

This document is an answer guide for Alpha History's 2017 practice exam (1). It contains information, advice and suggested approaches for most questions on this practice exam paper.

This answer guide has been prepared by experienced VCE History teachers, working to guidelines provided by VCAA. These suggested approaches are presented as a straightforward, logical and effective way of responding to questions on the paper. They are not intended to be authoritative, exhaustive or exclusive. Teachers and students may develop and utilise their own approaches that are equally effective.

Our second practice exam and answer guide will be published and distributed in early August, after the mid-year holidays.

Note: This answer guide has been prepared by different authors. As a consequence different sections may vary in length, style or approach.

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Section A Question One – source analysis

General comments

Students are presented with two or three sources (documentary extracts, quotations, images or historical interpretations) and three questions. Two questions are worth five marks each and a third is worth ten marks. Each question contains a different command or task word - for example, “outline”, “describe”, “analyse”). Students should be aware of these command words and the different strategies they require. The five-mark questions require a basic recounting of facts (outlining or description) and reasoning (explanation). The ten-mark question requires more critical analysis, evaluation and acknowledgement of different perspectives and interpretations. These questions also require students to refer to the sources and their “own knowledge”, drawing on learned information not provided in the sources.

American Revolution

Two documents are presented. The first is an extract from Daniel Dulany, a Loyalist politician who was nevertheless critical of the Stamp Act and British revenue measures. Dulany questions the theory of virtual representation and Parliament’s assumed right to tax the American colonies. The second source, from historian Alan Axelrod, suggests “burdensome” British taxes were levied during an economic recession.

- a. Answers should confine themselves to British policies of the 1760s, namely to the Sugar Act, the Stamp Act, the Townshend Acts and the Declaratory Act. Good answers will show that the American response to these policies was multi-faceted, from formal political resolutions to mob unrest, and involved different groups and classes. Specific groups, events and documents should be mentioned, such as the Stamp Act Congress, the formation of the Sons of Liberty, literary responses from Richard Bland and John Dickinson, the formation of non-importation groups, non-compliance with the Stamp Act and acts of violence and intimidation against Loyalists and royal officials.
- b. Good answers must begin by defining the doctrine of virtual representation, perhaps in contrast to the actual representation enjoyed by the colonists in their own assemblies. The view expressed in both sources is that American colonists objected to taxation levied under virtual representation because they had no means to protest, limit or curtail it in parliament, therefore it could be increased at will. From this emerged the slogan “taxation without representation is tyranny”, popularised by James Otis. Writers such as Otis, Bland, Dickinson, Samuel Adams and Thomas Jefferson could be mentioned as the leading colonial objectors to virtual representation.
- c. The third question asks students to “evaluate changing perceptions of the British parliament” and how this contributed to revolution. Well prepared students should be able to explain that the disputed revenue policies of the 1760s caused Americans to reexamine their relationship with Britain generally and the Parliament specifically. This relationship had seldom been tested during the long period of British non-intervention in the colonies (“salutary neglect”). Americans, being represented in municipal and colonial assemblies, developed a more rigorous perception of representation than allowed by the British doctrine of “virtual representation”. The British parliament came to be seen as a distant body no longer concerned with the welfare or serving the interests of Americans. Both sources contend that changing attitudes toward parliamentary representation were brought to a head by taxation, to which the Americans objected on principle. Progressive or left-wing interpretations might refute this, arguing that objections to British legislation and control were driven by mercantile interests or power-seeking elites.

French Revolution

Two sources are presented. The first source is an image depicting the Three Estates atop a see-saw, with the Third Estate and a symbolic figure, representing justice or the nation, weighing down one end. The second source is a documentary extract from Lord Acton, an English historian of the French Revolution, writing in the early 20th century. Acton suggests that the revolution was not sparked by worsening conditions but a “confluence of French theory with American example”.

- a. The first question requires students to outline the main political ideas of the revolutionaries, while referring to Source 1. Answers should remain focused on ideas about government and political representation. The revolutionaries drew on Enlightenment ideas to question the validity of the monarchy. The American Revolution provided an example of people replacing a traditional royal imperial system with a democratic republican system. Many craved some form of political representation, such as a regular convocation of the Estates-General. Sieyes’ *What is the Third Estate?* argued that France’s commoners constituted the productive body of the nation, so its importance outweighed that of the other two Estates. This is an expression of popular sovereignty that is reflected in Source 1.
- b. The second question asks for an explanation of “conditions and factors” that contributed to tension between the Estates. Well prepared students should have no difficulty with this question. Good answers might refer to the unequal taxation burden; the barriers that prevented commoners from entering the First or Second Estates; corruption in the higher clergy and the failures of the church at parish level; seigneurialism and its weighty feudal obligations, such as the *corvee*; and public perceptions of the nobility as leisure loving, decadent and debauched. As Source 2 suggests, in a time of fiscal crisis, harvest failures and high food prices the Third Estate felt they were denied political representation by the First and Second Estates.
- c. This question asks students to analyse the significance of the American Revolution as a cause of the French Revolution. Good answers will mention the links between both revolutions (e.g. Louis XVI’s alliance with the Americans, France’s affection for Benjamin Franklin, the service of volunteers like Lafayette in America), and explain how the American Revolution inspired a revolutionary movement in France. The practical, financial and ideological impacts should be considered. The American Revolution provided a working example of a successful revolution: removal of royal absolutism and the creation of a constitutional democracy based on Enlightenment political principles, achieved with relatively little bloodshed. France’s financial, logistic and military support to the American revolutionaries also added to the nation’s fiscal woes – particularly since France failed to regain most of her pre-1763 American colonies. The literature and rhetoric of the American Revolution also crossed the Atlantic. These ideas were picked up by the salons and clubs of 1780s Paris, and contributed in significant part to French revolutionary ideology. In sum, the American Revolution contributed to the French Revolution through financial outcomes, through an exchange of ideas and by making revolution seem a valid and effective course of action.

