



VCE HISTORY: Revolution

Practice Examination

Reading time: 15 minutes

Writing time: 2 hours

QUESTION BOOK

<i>Section</i>	<i>Number of questions</i>	<i>Number of questions to be answered</i>	<i>Number of marks</i>
A	3	3	40
B	2	2	40
		Total	80

- Students are permitted to bring into the examination room: pens, pencils, highlighters, erasers, sharpeners and rulers.
- Students are NOT permitted to bring into the examination room: blank sheets of paper and/or whiteout liquid/tape.
- No calculator is allowed in this examination.

Materials supplied

- Question book of 16 pages.
- Answer book of 15 pages.
- Additional space is available at the end of the book if you need extra paper to complete an answer.

Instructions

- Write your **student name** in the space provided on the front cover of the answer book.
- Indicate the revolution you have chosen for Section A and the revolution you have chosen for Section B in the spaces provided above on this page. You must **not** choose the same revolution for both sections.
- All written responses must be in English.

Students are NOT permitted to bring mobile phones and/or any other unauthorised electronic devices into the examination room.

SECTION A – Revolution one**Instructions for Section A**

Indicate in the answer book the revolution you have chosen for Section A.

Answer all questions for this revolution in this section.

You must **not** choose the same revolution for Section A and Section B.

Revolution	Page
France.....	3
Russia	6
China	8

France

Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events

France [1781–4 August 1789]

Question 1

Using three or four points, explain how Louis XVI's unwillingness to reform developed into a revolutionary situation by May 1789.

Provide evidence to support your answer.

10 marks

Question 2

Using three or four points, explain how the fall of the Bastille contributed to the revolutionary situation between May and August 1789.

Provide evidence to support your answer.

10 marks

Creating a new society

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

Question 3

Document: ‘Charges against Louis XVI’

Published: National Convention published these as proof of Louis’ treason in December 1792.

Source: J.H.Stewart *A Documentary Survey of the French Revolution*, Macmillan pp386-91.

Louis, the French people accuses you of having committed a multitude of crimes in order to establish your tyranny by destroying its liberty.

6. On 21 June [1791] you made your escape with a false passport; you left a declaration against those same constitutional articles; you ordered the ministers not to sign any documents emanating from the National Assembly.

7. On 17 July [1791] the blood of citizens was shed at the Champ de Mars. A letter in your handwriting, written in 1790 to Lafayette, proves that a criminal coalition existed between you and him, and that Mirabeau had acceded [meaning agreed] thereto. On 14 September you apparently accepted the Constitution; your speeches announced a desire to maintain it, and yet you worked to overthrow it before it was even achieved.

8. An agreement was made at Pillnitz, on 24 July, between Leopold of Austria and Frederick William of Brandenburg, who pledged themselves to restore to France the throne of the absolute monarchy; and you were silent on that agreement...

17. You issued an order to the commanders of the troops to disorganize the army, to drive entire regiments to desertion, and to have them cross the Rhine [River] in order to place them at the disposal of your brothers and Leopold of Austria.

32. On 10 August [1792] you reviewed the Swiss Guards at five o'clock in the morning; and the Swiss Guards fired first on the citizens.

33. You caused the blood of Frenchmen to flow.

- a.** Name two other leaders who were criticized by the National Convention in this document.

2 marks

- b.** List two orders that Louis gave to the commanders of the armies.

2 marks

- c.** Using the extract and your own knowledge, explain why the National Convention decided to execute Louis.

6 marks

- d.** Explain the strengths and limitations of this document explaining the most significant crises of the French Revolution between 1789 and 1794. In your response refer to different parts of the document and to different historical views of the revolution.

10 marks

Russia

Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events

Russia [1905–October 1917]

Question 1

Using three or four points, explain how Tsar Nicholas' unwillingness to reform developed into a revolutionary situation by February 1917. Provide evidence to support your answer.

10 marks

Question 2

Using three or four points, explain how Lenin's speech at the Finland Station developed into a revolutionary situation between April and October 1917. Provide evidence to support your answer.

10 marks

Creating a new society

Russia [November 1917–1924 death of Lenin]

Question 3

Topic: Trotsky's role in the Civil War

Source: Isaac Deutscher *The Prophet Armed, Trotsky: 1879-1921*, Oxford University Press, 1954, page 441.

