

ALPHA HISTORY – 2012 PRACTICE EXAM – ANSWER GUIDE

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America

Question 1

Using three or four points, explain how rising tensions between the British parliament and the colonial assemblies contributed to the development of the American Revolution between 1763 and July 1776.

This question requires you to demonstrate an understanding of the political causes of the revolution, with a focus on disagreements and tensions between the British parliament and the American legislatures. These issues were critical to the development of the revolution. They challenged and changed perceptions about the role and political status of the colonies; and they raised doubts about the extent to which the American colonies enjoyed self-government.

Possible focus points for an answer to this question could include:

- Background into colonial self-government, the role of colonial legislatures and the political relationship between Britain and the American during the century-long period of 'salutary neglect'.
- A summary of the British policies that heightened political disputes, including the Royal Proclamation on Western territories (1763) the Sugar Act (1764) Stamp Act (1765) Revenue Acts (1767) Tea Act (1773), etc.
- Discussion of the Declaratory Act (1766) that asserted British authority to pass laws relating to the colonies. This legislation revealed critical differences in how the British viewed the colonies, distinct from how the colonies saw themselves and their relationship with Britain.
- Discussion of ideological positions adopted by the colonists, including demands for actual representation rather than virtual representation and the political writings of John Adams, Samuel Adams, Thomas Jefferson and others.
- Dissident and potentially revolutionary actions taken by the colonial legislatures in this period, including petitioning the parliament and the king in opposition to the Stamp Act, the Virginia Resolves (1765), failure to comply with the Quartering Act (1765), the formation of the Continental Congresses, etc.

Student notes:

Question 2

Using three or four points, explain how the American Revolution escalated from a political dispute over taxation and sovereignty, to a military confrontation between England and her colonies.

This question requires close attention to the period between 1773 and 1776. Revolutionary activity to this point, at least among the colonial elite, was largely confined to criticisms of Britain and assertions of colonial rights and self-government. The passing of the Coercive Acts (1774) imposed punitive measures on the colony of Massachusetts that prompted a collaborative response from other American colonies. American military preparations were made hastily, if haphazardly, and drew on exaggerated fears about British military oppression. The instalment of a military governor and the arrival of British regiments in Massachusetts heightened these fears.

Possible focus points for an answer to this question may include:

- A summary of the four Coercive Acts, imposed to recover financial loss incurred by the Boston Tea Party and to restore political order and loyalty in Massachusetts.
- Colonial paranoia about the deployment of standing armies in peacetime; the arrival and strategy of military governor General Thomas Gage, leading to the Powder Alarm in late 1774.
- The formation, organisation, training and equipping of local militia and 'Minutemen'; the role of Committees of Correspondence and Committees of Safety in monitoring and sharing information about British troop activity.
- The events at Lexington and Concord in April 1775, leading to a skirmish between British and Americans and the mobilisation of Massachusetts militia units, which descended on Boston.
- The second Continental Congress, which issued the Declaration of the Causes and Necessities for Taking Up Arms, effectively sanctioning further military action against the British; the formation of the Continental Army and the appointment of George Washington as its commander in chief.
- The failure of attempts to reconcile with Britain and therefore end the war, e.g. the Olive Branch petition.

Student notes:

Question 3

Historian's extract from Daniel Boorstin on the nature of the American Revolution.

Boorstin was a conservative historian who viewed the American Revolution as a relatively simple transition from colonial rule to self-government. He argued that the American Revolution lacked the radicalism, social upheaval and economic imperatives of subsequent revolutions.

The **6-mark question** requires you to demonstrate your knowledge of the political transitions of the 1780s. The three cornerstones of this theme are the Declaration of Independence (separating America from Britain) the Articles of Confederation (the first attempt at a national government) and the United States Constitution (the political end-point of the revolution). All should be discussed in this answer, along with some explanation of why they were implemented. Within this, the issue of "unity" should also be considered. The 13 colonies united with some reluctance to assert their right to self government - and this lack of unity created problems in post-war America. The lack of "nationalistic spirit" cited by Boorstin meant that few accepted the idea of the United States as a powerful national entity; it was initially conceived as a weak confederacy with most sovereignty and political autonomy remaining with the states.

