

HISTORY: Revolutions

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

The following guide is to be used in conjunction with the 2011 HTAV Sample Exam for VCE Revolutions. 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

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

Question 1

Using three or four points, explain the importance of the Proclamation Declaration of 1763 as a starting point in the hostilities between Britain and her American Colonies. (10 marks)

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- Between 1754 and 1761 there was conflict in the American Colonies between the British and the French. It began as a territorial dispute on the Ohio River.
- Colonial settlements along the frontier were endangered and they could not have survived without outside help. The British Government deployed a number of troops and naval support while the Colonial Assemblies volunteered men, munitions and funds to the war effort in support of the British.
- The treaty of 1763 officially ended the conflict: Britain acquired the territories west of the Appalachians. The cost had been substantial: the war had run up the National Debt to £4,688,177 per annum (Hugh Brogan) and Britain had spent itself close to bankruptcy defeating France in the Seven Years' War.
- The British government turned its attention to tightening control over the colonies, which it did through the Proclamation Declaration of 1763. This restricted settlement to the east of the Appalachian Mountains; all territory to the west was 'reserved to the Indians.'
- Under the Proclamation Declaration, no European was to cross into the territory or lay claim to land in this area, while those who had taken up residence were to return east of the line.
- The Proclamation Declaration was met with disdain by the colonists who saw it as a deliberate attempt to restrict colonial expansion and deny access to precious land.
- The cost of paying and provisioning 7500 troops in a series of forts on the Appalachian line was estimated at £320 000 per year. Britain needed revenues to pay for the war and their ongoing protection and looked to the colonies.
- Also, the colonial trade had become more and more important to the British economy, and more profitable British politicians sought to exploit colonial tax revenues to offset the cost of administering the colonies. The elements were there for conflict (Howard Zinn).

Question 2

Using three or four points, explain how Congress justified in the Declaration of Independence the cutting of ties between the American colonies and the British government. (10 marks)

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- Some of the colonies had called for independence prior to 1776 but there was no consensus on this issue.
- 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.
- The preamble begins with the assertion that people are born with unalienable rights; among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and that when a government became destructive of these rights then it was the right of the people to dissolve these bonds. Hence this was the justification for seeking independence.
- Yet, Congress held that it was incumbent upon them to prove how their rights had been usurped. What followed was a litany of complaints against King George III and his parliament which were seen as acts of tyranny. These included the taxing of colonies without their consent, the sending of armies among a people during peacetime (Quartering Act), the dissolution of elected assemblies (Massachusetts Government Act), cutting off trade (Boston Port Act) and suspension of trial by jury (Judiciary Act).
- In the final part of the Declaration of Independence the Congress declared itself representatives of the United States of America. This was the first time the colonists referred to themselves as free and independent of British sovereignty.
- Having dissolved their relationship with Britain they declared their rights to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do.
- The Declaration of Independence formalised the right of colonies to independence and was in effect a declaration of war.

Creating a new society – American Revolution 1776 to 1789

Question 3

Circular of John Hancock (President of Congress) to the Assemblies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Connecticut, and Rhode-Island, and Conventions of Pennsylvania, Delaware

a. According to Hancock, what **two** things made the enemy so strong? (2 marks)

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- i. Their ‘determination to make a powerful attack’ on the colonies.
- ii. ‘Superior strength’; ‘collection of a whole force from every part of the continent.’

b. What was at stake if the Americans did not exert themselves in their response to the crisis? (2 marks)

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- i. ‘Our religion.’
- ii. ‘Our liberty’; ‘the peace and prosperity’ of our people.

c. Using your knowledge and the extract, describe the challenges that confronted the Americans in the revolutionary war with Britain. (6 marks)

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- The war was a crisis for the colonies and there was no guarantee that America would win the war (this is the tone taken in Hancock’s circular, where the situation is painted as critical).
- On paper Great Britain held a number of advantages: a population of 11 million compared to the 2.5 million who lived in the colonies; the largest navy in the world; and a reputation as the ‘superpower’ of its day.
- Britain had experienced leaders: General Gage (replaced by General Howe), his brother Admiral Howe, Henry Clinton, General Cornwallis. British forces numbered 30 000 in 1776 and grew to nearly 50 000 in 1778, supported by 30 000 hired mercenaries (see reference in document to scouring the globe for recruits). The Native-American sometimes supported the British. Britain had a substantial navy and both the infantry and marines were well trained with seasoned and experienced leaders.
- In contrast the leaders of the continental forces (Washington, Greene, Henry Knox, Benedict Arnold) were inexperienced amateurs. The colonial leaders faced the problem of forging an effective military force from ‘a rag-tag mob of part-time militiamen, urban workers, farmers, artisans and teenage boys.’ The colonial forces lacked men with training; their most recent experience was in the French/Indian War of 1765-71.
- American forces were seriously outnumbered: initially there were 5000 troops supported by state/ colonial militia. The Continental Army numbered 20 000 men but at its lowest ebb it contained ‘barely a thousand souls.’ This was bolstered when France entered the war in 1778 and in 1780 committed an expeditionary force of 6000.
- There was a distinct lack of resources to fight the war: food, uniforms, weapons, ammunition, horses, transports, equipment and money. The British used their navy to blockade the ports. The issue of finance was critical throughout the war. Congress had no taxing power and the states had to borrow abroad. Conversely, the British and French forces both paid in coins, while the Continental Army paid with printed money that devalued in the course of the war. (The circular also alludes to ‘our affairs ... so

extremely critical that delay may be attended with fatal consequences.’)

- The attitude of the soldiers was frequently poor and undisciplined.
- There was also division between the colonial troops due to sectional rivalry and parochialism. This resulted in disunity and suspicion.

d. To what extent does Hancock’s circular provide a reliable representation of the threat facing the United States of America in 1776? In your answer refer to different views on why America won the War of Independence. (10 marks)

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- If anything Hancock’s assessment underestimates the dire situation in which the colonies found themselves in the first months of the war. Enlistments had been slow in 1775, were seasonal (Paine refers to the ‘summer soldier’ in his Crisis document).
- The Continental Army faced numerous difficulties: a lack of resources, of adequately trained men and officers, of funds to pay the men, of unity to the cause. They also had to overcome sectional rivalries which limited unity and loyalists who were opposed to independence and war.
- In August 1776 the British landed at Long Island with 32 000 English and Hessian troops (the largest expeditionary force in England’s history up to that time). The result was a complete American defeat. The Americans suffered over a thousand casualties in one day. The only thing that saved the colonials was retreat.
- In the following months conditions became worse, although Washington secured a psychological victory at Trenton in Dec 1776.

