

HISTORY: Revolutions

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

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

SECTION A – Revolution One

America

Part 1 – Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events

[1763–1776]

Question 1

Explain the importance of the actions of the Sons of Liberty in the development of the American Revolution by July 1775. (10 marks)

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- Early in the summer of 1765, a group of Boston shopkeepers and artisans who called themselves The Loyal Nine began preparing for agitation against the Stamp Act;
- ‘Sons of Liberty’ was, at first, a derogatory label for the American agitators coined by British politician Isaac Barre. Members of the group included businessmen and the disenfranchised (artisans);
- In Boston the Sons of Liberty were led by James Otis and Samuel Adams;
- The first widely known acts of the Sons of Liberty took place on 14 August 1765, when an effigy of Andrew Oliver (who was to be commissioned Distributor of Stamps for Massachusetts) was hung, along with a large boot with a devil climbing out of it. (The use of the boot was a play on words, referring to the Earl of Bute.) The whole display was intended to suggest that there was an evil connection between Oliver and the Stamp Act;
- The most popular objective of the Sons of Liberty was to force Stamp Distributors throughout the colonies to resign. The group did this by harassing British businessmen, creating and burning effigies of stamp-duty collectors and tarring and feathering officials. They also burned public buildings and rampaged through the streets intimidating those who supported the Stamp Act. John Cantwell claims that by late 1765 they ruled the colonies by force and intimidation;
- Steve Thompson argues that although the Sons of Liberty included members of the respected middle class who engaged in writing, producing and distributing anti-Stamp Act broadsides, there were also thugs within the group who revelled in street violence;
- The Sons of Liberty’s influence waned in most of the colonies following the repeal of the Stamp Act in early 1766. However, the movement was revived with the passage of the Townshend Acts in 1767, and would remain a fixture of American resistance until independence was secured;
- The groups was never a cohesive or centrally co-ordinated body, rather it was a small but influential group intrinsically tied to local circumstances, situations and figures. Unlike other revolutionary groups, its aim was neither overtly political nor military;
- Daughters of Liberty organisations also appeared in the colonies. Women met to spin and weave cloth as an alternative to British cloth: the concept of boycott spread quickly.

Question 2

Describe how the ideas of the Enlightenment were incorporated into two key documents relating to the American Revolution. (10 marks)

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- The ideas of the Enlightenment were an important source of ideas for writers during the American Revolution;
- The Enlightenment was an intellectual movement that began in the 1600s. Some writers likened it to the thinking that gave rise to republican ideas. Following on from the intellectual trends begun during the Renaissance, Enlightenment thinkers challenged old views, values and traditions;
- Central to the Enlightenment was the concept of rationality and the rejection of superstition and tyranny. Religion and church-based teachings were often critiqued by Enlightenment writers;
- Enlightenment writers included Locke, Rousseau, Voltaire, Diderot and Montesquieu. These *philosophes* questioned the 'divine right of kings' and claimed that unchecked government could reduce individual liberties;
- The English philosopher John Locke argued that 'man' was born with 'natural rights' that no government could take away. These rights were life, liberty and property (the right to acquire, own and protect it);
- These ideas are contained in a number of key documents from the American Revolution: Letters from a Farmer, Resolves of the Stamp Act Congress, Tom Paine's Common Sense, Resolves of the First Continental Congress, The Declaration of Independence. (Outline the document and highlight the Enlightenment ideas contained within.)

Part 2 – Creating a new society

America [1776–1789]

Question 3

- a. According to Jefferson, what made the people in the eastern states of America ‘uneasy’? (2 marks)

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- The cessation of trade and the shortage of money.

- b. What evidence is there in the extract to suggest that Jefferson was less appalled by Shays’ Rebellion than other revolutionary leaders were at the time? (2 marks)

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- He says that rebellion is as necessary to the political world as storms are to the physical world; ‘A little rebellion now and then is a good thing.’

- c. Using your knowledge and the extract, describe the causes and implications of Shays’ Rebellion. (6 marks)

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- The War of Independence affected the trade of the American colonies. Congress had no taxing power and the states had to borrow abroad. British and French forces both paid in coins, while the Continental Army paid with printed money that devalued over the course of the war;
- When war ended under the peace terms of the Treaty of Paris, British creditors could call in their American debts. Local merchants also called in debts and these demands trickled down to farmers and artisans. This combined with federal tax bills placed these men in a position where they could not afford to maintain their modest holdings. The extract refers to the scarcity of money making people uneasy;
- Debtors wanted the courts closed so they could work things out, save their land and avoid becoming tenants. The extract suggests that people rebelled because they believe the government encroached on their rights;
- In Massachusetts there was an armed rebellion (led by Daniel Shays) of farmers and villagers against the central government. Late in 1786 the group gathered arms, forcibly closed the courts and threatened to take over a federal arsenal. Nearly 2000 distressed debtor farmers were involved;
- A government-backed militia was formed and Shays and his rebels were forced to flee north.

- d. To what extent is Jefferson's letter a reliable representation of the response by politicians and public leaders to the local uprisings which occurred in Massachusetts in 1786–87? In your answer you should refer to different views about the outcome of the American Revolution. (10 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

- Jefferson's response is quite different from those of other revolutionary leaders at the time. You should outline Jefferson's view, i.e. that while he did not believe the behaviour (rebellion) was justified he did not think the Government should punish the rebels harshly;
- Sam Adams was horrified and enacted strict laws to deal with rebels.
- Merchants and creditors in the cities were anxious and fearful that their interests and property could be threatened by mob action and 'popular democracy';
- George Washington was concerned to find a means of avoiding a repeat of the situation and saw the problem as essentially political, i.e. the Articles of Confederation had to be amended;
- Hugh Brogan says Shays' Rebellion was 'a terrible shock to respectable Americans'. He says people outside of Massachusetts did not really understand the causes of the rebellion but understood that there was an armed revolt against an elected republican government, that property had been endangered, and that should the events be re-enacted elsewhere there were insufficient forces to quell the rebels;
- Edward Countryman claims that Shays' Rebellion showed that 'Massachusetts had changed. A government that the rich had largely created for their own protection and benefit had become something that lesser people could capture and try to use for themselves';
- Countryman also notes that Shays' Rebellion 'exposed a line of stress that ran through all the states.'