The **10-mark question** asks you to adopt a critical view of the "fulfilment of the revolution" (the Constitution, the new political system and the social order of 1789). A cornerstone of Boorstin's perspective of the revolution is that it was driven by a consensus - that is, a significant majority of Americans supported its outcomes, allowing the revolution to evolve and conclude without an significant violence or upheaval. Left wing historians would challenge this view of the American Revolution as a "democratic" revolution. Reference could be made to Loyalists, who fled or were expelled; African-American slaves, the majority of whom benefited little from the revolution or its changes; women, who for the most part remained politically invisible; and Native Americans, Catholics and Jews, who were also excluded from the political process. The Constitution itself was adopted in a relatively democratic fashion, endorsed by state ratification committees - but its formulation was made in secret by 55 unelected men. It is for this reason that some historians consider the Constitution to be neither democratic (deeming it a "counter-revolution") or reluctant (its restoration of centralised political and fiscal power benefited the same class who created it).

Student notes:

Question 4

An image, "The Female Combatants" from England, 1776.

The **6-mark question** has a similar focus to Question 2 in this practice exam. The question of how Great Britain and her previously loyal American colonies came to blows obviously dates back more than a decade before this source. But much of the focus of this answer should be on the period 1773-1775, when the nature of revolutionary sentiment began to transform and sharpen.

Revolutionary activity in the 1760s was largely confined to criticism, fertile debate and tough talk; there were few violent incidents and where they occurred (for example, the sacking of Thomas Hutchinson's home in Boston) there were often local factors involved. The passage of the Tea Act and the destruction of British tea in America was a dramatic turn of events that shifted Massachusetts into a state of defiance and rebellion. The British response was to pass the Coercive Acts to impose "obedience" on Massachusetts, something suggested in the source.

The **10-mark question** requires a critical evaluation of the source. Other than revealing how the British and Americans perceived themselves, and possibly each other, the source offers very little insight into the causes or dimensions of revolutionary sentiment. The use of the labels "For Obedience" (Britain) and "For Liberty" (America) offer a rudimentary view of their respective positions. The metaphor of America as rebellious child, demanding 'liberty' from her parent, was a common one in propaganda of the 1770s. There is also some revealing use of symbolism, such as the presence of a liberty cap and the use of a Native American maiden to define American nationalism. Other than those simplistic observations, the source reveals little about the nature of the revolution, its causal events or its ideological positions. There is no representation of the taxation disputes, the furore over the Tea Act, the Boston Tea Party, the Coercive Acts or the military preparations of 1774-75. The Battle of Lexington is possibly depicted by the punch being thrown in the image, though this reference is not clear. With that in mind, the source has only limited value for understanding the causes of the revolution.

Question 5

Thomas Paine argued that revolutions were "a renovation of the natural order of things, a system of principles as universal as truth, combining moral with political happiness and national prosperity." Discuss the extent to which the new society created by the American Revolution reflected these changes. Use evidence to support your answer.

Responses to this essay question will critically evaluate the new society, considering the extent to which it delivered "moral" and "political happiness" and national prosperity. It is safer to argue against this contention and to focus on the divisions or 'failures' in post-revolutionary America. Like new societies in most revolutions, the United States post-1776 was fractured along political and economic lines - as well as regional and racial lines. The "moral happiness" of slaves and dispossessed Native Americans might be discussed; so too the "political happiness" of Loyalists and anti-Federalists, as well as women and other disenfranchised classes. "National prosperity" was not delivered to the United States until well after the passing of the Constitution; for much of the 1780s the nation was frozen by debt, inadequate revenue and a lack of foreign trade. Nevertheless there were signs that the new society and the political system would evolve over time, allowing some progress towards the ideals outlined in Paine's quote. Among these positive changes were incremental improvements in the status of women, the growth of the abolitionist movement and the push for a Bill of Rights to guarantee individual freedoms.

France

Question 1

Using three or four points, explain how the constraints of feudalism and the conditions of peasants contributed to the development of the French Revolution between 1781 and 1789.