Trotsky's optimism and energy knew no bounds. He was convinced that the regrouping of forces would soon yield results. The front was virtually overhauled, the reserves built up; and, with communication lines so radically shortened, abundant supplies reached the troops. The enemy was over-extended; and the power of the Red Army was like a compressed spring ready for the recoil. Trotsky confidently assessed the material and moral resources the Soviets could still marshal. Like no other member of the Politbureau, he had constantly stared at the inferno of the civil war. He was haunted by the image of half-naked soldiers trembling in the frost and of the wounded dying *en masse* for lack of medical attention. He had also fully gauged the army's nervous instability. But at moments of moral peril he believed in the army's capacity for sudden bursts of enthusiasm, in its readiness for sacrifice, and in the spirited initiative of its commanders and men, which triumphed over the chaos into which the revolution seemed periodically to dissolve. He now rose to his full height not merely as the chief manager and organiser of the army but as its inspirer, as the prophet of an idea. He boldly tapped the hidden moral resources of the revolution.

a. Identify two ways in which Trotsky 'overhauled' the forces at the front.

2 marks

b. Identify two of Trotsky's leadership strengths from the extract.

2 marks

c. Using your own knowledge and the extract, explain the reasons for the Bolshevik government winning the Civil War between 1918-1920.

6 marks

d. Evaluate the reliability of this extract in explaining how the new political order was able to overcome opposition. In your response refer to different parts of the document and to different historical views of the revolution.

10 marks

China

Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events

China [1898–1949]

Question 1

Using three or four points explain, how the growth of revolutionary groups paved the way for the 1911 revolution.

Provide evidence to support your answer.

10 marks

Question 2

Using three to four points, explain how the CCP policies of the Yan'an period (1937 – 1947) contributed to the Chinese Communist Party's success in 1949.

Provide evidence to support your answer.

10 marks

Creating a new society

China [1949–1976 death of Mao]

Question 3

Jung Chang, in her brilliant biography of three women in her family (including herself) gives the dilemma her mother faced, as a cadre, of finding the five-percent of Rightists under her jurisdiction (which was a split of Mao’s arbitrary figure of 1-10% of all intellectuals). The process became so arbitrary that a ‘system’ developed:

‘Among the categories of rightists were ‘lots-drawing rightists’ (*chou-qia you-pai*), people who drew lots to decide who should be named as rightists, and ‘toilet rightists’ (*ce-suo you-pai*), people who found they had been nominated in their absence after they could not restrain themselves from going to the toilet during the many long, drawn-out meetings. There were also rightists who were said to “have poison but not released it” (*you-du bu-fang*); these were people who were said to be rightists without having said anything against anyone. When a boss did not like someone, he could say ... “His father was executed by the Communists, how can he not feel resentful?” A kind-hearted leader sometimes did the opposite: “Whom should I nail? I can’t do that to anyone. Say it’s me.” He was popularly called a “self-acknowledged rightist” (*zi-ren you-pai*).’

Jung Chang, *Wild Swans, Flamingo*, HarperCollins, London, 1991. p.289

a. Identify from the extract two groups of people who were named as rightists totally against their will.

2 marks

b. Identify from the extract two groups who were prepared for the possibility of being named a rightist.

2 marks

c. Using your own knowledge, and the extract, explain the reluctance of people to be labelled a Rightist.

6 marks

d. Evaluate the usefulness of the extract in understanding the 100 Flowers Movement and its consequences.

In your response refer to different views of the period 1956 – 1957.

10 marks

SECTION B – Revolution two**Instructions for Section B**

Indicate in the answer book the revolution you have chosen for Section B.

Answer all the questions for this revolution in this section.

You must **not** choose the same revolution for Section A and Section B.

Revolution	Page
France	11
Russia	13
China	15

France

Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events

Question 1

This illustration appeared in 1789. The title for this image was “Soon, soon, soon! Strike while the iron is hot!” A translation of the words on the book being beaten is *New Constitution*.



Reprinted with permission by Adcock & Worrall, 1997, *The French Revolution: A Students Handbook*, History Teachers Association of Victoria.

- a. Which estate does the central figure belong to? Why do you think this?
2 marks
- b. Identify TWO of the three people in this image.
2 marks
- c. Using this image and your own knowledge, explain the aims of the revolution of 1789.
6 marks
- d. Explain how helpful this image is in understanding the role of the bourgeoisie in creating the revolution of 1789. In your response refer to different parts of the document and to different historical views of the revolution.
10 marks

Creating a new society

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

Question 2

Historian Simon Schama criticised the revolution's violence for overshadowing its ideas. To what extent do you agree with this point of view?