Reasons for the American victory are numerous and historians place emphasis on different factors:

- Debate surrounds the role of Washington. Gordon Wood says: ‘Washington’s ultimate success as the American Commander-in-Chief, however, never stemmed from his military abilities ... Instead, it was his character and political talent and judgement that mattered most. His stoicism, dignity, and perseverance in the face of seemingly impossible odds came to symbolise the entire revolutionary cause ...’ Likewise David McCulloch claims that Washington held the army together and gave it ‘spirit’ through the most desperate of times. He adds that Washington was not a brilliant strategist or tactician, nor a gifted orator, not an intellectual. McCulloch claims that Washington made several serious mistakes in judgement but says he learned steadily from experience and never forgot what was at stake and he never gave up.
- Other factors, for example a ‘home-town’ advantage. The large area to be occupied meant that the limited British forces had to be spread across a large area by relatively small detachments. The local people were much better armed and more accustomed to using firearms than their European counterparts. Organised acts of resistance (guerrilla warfare) were effective in countering the British patrols. British outposts and foraging parties were constantly harassed and occasionally overwhelmed.
- The role of the French. France played a significant role in the revolutionary war, supplying sorely-needed funds, trained men, capable military advisers and a strong navy. The French navy supported by privateers was essential in cutting off British reinforcements and ensuring that the battle occurred on two fronts – land and sea. The entry of the French provided an ally and a psychological bolster for the colonials.

France

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

Question 1

Using three or four points, explain how economic crises between 1781 and 1788 created pressure for revolutionary change in France by 1789. (10 marks)

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While this question mentions 1789, it specifically asks students to concentrate on economic crises that occurred between 1781 and 1788, so students could make an opening statement about how 1789 was ripe for revolution because of the economic crises that led up to that year. They would then go on and address points like the following:

- The fiscal crisis that faced the monarchy and the respective comptrollers-general who tried to deal with it, beginning in 1781 with Jacques Necker's ill-fated attempt to balance the books with his publishing of the erroneous *Compte Rendu ai Roi*.
- Students could then discuss Necker's first dismissal and his public attack on the management of finances in a 'pamphlet war' with Calonne.
- This leads to Calonne's observation in 1786 that the 'country is on the verge of bankruptcy' and his approach to dealing with this situation, first through the Parlement, then through the convening of the two Assemblies of Notables in early 1787 and late 1788 respectively.
- The failure of these bodies to resolve the fiscal crisis left the government with little option other than calling for an Estates-General; this took place in late 1788.
- Alongside the government's crisis, the declining quality of harvests from 1784 to 1788 also created an economic crisis of sorts for the people of France in the form of access to basic foodstuffs. 'Bread riots' and active dissent from the people were the product of this.
- Students could conclude their response with a suggestion that escalating and recurring economic peril made the possibility of revolution far more likely by the end of 1788 and the calling of the Estates-General/ writing of the *cahiers d'oleances* provided the perfect forum for a formal articulation of their desire for change.

Question 2

Using three or four points, explain how the actions of Comte de Mirabeau contributed to the development of the French Revolution by July 1789. (10 marks)

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Mirabeau is mentioned in the VCE History Study Design but has not to date been referred to by name in a Revolutions exam – perhaps this is the year. He is a fascinating and influential individual and his actions certainly focussed the possibility of further revolution in late June 1789.

For this question students might consider some of the following points:

- The popularity of Honoré Gabriel Riqueti, Comte de Mirabeau, prior to 1789 as an agitator against royal absolutism; his pamphlets and treatises were very popular and in them he denounced the throne as despotic.
- Mirabeau was rejected as a potential delegate for the Estates-General by his fellow nobles which earned him further popularity amongst the Third Estate.
- So well regarded was he by the Third Estate that he was invited to stand for two Third Estate districts in the convocation of the estates and he agreed to stand for his home district of Aix.
- At the Estates-General he was a vocal critic of the process and the regard in which the Third Estate were held.
- When on 17 June the Third Estate, led by Mirabeau and Abbé Sieyès, announced themselves as the National Assembly, Mirabeau became their unofficial spokesman and he was quick to denounce the actions of King Louis XVI in calling on his troops to station themselves at the Champs de Mars. Mirabeau stated, 'A military force surrounds the assembly! Where are the enemies of the nation?'
- On 23 June, when advised of the displeasure of Louis XVI with the turn of events, Mirabeau replied, 'If you have orders to remove us from this hall, you must also get authority to use force, for we shall yield to nothing but to bayonets.' The king, on hearing this, declined to use force and eventually supported the aristocratic and clerical Estates' joining in the proceedings of a National Assembly, which took place four days later.
- By this time the king had unintentionally ratified the 'National Assembly' and it was to Mirabeau, as the head of the assembly, that the king addressed his remarks.

Creating a new society – French Revolution 5 August 1789 to 1795

Question 3

Albert Soboul writing about the need for Terror in the new society in France in *The French Revolution, 1787-1799* (1962), pp. 388-9

- a. Identify **two** groups the Terror was used against, according to Soboul. (2 marks)
- b. Identify **two** benefits that Soboul suggests were a result of implementing the policy of Terror. (2 marks)
- c. Using your own knowledge, outline how the policy of Terror was implemented in France between 1792 and 1793. (6 marks)
- d. Evaluate the reliability of the extract in accounting for the use of Terror in France in the new society. In your response refer to other views on the Terror. (10 marks)

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Soboul is a historian that most students will be familiar with – he is, in many ways, the most Marxist of the Marxist historians. In this extract he refers to the benefits of the Terror and his views would jar with those of a number of other historians.

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

- The rebels or traitors that opposed the revolution.
- Counter-revolutionaries.
- The aristocrats and their sympathisers who could not reconcile themselves with their new status in the new society.

Question b wants you to identify benefits that Soboul sees as a result of implementing the policy of Terror. These could be any two of the following:

- It restored government authority.
- Provided for public safety.
- Contributed to a feeling of national solidarity.
- Allowed the government to secure/manage the economy.
- Provided security for the welfare/future of the new society against its enemies.

Question c asks students to display their contextual knowledge of the period and refer to specific events. The question uses the phrase ‘policy of Terror’ so students should aim to describe government actions that brought the Terror to fruition rather than discuss acts of mob violence like the September Massacres of 1792.

Students could discuss the following:

- The build-up to the implementation of Terror in late 1792: arrest, trial and execution of the king.
- Minister for Justice Georges Danton’s call on 9 March 1793 ‘to embody terror, so the people don’t have to’ and the subsequent creation of Revolutionary Tribunals with emergency powers on 10 March, again by Danton.
- The fact that Terror was a response by the Jacobins who had gained control by 1793 to eradicate opposition and that it operated from an entirely legal framework and set up committees and laws that gradually diminished the liberty of the people.

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- The Committee of Public Safety, 6 April 1793, DANTON – please don't make the mistake that many students do and say that Robespierre created this committee; he did not join until 27 July 1793, exactly a year before his own demise!
- Other committees: Committee of General Security, Representatives on Mission and Watch Committees sent to rural areas.
- Specific laws that were created: Law of Suspects (17 September 1793); Law of the Maximum (29 September 1793); Laws of Frumaire (4 December 1793).

A response could look like the following:

The creation of the Committee of Public Safety (COPS) on 6 April 1793 introduced systemic control of all government process. COPS controlled government officials as well as ministers, and was responsible for the arrests of thousands. The Law of Suspects, passed on 17 September 1793, allowed for Revolutionary Tribunals that could summarily try people for treason. A further law, the Law of Maximum (29 September 1793), set a pricing limit on consumer goods. This law made it treasonous to sell goods above the set price; those found doing this could be arrested and fined. Another law of the Terror was the Law of 22 Prairial (10 June 1794) which gave the authorities the power to suspect almost anyone. Ironically, the powers of arrest were so significant that they facilitated the arrest of (then) member of COPS and revolutionary figurehead, Maximilien Robespierre.