This question requires you to demonstrate an understanding of the problems that afflicted peasants prior to 1789, including feudal obligations, economic barriers, a lack of political representation and harvest failures. However good answers will clearly identify that for much of the 1780s, revolutionary sentiment was chiefly the domain of the liberal nobility and the bourgeoisie. The peasants played no significant role in the financial crisis, the push for fiscal reform, the summoning of the Estates General or the events that unfolded there. The first significant revolutionary action by the peasantry was the Great Fear of July-August 1789.

Possible focus points for an answer to this question may include:

- An examination of the French peasantry, which comprised more than 88% of the population, and the nature of French seigneurial feudalism, such as its obligations on peasants.
- The economic conditions of French peasants, particularly the complex internal trade regulations that existed in pre-revolutionary France and the harvest failures of the late 1780s. This led to inflation and considerable increases in the cost of living.
- The social conditions of French peasants, who were reliant on the church for education, poor relief and other services, though these were not always efficiently delivered.
- Good responses will mention that the main revolutionary sentiment of the 1780s came from the bourgeoisie and enlightened nobility, rather than the peasantry. This was reflected in most of the cahiers, in which the peasants sought economic reforms and improvements but did not challenge the political order.
- The Great Fear of July-August 1789 was a response to paranoia generated by royalist responses to the creation of a National Assembly. Fearing a royal or aristocratic counter-revolution and some kind of state sponsored retribution, such as crop burnings, the peasants embarked on a frenzy of destruction aimed mostly at noble chateaux. This was not an organised or concerted revolutionary action but nevertheless led to the August 1789 decrees that wound back feudal laws and obligations.

Student notes:

Question 2

Using three or four points, explain how the actions of anti-reformists and the nobility contributed to the development of the French Revolution between 1781 and 1789.

This is a double-barrelled question that asks you to consider the role played by "anti-reformists" (obstinate conservatives who resisted political and/or fiscal reform) and the nobility in general. Good answers will recognise that these groups were not mutually exclusive. Some nobles urged reform while some in the bourgeoisie, who coveted a noble title themselves, openly resisted it. The tensions of the 1780s were driven largely by the issue of fiscal reform, whether it was necessary, what form it should take and what process the king must follow to implement it. Attempts to implement these reforms were unsuccessful, a situation that undermined and challenged royal absolutism and led to the political crisis of 1789.

Possible focus points for an answer to this question may include:

- The nature of the relationship between the monarchy and the aristocracy, who under Louis XIV had been rendered politically impotent. Many in the nobility wished to erode or undermine the power of the king, as well as guarding their own privileged position in the old regime.
- The actions of Necker, who as royal finance minister in 1781 concealed the real state of France's deficit, delaying the movement for fiscal reform and conveying a false optimism about the nation's financial state.
- The actions of Calonne from 1786, who attempted to introduce fiscal reforms but was obstructed by the Assembly of Notables.
- Brienne's attempt to introduce fiscal reforms through the Paris parlement which also refuses to endorse them, leading to tension and conflict with the king and the summoning of the Estates General.
- The actions of the First and Second Estates at the Estates General in 1789. Both orders insisted on maintaining archaic processes and practices, particularly voting by order rather than by head. This would guaranteed the Third Estate would be outvoted by the privileged orders, casting it into political irrelevance.

Student notes:

Question 3

A historian's extract by Ruth Scurr, suggesting that Danton's support for the Revolutionary Tribunal was shaped in part by his exposure to the civil war.

The **6-mark question** asks for a detailed account of how war shaped the course and development of the new society. An answer to this question should mainly focus on the period between 1792 (when the French Revolutionary Wars began) to 1795 (the end of the Area of Study). There are many points or issues that could be explored, such as the impact foreign aggression had on the revolutionaries within France. Both the Declaration of Pillnitz (1791) and the Brunswick Manifesto (1792) threatened war against France, the second of these quite explicitly. These declarations generated outrage and some paranoia within France - and they also contributed to the radicalisation of both the government and the revolution in general. The invasion of the Tuileries, the replacement of the Paris Commune and the September 1792 massacres all followed the Brunswick Manifesto, which promised the destruction of Paris if the royal family was harmed. The expansion of war, the actions of noble emigres, the civil war in the Vendee and the revolt in Lyon all added to counter-revolutionary paranoia, which itself shaped the Committee of Public Safety, the Revolutionary Tribunals and the Reign of Terror.

