environmental conditions and difficulties relating to the harsh terrain of the Chinese landscape. In order to avoid nationalist armies, the communists weaved through 11 provinces, 18 mountain ranges and 24 rivers, encountering unpredictable terrains such as the Great Snowy Mountains in July, 1935. Survivor Chen Changfeng stated ‘a single careless step could throw you into a crevasse’, exemplifying the potential danger of the expedition. The extract additionally fails to acknowledge the military difficulties that accompanied the Long March. 15 pitched battles occurred between the GMD and CCP throughout 1934-35, amongst various other conflicts including the Battle at Luding Bridge of May 1935. Of the 80,000 communist fatalities over the duration of the Long March, a substantial percentage was at the hands of nationalist forces. Lynch contradicts Snow’s romantic depiction of the Long March and comments that ‘it was widely considered a defeat for the communists’, drawing from armed defeats and exorbitant loss of life. In disregarding this, to a certain extent the extract can be deemed unreliable.

10 marks

Part 2 – Creating a new society

Question 2

America [1776 – 1789]

In a letter to George Washington, Thomas Jefferson claimed that “the foundation on which all [constitutions] are built is the natural equality of man.”

Does this statement reflect the new society in America? Provide evidence to support your answer.

Sample Response

It can be argued that while the founding fathers envisaged a society “built on the natural equality of man” it is evident that the new society failed to generate genuine equality for all. The 1781 Articles of Confederation, in an attempt to meet ideals of equality, saw the involvement of crises under a weak central government. In the hope of solving the ensuing economic, social and political crises of the new society under the Articles, the Constitution (1788) was introduced, attempting to, however, not necessarily preserving the revolutionary ideal of equality. A debate concerning individual liberties followed, seeing the formation of the 1789 Bill of Rights to ensure equality in the new society, though arguably only for the “wealthy elite” (Zinn).

In an attempt to address ideals outlined in the 1776 Declaration of Independence the Articles of Confederation of 1781 were characterised by a weak central government to avoid any government resembling a monarchy and the possibility of tyrannical leadership, in the hope to establish equality in the new society. The “loose union” of the states under the Articles saw Central Congress with little more power than to run a postal service and request funds from the states (to which states did not have to agree). The economic crisis of the new society, as a result of trade imbalances, hyperinflation and a \$73 million revolutionary war debt (exacerbated by Congress’ inability to impose taxes on the states), triggered a social imbalance of wealthy landowners being more influential than the common men (many of whom were suffering under hefty debts as they had not been paid for their service in Continental Army.) This was responded to by actions such as that of Shays’ Rebellion in September 1786 which saw social discontent embodied in an attack against the debtor’s courts, demonstrating the social crisis existing within the new society as a result of failure to meet the idea of equality. Political crisis was also imminent, as there were constant changes to State Constitutions and Legislatures that could not be controlled by Congress. The weak central government (attempting to abolish significant social hierarchy) resulted in a new society abundant with crises; the Articles had proved to be, as stated by Cooke “hopeless as a prescription for a national government” while also failing to ensure genuine equality in the new society by maintaining the social class of “wealthy elite” who had the greatest influence.

Following the 1787 Philadelphia convention to discuss the means of solving existing social, economic and political crises, the Constitution was ratified in 1788 to “save the congress from the states and the states from themselves” (Wood). The Constitution, adapted from James Madison’s Virginia Plan sought to solve crises while aiming to further instil a sense of equality into the new society. Characterised by a three-branch governmental system (executive, judicial and legislative) who would rule via a series of check and balances in order to avoid tyranny through power while also enabling strong central authority, the Constitution was, as Morison states, a “work of genius.” It can be argued that though the Constitution aimed to provide a sense of equality through establishing representation in a Senate and House of Representatives to ensure input from all states, it did not provide genuine equality

SECTION B – continued
TURN OVER

for all. In terms of representation, only men were permitted to vote and the 3/5ths rule for representation was adopted to include 3/5ths of a state's slave population in the state

population in order to award state's with larger numbers a greater representation within the House of Representatives, which contrasted with the idea of fulfilment of equality by using slaves to gain more representation while still not allowing them to vote. Hartman believes that the "Constitution envisioned an egalitarian society"; yet equal suffrage for all was not achieved under this new government. Arguably, the Constitution sought to instil a further sense of equality in the new society, however, not the "natural equality of man" as Jefferson believed, rather to ensure equality among the wealthy elite (Beard).