France

Part 1 – Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events

[1781–4 August 1789]

Question 1

Explain the importance of the actions of members of the liberal nobility in creating pressure for revolutionary change in France up to 1788. (10 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

This question specifically excludes 1789 so one should stay within the parameters of 1781–1788. The question is essentially about a ‘movement’, the loosely organised group of enlightened nobility often called ‘liberal’. When discussing liberal nobility, discuss individuals like the Marquis de Lafayette and Honoré Gabriel Riqueti, the Comte de Mirabeau, and consider groups like the Society of Thirty. Then discuss the following:

- The involvement of liberal nobles in the American War of Independence and the subsequent ideological influence they enjoyed in France; Lafayette is the most obvious example but the Comte de Ségur stated with regard to his involvement in America, ‘The freedom for which I am going to fight, inspires in me the liveliest enthusiasm and I would like my own country to enjoy such a liberty’;
- Lafayette’s military bravura and popular standing legitimised the notion of revolution but he was also involved in a number of revolutionary actions in this period: The Assembly of Notables where he called for a true National Assembly; his patronage of the Society of Thirty and the influence of this *salon*/club;
- Mirabeau was a popular agitator against royal absolutism, producing popular pamphlets and treatises in which he denounced the throne as despotic;
- King Louis XVI’s cousin, Philippe Égalité, encouraged Enlightenment ideals at the Assembly of Notables and in response to Louis’ infamous gaffe at the *lit de justice* of November 1787;
- The Society of Thirty (sometimes called the Committee of 30), almost exclusively made up of liberal nobles, served as a pressure group of significance and actively decried royal absolutism and the status quo.

Question 2

Explain how the actions of Jacques Necker and his subsequent treatment contributed to the development of the French Revolution by July 1789. (10 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

This is a bit of a tricky question as you are asked to consider the *actions* of Necker that were revolutionary and the *treatment* of Necker that caused revolutionary acts. Discuss the following:

- Necker was from the Third Estate and worked in an environment that was almost exclusively made up of members of the First and Second Estates;
- The issuing of the *Compte Rendu au Roi* (Account to the King) in 1781 caused an outcry and there was great public interest in matters that had never been hitherto made public;
- Necker infamously ‘cooked the books’ in the aforementioned document, further imperilling the financial situation of France;
- He was subject to court intrigues and the alleged antipathy of Marie-Antoinette which led to his first dismissal;
- There was anger at the dismissal and he became popular with the French people;
- There was hostility between Necker and Calonne in 1787 and the public was interested in their exchange via pamphlets;
- Necker received *lettres de cachet* and was essentially exiled from Paris from 1787–88;
- He returned to the post of Director-General of Finance in 1788 and gained a reputation as financial saviour of France;
- His second dismissal on 11 July 1789 led to Desmoulins’ famous plea outside the Palais Royalé – ‘To arms’ – which directly led to the storming of the Bastille.

Part 2 – Creating a new society

France [5 August 1789–1795 death of Lenin]

Question 3

Representation: *The Storming of the Tuileries on August 10th 1792*

- a. Identify two social groups depicted in the representation. (2 marks)
- b. Identify two features of this representation that suggest the artist's opinion of the nature of this attack. (2 marks)
- c. Using your own knowledge, explain the immediate causes of this event. (6 marks)
- d. Evaluate the reliability of the representation as evidence of how acts of violence dictated the direction of the French Revolution from August 1792 onwards. In your response refer to other views on this matter. (10 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

Question 'a': This is a painting students should be familiar with as it is the cover picture of Michael Adcock's widely used textbook *Analysing the French Revolution*. It depicts an event of great significance in the formation of the new society – the second storming of the Tuileries on 10 August 1792.

Question 'a' simply asks you to identify two social groups. These could be any two of the following:

- The *sans-culottes* or *menu peuple* (or simply 'the people') – the insurrection was made up of a broad cross-section of society: artisans, traders, common wage earners;
- The Marseille volunteers (theirs is the large flag in the centre);
- The National Guard (with single white sash), who joined the demonstrators;
- The Swiss guards (with crossed sash).

Question 'b' asks you to identify features. When a question asks for features it refers to things you can actually see in the representation. In this instance you say that the artist suggests it was a chaotic and bloody attack in the following ways:

- The smoke and flames visible;
- The sheer number of dead;
- The disregard for the victims – note the raised sword of the volunteer to the bottom right of the picture;
- The blood, discarded weapons and general disarray.

Question 'c' asks you to display contextual knowledge of the period and refer to specific events that built up to this event. In answering, you could cite a number of events but it would be wise to mention the more immediate causes of fear amongst the populace, such as:

- The first 'storming' of the Tuileries on 20 June 1792, in which the King was forced to don the revolutionary cap and toast the revolution – this perhaps emboldened the revolutionaries to commit the act depicted;
- The declaration in the Assembly of *La Patrie en Danger* on 11 July 1792;
- The ongoing war and mobilisation of the populace to join the National Guard in July 1792;
- The 'Brunswick Manifesto' of 25 July 1792, which created fear of imminent invasion or counter-revolution;

- The replacement of the Paris Commune with the Insurrectionary Commune on 9 August, the day before the event depicted.

Question 'd' asks you to evaluate the reliability of the representation and you should recognise that this is a work of propaganda and, as such, has limited historical accuracy.

For this question you might:

- Point out that many historians have used this representation to suggest that the French Revolution took a violent turn in mid-1792 and that violence was a significant driving force in the revolution from then on until the execution of Robespierre two years later;
- Cite historians – such as Simon Schama – who argue along these lines in relation to the *sans-culottes* and revolutionary government;
- Compare Schama's view with that of George Rudé, who endeavours to ennoble the role of the *sans-culottes* and views the violence as an unintended point of departure from revolutionary goals;
- Say that other historians have used the involvement of the Insurrectionary Commune as evidence that the crowd *directed* the revolution and violence was a necessary but regrettable by-product: for example, Albert Soboul argues that 'the *sans-culottes* were a powerful weapon of revolutionary struggle and national defence. The popular movement [established] a Jacobin revolutionary government, thus defeating the counter-revolution at home and abroad. The triumph of the popular movement led to the Terror, which was needed for the final destruction of the old society';
- Comment on whether you think the image correctly represents the behaviour of the *sans-culottes* and/or the new government.

Russia

Part 1 – Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events

[1905–Oct 1917]

Question 1

Explain how the issuing of the Fundamental Laws in 1906 and the closing of the first two Dumas undermined the gains made during the 1905 revolution. (10 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

This question refers to some specific legislation and a short time period and you need to show a precise understanding of the cause and effect of the events of 1905–07.