The **10-mark question** asks to what extent the extract is "useful for understanding the leadership of Robespierre". However the extract is focused on Danton and mentions of Robespierre are only incidental. Though Robespierre is mentioned as supporting Danton's call for the restoration of the Tribunal, it suggests that in 1792 Robespierre was less influential than Danton. The extract is also inadequate for understanding the causes of the Terror because its focus is on events in 1792. Some of the main causal factors that led to the Terror occurred the following year, including the uprisings in the Vendee, the impact of the sans culottes, the formation of the CPS and the murder of Marat. What the extract does reveal is that the Tribunals, which would become the agents of the Terror, began as the product of conditions and problems, rather than some grand design. They were formed by Danton, Scurr claims, as a "desperate" emergency measure. This is at odds with the conventional view, perpetuated by Carlyle and others, which lays most or all of the blame for the Terror at the feet of Robespierre. It does support the thesis offered by Schama, who has argued that organs of violence became the new regime's only means of solving problems or forcing change.

Student notes:

Question 4

A French image from circa 1789, depicting the Three Estates carrying the Great Burden.

The **6-mark question** asks about the "nature of the Great Burden", in other words, what it was and how it came to be. The Great Burden was the French national debt, which by 1789 was as much as two billion livres. This enormous debt had many causes, including French involvement in expensive foreign wars (such as the Seven Years' War and the American Revolutionary War); inefficient means of collecting taxation and trade duties, with the state relying on costly and often corrupt 'tax farmers'; and the skewed appropriation of tax, with some of the wealthiest individuals in the First and Second Estates not subject to taxation. Profligate royal spending is often given as another factor, though it was of less significance than the others. Several ministers attempted to address these problems by reforming the taxation system and curtailing government spending, but were blocked by the royal court and its agents or the conservative nobility. As a consequence, the national debt grew steadily larger.

The **10-mark question** asks for a critical view of the source and its value for understanding the "development of revolutionary sentiment". The metaphor of the national debt as a 'great burden' is an accurate one, however the source does not offer any account of how the debt was created. It also suggests the debt burden was being supported equally by all Three Estates. In reality, most of the taxation burden was being borne by the Third Estate: the peasantry and bourgeoisie. Since the First and Second Estates were exempt from personal taxation, they were significant contributors to France's growing deficit, rather than being burdened by it as is suggested by the source. The image also suggests a degree of unity between the three Estates that did not exist. The source does not suggest some of the other origins of revolutionary sentiment, such as growing dissatisfaction with royal absolutism; the frustrated political aspirations of some in the nobility and bourgeoisie; Enlightenment ideas and questioning of the old regime; the rising belief that the Third Estate should be politically represented; and short-term factors such as harvest failures and rising food prices. The source is one of several simple representations of the fiscal crisis but is not particularly illustrative of revolutionary causes.

Question 5

Historian Sylvia Neely writes that with the passing of the Constitution in 1791, and the "establishment of a regular government following the provisions of the Constitution ... the revolution was presumably over". Discuss why the formation of a new society in France did not end with the implementation of a constitution. Use evidence to support your answer.

This essay question obviously requires considerable focus on the period after the passing of the 1791 constitution. But it is also important to acknowledge the bourgeois origins of that constitution. It was created predominately by members of the bourgeoisie and liberal nobility with moderate aims. They wanted to create a constitutional monarchy, reduce the power of the church and enact some economic reforms to facilitate easier trade and exporting - but little else. The constitution they crafted excluded large numbers of 'passive citizens' (in reality, more than 90% of the population) from political representation or participation. The National Assembly also failed to adequately address the fiscal crisis or to solve the problem of food prices. The 1791 Constitution was therefore the end of the bourgeois revolution but not the revolution itself. Good responses should engage in discussion about why this constitution then failed. Some possible topics for discussion could include the royal family's flight to Varennes, which exposed the king as an unwilling participant and undermined the entire political system. The failure of the Legislative Assembly, the onset of war and the growing radicalism of 1792 are also worthy of exploration.

Russia

Question 1

Using three or four points, explain how industrial growth and urbanisation in Russia contributed to the development of the Russian Revolution prior to October 1917.