20 marks

Russia

Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events

Question 1

Title: 'At Last' cartoon published on 22 March 1917.

Source: *Brisbane Worker* in Australia.



- a. List problems facing the Tsar in this image.

2 marks

- b. List two symbols of revolution in this image.

2 marks

- c. Using your own knowledge and the image, explain how the events of February 1917 resulted in the abdication of Tsar Nicholas II.

6 marks

- d. Explain to what extent this image presents a reliable view of the causes of the February Revolution in 1917. In your response refer to different parts of the document and to different points of view of the revolution.

10 marks

Creating a new society

Russia [November 1917–1924 death of Lenin]

Question 2

The Civil War ruined the new government's dream of a Communist utopia. To what extent do you agree with this statement?

Use evidence to support your answer.

20 marks

China

Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events

China [1898–1949]

Question 1



Conscription for the Guomindang – woodcut

- a. Name two aspects of the illustration that suggest that conscription was not popular. 2 marks

- b. Identify two groups of people who are suffering in this graphic. 2 marks

- c. Using your own knowledge, and the illustration, explain why the Guomindang had to resort to conscription to fill its ranks between 1937 and 1949. 6 marks

- d. Evaluate the usefulness of this illustration in assessing the eventual success of the Red Army by 1949. In your response refer to different views of the period. 10 marks

Creating a new society

China [1949–1976 death of Mao]

Question 2

In 1949 Chairman Mao declared that China has stood up.

Discuss the extent to which the Chinese Communist Party had achieved its goals by 1976.

20 marks

NAME: _____

VCE HISTORY: Revolutions

Practice Examination

ANSWER BOOK

Read these instructions carefully

1. A question book is provided with this ANSWER BOOK.
You may read the History: Revolutions question book but do not write or mark either book in any way until the signal to write is given.
2. Your name must be written on the cover of each answer book used.
3. Write in black or blue pen.
4. The following needs to be completed in this ANSWER BOOK
 - Section A – Revolution One
 - Section B – Revolution Two

ALL QUESTIONS MUST BE COMPLETED IN THE CORRECT SECTION OF THE ANSWER BOOK

Indicate in your answer book the revolution you have chosen for Section A and the revolution you have chosen for Section B. You must not choose the same revolution for both sections.

5. Do not remove any pages from the answer book.
6. You may ask the supervisor for additional answer books. Complete all the details on additional answer books used.
7. Enclose any extra answer books inside the front cover of this answer book.
8. All responses must be English.

SECTION A

Indicate the revolution you have chosen for Section A by shading the relevant box.

You must NOT choose the same revolution for Section A and Section B.

France

Russia

China

SECTION A

Creating a new society

Question 3

- a. _____

- b. _____

- c. _____



SECTION B

Indicate the revolution you have chosen for Section B by shading the relevant box.

You must NOT choose the same revolution for Section A and Section B.

France

Russia

China

BEGIN SECTION B ON THIS PAGE

Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events

Question 1

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

_____ →

Solution Pathway**SECTION A – Revolution one****France****Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events****France [1781–4 August 1789]****Question 1**

King Louis XVI's unwillingness to reform was the major reason that dissatisfaction grew within the wealthy *bourgeoisie* class. Firstly, Louis did not support Calonne's fiscal reforms after discovering that France was in debt by 161 million livres annually. Secondly, Louis was intimidated by the powerful nobles of the robe. Instead of using his autocratic powers to pass fiscal reform, he weakly hoped that the new laws would be passed by the Assembly of Notables in 1787 and also the *Parlement* of Paris. However, neither group did. Thirdly, under pressure from the nobles, Louis called for an Estates General to be held. He refused calls from the Third Estate to vote by head rather than order which increased their anger. Furthermore, hopes were raised when Louis called for *cahier de doléances* to be written throughout France. Finally, the end point of all the growing crises of the 1780s were centred in the Estates General which convened in May 1789. Louis' final act of inept leadership was demonstrated by his unwillingness to give the opening speech at the Estates General, which was compounded by his continual refusal to change the voting or meeting separately. This stalemate directly resulted in the Third Estate deputies, all *bourgeoisie*, to take direct action against the King and the ancient system of autocratic rule.