Mention that one of the gains from 1905 was the formation of a Duma. Then cite the following points:

- October Manifesto: ‘Fundamental civil freedoms will be granted to the population, including real personal inviolability, freedom of conscience, speech, assembly and association’;
- October Manifesto: ‘Participation in the Duma will be granted to those classes of the population which are at present deprived of voting powers, insofar as is possible in the short period before the convocation of the Duma, and this will lead to the development of a universal franchise’;
- The Fundamental Laws reneged on the aforementioned Manifesto: Article 4 said that ‘The All-Russian Emperor possesses the supreme autocratic power. Not only fear and conscience, but God himself, commands obedience to his authority’;
- Article 9 of the Fundamental Laws said that ‘The Sovereign Emperor approves laws; and without his approval no legislative measure can become law’;
- Discuss the opening of the First Duma in April 1906 and its closure in June of the same year, and the second Duma of Feb–June 1907;
- Conclude by mentioning the character and actions of Prime Minister Stolypin.

Question 2

Explain the significance of the issuing of Soviet Order #1 in creating further revolutionary action between March and October 1917. (10 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

Begin by identifying who issued Soviet Order #1 and when it was done, i.e. the Petrograd Soviet on 1 March 1917. Then explain the Order's impact, discussing the following points:

- The timing of the Order to coincide with the Tsar's abdication;
- The wresting of power away from the commanding officers in the Russian Army and from the Provisional Government: 'All orders issued by the Military Commission of the State Duma shall be carried out, except those which run counter to the orders and decrees issued by the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies';
- The attempt to reduce public sympathy for the Provisional Government;
- The fact that the Order provided revolutionaries with arms and willing soldiers: 'All kinds of weapons, namely rifles, machine-guns, armoured cars and so forth, shall be placed at the disposal and under the control of the company and battalion committees and shall by no means be issued to the officers, not even at their insistence';
- That the content of the Order encouraged V. I. Lenin to exclaim, 'All power to the Soviets';
- The Order set a model of rebellion against the Provisional Government which was eventually capitalised on by the Bolsheviks.

Part 2 – Creating a new society

Russia [November 1917–1924]

Question 3

Representation: *The Dictatorship of the Proletariat*

- Which groups are represented by the two figures in the foreground of the poster? (2 marks)
- Identify two features of the poster that illustrate the success of the new society. (2 marks)
- This poster celebrates the first year of the Bolshevik government. Outline three changes to society introduced by the Bolsheviks in this period. (6 marks)
- To what extent does this representation realistically illustrate the events of the first year of Bolshevik rule? Refer to other views in your response. (10 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

This painting is clearly a work of Bolshevik propaganda which attempts to portray the first year of Bolshevik rule as an outstanding success.

Question ‘a’ and ‘b’ are relatively straightforward. One might discuss the following:

- The artist is portraying a member of the proletariat on the left – note the sledge-hammer and gun over his shoulder and on the right an agricultural worker or peasant in traditional garb and carrying a scythe (sickle);
- The broken symbols of the old regime: crown, shield, chains;
- The happy people, the triumphant waving of arms, flags and babies;
- The rising sun;
- The productive factories: smoke billowing and signs of enterprise.

Question ‘c’ requires a display of contextual knowledge of the period. For this question one could cite and describe three of the following events:

- The structure of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) in the period immediately following the October Revolution and Lenin’s role in organising it;
- The formation of the CHEKA under Felix Dzerzhinsky;
- The initial decrees on Land, 8 November 1917;
- Lenin’s closure of the Constituent Assembly in January 1918;
- Lenin’s direction to Leon Trotsky regarding the Brest-Litovsk Treaty on 3 March 1918 and the formation of the Red Army;
- The methods that Lenin and the Bolsheviks resorted to in securing their power.

Question ‘d’ asks for an evaluation of the reliability of the account. One should recognise that this work is highly questionable as it displays the severely biased view of the CPSU and is therefore of limited use. Consider the following:

- Elaborate upon which aspects of the representation are useful; i.e. it is a view of the Russian Revolution that coincides with the CPSU view of history – the image mirrors the idea that the revolution was driven by the people and was part of the ‘historical process envisioned by Marx and Engels’;

- Temper this extreme interpretation by reference to the works of revisionist historians who argue that the Bolsheviks did have popular appeal; while the picture might appear ridiculous it would have represented some aspect of that popular support at the time;
- Point out that the Bolsheviks retained power in the period not only through brute force – for many Russians they were by far the best alternative on offer;
- Acknowledge that this extract has limited use as it does not acknowledge the substantial resistance the October Revolution encountered from sections of the populace. A liberal historian would draw attention to the sentiment expressed by groups like the Socialist Revolutionaries, who claimed that the Bolsheviks' coup and first year represented 'a crime against the motherland and revolution';
- Finally, compare the representation with contrary portrayals. For example, Richard Pipes and Robert Conquest maintain that the first year of Bolshevik rule was nothing like the picture depicted: Lenin provided peace but at the cost of a civil war; WWI was dealt with in an ambivalent way, as seen in Trotsky's catchcry *no peace, no war*, which was caught between the desire for a world-wide revolution and the need to consolidate the revolution in Russia (an issue that would divide the party many times); and the signing of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty on 3 March 1918, which deprived Russia not only of twenty-seven per cent of its farmland and sixty-two million people, but seventy-four per cent of its iron ore and coal, a situation which has been presented by liberal historians as an early indication of Lenin's political expediency.