Russian Revolution

Two sources are provided. The first is an American newspaper cartoon from April 1917, featuring a bear (symbolic of Russia or the Russian Provisional Government) being inundated with policies and reforms, while promising the Allies to “fight all the harder with you”. The second source, from pro-socialist American correspondent John Reed, describes the difficult conditions in Russia and attempts by the Provisional Government to impose discipline and authority.

- a. The first question asks students to outline challenges faced by the Provisional Government in 1917, i.e. through the entirety of its existence. Source 1 points at one of these challenges: the difficulty of maintaining the war effort while managing political reform and a range of demands from various sources. The Provisional Government’s main task was to dissolve the remnants of tsarism and arrange for elections for a Constituent Assembly. It was also confronted with the same economic and social breakdowns that contributed to the downfall of tsarism, such as food and fuel shortages, transportation failures, labour strikes and mutinies in the armed forces. The activities of the Petrograd Soviet, the regional soviets and radical socialists like the Bolsheviks could also be mentioned as challenges to the Provisional Government and its authority.
- b. The second question asks students to explain why the Provisional Government lost popular support between its formation in March 1917 and its overthrow by the Bolsheviks in October 1917. It is not unreasonable to suggest that the Provisional Government never enjoyed the support of the Russian people, at least not fully. The government itself was not elected: it assumed control of Russia after the spontaneous uprisings of February-March 1917, its members drawn from the powerless fourth Duma. The emergence of the Petrograd Soviet in March 1917 provided Russian soldiers and workers with a body more receptive to their interests and, for some, a better alternative government. The Provisional Government, in contrast, was perceived as being too representative of the old regime, with its aristocratic prime minister, *bourgeois* cabinet and only one socialist minister (Kerensky).
- c. The third question asks students to “analyse the significance of the Provisional Government and its leaders as a cause of the October Revolution”. In other words, to what extent did the actions and failures of the Provisional Government contribute to its overthrow? This requires some examination of the Provisional Government’s own leadership and policy decisions. The government’s decision to remain in the war, under pressure from the Allies, saw it lose support among the army. Kerensky’s appointment as war minister in May 1917 went some way to rejuvenating the army – but the failed Brusilov offensive of June lost whatever ground had been gained. The Provisional Government’s liberal decrees of March 1917 allowed political extremists to return from detention or exile; this opened the floodgates for radical propaganda and plotting. The Provisional Government was itself unstable, collapsing and reforming twice. Its lack of power meant it could neither resolve economic problems inherited from the tsarist regime, or protect itself from counter-revolutionary threats (e.g. Kornilov affair, August 1917). Strong answers will examine a range of perspectives and interpretations. Historians share a consensus that the Provisional Government was riven with errors and failures. The Soviet view is that the Provisional Government was too protective of Western bourgeois interests, while the predominant Western-conservative view is that it was an unworkable coalition that made too many concessions, so collapsed from within.

Chinese Revolution

Two sources are provided. The first is an American newspaper report from January 1915, suggesting that President Yuan Shikai is seeking to elevate himself to the position of Emperor. The second source is an extract from historian Immanuel Hsu, providing reasons for the failure of the early republic in China.