Question d asks students to evaluate the reliability of the extract and students should recognise that this is a work by a historian with an agenda; therefore the representation is of diminished use. Nonetheless, students should identify what useful comments Soboul makes before highlighting how other historians would disagree with him.

For this question students might consider:

- That Soboul is of the opinion that the Terror was a positive and necessary element of revolution in France. As he states in another work, the Terror was needed for the final destruction of the old society.
- That Soboul recognises in this extract the impediments that faced the new society, i.e. they were at war at home and abroad and the Terror was necessary to impose on all citizens the rules demanded in the interests of public safety. He goes on to argue that there were citizens who were acting against the interests of public safety and that their 'selfish interests' were silenced. Finally, he argues that the Terror ultimately allowed the government to impose the controlled economy which was necessary for the war effort and for the safety of the nation. In this sense it was an important factor if victory was to be won. All of these points make the extract useful but they do contrast with some of the points made by other historians who argue that the Terror had no redeeming features.
- Historians such as Alfred Cobban are deeply suspicious of the Terror and disagree with Soboul that it was needed to destroy the old society or that it had any positive aspects. Cobban makes the point that 'the Terror became more and more a mindless, reasonless machine [and that] it fell increasingly and indiscriminately on all sections of the community.' He argues that the Terror was out of control and even after the war had been dealt with, the Terror continued unabated: 'The defeat of foreign enemies and the crushing of organised opposition inside France was therefore followed not by a [reduction] but by an intensification of the Terror.'
- Cobban is joined by a number of historians who focus on the negative aspects of the Terror, such as Doyle and Simon Schama. The latter argues the point that the Terror was not particularly 'new' in the new society and, indeed, that 'the Terror was 1789 with a higher body count.'

Russia

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

Question 1

Using three or four points, explain why Tsar Nicholas II agreed to grant a Duma to the people of Russia in his October Manifesto of 1905. (10 marks)

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Essentially, this question is asking you to recognise the acts of public rebellion and outcry that forced the Tsar to deliver the promise of a parliament (Duma) in his October Manifesto of 1905. Students would be wise to include three to four of the following events in detail:

- The march and petition that occurred on 9 (22) January, led by Father Georgei Gapon, to the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg. The march was a plea from over 100 000 people to address social and working conditions in Russia. The petition they intended to present to the Tsar specifically included the demand for a Duma.
- The manner in which this peaceful protest was dealt with (tsarist-sanctioned Cossacks firing upon the marchers, leaving hundreds dead) caused outcry and sympathy protests across Russia – the event was later named Bloody Sunday.
- Another act of rebellion occurred in June 1905, on the battleship *Potemkin*, which had a further impact on tsarism in Russia. Sailors, who were ostensibly complaining about the food they were forced to eat but actually expressing a disdain for the Tsar's involvement in a pointless war against the Japanese, mutinied. They sailed for the port city of Odessa where a general strike had been planned and, once again, the rebellion was brutally suppressed by government troops. Many of the sailors escaped with their lives and sought refuge in Romania, but their example further highlighted the antagonism towards tsarist rule.
- Students should conclude their response by arguing that Tsar Nicholas II signed his October Manifesto on 30 October 1905 in response to the incidents above but particularly in response to the General Strike that was conducted on 21 October, organised by (amongst others) the St. Petersburg Soviet, which encouraged workers to strike, to refuse to pay taxes and to withdraw their funds from banks. The Tsar, advised by Prime Minister Sergei Witte, had little choice.

Question 2

Using three or four points, explain how the actions of Leon Trotsky contributed to a revolutionary situation between July 1917 and October 1917. (10 marks)

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This question refers to a specific revolutionary leader and a short time period, so students should show a precise understanding of Trotsky's actions and involvement in events during July-October 1917.

For this question students should mention the following:

- It was in July 1917 that Trotsky, convinced by Lenin, left the Mensheviks and joined the Bolshevik movement.
- He was arrested along with many Bolsheviks in July-August for attempted rebellion, but released after only a short time.
- He quickly showed his organisational prowess and was an instrumental member of the Bolsheviks' Military Revolutionary Committee (MRC or Milrevcom).
- His skill for oratory attracted many members to the Bolshevik cause and he clearly played a hand in aligning the Bolshevik cause with that of the Soviets. This was assisted by the fact that he was one of the founding members of the Petrograd (St. Petersburg) Soviet, not to mention that by October 1917 he was reinstated as chairman of the Soviet. Bolshevik members of the Petrograd Soviet had increased from only 11% in February 1917 to almost 60% by September of that year – Trotsky's presence was a factor in this increase.
- As a member of the MRC, Trotsky took on the responsibility of organising the Red Guards that would later storm the Winter Palace – he turned the rabble of militiamen, foundry workers and dissidents into a regulated fighting force of some significance.
- Students could conclude by mentioning that Trotsky's skills and support for Lenin were critical in turning the failure of the July Days into the success of October.

Creating a new society – Russian Revolution November 1917 to 1924

Question 3

Robert Service writing about Lenin's actions and attitude in the first six months of the Bolshevik regime in *Lenin: A Biography* (2000), pp. 350-1

- a. Identify **two** reactions of the Russian workers and peasants to Bolshevik shifts in policy. (2 marks)
- b. Identify **two** reactions of the Bolsheviks to their realisation that they were a 'beleaguered political minority.' (2 marks)
- c. Using the extract and your own knowledge, outline what difficulties Lenin faced in maintaining power in the first six months of the Bolshevik government. (6 marks)
- d. Evaluate to what extent this extract is useful as a commentary on the actions and attitude of Lenin in the early stages of his rule. Refer to other views in your response. (10 marks)

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Question a:

Service suggests that the workers and peasants dismissed their earlier approval of the Bolsheviks and (any two of following):

- i. Became alienated by the shifts in policy.
- ii. Became antagonistic and hostile.
- iii. Some became apathetic.

Question b:

Service suggests that the Bolsheviks garrisoned themselves when they were confronted with the fact that they were a beleaguered political minority and became:

- i. Inured to opposition and, indeed, 'hardened their attitudes.'
- ii. Aggressive against opposition; they felt that the best way to deal with trouble was to get together rather than offer compromises.

Question c asks students to display their contextual knowledge of the period but also to use the extract. Students should recognise that the extract discusses the Constituent Assembly and the Brest-Litovsk Treaty and they should therefore use these as a springboard to discuss the following events/actions:

- 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 that, including the formation of the CHEKA under Felix Dzerzhinsky.
- The initial decrees on Land, 8 November 1917.
- Lenin's closure of the Constituent Assembly, January 1918.
- Lenin's direction to Trotsky about the formation of the Red Army and the Brest-Litovsk Treaty on 3 March 1918.
- The methods that Lenin and the Bolsheviks resorted in securing their power.

Continued...

Question d references Lenin specifically so students should recognise that it is asking them to discuss the manner in which Service presents Lenin and then discuss the manner in which Lenin is seen by other historians.