Question 2

The fall of the King's Bastille prison represented the symbolic downfall of the monarchy in France. Firstly, it was Parisian crowds, later called sans culottes, who overthrew the prison, which inspired the core revolutionary belief in popular sovereignty. Secondly, this urban revolt directly influenced the peasants in the countryside who enacted the Great Fear. Fearing reprisals by groups of brigands, the peasants attacked the property belonging to the nobles of the sword, burning their chateaux, barns, mills, ovens and wine presses. Along with these symbols of feudalism, the peasant revolt destroyed the *terrier* lists of taxes. Thirdly, to quell the violence, the newly formed National Assembly abolished feudalism in a night of political and social euphoria. Hence, the fall of the Bastille signaled the end of the system of monarchy and the beginning of a new popular and political system of governance.

Creating a new society**France [5 August 1789–1795 Dissolution of the Convention]****Question 3**

- a.
- i. Lafayette
 - ii. Mirabeau

- b.** Any two of:
- i. disorganize the armies;
 - ii. drive entire regiments to desertion;
 - iii. have the armies cross the Rhine;
 - iv. place armies at the disposal of your brothers and Leopold of Austria.
- c.** The extract states that Louis ‘committed a multitude of crimes’ that ‘destroyed’ the newfound liberty of the French people. He was criticized for fleeing to Varennes, Champ de Mars massacre, failure of constitutional monarchy, failure of the war with Austria and the Swiss Guards killing French citizens during the storming of the Tuileries Palace in August 1792. Louis’ lack of support for the revolution was obvious but whether to imprison or execute him was not. After numerous debates and votes, the National Convention declared France a Republic in September 1792 and executed Louis in January 1793. This meant that not only was the symbol of the old regime dead, but also the hopes of counter revolutionaries to return France to an absolute monarchy.
- d.** The crucial perspective of the National Convention as revealed in this primary source was that Louis was to blame for all the violence in the revolution to that point. Item 33 stated that, ‘You caused the blood of Frenchmen to flow.’ This point of view would not be supported by many historians. While Simon Schama argues that the revolution was exceptionally violent, he would be unlikely to blame Louis solely for this. Schama, and other minimalist historians, would point to the radical sans culottes as the source of much of the violence in the revolution. The key limitation of this document is that it does not place any blame with the new French Governments, For example, Lafayette was representing the National Assembly during the Champ de Mars Massacre. It was the Legislative Assembly that declared war on Austria. It was the National Convention who later created the Committee of Public Safety and declared that ‘terror be the order of the day’. Other revisionist historians would point to the weak French military and radical leaders such as Marat and Hebert as reasons for bloodshed rather than Louis’ influence. In many ways, it was Louis’ inaction rather than direct action that caused the constitutional monarchy to fail. It is also hard to determine the full extent of the charges against Louis as this extract only includes six of at least 33 items. Overall, this document only has limited usefulness because of its narrow viewpoint that Louis, not the French Governments or its new citizens, were to blame for any of the violence.

Russia

Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events

Russia [1905–October 1917]

Question 1

Tsar Nicholas II's unwillingness to reform was the major reason that dissatisfaction grew within both the radical working class and political elite. Firstly, the working class in Petrograd were horrified by the Tsar's violent dismissal of their peaceful petition and regarded him as a bloody tyrant following the Bloody Sunday Massacre. This opened a gulf between the Tsar and his people that was never bridged. Secondly, the liberal thinkers were dismayed at the Tsar's dismissal of the first and second Dumas, which directly broke his promise in the October Manifesto that power would be shared between the Tsar and an elected 'parliament'. Thirdly, revolutionary parties and leaders, such as the Bolsheviks, Lenin and Trotsky, grew in popularity during World War One given the increased demoralization from continual military defeats at the front and massive inflation and unemployment in Petrograd and Moscow. All of these pressures and tensions exploded in February 1917 when street crowds in Petrograd grew to 240,000 protesting against the lack of food and the futility of war. Even then, the Tsar refused to make any economic or political reforms which directly led to him accepting his Generals' recommendations to abdicate.