- a. This question asks students to outline how Yuan Shikai shaped the development of China from 1912. It is essentially asking students to explain his impact on the new society. Good answers will begin with a little background, explaining that Yuan was a late Qing general who controlled the New Army; he lent his support to the Sun Yixian (Sun Yat-sen) and the 1911 Revolution, in return for high office. He became China's first president in February 1912, however his commitment to both democracy and republicanism was weak. While in office Yuan ruled arbitrarily, undermined and eventually dissolved the National Assembly, and possibly orchestrated the assassination of Song Jiaoren. He also bowed to a humiliating ultimatum from Japan.
- b. The second question asks students to explain how Sun Yixian and his followers hoped to create a new China. Good answers should explain both Sun's ideology and the strategies adopted by Sun and his followers. Sun's Three Principles – nationalism, democracy and the welfare of the people – should be mentioned and explained. Sun surrendered the presidency to Yuan Shikai, a trade off for military support to force the Qing dynasty from the throne. Sun's response was to form the Guomindang and, during the warlord period, establish a military government and training academy in Guangzhou. Sun died in 1925 without seeing his vision for a new republican China fulfilled.
- c. The third question asks students to analyse why the early Chinese republic collapsed into warlordism. There are several factors that can be considered. One is the presidency of Yuan Shikai (see question above), which weakened the fledgling republic and pushed it to collapse; for this reason Yuan is sometimes referred to as the "first warlord" or the "father of warlords". Yuan's inability to combat foreign imperialism – either from the European spheres of influence within China or the Japanese seeking to extend their control in Asia – eroded confidence in his rule. Good answers might also take a longer term, structuralist view. China was a nation of great size, population, diversity and regional autonomy. It was not strongly united under the Qing and attempts to create strong national government and institutions during the late Qing era had failed. China's military forces were also factionalised and regionally based. Yuan Shikai's command of the Beiyang Army, the nation's most powerful land army, had served as a unifying force – but his death in 1916 removed that. As in other times in China's history, regional strongmen emerged and recruited soldiers into their own private armies. This gave rise to the Warlord Era. Hsu's extract, in contrast, seems to attribute warlordism to Sun Yixian's followers and their unwillingness to adhere to his Three Principles and "struggle against foreign imperialism". According to Hsu this left the revolution "incomplete". Chinese perspectives of the warlord period suggest it was the last phase of China's divisive regionalism, contributing to the push for reunification in the late 1920s. Western perspectives attribute warlordism to the failure of the early republic; they depict it was a period of chaos, brutality and suffering for the Chinese people.

Section A - Questions Two and Three

General comments

These questions ask students to write extended responses about two specific topics or issues. Students are provided with one page (25 lines) as the suggested space for each response. The task/action word for these responses is “Explain...” Students should therefore confine their responses to factual explanations that demonstrate their understanding and historical knowledge of the new society. The use of evidence and specific information such as names, dates, places, documents, laws, policies, statistics, short quotes, etc. is recommended. Students should refrain from including historical interpretations. Adopting a well signposted multi-point structure (e.g. four or five points) is encouraged.

More advice and sample responses for these questions can be found at <http://alphahistory.com/vcehistory/vce-history-exam-section-a-2-3/>.

American Revolution

The first question asks students to explain how “military disorganisation and defeats” threatened the survival of the new regime. Good answers might mention that in 1776-78 the new regime’s only ‘national’ institutions were the Continental Army and the Continental Congress; the destruction of the first and the capture of the second would have spelt the end of the revolution. American military mobilisation and effectiveness was hampered by several factors, including the wavering attitudes of some states and their unwillingness to fund the Continental Army; the existence of parallel state militias; the activities of Loyalists; apathy toward the revolution among many colonists; the lack of experienced military officers; the use of 12-month enlistment terms and high rates of desertion; and shortages of money, equipment, artillery and munitions. American military weakness was exposed in the first year of the war, with costly defeats at Bunker Hill and Long Island. Good answers might close with a sentence explaining how the Americans responded to these challenges, for example, the leadership of Washington, the recruitment of foreign volunteers, longer enlistment terms and enlistment bounties; the contributions of private financiers like Robert Morris; and measures to strip Loyalists of influence and private property.

The second question asks students to explain how the new regime responded to political and economic disunity, across the entire Area of Study. Good responses should focus chiefly on the lack of unity and cooperation between the states after July 1776. The Articles of Confederation (drafted 1777, enacted 1781) established a weak federalism that maintained state sovereignty and gave the Confederation Congress no coercive power over its member states, not even the ability to raise tax or regulate currency or commerce. This gave rise to financial problems, such as the issuance of different currencies and the imposition of tariffs on goods crossing state borders. The states also planned their own foreign trade, continued to maintain their own militias and clashed over disputed borders and territory. The response was the push for constitutional reform that emerged in the mid 1780s, beginning with the Annapolis Convention, the Philadelphia Convention and the drafting of the United States Constitution. This movement sought to minimise disunity by uniting all 13 states under a strong federal structure. The Constitution was based on federalism to protect states’ rights, compromises to state interests (such as the limited protections for slavery) and checks and balances to ease fears of an oppressive presidency. The Constitution enabled a greater focus on national interests, a stronger unity and a degree of uniformity in policy, particularly with regard to trade, foreign affairs, currency and defence.