For this question students might consider:

- That Robert Service as a recent historian and biographer on Lenin has had access to a wealth of resources that other historians have not. He is astutely aware of the complexities that faced Lenin in the early stages of his rule, as evidenced in the extract, i.e. that he was fighting a war abroad whilst trying to establish his authority at home. He was also dealing with Socialist Revolutionaries and the will of the peasants/workers. Quote liberally from the extract.
- Students could comment that the Bolsheviks retained power in the period not by brute force alone, and that their popularity was far greater than that of alternative groups.
- Students should go on to illustrate that other historians have different views of Lenin's attitude and actions in this period. They could quote Soviet histories that celebrate the role of Lenin and discuss, at length, the impediments that blocked a facile takeover by the Communist Party in Russia at this time.
- Students would then go on to demonstrate that a liberal historian would draw attention to the sentiment expressed by groups such as the Socialist Revolutionaries, who claimed the Bolshevik coup and first year were 'a crime against the motherland and revolution.'
- Finally, students could compare this interpretation with the many contrary portrayals by historians like Richard Pipes and Robert Conquest, who maintain that the first year of Lenin's rule was nothing but one act of expediency after another. Lenin simply wanted to maintain power at the cost of a democratically elected government, millions of people and resources and, indeed, the reputation of Russia itself. Lenin provided peace but at the cost of a civil war – WWI was dealt with ambiguity, 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; an issue that would divide the party many times. The signing of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty on 3 March 1918, depriving Russia of not only of 27% of its farmland and 62 million people, but 74% of its iron ore and coal, has been presented by liberal historians as an early indication of Lenin's political expediency.

China

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

Question 1

Using three or four points, outline the *aims* and the *outcomes* of the First United Front between the Guomindang (GMD) and Chinese Communist Party (CCP) between 1923 and 1927. (10 marks)

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- After the death of Yuan Shikai and the period of control by the warlords, Sun Yat-sen (Sun Yixian) gradually re-established leadership in China. Sun met with Comintern representatives (Joffe and Maring). The Comintern backed an alliance between the CCP and GMD.
- In 1924 the First National Congress of the reorganised GMD formalised a United Front with the CCP.
- Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jeishi) sought Russian support and established the Huangpu Military Academy. The academy was run with tight discipline and Communists were trained as well as GMD troops.
- After the death of Sun in 1925, there was a struggle for leadership. Sun had kept together the various factions and interests in the United Front but his death destabilised the union. Chiang Kai-shek gained leadership and a series of incidents saw the removal of Communists from senior positions.
- In 1926 the Northern Expedition began against the warlords. It was successful in uniting the south-east of China under the GMD, but the expedition broke into distinct prongs: the left wing (dominated by Communists) set up government in Wuhan; the right wing (under Chiang) was centred in Nanjing. The right wing was suspicious of the left wing which was implementing radical reforms.
- Amidst fears of growing Communist power in April 1927 there was a massacre of thousands of CCP communists and unionists in Shanghai. The White Terror spread to other Nationalist-controlled cities. In July, CCP and Comintern members were expelled from the Wuhan government.
- The Northern Expedition was delayed until 1928 but the United Front had ended.

Question 2

Using three or four points, explain how the period in Yan' an [Yenan] consolidated the revolutionary ideals of the CCP. (10 marks)

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- The Long March ended in 1935 and a Soviet base was established in Yan'an.
- Yan'an was isolated and so the Communists had the opportunity to work with the local community.
- At Yan'an Mao spent time clarifying his ideas and establishing himself as the revolutionary theorist and leader of the CCP. The CCP spread its influence, teaching people the ideas of communism. Schools were set up to cope with the 95% illiteracy rate of the peasants. This was a way of disseminating communist political doctrine. An anti-Japanese university was set up to spread revolutionary propaganda.
- Land reform was an important part of winning over the peasantry. The CCP seized landlord-held property and distributed it to tenant farmers through peasant associations. It should be noted that at this stage the policy was moderate, and it was not until later that landlords would be hounded and routinely abused. Red Army soldiers assisted the farmers in land reform techniques.
- The system of governance is encapsulated in the concept of *massline*, which involved the party listening to the masses and then incorporating their ideas into programmes. The idea was 'to go to the masses, learn from the masses, and help educate the masses.'
- In 1942 Mao launched his Rectification Campaign, *Zhengfeng*, which equated with correct political thinking. Through study groups, party cadres engaged in 'struggle sessions' where they engaged in self-criticism and sought to adopt correct thinking. Reading of Mao's works was the avenue to reform. It set in process 'continuous revolution.'
- Excesses of the Rectification Campaign led to humiliation and death by suicide. Yet the outcome was the development of a consistent ideology which applied Marxism to Chinese conditions.
- The period in Yan'an established Mao as the undisputed leader of the CCP, crystallised the beliefs of the Communist Party and spread support for the CCP.

Creating a new society– Chinese Revolution 1949 to 1976

Question 3

‘Hold high the great red banner of Mao Zedong Thought’ (poster)

- a. Identify **two** groups of people involved in the movement against counter-revolutionaries in China. (2 marks)

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- i. Young people.
- ii. Mao’s Red Guards.

- b. Identify **two** aspects of the poster which suggest that aggression would be tolerated in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. (2 marks)

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- i. Crumpled bodies at the bottom of the poster.
- ii. The aggressive stance taken by the young people in the poster.

- c. Using your own knowledge and the representation, explain Mao’s intentions in launching the Cultural Revolution. (6 marks)

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- In 1966 Mao sought to re-establish his position in the Party.
- The Liberation Army Daily editorialised thus: ‘Hold high the great red banner of Mao Zedong Thought and actively participate in the Great Socialist Cultural Revolution.’ This was a clear declaration of the army’s support for Mao and his policy.
- A series of massive Red Guard rallies began in Beijing. The eight rallies organised with the logistical support of the People’s Liberation Army (PLA), brought together 13 million Red Guards from all over China. (A Red Guard is shown holding his arm high in the poster.)
- 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 now took advantage of the chaos to return to the cities. Red Guard youths chanted revolutionary slogans, tears streaming down their faces, others waving their copies of Mao’s quotations.
- Directives of the Central Cultural Committee gave the Red Guards the right to organise parades and demonstrations, use printing presses and publish newspapers and post criticisms.
- 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).
- The Red Guards dedicated themselves to the elimination of ‘old thought, old culture, old customs and old habits.’ (The attack on the old is demonstrated in the poster.)
- They wrote big-character posters, ransacked private property, rampaged cities, renamed streets, attacked those with modern attire and haircuts, and humiliated foreign diplomats. They also smashed Buddhist temples, raided the homes of professors, burnt books and antiques. Teachers were beaten and even killed.
- The poster, created in April 1967, continues the call to take part in the Cultural Revolution.