Answers to this question should focus on some of the longer term causes of the Russian Revolution, particularly the 1905 revolution. The reforms in Russia from the 1890s onwards modernised the nation's economy and created industrial development, movement of workers and rapid urbanisation. This in turn generated considerable worker dissatisfaction and revolutionary sentiment, particularly during the recession and war of 1904-05. But the economic modernisation that occurred in tsarist Russia was not complemented by reforms to either the social structure or the political system.

Possible focus points for an answer to this question could include:

- Russia's agrarian labourers were only released from serfdom as late as 1861.
- The 'industrial revolution' in Russia came much later than in western European nations and was largely the result of government intervention. The policies of chief minister Sergei Witte included spending on infrastructure projects such as the Trans-Siberian railway and offering significant tax concessions and incentives for foreign investment.
- The emergence of Russia's industrial working class, as well as the appalling working conditions and urban accommodation they tolerated, including long hours, unsafe workplaces, fines, etc. The development, growth and grievances of this class aligned with Marxist ideology.
- The unrest created by the Russo-Japanese War and the economic recession of 1904, leading to strikes at the Putilov steel works, the drafting of a workers' petition, the activism of Georgi Gapon, the march on the Winter Palace in January 1905 and the 'Bloody Sunday' shootings of that same day.
- Other relevant issues, incidents or events you may have studied, such as the grievances and actions of the Lena River gold miners in 1912 and the military suppression of these miners.

Student notes:

Question 2

Using three or four points, explain how the 1903 split of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (or SDs) contributed to the development of the Russian Revolution between 1905 and October 1917.

The focal point of this question is the Bolshevik movement, their ideology and strategy and points of differentiation from other Marxist and socialist parties. The 1903 split pre-dates the Area of Study but was critical in shaping the Bolsheviks and the course of the revolution. An effective answer should also identify the role of Lenin in steering and defining the Bolshevik movement.

Possible focus points for an answer to this question could include:

- Some background on the nature of Marxism, an ideology that predicted socialist revolution in advanced capitalist-industrial societies. The exploitation of workers and gross inequalities in these societies would facilitate this, according to Marx. The Russian SD party was an orthodox Marxist movement that took shape in the 1890s.
- The 1903 split was largely instigated by Lenin, who wished to transform the party into an active revolutionary movement rather than a reformist political party. The split created two factions: the more orthodox Mensheviks and the more radical Bolsheviks.
- A brief account of the structure, methodology and tactics of the Bolshevik movement. For example, 'democratic centralism' as the group's decision-making structure; Lenin's demand for 'professional revolutionaries'; his view of the Bolsheviks as the 'vanguard of revolution'.
- Acknowledgement that the Bolsheviks played little or no role in both the 1905 Revolution and the February Revolution, due to their lack of members, comparative weakness and the exile or imprisonment of their leaders.
- A summary of Bolshevik activities after February 1917 (e.g. April Theses, anti-war propaganda and agitation, non-compliance with the Provisional Government, actions in the Petrograd Soviet, formation of Milrevcom) leading to the October Revolution.

Student notes:

Question 3

A 1918 extract by Rosa Luxemburg, offering a critical view of the development of the new society in Russia. Luxemburg was a German Marxist, one of the leaders of the failed socialist revolution in Germany in early 1919. She was captured and executed in January of that year.

The **6-mark question** requires an examination of how the Bolsheviks responded to democracy or democratic institutions in the new society. The two main democratic bodies were the Soviets (representing the workers, soldiers and sailors) and the Constituent Assembly. Lenin had a low regard for democratic institutions or processes, something that differentiated him from other socialists, such as Trotsky. Though the Bolsheviks allowed the Constituent Assembly elections, scheduled for December 1917, to proceed, they were frustrated by the significant SR majority that resulted. As a consequence, Bolshevik Red Guards forced the assembly to disband after just one day of sitting. The All-Russian Congress of Soviets became the national legislature, though in reality it received and endorsed policies from the Bolshevik elite, rather than creating any of its own. Most Bolshevik policy between October 1917 and 1924 was implemented, as Luxemburg notes, by decree rather than any democratic process.