The Constitution omitted the individual liberties of Americans, such as those outlined in the Declaration of Independence (Right to Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness) and sparked a debate between two groups known as the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists. The Anti-Federalists (including individuals such as revolutionary leader Patrick Henry) believed that the omission of individual liberties from the Constitution marked the retreat of the new society from revolutionary ideals such as equality and liberty and that these rights would be forgotten and breached if they were not officially published. However, the Federalists (the "realists" according to historian Morison), argued that individual liberties were inherent in the Constitution. The Bill of Rights, "a political tool to quiet down critics of the Constitution" (Beard) was ratified in 1789 addressing individual liberties including the right to liberty, to bear arms, freedom of speech, assembly, press and so on. This document aimed to protect individual liberties and ensure equality, though arguably only for a selected group (men of property and wealth). It is evident that by 1789 equality was not indeed achieved for all as there was still no suffrage for women, Native Americans or slaves under the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. This is confirmed by Zinn, who argues that the "language of liberty and equality was a device" used to unite people to fight a revolution but it "did not end neither slavery nor inequality."

Historian Wood states that by the end of the revolution "democracy and equality were no longer issues to be debated; they had become articles of faith to be fulfilled." It is evident that equality (and to an extent democracy) were not wholly fulfilled under the weak Central Congress of the 1781 Articles of Confederation under which significant crises developed, nor under the 1788 Constitution, nor the 1789 Bill of Rights. It can be argued that the new American society did not achieve genuine equality for all as though equality was established within the wealthy elite class and central government, Native Americans, women and slaves did not experience a strong sense of equality in the new society.

France [5 August – 1795 Dissolution of the convention]

Historian Simon Schama argues that the revolution "depended on organized killing to accomplish political ends."

Do you agree with this view of the new society in France? Provide evidence to support your answer.

Sample Response

The new regime in France faced numerous obstacles and crises which resulted in the government becoming progressively reliant on the use of institutionalised terror, violence and coercion to maintain control. Within four years of the 1789 revolution, the new regime had disintegrated into a virtual police state in response to resistance and conflict over church reforms, external royalist pressure and internal counter revolution in areas such as the Vendee. The regime's responses became increasingly violent through events often fuelled by sans-culottes radicalism such as the Champs de Mars Massacre (July 1791) and the Storming of the Tuilleries (10 Aug 1792), as well as through government responses which saw the creation of Committee of Vigilance (August 1792) and the Committee of Public Safety (April 1793) providing the formal and legal introduction of terror. Ultimately, "Terror [became] the order of the day" (Robespierre) in the new society.

The use of violence to accomplish political ends became evident from the early moderate stage of the revolution (1789–1792). Conflict over the Civil Constitution of the Clergy (July 1790) engendered the Legislative Assembly to coerce the clergy by releasing the Clerical Oath (27 November 1790) which polarized the revolution by "offering a stark choice between religion and revolution" (Aston). Persecution of the refractory priests demonstrates the new regime's willingness to respond violently to resistance. Furthermore, Louis XVI, a devout catholic, was alienated by the Constitution prompting the Flight to Varennes (20 June 1791). His flight undermined the perception of the King and fostered conflict between republican and royalist factions culminating in the Champs de Mars Massacre (July 17). Thousands gathered at the 'altar of the fatherland' followed by the National Guard to sign a petition from the Cordeliers demanding Louis' abdication. The National Guard opened fire on the crowd resulting in the death of 50. Lafayette and the National Guard's response to republican protests at Champ De Mars proliferated the widening revolutionary disjuncture, as "for the first time, revolutionaries had fired upon revolutionaries" (Adcock). The first sign of political killing was seen through events such as Champs de Mars where the government chose to quell resistance to then allow it to remain politically in control.

External royalist pressure resulting in the outbreak of war with Austria (20 April 1792) also ushered in a series of strict policies and violent repressions. The government's persecution of the émigrés demonstrated the need for violence to allow the government to maintain control and the Legislative Assembly's call of 'La Patrie en Danger' (11 July 1792) and the Levee en Mass (23 July 1792) furthered growing dissatisfaction with the new regime. The Brunswick's Manifesto (July 1792) "intensified radical demands for the king's deposition" (Adcock) and encouraged the popular movement and Insurrectionary Committee's gain in revolutionary momentum, allowing them to coerce the government into Louis' deposition (10 August 1792) and, later, the violent measure of his execution. The Storming of the Tuilleries highlights how revolutionary violence, often exercised through the militant sans-culottes played a crucial role in changing the direction of the new society. The event resulted in the arrest of Louis and eventually his trial and execution, changing the direction of the revolution from a moderate bourgeois-led aim of having a constitutional monarchy to a more radical republic, at ends with

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much of Europe. This pressure by the Paris Commune, made up of the former Insurrectionary Committee, and the popular movement, prompted the Legislative Assembly, in order to defend itself from the growing influence of the Sans-Culottes (and their Enrages), to establish the violent Committee of Vigilance (17 August 1792) and later to initiate the September Massacres (2 September 1792). The September Massacres again highlighted the need of violence and coercion, often sparked by unfounded fear of counter-revolution, to accomplish political ends.