- d. Discuss the usefulness of this representation in understanding the process by which the Cultural Revolution was waged between 1966 and 1976. In your response refer to different views of the significance of the effects of the Cultural Revolution. (10 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

- The poster is very useful. It shows the groups that were instrumental in propelling Mao's Cultural Revolution forward: the Red Guards and the youth.
- It also presents the violence of the Cultural Revolution, both in the actions of the people in the poster (particularly in relation to the victims at the bottom) and the slogan 'thoroughly smash the counter-revolutionaries.'
- Violence was endemic in the Cultural Revolution; Red Guards encouraged the youth in China to criticise those whom Mao deemed untrustworthy with regards to the direction he wanted China to take. No-one was safe from criticism: writers, economists and anyone associated with the man Mao considered his main rival – Liu Shaoqi. Anyone who was deemed to have developed a superior attitude was considered an enemy of the Party and the people.
- Mao became alarmed in the autumn of 1967 and called off the Red Guards. He ordered the army to restore order and suppress troublemakers, thus generating a new round of violence.
- Jonathan Spence refers to the Cultural Revolution as a 'complex social upheaval that began as a struggle between Mao Zedong and other top party leaders for dominance of the Chinese Communist Party and went on to affect all of China with its call for continuing revolution.' This social upheaval lasted from 1966 to 1976 and left deep scars upon Chinese society.
- The Cultural Revolution had a massive impact on China. The official tally of deaths, issued in 1980, was 34 800. Chang and Halliday claim there were 3 million casualties.
- The Cultural Revolution left the education system in disarray; a generation of young were denied education, the legacy of which has led to them being labelled 'the lost generation.'
- 'Scar literature' attests to the significance of the Cultural Revolution. There are a number of authors who have written scar literature which students could refer to in response to the impact of the Cultural Revolution.

SECTION B: Revolution two

America

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

Question 1

Bostonians Reading the Stamp Act (print).

- a. Identify aspects of the print that show the significance of the passing of the Stamp Act. (2 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

- i. People gathering in clusters to discuss the Stamp Act.
- ii. Printing and distribution of broadsheets with details of the Stamp Act.

- b. Identify **two** details of the print (**not** mentioned above) that suggest that the passing of the Stamp Act was of concern for the people of Boston. (2 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

- i. The looks on the faces of the people.
- ii. The wide range of people shown: businessmen, workers, women. All would be affected.

- c. Using your own knowledge and the representation, describe how the American colonists responded to the Stamp Act. (6 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

- In 1765 the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, George Grenville, introduced the Stamp Act.
- The Stamp Act required that a stamp of prescribed value be purchased and affixed to legal documents including wills, contracts, titles, bills of sale, pamphlets, newspapers, almanacs and playing cards. The Act would be enforced in vice-admiralty courts.
- The colonial response was immediate and widespread and caused great concern (as seen in the image). Protest action was varied. Assemblies met, petitions were drafted and sent to England. Pamphlets were printed and posted around the country proclaiming 'no taxation without representation.'
- One of the first pamphlets written after the announcement of the Stamp Act was James Otis' *The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved* in July 1764. His argument was that men had natural rights which could not be taken from them; it spawned the cry 'no taxation without representation.'
- In Virginia Patrick Henry introduced seven resolutions into the House of Burgesses opposing the Act.
- Otis proposed an intercolonial congress on the Stamp Act. The Congress was convened in New York in 1765 to adopt and draft a formal response to the Act and was attended by representations from nine of the thirteen colonies.
- Another form of reaction to the Stamp Act involved lawlessness and violence (directed by the Sons of Liberty). Examples of mob action included the hanging of effigies, destruction of government property and harassment of Stamp Act officials.

- d. Discuss the extent to which this representation presents a reliable view of events in the colonies in 1765. In your response refer to different views of the significance of British legislation (up to 1774) in the creation of a revolutionary situation. (10 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

- The graphic clearly demonstrates the furore created in the colonies by the passing of the Stamp Act.
- The Stamp Act evoked a widespread and an immediate response, as suggested in the graphic. Edward Countryman says the Stamp Act differed in important ways from all previous imperial legislation and managed to offend everyone. This was because it was pervasive, applying to all people in a variety of ways (contracts, bills of sale, etc). The mode of collection, at the point of the service, meant that the Stamp Act would be on the public radar and its payment in sterling also had the potential to drain colonial coffers. He added, 'The effect of the Stamp Act would be to stifle the colonial economy, weaken colonial trade with Britain, indirectly harm the British economy itself, and poison relations between the colonies and the metropolis.'
- Yet, John Cantwell maintains that while it applied to everyone 'it fell most heavily on those with the most articulate and loudest voices and deepest pockets.' These people were lawyers, publishers and merchants, those more likely to articulate disagreement with the Act.
- While it does show the public response to some extent, the graphic does not show the range of responses, from the formal (e.g. Stamp Act Congress) to the informal (e.g. mob violence).
- Historians claim that the legislation aimed at revenue raising soured relations between Britain and the colonies. Hugh Brogan says that whilst the Stamp Act Congress should not be over-emphasised its members 'exercised for the first time on a continental scale those arts of organization, compromise and conciliation which were eventually to make a continental legislative possible' and he adds it had 'a national tinge ... For the first time an inter-colonial body met whose authority was accepted, not rejected, by all the colonies.'
- Other historians agree that legislation was an important catalyst to the revolution. Countryman makes the point that the Sugar Act, the Stamp Act, the Townshend taxes and the Tea Act were the major milestones along the road to imperial crisis. He claims that had the British parliament not passed the taxation acts, 'there certainly would have been no American Revolution.' Gordon Wood says that the rigidity of the Acts strengthened the resolve of the colonists; in the atmosphere of the late 1760s these measures and proposals were not simply irritating, they were explosive.

Creating a new society – American Revolution 1776 to 1789

Question 2

Historians have argued that after the revolutionary war the Americans were surprisingly successful in developing a system which enshrined the ideals of the revolution.

Do you agree? Use evidence to support your answer. (20 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

Possible introduction:

In 1776 America declared its independence from Britain; an act which resulted in a protracted war which lasted until 1783 when the Treaty of Paris was signed. Yet, even after peace was secured there was no guarantee that the revolution would succeed, as a system of government was needed which united the colonists while allowing a measure of autonomy for the different states. The initial government system, the Articles of Confederation, failed to secure the blessings of liberty for the colonists and many feared 'a second revolution' (Adams). Through debate and compromise a new system of government was forged; however historians disagree as to the extent to which the Constitution and its associated Bill of Rights protected the rights of all Americans.

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

- The Declaration of Independence proclaimed the innate rights of American citizens as being 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.' Besides being a statement of 'truths' it was also a declaration of war as Americans proclaimed their right to operate as an independent nation with all the associated rights and privileges. Yet it is argued that at the time the members of the drafting committee and Congress, which ratified the Declaration of Independence, had clear ideas about the type of society they desired and it was not one that accorded all people full rights.
- The Articles of Confederation was the first system of government established in the United States. It was a wartime cabinet and focused primarily on upholding a union, with little long-term consideration given to the nature of post-war society. Primarily the Articles gave Congress powers to conduct the way but beyond that there was no robust foundation for a leading nationalistic government. Rather the Articles of Confederation provided for a loose affiliation of the states, each of which retained its autonomy.
- The Articles of Confederation did not provide for a lasting government and there were well-grounded fears the union would disintegrate. There was a chance the economy would collapse. Rebellions like that led by Daniel Shays showed that not everybody supported the union and that there were sections disadvantaged after the War of Independence.
- When the Founding Fathers met in Philadelphia they sought to address these issues. The central government was given greater powers including the right to tax citizens, but there was also a complicated set of checks and balances to prevent one of the three branches of power (legislature, judiciary, executive) from acting in a tyrannical manner. The division of power, checks and balances, and the inclusion of a bill of rights, were all seen as mechanisms for protecting the people from excessive government.
- Criticisms have been made of the Constitution because it did not specify the rights of women, indigenous Americans, African slaves or the poor. Counter-claims have been made that the revolution did not pretend to champion the rights of these groups and that no other nation was discussing issues related to these groups at the time either.