French Revolution

The first question asks how political clubs and factions within the National Convention shaped the development of the new society. Students should be aware that “political clubs” and “factions within the Convention” are separate concepts, though there were connections between the two. To score well it is important to identify, define and discuss several significant groups. Political clubs worthy of discussion include the Jacobins, *Monarchiens*, Society of 1789, the Feuillants and Cordeliers. Good responses will explain that the clubs housed like-minded people and debated and discussed political policies and developments. They served as a nexus between citizens and government assemblies of the new regime, in a similar way to political parties today. The membership and ideas within these clubs was initially broad, however as the new regime evolved the clubs became more selective and their focus and ideology narrowed; the Jacobins in particular became increasingly radical. Good responses will also discuss factions within the Convention: the Girondins, the *Montagne* or Mountain, and the *Marais* or Plain. These factions divided the Convention, increased tension and conflict, and contributed to the adoption of more radical policies. This factionalism culminated in the expulsion of the Girondins, the formation of the Committees of General Security and Public Safety, and the Reign of Terror.

The second question asks how economic pressures, especially the demand for cheaper food, shaped the new society. This can be considered from the perspective of the people, particularly those aggrieved by food shortages and high prices; by describing the new regime’s attempts to resolve them; and by explaining how this unrest shaped political events. Food shortages had been a pressing cause of the revolution in 1789 and they remained a problem in the new regime. Bread prices had eased by 1791, but by 1793 they were approaching their 1789 levels. The food crisis fuelled unrest in the Paris sections and the radicals known as the *enrages*; this contributed to the mobilisation of the *sans culottes*, the radicalisation of the Paris sections; widening divisions in the National Convention; and the expulsion of the Girondins in June 1793. The National Convention responded to the demands of the *sans culottes* by passing the Maximum Law, which placed price caps on dozens of food items. The Maximum only worsened the situation by encouraging hoarding among farmers and peasants; this hampered supply and increased shortages in Paris and other cities. The new regime also wrestled with debt and currency inflation, attempting to address both by seizing Church property and issuing bonds against this property as currency. These new banknotes, called *assignats*, rapidly depreciated in value.

Russian Revolution

The first question asks students to explain how reforms to the rights and status of women affected the development of the new society. Good answers should begin by explaining Bolshevik ideas about gender equality and the significant role of women like Krupskaya and Kollontai in the Bolshevik movement. Kollontai became a leading reformer in the new regime, convening a women's congress (1918) and overseeing the formation of the women's agency Zhenotdel (1919). The Soviet regime stripped away the patriarchal inequalities that existed under tsarism. The Family Law Act (1918) removed religious controls over marriage, making it a civil contract, while divorce and property laws were equalised. Bolshevik revisions to the Labour Code (1918) significantly improved conditions for female workers, particularly pregnant women and nursing mothers. Other reforms include maternity leave, workplace *creches*, women's clinics and the legalisation of abortion. Answers may conclude by noting that while these reforms produced nominal improvements for Russian women, they were undermined by the political repression and austere economic policies of the new regime (e.g. war communism).

The second question asks students to explain how Lenin's illness and death affected the development of the new society. This is essentially a question about the transition of leadership from Lenin to Stalin. Lenin's health was affected by an assassination attempt (August 1918) and a series of strokes in 1922-23. These strokes forced Lenin to withdraw from public view, to his *dacha* in Gorki. Lenin's absence allowed Stalin to consolidate his influence as General Secretary of the Communist Party. Lenin's illness also allowed Stalin to manipulate and marginalise the Soviet leader, restricting access to Lenin and controlling the flow of information to and from his residence. Lenin's illness interrupted his management of Soviet policy, the New Economic Policy (1921) being his last significant measure. It did allow him to study and evaluate the emerging Soviet state, and to draft his 'political testament'; this document was critical of both Stalin and Trotsky, though Stalin was able to suppress it. Lenin failed to nominate or prepare a successor, so his premature death (January 1924) left a power vacuum that was filled by Stalin. It led to the development of a personality cult focused on Lenin, something contrary to his wishes.

Chinese Revolution

The first question asks students to explain how Mao Zedong and the CCP attempted to increase China's industrial capacity and agricultural production. This is a multi-faced question that should be accessible to students with a good understanding of CCP economic goals and policies. Note that the wording of the question only asks about the CCP's policies ("attempts to increase...") rather than the outcomes or ramifications of these policies, so avoid getting bogged down with the Great Famine or life in the People's Communes. These negative impacts might be wrapped up in the closing sentence. Good answers might first discuss the CCP's agrarian reforms of 1950-53. These reforms redistributed land to China's peasants and overturned existing class structures, purging rural villages of landlords. While these reforms were popular with peasants they failed to improve agricultural productivity, so they were soon replaced with more radical policies. The CCP's First Five Year Plan (1953-57) stimulated Chinese industry by importing Soviet technicians and resources, creating large infrastructure projects and setting ambitious production targets. The Second Five Year Plan or 'Great Leap Forward' (1958-62) went further, calling for steel production to be almost doubled, through the operation of 'backyard furnaces'. The second arm of the question asks about attempts to increase agricultural production. Here students can refer to the CCP's program of collectivisation, the formation of the People's Communes and ambitious programs like Lysenkoism and the Four Pests Campaign.