The **10-mark question** requires a historiographical assessment of Bolshevik government and dictatorship, using the extract as a starting point. Luxemburg's extract does not criticise Lenin's motives or commitment to socialist outcomes but it does criticise his methods. She argues that Bolshevik oppression and "dictatorial force" is "just treat the symptoms", when what is needed is the "active participation of the masses". This parallels other left-wing and libertarian historical viewpoints, which contend that the Bolshevik party failed to build on considerable popular support in 1917 and instead became fixated with crushing opposition and dissent. Other historians, such as Service or Pipes, would argue that the implementation of dictatorship and terror was inevitable; the Bolsheviks knew only sabotage, violence and destruction and could find no other solutions to the challenges of 1918. It is also worth noting that Luxemburg's account is compromised by several factors, particularly the fact that she was an outsider and was writing in 1918, a year when the Bolshevik regime was directly challenged for power by counter-revolutionaries and Left SRs. She also ignores some of the more positive Bolshevik attempts to undertake social reform, including campaigns to improve education, literacy, health care and the rights and status of women.

Student notes:

Question 4

A propaganda poster depicting the economic despair and government-sanctioned violence of 1905.

The source depicts industrialisation (factories) the misuse of tsarist troops and the misery and murder of industrial workers. In the **6-mark question**, some consideration should be given to the causes of worker unrest prior to January 1905, leading to the shootings near the Winter Palace. Some of the points for Question 2 (above) may be useful. The answer should explain the nature of the 1905 Revolution, which was a decentralised revolution marked by criticisms of the government, general strikes, the formation of revolutionary parties and political assassinations. There were demands for reform but no concerted effort to topple the tsarist regime. Nevertheless the continuing violence forced the tsar to agree to political reforms that he had no intention of honouring. The outcomes of the 1905 Revolution were to create a castrated democratic assembly (Duma); to encourage the formation of new liberal political parties; to create a radical workers' soviet; and to demonstrate the tsar's unwillingness to accept or support constitutional reform.

The **10-mark question** requires a critical examination of the source, with reference to the events mentioned above. The source is obviously an item of propaganda created in response to 'Bloody Sunday'. The content of the source itself is not expansive: it refers to industrial workers and acts of government violence committed upon them. But propaganda like this was an important device for changing public perceptions of the tsar. The tsar's response to the January 1905 shootings led to his condemnation: Gapon proclaimed after the killings that "there was no tsar", while the tsar became 'Bloody Nicholas' to others. But the source does not convey the complexities of the situation in 1905, such as the long-term outcomes of Russian industrialisation, the short-term outcomes of war and recession, the nature of worker and peasant grievances or the tsar's own position. Nor does it offer any insight into the "development of opposition to tsarism", other than as an example of anti-tsarist propaganda. To those ends, it is rather limited in its usefulness.

Question 5

Historian Crane Brinton suggested that revolutions have a life cycle that ends with "disillusionment, declining revolutionary energy and moves towards the restoration of order and stability". Discuss the extent to which these factors and conditions were evident in the new society in Russia. Use evidence to support your answer.

This essay question offers a generic contention about revolutions: that they tend to lose their motivating spirit and begin to fail, before compromising on their original aims to restore order. In the case of the Russian Revolution, this model can certainly be applied. Confronted with considerable internal and foreign opposition, the Bolshevik regime resorted to civil war, violence and terror to maintain its position. The famine of 1920-21, significant peasant revolts, the growth of internal party factionalism and the events at Kronstadt threatened the new regime, which responded by implementing the New Economic Policy and relaxing its economic stranglehold on Russia.

China

Question 1

Using three or four points, explain how conservative and anti-reformist elements within the Qing Dynasty contributed to the development of the Chinese Revolution between 1898 and 1911.

Answers to this question will consider the power structures within the Qing regime and the dynasty's weaknesses, both as a national government and an agent for reform. Despite a widely acknowledged need for political, economic and social reform, Qing and Manchu conservatives resisted significant changes. And when these structural changes were introduced (e.g. the late Qing reforms of 1905 onwards) they were either insincere or poorly considered. The Qing's conservatism not only meant the regime was incapable of embracing or managing reform, it was also unable to unite China, to combat factionalism, to suppress the power of local warlords and to reclaim China from foreign interference. From the Boxer Rebellion onwards, the days of Qing rule were numbered and the only question was who or what would replace it.