The new regime's response to internal counter-revolution as opposition against the new government grew was also very violent and engendered the institutionalisation of 'the terror'. Uprisings in Vendee, Toulon and Bordeaux (11 March 1793), were performed largely by the peasant's who were angered at the death of the 1200 refractory priests during the September Massacres, and resentful towards the Levee en Mass which as a result stimulated the Jacobin army's "purification of the region". Historian McPhee notes that "Vendee was crushed at huge costs in lives".

These internal crises prompted the government to finally establish the Committee of Public Safety (6 April 1793), "the institution of terror" (Anderson) who was responsible for 14,080 executions within 12 months of its inauguration. This desperate act facilitated the establishment of what some historians say was the most violent and coercive institution of the French Revolution, and ushered in 'the terror'. The Terror, as a response to the crisis' being faced by the radical Jacobin government was fermented through the 'Law of Suspects' and the 'Law of 22 Prairial' which intensified the compromise that the revolutionaries had made as it was really a continuation of the absolutism of the Old Regime. In return these harsh actions incited "popular violence" (Lefebvre). The response to the crisis of International War, although initially met with a fervour of nationalism (illustrated by the victory of Valmy (20 Sep 1792)) that the Brissotins had prophesized, saw violent action taken by both the revolutionary government as well as the militant sans-culottes to achieve political goals.

The French revolution passed through varying phases before its consolidation, both the urban people of France, particularly radical Sans-Culottes in cities such as Paris, as well as the radical Jacobin government established in the National Convention, which later broke away through the CPS with full executive power, used violence and terror (legal as well as through the spontaneous upsurge of the politically radicalised masses) in order to achieve political ends such as the abdication of Louis and his eventual execution to the creation of a centralised republic. Eventually factionalist terror would prove to be the undoing of the new regime as members of the National Convention came to fear that they themselves may become targets resulting in the Coup of Thermidor (8-9 Thermidor) which saw the fall of Robespierre and the implementation of a new moderate government. Ultimately organised and often spontaneous violence played a crucial role in achieving political ends.

Russia [November 1917 – 1924 death of Lenin]

Historian Richard Pipes claims that under the Bolshevik regime “merciless violence, violence that strove for the destruction of every actual and potential opponent, was... the only way of dealing with problems.”

Do you agree with this view of the Bolshevik regime? Provide evidence to support your answer.

Sample Response

The emergence of terror as an instrument of political persuasion was undoubtedly a defining characteristic of the new society. However, Pipe’s view perhaps exaggerates its imposition as “the only way of dealing with problems,” as the activity of the Cheka fluctuated greatly throughout the period 1917–24. The Bolsheviks’ strategy of persuasion was hardly limited to violence. Socially, the new regime also sought to use propaganda as a way of earning support of the masses, while economically and politically it was not so much violence, as harsh policy that acted as a tool to dissuade “every actual and potential opponent.”

During the Civil War (1918-20) Lenin initially sought to offset potential opponents by seducing them with the ‘spirit’ of the revolution. The early 116 Sovnarkom decrees (November – December 1917) targeted the social welfare of the proletariat and the peasantry, such as the Workers’ Control Decree (14 November) and the Decree on the right to Self Determination (2 November). Contemporaries report a “wild and unexampled orgy” (Antonov-Orsenko) in the streets of Petrograd, where Lenin encouraged mass participation in the form of chaos to “imbue the oppressed... with confidence in their own strength” (Lenin). It would seem therefore that the Bolshevik regime initially aimed to ‘win over’ their opponents rather than enforce violence. However, the stain of war and its ensuing unpopularity, shown by an anonymous letter to Trotsky that labels the Bolsheviks as “imposters,” prompted a scheme of “organized terror” (Dzerzhinsky) to coerce opposition. That the Cheka grew remarkably during the Civil War and is estimated to have executed over 114 000 civilians suggests that violence was an integral part of the Bolshevik plan.