The second question asks students to explain how the Cultural Revolution restored Mao Zedong's political authority, as well as its impact on Chinese people. Good answers might begin with some brief context, explaining that Mao had fallen from power in the wake of the Great Leap Forward and the Great Famine. Between 1959 and 1966 Mao was supplanted in policy matters by Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping and others, though he retained respect and popularity among the people. The Cultural Revolution was triggered by implied criticisms of Mao in the play 'Hai Rui Dismissed from Office'. In 1965 Mao urged a "cultural revolution" to review and purge academia, art and culture of anti-socialist ideas. Established in mid 1966, the Cultural Revolution Group was filled with Mao's supporters, while pro-Mao high school and university students were encouraged to criticise and rebel against their teachers. Mao's "good swim" in the Yangtze (July 1966) was interpreted as a sign of his health and vigour. With the encouragement of Mao and Chen Boda, his propaganda chief, the Red Guards developed, grew in number and rallied through 1966. Encouraged to attack the 'Four Olds', the Red Guards assailed Mao's political opponents, who were removed from both the government and the CCP. This not only allowed Mao to regain almost total control, it created a 'Cult of Mao' that venerated him and made future challenges to his power unlikely.



Section B Question One – short essay

All four essay questions are straightforward and accessible. The tasks contain a short stimulus quote, followed by a question asking students to what extent they agree. Obviously this requires an argumentative response, requiring students to develop and express a contention. Students should examine the stimulus quote carefully, consider its focus and identify which issues, events or people it is referring to. Use this to plan a short essay (most students should aim for three pages, stronger students more) that is organised either chronologically or thematically. Students should also be aware of the assessment criteria for the essay, which are provided in the exam booklet. More general advice about the essay can also be found at <http://alphahistory.com/vcehistory/vce-history-exam-section-b-1-2/>

American Revolution

This question asks students to weigh revolutionary ideas against the “oppressive old regime” as a cause of the revolution. Most students will find it easier to argue that revolutionary ideas had a greater prominence. It is more difficult (though still quite possible) to argue that British oppression was the driving factor behind the revolution.

A sample introduction might take the following form:

The American Revolution was a revolution driven chiefly by ideas, particularly natural rights and political representation. The American colonists were not significantly oppressed by the old regime. Their reactions to policies like the Stamp Act and the Townshend duties hinged on the British parliament’s right to levy taxes on unrepresented people. After almost a century of salutary neglect and virtual self government, the Americans believed the right to taxation was held by their own representatives, not British parliamentarians. As tensions increased the Americans used the the language of tyranny and oppression in their revolutionary propaganda, but they were never seriously subjected to either. The revolution’s ideas were reflected in its cornerstone documents, including the Declaration of Independence, Paine’s *Common Sense*, the United States Constitution and the Bill of Rights. (128 words)

An essay with this introduction could adopt a thematic structure that looks at specific ideas behind the revolution (rights, representation, sovereignty), linking them with pivotal philosophers, writers and documents. The context of the European Enlightenment should also be acknowledged and discussed. As students lay out their contention they should accommodate different historical perspectives – for example, those of the British imperialists, the colonial elites and merchant class, Loyalists, frontiersmen, colonial women, African-American slaves and displaced Native Americans.

French Revolution

This question asks students to assess whether “ineffective government” and the discrediting of the monarchy were the most powerful factors in the development of the French Revolution. Before attempting this question it is important for students to consider the definition and dimensions of both phrases. “Ineffective government” is a broad term that could encompass a range of problems, including the corrupt and inefficient taxation regime, irresponsible spending, the growth of the national bureaucracy, venality and corruption, France’s complex system of trade regulations and its overlapping political and territorial divisions. The “discrediting” of the monarchy could refer both to Enlightenment challenges to the principle of absolute monarchy, and to crude political pornography that personally attacked Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette.

It is probably easier for students to argue in favour of the proposition, given that so many revolutionary causes and developments can be shoehorned into the two key terms. It is possible to refute the statement if one argues that economic factors, remnant feudalism and/or social inequalities were more significant drivers of revolutionary sentiment than the king or his government.

A sample introduction might take the following form:

Many people lay blame for the French Revolution on the king and his government. Louis XVI was an indecisive ruler who achieved no significant structural reforms in his reign. He took advice from the wrong ministers and made poor decisions under pressure. This was particularly true of the late 1780s, when the fiscal crisis became acute and the Third Estate demanded a political voice. Louis and his Austrian-born wife Marie Antoinette were also targeted by scurrilous and pornographic literature called *libelles*. This, along with Enlightenment criticisms of absolutist monarchy and the republican American Revolution, eroded public respect and affection for the Bourbon dynasty. Louis was not equipped to either avoid revolution or to manage it when it erupted. (119 words)

Russian Revolution

This question asks students to evaluate whether Russia's "incapacity for war" was the most significant cause of the revolution. It is a straightforward question that should be manageable for well prepared students. Answers should obviously focus on World War I and its impact on Russia, however good answers will also include mention of the Russo-Japanese War, a shorter conflict but one with significant implications for tsarism. An effective approach would be to explain that while tsarism was undermined by long-term problems (such as industrialisation, the rise of the middle class and industrial proletariat, the growth of cities and pressure for modern political reform), the onset of war presented tsarism with a short-term crisis that it was not able to solve. War tested the fragility of Russia's government and economy and, in the case of World War I, brought about its collapse.