China

Part 1-Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events

[1898–1949]

Question 1

How did failure to reform before and after 1911 affect the development of revolutionary movements in China? (10 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

- The Qing Dynasty was the last imperial dynasty in China and its rule was characterised by resistance to change and a failure to reform;
- It was characterised by the Confucian theory of the relationship between the emperor and the people. The legitimacy of the dynasty was defined by the Mandate of Heaven;
- The authority of the Qing was challenged by corruption, weak leadership, poor management of the economy and an inability to control internal rebellions;
- There was limited attempt at reform: examples include the Self-strengthening Movement and Kang Youwei's (K'ang Yu-wei's) initiation of the 100 Days of Reform in education, politics, law, industry and the economy;
- Following the Boxer Rebellion, Dowager Empress Cixi (Tz'u-Hsi) was obliged to institute reform but this was 'too little too late';
- Revolutionary groups such as Tongmenghui, under Sun Yat-sen (Sun Yixian), put forward a policy of reform that revolved around the three principles of democracy, nationalism and people's livelihood;
- The Revolution of 1911 had as its goal the implementation of these policies;
- Rather than stabilise the political state of affairs after the revolution the situation degenerated: Sun stepped down in favour of Yuan Shikai (Yuan Shih-k'ai), whose ultimate goal was to reinstate an imperial system;
- By 1923 Sun had assumed the presidency but he died in 1925. He had no success in curbing the power of the warlords in northern China;
- In the 1920s there was a movement to unite China. The New Culture Movement coalesced with the May Fourth Movement and this led to the emergence of two parties, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the Guomindang (GMD); both claimed their aims were unity and a democratic system of government;
- The First United Front collapsed in 1928. Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi) was determined to wipe out the Communists – this was his priority, not stabilising the political situation.

Question 2

How did the experiences of the Long March impact upon the Chinese Communist Party? (10 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

- The CCP was established in Shanghai in 1921. It was an urban-based party supported by the Communist International (Comintern);
- The underlying assumption of the CCP was that revolution would come from the urban workers (the orthodox view of revolution);
- According to the orders from the Russian Comintern, the CCP was expected to co-operate with the GMD. Trotsky ordered a series of communist uprisings in key Chinese cities: Nanchang and Changsha (Hunan Province);
- In 1931 the Ruijin Congress proclaimed the establishment of the Chinese Soviet Republic with Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) as Chairman. Mao did not follow the orthodox line of communism and, following the failed Autumn Uprising in Hunan, he stressed the revolutionary potential of the peasants;
- Following the Shanghai Massacre the remaining members of the CCP fled to the Jiangxi Soviet; after a series of encirclement campaigns the 100 000 communists broke out and commenced the Long March (only 8000 would finish it);
- After the Zunyi Conference in 1935, the CCP turned away from the 28 Bolsheviks' leftism and extremism by adopting Mao and his supporters' way, which was more flexible;
- Mao established the successful Red Army that used guerilla tactics and showed support for the peasants;
- The Long March established a myth which bolstered the CCP. It reinforced Mao's belief that men with the proper will, spirit and revolutionary consciousness could defeat seemingly insurmountable odds;
- The Long March was a great propaganda exercise. The message of communism was spread across twelve provinces; in the process land redistribution and peasant revolution began. The March was 'a manifesto, an agitation corps and seeding machine'.

Part 2 – Creating a new society

China [1949–1976 death of Mao]

Question 3

Representation: Women of the Shihchiching People’s Commune harvest the corn crop, 1958.

- a. Identify two ways in which this photograph suggests that the Great Leap Forward was a success. (2 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

- Huge surplus of food, healthy people.

- b. Identify two ways in which the photograph suggests that the Chinese people supported the Great Leap Forward. (2 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

- Working together, laughing; a collaborative effort.

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

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

Mention the following points:

- Collectivisation was an important aspect of CCP land policy. In 1953 the government began pooling people’s labour, land and implements. By 1956, ninety-six per cent of all peasant households had become members of a collective;
- The Great Leap Forward (GLF) was launched on the premise that rapid modernisation could be accomplished through the mobilisation of the unskilled masses;
- ‘Walk on Two Legs’ was a policy of self-sufficiency in agriculture and industry;
- In 1958 the first commune was established and in the following months co-operatives were organised into communes across the country, with each composed of about thirty co-operatives and 25 000 people;
- The commune confiscated private property and took over administration of nurseries, schools and healthcare. People ate in communal kitchens;
- Commune members were encouraged to consume the food, buoyed by the propaganda that yields had surpassed targets (seen in representation).

- d. How useful is the representation in understanding the reasons for, and the outcomes of, the Great Leap Forward? In your response refer to different assessments of this period in China. (10 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

Discuss the following:

- The representation focuses on the agricultural prong of the GLF but the other aspect was industrial production, which drew peasants away from the fields to work on large-scale communal projects such as building dams, constructing roads and smelting iron in backyard furnaces;
- The photo suggests that the peasants joined the communes willingly; however, many were in fact reluctant to do so as they did not want to relinquish private property. John King Fairbank points to the irony that the revolution freed the peasant from the landlord but that the state became the new landlord;
- Mao instituted the GLF so as to accelerate the development of the economy;
- Initially the projects appeared to fulfil revolutionary ideals but systemic problems emerged; whereas the peasants had been frugal, now they were encouraged to 'eat like kings'. The resultant shortages were exacerbated because of the effort put into steel production;
- Tried and tested agrarian practices were replaced by the experimental theories of the Russian agricultural scientist Trofim Lysenko;
- People inflated food production figures to bring credit to their commune: Jonathan Spence says that 'the language also was self-sustaining as observers caught the mood that they knew party leaders wanted';
- The effects of the GLF were catastrophic. Famine was widespread; Jasper Becker estimates that between thirty and eighty million people died. The official report of the Central Committee of the CCP (26 August 1959) recognised that the figures published previously for economic achievement during 1958 were exaggerated by forty to fifty per cent. The CCP still claims that natural calamities were an important contributor to 'the lean and bitter years' but now admits to sixteen million deaths as a result of the GLF.

SECTION B: REVOLUTION TWO

America

Part 1 – Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events

[1763–1776]

Question 1

Representation: *Writing the Declaration of Independence, 1776.*

- a. Identify two people (seen in the representation) who were charged with drafting the Declaration of Independence. (2 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

- Any two of Benjamin Franklin, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson (shown in order from left to right).

- b. Identify two details of the representation that suggest the drafting was an important occasion. (2 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

- Attire of the men, setting of the room, discarded paper indicating that many drafts have been made, earnest faces of the men suggesting the task is important.

- c. Using your own knowledge and the representation, describe the process whereby the Americans declared their independence. (6 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

Mention the following:

- The Second Continental Congress was still meeting in May 1776, one year after it had reconvened. Some of the colonies had called for independence but there was no consensus on this issue when in June 1776 Richard Henry Lee called for a declaration of independence, foreign alliances and a confederation of states;
- In the absence of consensus a committee consisting of John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman and Robert R. Livingston was appointed to draft an appropriate declaration to be put to Congress (three of these are seen in the representation);
- The Declaration of Independence that was approved by delegates of the Second Continental Congress was largely the work of Thomas Jefferson (the figure standing in the representation);
- The Declaration of Independence can be divided into three sections: the first highlights the revolutionary ideals of the colonists and their assertions of their rights; the second includes a list of transgressions of King George III; and the third articulates the rights of the United States as a sovereign state;
- The draft was then presented to the Congress. It was ratified on 2 (or 4) July as the formal instrument of separation from Great Britain.