Pipes’ assessment “that the machine gun became the principal tool for political persuasion,” however, downplays the significance of a variety of coercive strategies. The Bolsheviks were heavily reliant on propaganda during the Civil War to inspire the masses and through projecting dominant images of Lenin and Trotsky on agit-prop trains developed a tendency to influence opinion through advertisement, rather than violence. Similarly, the new regime attempted to revolutionise the culture of society by replacing religion with ‘Bolshevism.’ Paintings and statues of Lenin with the symbolic ‘Red Star’ heralded him as a cause for worship, giving him “the status of a god” (Figes). The Bolshevik regime developed a habit of undermining religious practices, creating the ‘Union of the Militant Godless’ (1921) and issuing a decree for the removal of all religious icons (28 February 1922). Cults and rituals were popularised, whilst “literature and music deemed to be religious were banned” (Figes). Furthermore, revisionist historians often portray violence as not inherently a strategy to overcome opposition, but as part of a “social revolution” (Fitzpatrick) to “exterminate the bourgeoisie as a class” (Latsis). Hence, whilst violence was a prominent social weapon, it was heavily supported by propaganda and cultural change.

Economically, opposition arose as a consequence of the regime’s hardline Communist policies. State Capitalism and War Communism’s requirements of the nationalization of all industries (28 June 1918) and the prohibition of private trade (17 November 1918) did not generate a welcoming response. ‘Counter-revolutionary’ activity was prominent in the form

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of illegal trade and the peasantry's hoarding of grain. The Cheka emerged as an appropriate method with which to combat these problems, embarking on a period of grain requisitioning and introducing terror into common workplaces. However, this was accompanied by non-violent, but nonetheless strict working policies, exemplified by Lenin's view that "he who does not work, neither shall he eat." The introduction of long working hours and 'Communist Saturdays' which required 'voluntary' chores such as road clearing on weekends, were perhaps equally as important as direct violence in maintaining authority. However, the murder of over 8000 requisitioners by peasants (1920) and the occurrence of over 200 uprisings in the Tambov province (July–August 1918) suggest that even the Cheka was not sufficient as a way of dealing with opposition. Lynch's critical statement that the new society "replaced one form of authoritarianism with another" neglects the later relaxation of economic policy and "breathing space" (Lenin) of NEP (March 1921). While to some this represents a compromise of ideals, it can also be seen as a pragmatic solution to economic problems. Upon the introduction of NEP harvest yields returned to Tsarist levels and electrification boomed at a net increase of 300%. Hence, while violence was a useful tool, it was evidently replaced by concession to solve an economic crisis.

Politically, opposition to the Bolshevik regime was apparent from the onset. The majority of SR seats (370) at the national election (12 November 1917) prompted the new regime to simply dissolve the Constituent Assembly (6 January 1918) and declare itself as the governing body. This policy of self-proclamation, however, required a backing and support system to ensure its survival. The official Cheka decrees (5 September 1918) stated that "we have no need for justice now" (Dzerzhinsky) and signalled an aggressive period of oppression. Liberal historians are typically enraged and perhaps rightly so by the program of "blood, coercion and denial of freedom" that the Bolsheviks used to "cling to power" (Volkogonov). However, political opposition was most commonly dealt with in a less violent fashion. Policy was the principal form of revolution. Lenin sought to increase political unity by exiling 2000 Mensheviks and SRs whilst banning all Party factions in 'On Party Unity' (March 1921). The relaxation of Cheka policy through its evolution to the OGPU demonstrates the limited nature of the Bolsheviks' authoritarian spectrum. Even the demands of the Kronstadt sailors (7 March 1921), calling for "Soviets without Bolsheviks," suggest that the new regime's political structure of municipal and provincial Soviets was partially democratic and embraced, to a small extent, political opposition. Whilst frequently violent, the Bolshevik regime didn't create a society in which "nothing... changed for the better" (Rosenberg) and genuinely offered reform for political freedom.

The Bolshevik regime was indeed a "utopia" (Volkogonov) or a façade that it was never able to realize completely. Violence reigned as a dominant tool of persuasion throughout the Civil War, although Pipes' assessment is limited in its avoidance of other social strategies such as propaganda and harsh, but not violent, economic and political policy.

China [1949–1976 Death of Mao]

Mao once said that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

Does this statement reflect the development of the new society in China after 1949? Provide evidence to support your answer.