One possible introduction for this essay could be:

In its final two decades the tsarist regime was twice challenged by war. The first came in 1905, when Russia's disastrous war with Japan caused economic collapse and shattered the myth of Russian military invincibility. This led directly to the 1905 Revolution and forced Tsar Nicholas II to promise political reforms. Tsarism survived this challenge but it could not survive more than two years of total war during World War I. Disorganisation and shortages in the army, strategic blunders and heavy losses on the battlefield, disruption to agricultural and industrial production, food and fuel shortages, the breakdown of transportation infrastructure and Nicholas' own poor decision-making all contributed to the collapse of tsarism in February and March 1917. (117 words)

Paragraphs should focus on the points mentioned, explaining why the tsarist regime was unable or unwilling to address them. The tsar's imperialist ambitions in Asia and his political ambitions in Europe were responsible for Russia's entry into both wars. World War I shattered perceptions about Russia's military strength; conscription depleted rural areas of labour and disrupted agricultural production; the need for munitions and military equipment exposed Russia's weak industrial capacity; the lack of track and rolling stock caused the nation's underdeveloped transportation system to collapse. The end result in late 1916 and early 1917 were massive food shortages in Petrograd and other cities, which contributed directly to the February Revolution. The war was also problematic for the Provisional Government in 1917, though the wording of this question does not require examination of this.

Chinese Revolution

This question asks students to evaluate Mao Zedong's "assumption of leadership during and after the Long March" as a factor in the revolution. The prompt statement provided suggests a considerable focus on the Long March and the leadership transition that occurred during this event. A general assessment of Mao's leadership (as "the pivotal factor in the success of the Chinese Revolution") should also be considered.

A possible introduction for this essay follows:

The Long March is a pivotal event in the Chinese Revolution. Not only did it ensure the survival of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the Red Army, the Long March produced the rise of Mao Zedong. Under Mao's guidance the Red Army survived the Long March and arrived in Yan'an, albeit considerably weaker. Mao's strategic leadership, as well as his control of propaganda and the narrative of the Long March, saw him emerge as a significant national leader. Mao consolidated and expanded his power during the Yan'an period, becoming the CCP's political leader, military commander and ideological figurehead. From Yan'an he was able to lead the CCP to victory in October 1949. (113 words)

An effective essay might begin by providing some context and explaining Mao's role in the CCP before the Long March, i.e. as a regional figure in Hunan, as a Red Army commander and a leader of the Jiangxi Soviet. He was displaced from this last role by the Moscow-aligned Central Committee, and as a military commander the Long March afforded Mao an opportunity to reestablish control. This was finalised at the Zunyi Conference (January 1935). The essay should naturally give some attention to competing views of the Long March: the CCP's official narrative, that it was a strategic triumph that hardened the Red Army, and historical interpretations that suggest it was a human and military disaster (e.g. Jung Chang).

The second part of the essay should consider Mao's leadership as a contributing factor to the success of the Chinese Revolution. This may include topics such as his military strategy, his leadership of the Red Army, his rules for military discipline, and his development of a revolutionary ideology (Mao Zedong Thought). These developments allowed Mao and the CCP to present as an alternative government to the Nationalists and, eventually, to achieve victory over them.

Section B Question Two – source analysis

General comments

This question tests Area of Study Two in the student's second revolution. It provides the student with two sources (documentary extracts, quotations, images or historical interpretations) pertaining to a specific topic or issue. Students are then presented with three questions: two worth five marks each, and a third worth ten marks. As for Section A Question One, each question contains a different command or task word - for example, "describe", "explain", "evaluate"). Students should be aware of these command words and the different strategies they require. In all three questions it is important to refer once or twice to the sources provided, either by paraphrasing or using short direct quotes.

American Revolution

Two sources are presented. The first is a drawing titled "The Ninth Pillar erected", one of several similar images depicting the states as pillars and the erection of a federal political structure. The second source is a June 1788 letter from George Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette, discussing the ratification of the Constitution and the benefits Washington believes will flow from it.