- d. Discuss the extent to which this representation presents a reliable view of the events of July 1776. In your response refer to different views of the significance of the Declaration of Independence. (10 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

Discuss the following points:

- The painting represents a romantic view of the writing of the Declaration of Independence and does not allude to the division in Congress about the action to be taken after Britain had issued the Coercive Acts;
- The first Continental Congress had failed to come to any agreement about whether the colonies should separate from Britain and Congress sent a second document to King George in July 1775 known as the 'Olive Branch Petition': it proclaimed loyalty to the King, though not to Parliament, and asked him to intercede on their behalf so that peace could be secured;
- After the events of Lexington-Concord and Bunker Hill, when the conflict showed no signs of abating, more pressure was exerted by the more radical elements for separation. Yet when the drafting committee was convened there was no guarantee that separation would occur;
- Historians generally agree that the formulation of the Declaration of Independence was a historic moment in the revolution;
- Gordon S. Wood claims that the Declaration of Independence was a brilliant expression of Enlightenment ideals, particularly when it stated 'that all men are created equal: that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness'. These 'truths' seemed self-evident, even to eighteenth-century Americans divided by distinctions of status and confronted with the glaring contradiction of black slavery;
- Hugh Brogan says that 'Jefferson had produced a masterpiece: one of the great achievements of human spirit ... It remains an inspiration to all democrats today and especially to Americans.'

France

Part 1 – Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events

[1781–4 August 1789]

Question 1

Representation: *Departure of the Three Orders for Versailles, 3rd May 1789.*

- Identify two social groups portrayed in the representation. (2 marks)
- What is the artist suggesting about the relationship between the three estates at this time? (2 marks)
- Using your own knowledge, identify the event referred to in the representation and describe how it came about. (6 marks)
- To what extent is this representation useful in understanding the causes of tension and conflict generated in the Old Regime in France? (10 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

This is an interesting and challenging image from 1789 that shows members of the three ‘estates’ or orders’ on their way to the Estates-General in May 1789, with the reign of King Louis XVI symbolised by a stone ball (as in similar representations).

Question ‘a’ is fairly straightforward. The character on the left holding a sword clearly represents the Second Estate (nobility), while the figure facing him in the upper seat, in religious garb, represents the First Estate (clergy).

Question ‘b’ is little more difficult. Mention any two of the following:

- While there is some degree of unity between the estates – in that they are all on the same carriage – there is division evident in their relative positions and the symbols accompanying them;
- The nobleman wields a sword and is close to the ‘cargot’, the boulder that represents the Bourbon (royal) dynasty;
- The clergyman shares similar elevation to the nobleman;
- The driver represents the Third Estate (commoners), with a sheep underneath him, suggesting farm work. The commoner is doing the work while the others sit in comfort and are trumpeted by a herald.

Question ‘c’ requires students to apply their contextual knowledge of the period and consider the lead-up to the Estates-General, which opened on 5 May 1789. For this question one should identify that the carriage is on its way to the first meeting of the Estates-General since 1614, an event that prompted considerable excitement. One might discuss the preliminary concerns of the participants regarding voting and consider the role of the following events/factors in the build-up to the Estates-General:

- The aggravating events of the first (Feb–May 1787) and the second (Nov–Dec 1788) Assembly of Notables, which contributed to the calling for the Estates-General;
- The call for the Estates-General and consequential drafting of the *Cahiers de Doleances* (Feb 1789), allowed the Third Estate to voice its grievances and, as such, publicised the inequalities present in France;
- The publication of Emmanuel-Joseph Sieyès’ *What is the Third Estate?* in January 1789.

Question ‘d’ asks students to determine how useful this representation is in painting a complete picture of the tensions that led to the French Revolution. For this question consider the following:

- The representation is useful in that it puts in visual form many of the grievances of the Third Estate: the common people are driving the carriage, that is, doing the work and playing servant to the other estates, bearing the burden of responsibility for the entire carriage (nation) including the stone ball symbolising the debt caused by the royal family;
- The representation is also useful because it clearly illustrates the division of the three estates and the respective privileges enjoyed by the nobility and clergy;
- However, one could also mount an argument that the representation shows unity of sorts, in that the three orders were travelling in the same direction together. Certainly, Simon Schama points to reformist ideas circulated by the First and Second Estates – such as members of the Assembly of Notables, who he calls the ‘first revolutionaries’, and Abbé Sieyès – which indicate that the Third Estate was not alone in its quest for revolution and that not all nobility/clergy were complicit in oppression;
- Marxist historians such as George Rudé and Albert Soboul might find the image limited in value because it does not illustrate the impoverishment and anger of the Third Estate at the time, and its desire for equality. The driver is quite well-dressed, and though he is in a servile position (as driver) he does not seem unhappy or poorly fed;
- Overall, the representation raises subtle questions about the relationship between the three estates in France under the Old Regime but has limited usefulness in portraying the most pressing grievances of the Third Estate.

Russia

Part 1 – Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events

[1905–October 1917]

Question 1

Extract: Leon Trotsky, *The History of the Russian Revolution*, 1930.

- Identify two things that Trotsky believed caused Tsarism to falter by 1905. (2 marks)
- Identify two things that, according to Trotsky, caused the 1905 Revolution to fail. (2 marks)
- Using your own knowledge, explain the chain of events that allowed Tsarism to survive the 1905 Revolution in Russia. (6 marks)
- Evaluate to what extent this extract is useful in understanding the course and outcomes of the 1905 Revolution. Refer to other views in your response. (10 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

This commentary, published well after the Russian Revolution, refers to the impact of the 1905 Revolution. One should immediately recognise the political allegiances of the author and be wary of the conclusions made.

For Question ‘a’ one might choose two of the following factors identified by Trotsky as having threatened the stability of the Tsarist state:

- The Russo-Japanese War;
- The workers’ organisation (independent of the bourgeoisie) of mass movements/protests;
- The formation of workers’ Soviets;
- Peasant uprisings;
- The support of soldiers for the Soviets.