Conclusion:

Students should comment that the Constitution provided for a workable form of government that addressed some of the issues on which the War of Independence was fought but qualify with a statement that the lofty ideals of the Declaration of Independence and Preamble to the Constitution were not realised.

France

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

Question 1

This Will Not Long Endure (engraving).

- Who or what is represented by the human figures in the engraving? (2 marks)
- What features of the engraving illustrate the division between the estates? (2 marks)
- The title of the engraving suggests that ‘This will not long endure.’ Which aspects of the old regime did the Third Estate wish would not long endure/last? (6 marks)
- To what extent is this representation useful in understanding the causes of tension and conflict generated in the old regime? Give reasons for your answer. (10 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

This is an interesting picture that is similar to many images which show the inequities between the estates in the *ancien regime*. There are a number of symbolic elements that students may not be aware of but the questions are general enough to cater for most students’ knowledge.

Question a is straightforward and students should pick up two easy marks by stating that the human figures shown are (from left to right): the clergy (First Estate), the nobility (Second Estate) and the people (Third Estate).

Question b is a little more difficult but the keyword here is ‘features’ – things you can see – so you must mention visual elements that address the question, e.g. the nobility carrying a sword, the dress of three estates, the load on the commoner’s back, and his pick and other items. The monkey and hound represent the church and nobility respectively, so brighter students might pick up on the fact that these creatures are both harrasing the peasant, to suggest the various taxes and inequities imposed upon the Third Estate (this point is also useful below).

Question c asks specifically for aspects, so events and publications should only be mentioned in connection with an aspect. There are many possible responses but the title of the cartoon gives you a clue – it is late in Area of Study One and the Third Estate is looking for some kind of alleviation of its burden. That burden was onerous taxation, the weight of the nation, the inequities of the estates system. You could mention how these factors played out in the build-up and progress of the Estates-General or in the fall-out from the major events of 1788, e.g. the Assembly of Notables II and the poor harvests.

Question d asks students to determine how useful this representation is in painting a complete picture of the causes of revolution. For this question students might consider the following:

- The image is useful in that it visualises many of the grievances of the Third Estate, e.g. the symbolism of the Third Estate carrying the burden, that is, doing the work of the entire nation. Noticeably, the peasant is also carrying the implements of industry – shovel and pick.
- Furthermore, it is useful because it clearly illustrates the division of the three estates but highlights the unity between the First and Second Estates; these show no desire to assist the beleaguered peasant. (Refer to previous note about monkey and hound.)
- In contrast, many historians would dispute the usefulness of this image because it shows a distance between estates that was not completely representative of the time; for example, not all Third Estaters

were oppressed and not all First and Second Estaters engaged in or supported oppression.

- The actions of the liberal nobility and churchmen like Abbé Sieyès are not given credit in the representation.
- Some historians might also question the usefulness of the image because it makes no reference to the burden of the royal family.

A possible response to Question d:

Most Marxist historians would agree with the cartoonist's depiction of the injustices under the ancien regime and the inequities of the estate system. The Third Estate were angered at the inability to break the shackles/fetters of the old regime which bound them to a structure that ate up 80-90% of their income. This picture depicts the First and Second Estates tacitly approving of the weight being placed upon the Third. This was illustrative of the privilege enjoyed at the expense of the Third Estate. Such privileges included exemption to the corvée, taxes such as the taille and the right to be tried in special courts. The cartoon eagerly shows the systematic oppression undertaken by the first two estates, giving Marxist historians a plethora of material, clearly pressing their view that the revolution was a 'struggle for equal rights.' Further adding to the physical burden on the Third Estate was the lack of social and political representation, mirroring Albert Soboul's claim that the bourgeoisie 'despised the nobility' for its failure to address the social system's problems.

However, this is not a completely accurate depiction of the Second Estate. The Comte de Mirabeau, for example, advocated for the rights of the Third Estate and worked to lessen their burdens. Furthermore, this picture only shows discrimination and oppression, which not all Third Estaters experienced. Indeed, according to George Taylor, the 'nobility and bourgeoisie shared the same values, they formed part of the same elite.' Many of the wealthy bourgeoisie were attempting to buy their way into nobility, not eradicate it.

Creating a new society - French Revolution 5 August 1789 to 1795

Question 2

Historian Albert Soboul argued that the French Revolution shattered the political framework of the old regime.

Do you agree that the political structure of French society was completely changed by 1795? Use evidence to support your answer. (20 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

This question is essentially asking students to analyse the political changes that were wrought under the new society. It is one of those statements that is open to a wide range of views and you can agree with the topic, dismiss it or even sit on the fence; in any case you should bring in your own considered opinion as that is what is required. The reference to Albert Soboul in the statement is to remind students that an awareness of historical differences of opinion is required in your answer.

If you were to make the argument that Soboul is correct you might include the following points:

- With the creation of the new society under the auspices of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen (DORMAC), France had launched itself into an era of increased manhood suffrage and the nation had been universally politicised. Indeed, the August Edicts and DORMAC acted as a 'revolutionary blueprint.'
- The breakdown of the estate system and universal title of 'citizen' brought the First and Second Estates onto a (theoretically) even standing with the peasantry.

Continued...

- The rationalisation of the country into eighty-three roughly equal Departments and approximately 41 000 communes meant that a huge number of people who had been excluded from public office under the ancien regime now needed to fill the role of political officers.
- Meritocracy was proclaimed (and bourgeoisie recognised) in the early documents.
- There was uniformity in the legal system, *lettres de cachet* were abolished.
- Parlements, seigneurial and ecclesiastical courts were abolished between 1789 and 1792.
- Humanity (and equality) of punishment introduced via the guillotine.
- Political parties (clubs) were established.
- While there were some impediments to political change, the fact remains that a republic was created on 22 September 1792.

You would illustrate in your elaboration on these events/changes that historians have celebrated and questioned the validity of their impact.

Conversely, you could successfully argue that the political structure of France was not significantly altered. You might enlist the support of historians like William Doyle, who challenges the assumption that France's political structure was shattered by the revolution and you could focus on the following:

- Stratification still existed in the new society – for example the distinction of active/passive citizen.
- The continuity of stratification as made manifest in the 1791 and 1793 Constitutions.
- Meritocracy had its negative side for it disadvantaged both the privileged orders and the rural and urban poor, but greatly advantaged the bourgeoisie who were educated and therefore able to take new career opportunities. Workers and peasants benefited little when careers became open to talent, as they were not educated.
- The distinction between active and passive citizens was advantageous for the bourgeoisie and the old privileged estates, but stopped the voice of the *menu peuple* from being heard.
- Elitism still existed in public office and there was limited access to positions of authority.
- *Menu peuple* were still at the mercy of the *haute bourgeoisie*, who were favoured by the new economy – e.g. the Le Chapelier Law.
- Restrictive legislation during Terror replicated the old regime.
- People were disenfranchised by laws from above, e.g. new Cult of Supreme Being.
- The Law of Maximum was evidence of the continuation of centralised authority.
- Post-Thermidor, there was a return to conservative values, e.g. Preamble of 1795 Constitution: 'We should be ruled by our best citizens ... With very few exceptions, you will find such men only amongst those who own some property, and to the affluence that it affords.'