20 marks

Sample Response

Mao Zedong, leader of the Chinese Communist Party, proclaimed the new People's Republic of China on October the first, 1949, simultaneously acquiring the position of Chairman of the PRC and initiating an era of profound terror, violence and suppression. Until his death in September 1976, Mao believed that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun", a belief practiced with fervent dedication as evident in the oppressed bourgeoisie and land owning class, peasantry and party cadres.

The bourgeoisie and land owners were the most blatantly victimised social group following the revolution of 1949. The existence of this capitalist class contradicted the ideology of the People's Republic of China, proclaimed by Mao as a desire 'to continue to advance and develop towards a socialist and communist society,' and consequently mass persecution ensued. Consistent with the abolition of private banking and trade in 1950, Mao declared an 'aim to exterminate capitalism'. 'Exterminate' was a term implemented almost literally by both the Red Guards and peasantry, as the introduction of the Agrarian Land Reform Law of June 1950 fundamentally legislated terror and violence against landowners. According to Lynch, Mao regarded this as "an essential step in the creation of China as a fully Marxist state." Between 1950–51, though estimates vary, it is generally agreed upon by historians that over one million landowners and bourgeois 'elements' were victims of communist terror, a consequence of Mao's insistency that proletariat revolution could only be achieved through the use of violence, proving that practice of Mao's belief that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The oppression of the peasantry secondly proves the violent nature of the communist regime following the 1949 revolution. Throughout the Jiangxi Soviet (1928-1934) and Yanan (1936–1945) eras, Mao promoted a distorted form of the Marxist theory (contradicting firm Russian Comintern instructions), and encouraged peasant rather than proletariat revolution, a logical conclusion drawn from the mass of peasantry (440 million in 1933) that composed the Chinese population. Though Mao declared "hundreds of millions of peasants will rise with the fury of a hurricane," he discreetly disdained them, blaming many communist policy failings such as the Great Leap Forward (1958-1962) on what he believed to be grain hoarding and the capitalist tendencies of the peasantry. Consequently, violence and terror was not only reserved for stereotypical and promoted enemies of capitalism, but also for those who formed the foundation of the revolution; the peasantry. Over twenty seven years of Mao's dominance, historians estimate 30-80 million fatalities, a large percentage of which occurred amongst the peasantry at the hands of communist authorities. To suppress justifiable rebellion and complaints amongst the peasantry regarding the failing Chinese economy over the period of the Great Leap Forward, Mao implemented numerous labour camps and showed no mercy in executing and consciously starving millions of peasants, defending this indiscriminate murder by claiming 'Peasants are hiding food and are very bad. There is no communist spirit in them!' Mao's persecution of the peasantry secondly exemplifies his belief in the power of violence.

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Members and authority figures of the Chinese Communist Party itself fell victim to the terror and brutality of Mao Zedong and his oppressive regime. Integral to Mao's ideology was the concept of continuing revolution, and to ensure this Mao regularly instigated 'cleansing' campaigns, fearing the establishment of an elite bureaucracy and ruling class within the party. This led to violence and persecution, as Mao employed his belief that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." Epitomising persecution of the Chinese Communist Party was the anti-rightist campaign of 1957 that swiftly followed the Hundred Flowers movement. Upon proclaiming 'may a hundred schools of thought contend,' Mao invited intellectuals, academics and party cadres to criticize and condemn the failings of the communist regime, in order to distinguish and eliminate flaws within national policy and party membership. Mao notoriously reversed his invitation of opinion, and conversely founded an anti-rightist campaign in order to 'expose, identify and remove' (Suyin) critics and potential counter-revolutionaries. Over 500,000 individuals fell victim to the mass persecution, thousands of whom were terrorised and executed. Such a movement, though unparalleled in size and notoriety, was not a rarity, and throughout the life of Mao persecution of party members was frequent. This, according to Lynch, stemmed from the fact that 'the more powerful he grew, the more detached he became from his political and governmental associates.' With power, paranoia ensued; slim justification behind the terror and violence employed by Mao after 1949.

Mao's fervent belief that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun,' influenced the brutal nature of the communist regime that grew from the 1949 revolution. The theory of 'one party rule', fundamentally a reversion to the absolutism of the Qing dynasty, led to the oppression of the bourgeoisie, peasantry and communist party, consistent with Mao's promotion of violence to preserve power.

END OF SECTION B

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

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

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Part 1, Question 2

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

Part 2, Question 3c

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

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Part 2, Question 3d

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

SECTION B**Part 1, Question 1c**

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

Part 1, Question 1d

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

Part 2, Question 2**Mark allocation**

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

END OF MARK ALLOCATIONS