For Question ‘b’, mention two of the following:

- The lack of experience and/or confidence of revolutionaries;
- The failure of the bourgeoisie to support the common people;
- The compromise offered by Tsar Nicholas II to the people because of the two factors above.

Question ‘c’ requires an application of contextual knowledge of the period and consideration of the factors and events that led to the survival of Tsarism in 1906–14. One should identify that the 1905 revolutionaries were appeased by the October Manifesto and the convocation of a State Duma (include a quote from the Manifesto) and discuss the activities of the Tsar in wresting back authority/popular support.

Refer to at least three of the following points:

- The reissuing of the Fundamental laws in 1906, particularly Articles 4 and 9;
- The closure of the first two Dumas (1906 and 1907 respectively) and the ‘stacking’ of the third and fourth, thus re-establishing the Tsar’s rule;
- The economic recovery that Russia enjoyed during Stolypin’s prime ministership (1905–11);

- The return to authoritarian rule under Stolypin (i.e. 'the Stolypin necktie');
- The return to favour of the Romanovs in the build-up to the 300th anniversary of their rule.

In Question 'd' one should determine how useful the extract is in explaining the course and consequences of the 1905 Revolution. Consider the following:

- The extract is of limited use as it was prepared by Trotsky, who wished to link the success of the 1917 Revolution with a Marxist-inspired proletariat that had gained class-consciousness and was 'inevitably' acting out its role in historical progress, thereby making his claims highly dubious;
- The extract would suit a Soviet version of the events of 1905, such as that given by Peter Kropotkin and the CPSU;
- Some revisionist historians would say there is some merit in Trotsky's claim that there was division between revolutionaries; they would not, however, support his claim that the people wanted more than a Duma;
- Other historians, particularly those from the Liberal school, would argue that the Tsar's response to 1905 was clear evidence of his willingness to adapt. This conflicts with the Marxist belief that the people of Russia wanted further revolution.

China

Part 1 – Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events

[1898–1949]

Question 1

Extract: The Box Protocol, 1901

- Identify one financial and one military requirement for China stated in the Boxer Protocol. (2 marks)
- Identify two ways in which the Boxer Protocol humiliated China. (2 marks)
- Using your own knowledge and the extract, explain the causes and outcomes of the Boxer Rebellion. (6 marks)
- Evaluate the usefulness of this representation as evidence to explain factors which led to the demise of the Old Regime in China. In your answer refer to different views about the development of a revolutionary situation in China. (10 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

For Question 'a' mention two of the following:

- China would pay the Foreign Powers an indemnity of 450 million taels;
- China would prohibit the importation of arms and ammunition into its territory.

For Question 'b' mention two of the following:

- China had to punish officials and erect statues of foreign victors;
- An area was to be set aside for exclusive use by the Foreign Legations;
- Chinese forts at Taku were to be destroyed.

For Question 'c' refer to the following points:

- China had been unable to resist foreign encroachment in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries;
- The Boxer movement began in 1898 with a band of Chinese nationalists called 'the Righteous and Harmonious fists' or Boxers. Their name came from pantomimes they performed showing the Chinese people as victors against their enemies. They practised boxing skills that they believed made them impervious to bullets;
- The Boxers launched a series of attacks in northern China with calls to 'overthrow the Qing; destroy the foreigners'. These attacks were fiercely anti-Western and anti-Christian, and were supported by many of the poverty-stricken people; they also had the support of Dowager Empress Cixi. Attacks were made on foreign churches and legations and they killed Chinese Christians;
- The treaty powers (Germany, France, Britain, Belgium, Russia, Japan, United States) sent troops to occupy Beijing in August 1900. Cixi ordered Qing troops to block the advance of the expedition while the Boxers rampaged and even attacked the walled city. The German minister to China was killed;
- In response, the allied foreign governments sent 19 000 soldiers to Beijing and captured the city in August. Two-hundred-and-fifty foreigners were killed;
- The Empress and her court fled west. The troops looted and pillaged the Qing's palaces and private residences;
- The foreign troops were victorious and a peace treaty was signed in 1901. It was dictated by the Western powers and Japan in such a way as to humiliate China. Ten high officials were executed and 100 others

punished. The Protocol was tough. For example, the Chinese had to build a monument to the slain Europeans but it was the indemnity of \$330 million to be paid over thirty-nine years at four per cent interest (total = \$700 million) that was financially crippling. Payment of the indemnity meant there was little money left for investment.

For Question 'd' cover these points:

- The Boxer Protocol is very useful in understanding the reasons for the demise of the Old Regime in China. It highlights the encroachment of foreigners into China and the effect of this on Chinese culture and the powerlessness of China to repel the foreigners;
- Immanuel Hsu concludes that the Boxer Rebellion occurred in 'an atmosphere of superstition, economic depression, extreme privation, public anger over foreign imperialism, and resentment of the missionaries';
- Hsu also says, 'In retrospect, it becomes apparent that the Boxer movement was propelled by the combined forces of the reactionary Manchu court, the die-hard conservative officials and gentry, and the ignorant and superstitious people. It was a foolish and unreasoned outburst of emotion and anger against foreign imperialism, yet one cannot overlook the patriotic element inherent in it. Marxist historians today consider the Boxer movement a primitive form of a patriotic peasant uprising, with the right motive but wrong methods';
- McCrae and White claim the Boxer Rebellion occurred because of extreme hardship, a rising by anti-social elements displaced by changes since 1840, activities of the missionaries and superstition.

Part 2 – Creating a new society

Question 2

In the space provided, write a short essay on ONE of the essay topics below. You MUST write on the revolution you have chosen for Section B. In your essay provide evidence and discuss a range of views. (20 marks)

America [1776–1789]

‘Victory in the Revolutionary War did not automatically mean a victory for the American Revolution.’ Do you agree? What challenges did the Americans face in the Revolutionary War (1775–1783) and to what extent did their victory in this conflict achieve the aims of the American Revolution?

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

Introduction

At the beginning of the American Revolutionary War (War of Independence) it did not seem that the Colonies would secure victory. On paper Britain held all the advantages, with a large navy and well-equipped army. In contrast the colonies were keenly disadvantaged: they lacked a trained army, seasoned generals and the infrastructure to support an extended war. Yet, with the aid of the French, and under the inspired leadership of Washington, they did succeed and in 1783 the Treaty of Paris was signed. However, at this stage the American Revolution was not secure and it seemed that the Union would disintegrate without a common foe to battle.