- a. The first question asks students to outline the process by which the United States Constitution was ratified. Answers should be clear, concise and factual. They should begin with the origins of the Constitution (the Annapolis and Philadelphia Conventions); explain the requirements for ratification (endorsement by two-thirds of the 13 states); describe the public debates and propaganda that accompanied ratification; and conclude with the state ratification conventions and their decisions. Source 1 depicts the erection of the ninth state, New Hampshire, achieving the two-thirds majority.
- b. The second question asks students to explain how Federalists believed the Constitution would improve the lives of Americans. Good answers will refer to the points made by Washington in the second half of Source 2, as well as the arguments made in the Federalist Papers and by prominent individual Federalists. A stronger national government, it was believed, would enhance national unity, provide a measure of central control over finance and currency, strengthen defence and enhance foreign alliances and trade. The improvements in foreign trade would produce economic benefits that would flow down to ordinary Americans.
- c. This question asks students to analyse why the Constitution was accepted and ratified. This requires students to look beyond the mechanics and process of ratification. Students must explore different perspectives and interpretations to explain why the Constitution was eventually adopted. Good answers might explore some of the fears invoked by the new Constitution, such as its return to a strong executive power, and explain how these fears were eased by Federalists, both in writing and in the state conventions. State sovereignty contributed to disunity, territorial disputes, economic uncertainty, inflation and high taxation, leading to uprisings like Shays' Rebellion. The Articles of Confederation were widely construed to have failed and the economic woes of the 1780s were attributed to this; students might consider the validity of these views. The Federalists were well organised and skilled essayists, while the Anti-Federalists were a looser group and struggled to provide alternative reforms or models. There is scope here to discuss different perspectives and interpretations. Conservative historians see the Constitution simply as a reiteration of the political values that inspired the revolution. More radical historians interpret it as a counter-revolution, a means of stopping change and unrest and reasserting control.

French Revolution

Three sources are presented. The first is a 1794 engraving of two *sans culottes* by English caricaturist James Gillray. Satirically titled “A Paris *beau*” and “A Paris *belle*”, both figures wear revolutionary symbols but are grotesque and also carry evidence of violence. The second source, from historian R. B. Rose, explains when the *sans culottes* originated. The third source, from historian Albert Soboul, describes *sans culotte* views with regard to class, identity and costume.

- a. The first question asks students to outline which people comprised the *sans culottes*. The *sans culottes* contained members of the working class, particularly in towns and cities such as Paris. Their members were chiefly labourers, artisans, craftsmen, tradesmen and petty *bourgeoisie*, such as shopkeepers. These groups existed before the revolution, of course, but became more politically active during the new regime, particularly in 1793 (ref Source 2). The *sans culottes* were often identified with working class dress and their affection for revolutionary symbols, such as the tricolor and cockade (ref Source 1).
- b. The second question asks students to explain the ideas and grievances of the *sans culottes* and the actions they took to rectify these grievances. The *sans culottes* had both political and economic objectives. Politically, most were republicans who sought the abolition of the monarchy; they opposed the social inequalities inherent in the aristocracy; most were also radical democrats who favoured universal suffrage and the removal of class distinctions, such as ‘active citizens’. The *sans culottes* also sought improvements in the availability of food, by demanding a maximum price law and punishment for hoarding. The *sans culottes* saw themselves as defenders of revolutionary values (ref Source 1), social equality and democracy (ref Source 3).
- c. The third question asks students to analyse causes of tension and violence in Paris between October 1789 and 1795. This is a much broader question that requires students to consider other perspectives beyond the *sans culottes*, and other causes of violence not directly related to the *sans culottes*. There are many factors that might be included and discussed, including the intransigence of the king; political instability in the new regime; the failure of the new government to improve economic conditions; the new regime’s attacks on the Church and religion; its declaration of revolutionary war; the threat of invasion by foreign armies and *emigres*; the counter-revolution in the provinces; the work of radical journalists like Marat and Desmoulins; and the success of violent action in effecting political change (e.g. the October Days, the attack on the Tuileries, the expulsion of the Girondins from the National Convention). The *sans culottes* played a pivotal role in this rising violence, as suggested by Gillray’s engraving (Source 1), which depicts them as ugly and inherently violent. Strong answers will include different historical interpretations of the *sans culottes*, e.g. Soboul’s argument that they were a revolutionary class, hostile to *bourgeois* values and moderate forms of government.

Russian Revolution

Three sources are presented. The first is a set of guidelines for the election of the Constituent assembly, formulated by the Provisional Government in July 1917. The second is a Bolshevik decree that asserts the political supremacy of the Soviets over the Constituent Assembly. The third source is a colour drawing by socialist propagandist Viktor Deni, depicting the Constituent Assembly as a coalition of capitalists and other elements of the old regime.