Possible focus points for an answer to this question could include:

- The division and use of political power within the Qing court, particularly the ineffectiveness of the Tongzhi and Guangxu Emperors and the dominance and de facto rule of the Empress Dowager Cixi.
- The weakness of the national government, which was limited by a range of factors including foreign spheres of influence and intervention, the strength of warlords and other regional power brokers, the decentralised nature of power and the weak national military.
- The role of powerful conservatives like Manchu royals (e.g. Zaiyi) higher members of the bureaucracy, landlords, military generals (e.g. Yuan Shikai, Ronglu), holders of sinecures, etc. whose privilege was threatened by mooted reforms.
- The actions of Cixi, Ronglu and Yuan Shikai in suppressing the Hundred Days reforms.
- During the Boxer Rebellion, Cixi and the Qing sided with the Boxers, probably to strengthen the government's nationalist credentials and win public support. But this poor decision making further weakened the Qing, which was humiliated by foreign intervention and a punitive treaty.
- The development and evolution of the New Army under Yuan Shikai. This force was initially intended to suppress revolutionary activity but many units were actively involved in the 1911 revolution.

Student notes:

Question 2

Using three or four points, explain how the ideology and experiences of the Yan'an Soviet contributed to the development of the Chinese Revolution prior to October 1949.

Answers to this question will identify that the Yan'an Soviet was the crucible of Chinese communism: the endpoint of the Long March, the place where communist ideology was first attempted in practice, the base from which the civil war was waged, and the place where Mao Zedong became ascendant over the CCP.

Possible focus points for an answer to this question could include:

- Background to the CCP and the path by which it came to Yan'an: its formation in Shanghai in 1921, its 1920s alliance with the Guomindang, the collapse of the First United Front, the formation of soviet in Jiangxi and the Long March of 1934-35.
- Yan'an as a military training base, where Mao Zedong, Zhu De and others re-formed the Red Army, developed guerrilla warfare methods and instilled CCP forces with revolutionary discipline, particularly with regard to their dealings with civilians and peasants.
- Yan'an as the place where Mao Zedong rose to prominence in the CCP, transitioning from a regional leader of moderate importance to the party's military and ideological mentor. The role of Zhou Enlai, Zhu De and Chen Boda in this transition might also be considered.
- Yan'an as an experimental peasant soviet, where the CCP implemented land reform, literacy and education programs, etc. This created a sense of cooperation and optimism (according to CCP propaganda) described as the 'Yan'an Spirit'.
- Yan'an as a showpiece for successful socialism, both for the Chinese and for foreigners. The party's reforms combined with its propaganda campaign created a significant surge in party membership, while foreign delegations (e.g. Dixie Mission) and writers (e.g. Edgar Snow) were shown the successes of Chinese socialism. However Yan'an was also the birthplace of rectification, a tool used to eradicate dissenters and threats to Mao Zedong's power.

Student notes:

Question 3

An extract from Jung Chang on the Hundred Flowers campaign of 1957 and her mother's optimistic response to this.

The **6-mark question** requires you to demonstrate factual knowledge of the Hundred Flowers movement. It began purportedly as a movement of "self-correction". By encouraging the Chinese intelligentsia to offer criticisms and suggestions, freely and openly, the CCP could engage in reflection, debate and "self-correction". As is suggested in Chang's extract, there were no clear guidelines about who could speak out; the invitation to do so was an open one. The outcomes of this call to "let a hundred flowers bloom" was a trickle then a river of criticism, the extent of which unnerved many in the CCP and perhaps Mao himself. As a consequence, the movement was allowed to continue for just a few months. As many as a half-million Chinese had identified themselves as critics of the government, the CCP and Maoist ideology itself, leading to their condemnation as 'Rightists'. A wave of persecution followed, ranging from exclusion and public humiliation to imprisonment, 're-education' and execution.