Raise the following points in the body of the essay

- America did not have the infrastructure that would assure success: there was no developed industry, cohesion or unity, and there were no sources of central funds, foreign allies or a national army;
- On paper the military struggle seemed to be weighted towards Great Britain’s favour, with its population of 11 million compared to the 2.5 million colonists. Britain had the largest navy in the world and was considered the ‘super-power’ of its day. British forces numbered 30 000 in 1776 and grew to nearly 50 000 in 1778, supported by 30 000 hired mercenaries (many German). The Native Americans sometimes supported Britain but they were unreliable as an ally. Britain had a substantial navy and both the infantry and marines were well trained with seasoned and experienced leaders;
- Not all colonists supported the war with Britain: about one-third opposed it, one-third supported it and the remaining third were undecided as to where their loyalties lay. In fighting the war, the rebels would have to fight not only ‘redcoats’ but loyalists; added to this many colonists remained indifferent to the outcome;
- On the other hand, Great Britain had to carry on a war 3000 miles across the Atlantic: there were communication and logistical problems in undertaking a war so far from home. The British were unfamiliar with the territory of America and found the terrain wild and unforgiving;
- The British Army was schooled in conventional manoeuvres and these were less effective in the American colonies. The Continental Army engaged in non-conventional techniques;
- The fragmented and local character of authority in America inhibited decisive action by Britain; there was no ‘nerve centre’ to capture;
- After 1778 putting down the rebellion became secondary to Britain’s global struggle with the Bourbon powers of France and Spain;
- American leaders like George Washington, Nathanael Greene, Henry Knox, Philip Schuyler, Benedict Arnold and the Marquis de Lafayette, a Frenchman, were committed to the cause;
- France entered the war in 1778 and in 1780 committed an expeditionary force of 6000. The entry of the

French into the war was integral to the victory of the Americans. The French navy was vital in cutting off English land forces from seaborne supplies and reinforcements. The English were surrounded at Yorktown and the final surrender of the British forces by Lord Cornwallis occurred on 19 October 1781.

Conclusion

From the outset the English objective was never as simple and clear-cut as the Americans' desire for independence. In the end independence came to mean more to the Americans than reconquest did to the English. After the war there were a variety of issues the Americans had to confront: an economic recession; the Articles of Confederation, which formed a loose alliance of the states but did not confer sufficient power on the central government; the nature of the Constitution; and disagreements between the federalists and anti-federalists. The Revolutionary War, while not solving these problems, was a crucial step without which the American Revolution would not have succeeded.

France [5 Aug 1789–1795]

'The new regime dealt with crisis in the same manner it forged the revolution – violently.' To what extent is this an accurate assessment of the new society created in France?

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

One could agree with the statement and successfully argue that the revolution in France was founded on violence and that the new society used violence to repel crises. Alternatively, one could break the statement down and argue that while the new society may have dealt with crises violently, it was not a revolution forged in violence. Or, one could completely disagree with the claim and argue that neither the creation of the revolution nor the manner in which the new society dealt with crises were inherently violent. Below is how you might argue the middle option:

Introduction

The French Revolution of 1789, though liberal in its inception, was hijacked by violence brought on by radical fervour and 'emergency measures' that made the catch-cry of 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity' just a memory. Beset as it was by crises both internal and external, the new regime found itself having to take more and more extreme measures in the pursuit of its egalitarian principles. It was in these measures, however, that France discarded its more liberal aspirations: from 1793 onwards, political power for all people became a practical impossibility. William Doyle, echoing the common revisionist opinion, asks 'Was then, the Revolution worth it? For most ordinary French subjects turned by it into citizens, it cannot have been.' Indeed, the revolutionaries' responses to crises, shallow and impulsive, at their worst created a bloody revolution and a nation whose streets ran red with blood.

Refer to the following points in the body of the essay:

- Dispute the claim by Schama and others that violence was an inherent aspect of the revolution, by focussing on the liberal actions and ambitions of 1789 and the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen (DORMAC);
- The crisis created by refractory priests' responses to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was not initially violent: it was certainly galling for those priests and their supporters (the King specifically) but it was handled 'legally' and without violence until 1792;
- Violent responses did creep into the revolution at about the time France was faced with war;
- Firstly, this international crisis was responded to violently. Discuss the events of 1792 leading into the Terror;
- Secondly, the response to the King's attempt to flee, the growing suspicion of invasion and the real

threat of the Duke of Brunswick resulted in a most violent end for the royal family;

- Thirdly, the Jacobins responded to economic crisis in a blunt and metaphorically violent manner by contradicting the former bourgeois concept of *laissez-faire* and introduced the very strict Law of Maximum – restricting prices for goods, regulating wages;
- Finally, during the Terror, real or imagined internal dissent led to anti-republic, counter-revolutionary activities in civil war and Republican armies were sent to suppress this revolt. The results were utter atrocities, brutalities and bloodshed.

Conclusion

Comment on whether the Terror caused the French Revolution to veer off course as some historians claim, or whether violence was a ‘cancer’ from the beginning.

Russia [Nov 1917–1924]

Richard Pipes: ‘[The Bolsheviks] would not admit they were wrong; whenever things did not turn out as they desired, they did not compromise but instead intensified the violence’. Do you agree with Pipes?

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

One could agree with the statement and successfully argue that the Russian revolutionaries did nothing but increase the violence whenever they were faced with a crisis. Many examples abound to support this, Kronstadt being the most obvious. Alternatively, one could argue that while violence was a reality in the new regime’s response to crises, it was not the only response: the Bolsheviks were successful in maintaining their revolution through the use of propaganda, politicking and genuine public support. This latter option would be more amenable to comparing different views of the revolution.