Russia

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

Question 1

Nicholas II's Decree of Abdication delivered at Pskov on March 2nd [Julian calendar] at 3.05pm [1917]

- Identify **two** reasons Nicholas II offers to explain his abdication. (2 marks)
- Identify **two** objectives that Nicholas hoped to achieve by proclaiming this abdication. (2 marks)
- Using your own knowledge, explain the chain of events that forced the Tsar to announce his abdication in March 1917. (6 marks)
- Evaluate to what extent this decree throws light upon the role of Nicholas II in causing the 1917 February Revolution. In your response refer to different views of the Tsar's role in the February Revolution. (10 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

This is an important document from the Revolution and highlights some of the issues that forced a change of government in February/March 1917.

Question a is quite straightforward and students should recognise that the Tsar has chosen to abdicate because of the internal problem of dissent and the external problem of World War I. He chose to abdicate so that the nation could focus on the latter.

In Question b, students could mention two of the following:

- Success in the war.
- Support for Grand-Duke Michael Alexandrovich in concert with the Duma.
- Unity amongst all Russians.

Question c requires students to apply their contextual knowledge of the period and consider the events that led to the collapse of tsarism in February 1917. For this question students should refer to at least three of the following:

- The impact of World War I on Russia by the beginning of 1917.
- The protests that occurred in Petrograd (St. Petersburg) in early February due to the sacking of workers in the Putilov steelworks.
- The fact that this coincided with the massive protest that took place on International Women's Day (23 February, Julian) ostensibly recognising the plight of women but in reality highlighting the lack of food and escalating problems associated with Russia's involvement in the war and the Tsar's lack of attention to the former.
- The intensifying of protests that took place the next day, with numbers approaching 200 000.
- The decision by some of the armed forces to mutiny by protesting themselves.
- The continued demands by the Duma, and notably Rodzianko, for the Tsar to abdicate.
- The decision by the Russian generals to notify the Tsar that he no longer had their support.
- The action by the Duma to set up a Provisional Committee for the governing of Russia the day before the Tsar's inevitable abdication.

Continued...

Question d asks students to determine how useful this document is in explaining the role of the Tsar and it is a document that many historians would use in explaining his motives/influence. Interestingly, each historian could mount their own case citing this document.

For this question students might consider:

- That the document clearly shows a tsar who is incapable of dealing with the two crises facing his country – this fact would be seized upon by both Soviet and liberal historians.
- Soviet historians would suggest that the Tsar was powerless in the face of a rising tide of popular protest and would use this document to show that his removal from government was a *fait accompli* – indeed they would highlight how his decision to abdicate in favour of his brother did not eventuate because Nicholas II did not have any influence left.
- Furthermore, they would point out that the February Revolution happened independently of Nicholas and that he had negligible influence on the course of events.
- Liberal historians, however, would argue that the weight of World War I was so significant that it rendered the Tsar impotent – he did have the power to control the situation but chose not to. As Pares argues, nothing caused the revolution except tsarism itself.
- Other liberal historians would suggest that the Tsar was prudent or even patriotic in his decision and this was a positive act of a tsar with his people's interests at heart.
- Revisionist historians would recognise that this document highlights the complexity of the situation – the Tsar was simply incapable of dealing with both the will of the people and the demands of the war.

Creating a new society – Russian Revolution November 1917 to 1924

Question 2

Historian Orlando Figes argues that by 1921, if not earlier, the Russian Revolution had come full circle, and a new autocracy had been imposed on Russia which in many ways resembled the old one.

Do you agree? Use evidence to support your answer. (20 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

The use of the word *autocracy* in the essay topic gives you a clue that this question is essentially about the political changes that occurred in Russia under the Bolshevik regime. The argument that the revolution came 'full circle' is an oft-repeated one and opens up significant elbow room for students to argue for or against it. Once again, you can make the claim that Figes is right or that he is completely wrong or that he is somewhere in between. One interesting approach is to state that he is not necessarily accurate because the Bolsheviks did not *replicate* tsarism – they *exceeded* it in brutality and control. If so, an introduction like the following might be appropriate:

While Lenin's Bolshevik government may have promised to break away from the regime it replaced, the reality for many Russians was an existence that was far harsher than anything than had transpired before. Lenin emulated his predecessors, then surpassed them in brutality and autocracy. The Bolshevik use of torture and 'the odious practice of taking hostages' supports Lynch's belief that Lenin 'had no more time for democracy than the Tsars had.' In their merciless putting down of the Kronstadt rebellion, their banning of political opposition, dissolution of the trade unions and (most astonishingly) their dissolution of religion, the Bolsheviks showed they were not only as repressive and reactionary as the old regime but far more so.

Regardless of your approach you can use the following points to support Figes' contention:

- Russia was still run incompetently. Note the political and economic cost of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty; the flawed ideology behind and implementation of War Communism; the devastating impact of the Civil

War; and the ideological back-flip that led to the NEP.

- The brutality of the CHEKA replicated that of the Okhrana.
- The Bolsheviks were ruthless with their opposition and instilled significant discipline into the army; they did not hesitate to make examples of their own soldiers (e.g. Kronstadt).
- The sheer number of fatalities and the privation that occurred during their tenure clearly illustrate Figes' argument.

Conversely, you could use the following to argue that the Bolshevik regime was completely different from tsarist rule:

- The Bolsheviks legislated and hence ratified their authority, e.g. First Decrees, Brest-Litovsk Treaty.
- They allowed some opposition, such as Alexandra Kollantai and her Workers' Opposition movement.
- The Bolsheviks legitimised their authority in initial stages by instituting a regimented and efficient infrastructure, e.g. Politburo, Orgburo, Vesenkha.
- 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. In this way Lenin 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.
- The Bolsheviks retained control, unlike Nicholas II.

China

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

Question 1

Report from the National Conference of the Communist Party of China, held in Yan'an [Yenan] in May 1937

- a. What tactical response was advocated at the National Conference of the Communist Party to the Japanese attack? (2 marks)
- b. According to the report what was the basic force for defeating Japanese imperialism and traitors? (2 marks)
- c. Using your own knowledge and the representation, describe the response of the Communist Party to Japanese expansion in China in 1937? (6 marks)
- d. Discuss the usefulness of this document in understanding the response of the Chinese to the outbreak of war with Japan in 1937. In your response refer to different views of the significance of the Second Sino-Japanese in strengthening the position of the CCP. (10 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

Question a:

- i. Unite and organise the revolutionary forces throughout the country and among all the nationalities to oppose Japanese imperialism.
- ii. Unite and fight against and the arch-traitor Chiang Kai-shek.

Question b:

A solid alliance of the workers, the peasants and the petty bourgeoisie is the basic force for defeating Japanese imperialism and the traitors and collaborators.