The **10-mark question** requires a critical assessment of the extract and some historiographical knowledge of the Hundred Flowers movement. A diversity of viewpoints exists about Mao Zedong's motives for sparking the Hundred Flowers movement. A minority of historians suggest it was a genuine attempt to shape the future of the party, however Mao grossly underestimated the level of criticism. A larger consensus has argued that it was a stage-managed attempt to create the impression of a party and leader who welcomed criticism and debate. Others, including Jung Chang herself, suggest the Hundred Flowers call was a Mao ploy to identify deviationists in the new society ("to coax the snakes out of their holes"). Lynch hints that the Hundred Flowers policy was an aberration, the product of Mao's uncertainty and instability in early 1957 - but his response, "another deadly rectification campaign", marked his recovery. The extract itself conceals Jung Chang's usual view of Mao: as a malevolent and brutal dictator with no regard for the welfare of his people. But it does provide some first hand insight into how some Chinese responded to the Hundred Flowers movement and the new society in general.

Student notes:

Question 4

Artwork entitled "Wild Herbs", depicting Zhu De cooking for Red Army soldiers during the Long March.

The **6-mark question** is a manageable one that requires factual knowledge of the Long March and its significance to the success of the communist revolution. The Long March was essentially a military expedition to evacuate the Red Army from Jiangxi, which in 1934 was on the verge of destruction by Guomindang forces. Moving in several waves, more than 100,000 Red Army and CCP personnel left Jiangxi and began moving north towards the comparative safety of Shaanxi province. But the Long March was imperilled by treacherous terrain, difficult weather, food shortages, Guomindang attacks, hostile warlords and ethnic groups, and fewer than one third of the original 100,000 marchers would arrive in Shaanxi. While the Long March may have been a logistic disaster, the CCP and the core of the Red Army survived and were able to regroup in Yan'an. The Long March had two more significant outcomes, however. It allowed Mao Zedong to rise in prominence within the CCP hierarchy; and it served as a prolific source of post-revolution propaganda, some of dubious veracity, that glorified the Red Army, Mao Zedong and the events of 1934-35.

The **10-mark question** asks for a critical evaluation of the source and its perspective on CCP leadership. In the source, the Long Marchers are shown as tired but happy, contented and presumably well fed. Zhu De himself is depicted as a military leader who was prepared to communicate with his men and even perform menial tasks like cooking. Given the source's date of creation (1982) it is safe to assume this idealism is not based on the artist's own experiences. Long March propaganda typically shows CCP figures, usually Mao Zedong, exercising leadership while remaining close to ordinary soldiers; this is present in this source. Some historians, like Jung Chang, dispute these portrayals and suggest the party elite travelled in relative comfort, aloof from the sufferings of the main Red Army. What is certainly not shown in pro-CCP propaganda is that party leadership was sharply divided before and during the Long March, split between the so-called '28 Bolsheviks' (Moscow-educated CCP leaders aligned with Otto Braun) and a faction led by Mao, Zhu De and Zhou Enlai. The issue of who should provide tactical leadership on the Long March was not affirmed until the Zunyi Conference of January 1935, when the CCP hierarchy backed Mao, distancing the party from Russian control. Mao's ascendancy continued in Yan'an, fuelled by manipulation and propaganda, while opposition was quelled through rectification campaigns. None of this is suggested by this particular source, which has little value in understanding the true nature of revolutionary leadership.

Student notes:

Question 5

According to historian John E. Schrecker, when the communists seized power in 1949, they seemed “committed to solving the problems that had fuelled discontent for so long: poverty, unrepresentative and ineffective government, national weakness and a poor moral climate”. Discuss the extent to which the new society in China was able to fulfil these goals. Use evidence to support your answer.

This essay question asks for an assessment of the new society based on some quite specific markers: poverty, unrepresentative government, national weakness and the "moral climate". Good answers will consider the extent to which the new regime was able to improve on these aspects. It could be argued, for example, that the Maoist regime did little to solve poverty or improve standards of living in general, while its governmental structures were nominally democratic but in reality acted as a facade for one-party dictatorship. But the new regime was able to improve national strength - and it did attempt to improve the "moral climate" by abolishing archaic social practices, such as dowries, arranged marriages and foot binding. Outpourings of criticism during the Hundred Flowers movement, and later in 'scar literature', suggest that discontent was widely present in the new society, as much as the government worked to suppress and conceal it.