- a. The first question asks students to outline the composition of the Constituent Assembly. Good answers will explain that the Constituent Assembly was intended to become Russia's sovereign governing body, democratically elected and representative of all Russians. Answers should draw extensively on Source 1, explaining how the Assembly was to be elected on the basis of universal suffrage, without gender distinctions or property qualifications, using the secret ballot and excluding former members of the Romanov dynasty.
- b. The second question asks students to explain Bolshevik ideas and attitudes to the Constituent Assembly. The Bolsheviks, like other revolutionary parties, initially supported the notion of a representative assembly. On his return to Russia in April 1917 Lenin also supported it, though he said the Constituent Assembly could only succeed alongside large, strong Soviets. Throughout 1917 the Bolsheviks continued to support the Constituent Assembly, at various times accusing the Provisional Government of attempting to delay or sabotage it. When the electoral results for the Constituent Assembly returned a large Social Revolutionary majority, the Bolshevik position shifted, accusing the assembly of being unrepresentative, reflecting of old electoral practices and dominated by the *bourgeoisie* (ref Source 2, 3). These arguments were used to justify the dissolution of the Assembly.
- c. This question asks students to analyse the significance of the Constituent Assembly and its dissolution in the development of the new society. Good answers should explain that for most Russians, including many Bolsheviks, the Constituent Assembly represented the political hope of the nation. Russia had not experienced government under an assembly that was both sovereign and truly representative. Most political parties, as well as the Petrograd Soviet and the Congress of Soviets, supported elections for the Constituent Assembly. When the December 1917 election returned a Socialist-Revolutionary majority (370 seats to the Bolsheviks' 175), Lenin was unwilling to tolerate a political body not dominated by his own party. As a consequence the Constituent Assembly was closed by the Bolsheviks during its first day in session; Lenin argued that the Assembly was *bourgeois* (ref Source 3) and that the Soviets constituted Russia's democratically elected governing body. The fate of the Constituent Assembly was a pivotal point in the new regime. Its elections had revealed that while Bolshevik support was strong in the cities, the SRs enjoyed much greater support nationwide. The closure of the Assembly exposed the Bolsheviks as undemocratic, removed the majority SRs from any political role, and marked the first step toward a Bolshevik dictatorship. Strong answers will consider different historical interpretations, such as Pipes (Lenin always intended to dissolve the Assembly) or Fitzpatrick (Lenin changed his mind on the Assembly because it came to represent peasant rather than proletarian interests).

Chinese Revolution

Three sources are presented. The first is a CCP propaganda poster, dated June 1958 and titled “Bring every positive factor into play, correctly handle contradictions among the people”. The second source is an extract from a speech on the Hundred Flowers movement, given by Mao Zedong in February 1957. The third source is a brief extract from historians Bonnie S. McDougall and Kam Louie, explaining the purpose of the Hundred Flowers campaign.

- a. The first question asks students to outline how the CCP and its members encouraged public criticism and debate during the Hundred Flowers campaign. It is essentially asking how the Hundred Flowers movement was publicised and explained to the people. It began as an internal discussion between Zhou Enlai and other CCP leaders in January 1956, then embraced by Mao in May that year. Mao officially launched the campaign in February 1957, using the slogan “let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools of thought contend”. He explained that criticism was valuable and that “Marxism is scientific truth and fears no criticism”. Mao and party leaders continued the call for criticism and dissenting views in speeches through 1956.
- b. The second question asks students to explain how ordinary Chinese people reacted to Mao’s entreaty to “let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools of thought contend”. The initial response to the Hundred Flowers movement was sluggish. Most criticisms received by the government were gentle in tone or focused on minor issues. By mid 1957 the movement had gained momentum, leading prominent academics to offer stronger criticisms of the party hierarchy, the government and its policies. Emboldened by their example, university students launched attacks on the CCP, particularly its use of censorship and corruption among party members. The government’s economic policies were also criticised for failing to improve the lives of the people.
- c. This question asks for an analysis of the Hundred Flowers campaign, its outcomes and effects on the Chinese people. The campaign was wound down in mid 1957 with an editorial in the state press; a Mao essay distinguished “fragrant flowers” from “poisonous weeds”; later propaganda, like Source 1, urged the people to “handle contradictions” by focusing on “positive factors”. The Hundred Flowers campaign was followed by a new phase of rectification dubbed the Anti-Rightist Movement, where up to 500,000 people, most of them academics or writers, were labelled *bourgeois* counter-revolutionaries. Most were expelled from their positions and marginalised, a number were arrested and sent to re-education camps, while some were driven to suicide. Strong responses will acknowledge historical perspectives and debates about the Hundred Flowers movement. The consensus is that Mao was the driving force behind the campaign, however historians are divided on his true motives. The popular perception is that the Hundred Flowers was a ruse, a deliberate trap to lure dissenters and ‘rightists’ into the open. This was certainly the rationale provided by Mao, once the movement had gotten out of hand (ref Source 2). Some historians, like McDougall and Louie (ref Source 3) and Brugger, suggest the Hundred Flowers was a failure of expectations, unleashing a wave of criticism that shocked Mao and the party. The Anti-Rightist campaign was therefore an abrupt policy shift. Other historians suggest that Mao was shaken by the Hungarian Uprising against Soviet communism (October 1956) and was concerned about a similar development in China. Whatever the motives, the CCP’s decision to restore censorship and turn on its critics was a significant development in the new society. It was evidence that the party hierarchy would not tolerate free thinking or public debate, and that the people could not trust the party.