Regardless of the approach taken, mention the following points in the body of the essay

Non-violent or compromised responses to crises:

- The Bolsheviks legitimised their authority in the initial stages by instituting a regimented infrastructure made up of Politburo, Orgburo and Vesenkha;
- Bolsheviks legislated and hence ratified their authority through the First Decrees and the Brest-Litovsk Treaty;
- They embarked on a propaganda campaign: agitprop, posters, films;
- They were flexible enough to turn to the New Economic Policy (NEP). By 1921 it became evident that rather than aiding agricultural and industrial production, War Communism had suppressed its growth and at the Tenth Party Congress, Lenin introduced what he acknowledged as ‘two steps forward, one step back’: his NEP. Because the new plan involved reversing some of the centralisation established under War Communism and allowing market trade to resurface, Lenin was criticised even by Party members such as Trotsky, who announced it to be ‘the first sign of the degeneration of Bolshevism’. Yet here again we can see Lenin’s pragmatism and ability to hold tenaciously to power. In this way he distinguished himself from the Tsarist regime by being able to change, introducing the view that ‘we must not be afraid of Communists “learning” from bourgeois specialists’ and showing flexibility fatally absent from Nicholas II’s rule;
- Lenin provided peace but at the cost of a civil war: WWI was dealt with ambivalently, as seen in Trotsky’s catchcry ‘no peace, no war’, caught between their desire for a world-wide revolution and the need to consolidate Russia’s uprising, an issue that would divide the Party many times. The signing of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty on 3 March 1918 – which deprived Russia of not only twenty-seven per cent of its farmland and sixty-two million people, but seventy-four per cent of its iron ore and coal – has been presented by liberal historians as an early indication of Lenin’s political expediency.

Violent responses:

- The Bolsheviks ordered the creation of a security force for the regime, the CHEKA, which was brutal in its policing;
- The Communist response to the challenges of poverty, famine and general economic management was the establishment of the Vesenkha and the institution of War Communism. The latter, whilst ideologically the closest Russia came to achieving its communist goals, was brutal to the people. The requisitioning of grain from peasants to feed industrial workers was justified by Lenin, who stated that ‘the primary task in a ruined country is to save the working people.’ This repressive policy, with its understanding that ‘he who does not work, shall not eat’ has been condemned by some historians;
- The Bolsheviks fought off the possibility of counter-revolution by violently dealing with the royal family;
- They were ruthless with opposition and instilled significant discipline in the army; they did not hesitate to make examples of their own (i.e. Kronstadt sailors);

Conclusion

One might argue that, on balance, the sheer number of fatalities and the evidence of widespread privation that occurred during Bolshevik rule clearly support Pipes’ argument.

China [1949–1976]

Mao Zedong: ‘To rebel is justified’. To what extent was ‘rebellion’ a component of China’s revolution after 1949?

GUIDE TO RESPONSES**Introduction**

After securing power in China in 1949, Mao Zedong needed to establish a new government. The ideology driving the People’s Republic of China was communism modified to Chinese conditions: Maoism. Implied in this was the concept of continual revolution. Throughout the Maoist era attempts were made to turn China back to the socialist path and rebellion was used as a technique to achieve this. Yet the government had no intention of allowing the people to gain control: policies such as the agrarian reforms of the 1950s, the Hundred Flowers Campaign and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) were promoted as movements to revitalise the revolution but there were other agendas operating in each case. Mao promoted rebellion but he really wanted control.

Use the following examples in the body of the essay

- Almost from its inception the new regime invoked continual revolution. Agrarian reforms of the 1950s liberated towns and villages and peasants were encouraged to seize the landlords’ land and mete out punishment. This approach, *fanshen*, was a reversal of the traditional order. Landlords faced ‘speak bitterness’ meetings. At first the government encouraged a non-violent approach but after the Korean War there was greater violence perpetrated against counter-revolutionaries. It is estimated that 1–2 million individuals were humiliated and executed;
- The authorities also encouraged urban mass movements. An important aspect of this was the degree to which it fostered a climate of distrust that broke down established personal relationships and resulted in several thousand suicides. The effect of this pressure was to undermine existing patterns of social relations (*quanxi*) or personal relations based on family, school and workplace ties. These institutions could no longer guarantee protection against the demands of the state. ‘The campaigns indicated to broad sections of society the full extent of the Party’s aims for social transformation’;
- The Hundred Flowers Campaign was another example of people being encouraged to rebel. Mao claimed the campaign emphasised independent thinking and free discussion, and promised intellectuals

liberty to express opinions of science, art and literature. As part of a general improvement in their working conditions (more access to foreign publications, more free time and scope for initiative) intellectuals were urged to voice criticisms of the Party cadres who had been lording it over them. Mao was shocked by the torrent of criticism and announced after only five weeks that ‘the bourgeois must be criticized for spreading wrong ideas or “poisonous weeds”’. A counter-attack on the ‘rightists’ or non-Party critics was launched in the form of the Anti-Rightist Campaign. Suspects were subjected to violent press attacks and large-scale struggle meetings; many were forced into confessions. Altogether 550 000 individuals were labelled ‘rightists’ and the psychological pressures of struggle sessions resulted in a significant number of suicides. ‘Reform through labour’ was meted out on a large scale;

- Through the Cultural Revolution Mao hoped to turn China back to the ‘socialist road’. He called on his supporters to attack the ‘rightist’ Party leaders and all other ‘bourgeois influences’, especially the writers, artists and teachers who were ‘training their successors for a capitalist comeback.’ In the political chaos that followed, the real issues of the policy debate between the so-called rightists and the Maoists became lost in hysterical slogan-chanting, and even outright fighting;
- A series of massive rallies began in Beijing, bringing together thirteen million Red Guards from all over China. The Red Guard organisations drew on urban youth and large numbers of young people who had been sent ‘down to the countryside’ in the early 1960s and were taking advantage of the chaos to return to the cities. Films of the events present vivid images of Red Guard youths chanting revolutionary slogans, tears streaming down their faces, others waving their copies of Mao’s quotations. In August 1966 Mao issued an order: bombard the headquarters. The Red Guards were urged to attack the top leaders of the CCP. This included President Liu Shaoqi (Liu Shao-ch’i, who eventually died of brutal treatment in a prison cell) and General Secretary Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-p’ing);
- When Mao addressed the Red Guards in October 1966 he said, ‘You must let politics take command, go to the masses, and be with the masses. You must conduct the GPCR even better.’ The Red Guards dedicated themselves to the elimination of ‘old thought, old culture, old customs and old habits.’ They wrote big character posters, ransacked private property, rampaged cities, renamed streets, attacked those with modern attire and haircuts, and humiliated foreign diplomats. The mobilisation of the Red Guards caused chaos in China. Mao directed the PLA to move into universities, the middle schools and higher classes of education to give military and political training. However, he directed the Red Guards to continue stirring up trouble. The official tally of deaths during the GPCR, issued in 1980, was 34 800.

Conclusion

Rebellion was a characteristic of China throughout the period 1949–76. It was orchestrated by the Party and was designed to keep China under control. The message was that it was right to rebel, yet the rationale of the Party was to weed out counter-revolutionaries and steer China back to the socialist path.