Question c:

- The Mukden incident (1931) led to the capture of Manchuria and the creation of the Japanese puppet state Manchuguo.
- Chiang Kai-shek offered no resistance initially and argued that the Japanese were just 'a disease of the skin and the Communists the disease of the heart,' and instead focused his attention on crushing the communist base in Jiangxi province (note reference to Chiang being an arch-traitor).
- Russia urged the communist parties throughout the world to ally themselves with anti-Nazi and anti-Japanese forces. This led to the adoption of slogans such as 'Go north to fight the Japanese' and 'Chinese must not fight Chinese.' (This is echoed in the call to unite in the document.)
- Chiang Kai-shek was not inclined to co-operate with the communists but after the Xi'an Incident in 1936 he was forced to form a United Front. (Again, note reference to Chiang as traitor.)
- From 1937-38 the Japanese captured major cities and communication networks in northern, central and south-eastern China.
- Chiang Kai-shek and the GMD government withdrew to Chongqing. Chiang's support was in the eastern provinces so relocation to the west meant a loss of his support base. In this period claims of GMD corruption abounded. Loss of financial revenue through taxes caused the GMD to print more money and inflation spiralled. Corruption was inevitable and often took the form of extortion.

Continued...

- The CCP, located in the border regions, provided a stark contrast. In the eyes of foreign observers the mobilisation of China's peasant millions into a brave and dedicated anti-Japanese army won the CCP respect.

Question d:

- The document captures the huge threat placed on the Chinese by the aggression of the Japanese.
- It is claimed that the Japanese used the incident at the Marco Polo Bridge (July 1937) as a pretext to renew hostilities against the Chinese, who they believed could be easily defeated.
- In September a Second United Front was formally launched; this was a military alliance against the occupying Japanese forces.
- There was resistance from the Chinese army in the first two months, but the strong and well-disciplined Japanese forced retreated.
- The Nationalist government first moved to Wuhan and later to Chongqing. The CCP formed a separate army but was under the overall command of the GMD high command.
- The reputation of the Nationalist government eroded in the 1940s. There was corruption and economic mismanagement, and peasants in Nationalist areas were heavily taxed and conscripted to fight in the army. Treatment of conscripted soldiers was appalling; they were summarily beaten and the death rate was high (estimates of 50%). Chiang received financial support from United States but often this was stockpiled, supposedly to use against the CCP.
- Co-operation between the GMD and CCP ended in 1941 with a Nationalist attack on the Communist Fourth Army.
- Ryan claims the war advantaged the CCP as the Nationalist bore the brunt of the fighting while the Communists, because they were located in more remote areas, were largely left alone. The CCP also organised guerrilla campaigns against the Japanese, using these as propaganda tools with which to promote their patriotism.
- The Dixie Mission of 1944 (to Yan'an) reported favourably on CCP organisation, discipline and morale.

Creating a new society – Chinese Revolution 1949 to 1976

Question 2

Writer Jung Chang and historian John Halliday claim that Mao used systematic terrorisation of the population to induce long-term conformity and obedience.

Do you agree? Use evidence to support your answer. (20 marks)

GUIDE TO RESPONSES

Possible introduction:

When the CCP entered Beijing in 1949 and Mao proclaimed the foundation of the People's Republic of China there were reasons for optimism; the Japanese had been defeated, the GMD corruption had been unmasked and the country was united in its desire for peace and prosperity. Governing the new nation was a daunting task for the Communists, who, despite success in rural areas, had little experience in running a country. Yet, in the early years of the republic they were remarkably successful. A stable government was established, economic gains made and social reforms, especially targeting women and children, were introduced. Conformity was an underlying expectation of the Communists and by the late 1950s it was evident that repression was a tool that would be used to achieve this. Any opponent of Mao was systematically repressed and, in an environment of suspicion and intrigue, almost no quarter of Chinese society was immune from violence.

Continued...

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

- In the early 1950s the goal of the CCP was to form a stable government which could deliver on its promises. Mao was elected as chairman of both the People's Republic of China and the CCP. This made him the most powerful person in China, supported by the National People's Congress which comprised loyal party members.
- Against this background the period of 1949-57 could be judged as a success for the CCP because strong centralised Government was established after decades of disunity. China's national pride and international prestige had grown due to the war against the US in Korea. China took major steps on the road to industrialisation and achieved an impressive rate of economic growth; in economic terms 70-80% of heavy industry and 40% of light industry was state-owned in 1952. There had been increased living standards for the people, even if these were only modest. Women were acknowledged as having equal social status, and legislation such as marriage laws sought to protect them. The nation's social system was transformed according to Marxist principles in a relatively smooth fashion (the PLA 'liberated' towns and villages and *fanshen* was administered to establish land reform). The only major leadership purge was the ousting of Gao Gang and Rao Shushi in 1954-55, and although important cleavages and tensions existed within the CCP elite, including the Politburo, throughout the early and mid-1950s, they did not seriously disrupt the predominantly consensual mode of leadership.
- After the success of the First Five Year Plan, Mao believed that controls could be relaxed and launched the Hundred Flowers Campaign. This was an attempt to encourage greater freedom of expression amongst intellectuals; however, some historians believe that from the outset it was designed to elicit conformity by weeding out critical intellectuals. Under encouragement to air their grievances and suggest better ways of implementing change, people began to speak out. The reaction was immediate; the Anti-Rightist campaign was a signal for a crackdown and a 'socialist education campaign' was launched to bring thinking back to the Party line. Approximately 300 000 to 400 000 supposed Rightists were sent to the countryside for re-education through labour (they were imprisoned). There was palpable evidence that dissent would not be tolerated.
- The Great Leap Forward (GLF) was another example of Mao and the CCP demanding conformity and obedience from the people of China. The two prongs of the GLF were agriculture and industry, with all the resources of China being harnessed to overtake Western countries in levels of production. The key feature of the GLF was the establishment of co-operatives and communes (by 1958, 26 000 communes comprising millions of people had been established). The insistence of new methods of farming (Lysenkoism) and the energies devoted to building and operating large-scale projects including 'backyard furnaces' undermined traditional/well-tested modes of production. A huge famine ensued and at least 30 million people died. Yet such was the control of the Party (propaganda highlighted reports of bumper crops) that few dared to criticise the project.
- After the failure of the GLF and the pragmatic recovery policies put in place by Deng Xiaoping and Liu Shaoqi, Mao feared he was losing control and that socialist principles were threatened. To pull China back from 'following the capitalist road' Mao launched the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR). Using the PLA and later the Red Guards, Mao sought to implement his will on China. Texts like the Little Red Book were a means of gaining compliance and obedience; the Four Olds were systematically eliminated in a climate of fear and violence. The Gang of Four tried to remould China by replacing traditional culture with prescribed modern culture. Scar literature is testament to the terror unleashed on China by the GPCR against those who resisted conformity. Statistics for the death toll of the Cultural Revolution vary but were certainly in the thousands.

Conclusion:

Comment that there was an opportunity to create a united China after the Civil War and that initially there was evidence of progress and social consensus. Quickly this turned to a climate of repression as Mao was determined to eliminate any hint of dissent. The Hundred Flowers Campaign, GLF and GPCR are movements showing how Mao was determined to have conformity and obedience in China even if it meant violently repressing his opponents and critics.