Question 2

Lenin's return to Petrograd via German territory directly changed the political course of 1917. Firstly, his speech at the Finland Station on 3 April to the massive crowds that gathered showed his relevance to the proletariat when he declared 'Peace. Bread. Land.' Secondly, his *April Thesis* a day later demonstrated his intellectual Marxist aggression when he declared that the February Revolution was not a genuine class revolution and that a second revolution was necessary, this time led by the soviets. Thirdly, Lenin's escape after the failed July Days meant that he was able to continue leading the Bolsheviks from abroad until his eventual secret return on 8 October. Through the perception of success of Trotsky's Red Guard in defeating General Kornilov's advances, the Bolsheviks were growing in popularity. Lenin seized on this and planned the overthrow of Kerensky's unpopular Provisional Government. With Trotsky's strategic use of the Red Guard to capture key communication and vantage points, Lenin's Bolsheviks were able to finally fulfill his promises from the Finland Station and April Thesis - to take power in the name of the proletariat.

Creating a new society

Russia [November 1917–1924 death of Lenin]

Question 3

- a. Any two of
- i. "regrouping of forces";
 - ii. "front was virtually overhauled";
 - iii. "communication lines so radically shortened";

- iv. “abundant supplies reached the front”.
- b.** Any two of:
- i. “optimism and energy knew no bounds”;
 - ii. “realistic about the “army’ nervous instability”;
 - iii. “constantly stared at the inferno of the civil war”;
 - iv. “believed in the army’s capacity for sudden bursts of enthusiasm and readiness for sacrifice”.
 - v. “chief manager and organiser of the army”;
 - vi. “inspirer” of the army”;
 - vii. the “prophet of an idea”.
- c.** Whilst the Bolsheviks were fighting for the survival of the new Communist Government, the Whites were composed of very different forces, from conservative Tsarist generals to radical Socialist Revolutionaries. The Reds were a unified force that controlled the main industrial areas and railway lines around Moscow and Petrograd. Defending this central location allowed Trotsky to move the Red Army quickly to wherever the White forces were attacking. The Red Army grew to 5 million troops by 1920 and, as the extract indicated, Trotsky’s enthusiastic leadership on his famous armoured train provided incredible organisation and motivation for the Bolshevik forces. In comparison, the Whites did not fight together, share resources, strategically attack at the same time, or capitalise on anti-Bolshevik sentiment.
- d.** Deutscher argues that the Bolsheviks were strategic leaders whose confidence and optimism were able to overcome problems. This allowed the full vision of the revolution to be achieved. This is supported by the signing of the Treaty of Brest Litovsk which fulfilled the promise of peace despite the humiliating conditions. Lenin Introduced the New Economic Policy despite the widespread criticism from other leaders of its capitalist overtones. British historian Christopher Hill would agree with the perspective of the extract because he argued that Lenin’s new government ‘abolished a regime of despair and created a new world of hope.’ Eyewitness John Reed also argued that Lenin represented the working class proletariat and introduced a stunning new society. In opposition to these views, however, was Lenin’s reliance on violence to solve crisis. The best example of this was the formation of the brutal secret police CHEKA whose acts included the murder of the royal family in July 1918, suppression of White forces, and the defeat of the Kronstadt Sailors in 1921. Lenin also dismissed the Constituent Assembly at gun point because it had only received 24% of the vote and liquidated the supposed kulaks during the Civil War. Historian Richard Pipes would support this viewpoint; that Lenin resorted to unnecessary political and social violence. Orlando Figes also argued that Lenin’s Government achieved only a forced unity because Russians were afraid of reprisal. Overall, the extract is of limited usefulness because the new political order resorted to force and coercion to overcome any opposition.

China

Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events

China [1898–1949]

Question 1

The Boxers or Yihetuan were based on earlier anti-Qing secret societies such as the Small Dagger, Big Sword or triad societies. They, in turn, had drawn inspiration from the Taiping rebellion. While the Boxers switched from an anti-Qing to an anti-foreign focus between 1898 and 1900 it was still a nationalist revolutionary group trying to evict foreign occupiers. While the Boxers were defeated they did inspire other organisations as well as reveal the weaknesses and betrayal of the Manchu rulers.

In 1894 Sun Yixian (Sun Yat-sen) founded the Revive China Society to promote his republican, and therefore anti-Qing Dynasty, ideas. In 1905 Dr Sun combined various revolutionary groups under the umbrella of the Tongmenghui (Revolutionary Alliance or United Alliance Society) which then gave opposition to the Qing Dynasty a united and more powerful voice.

Sun's *Sanmin Zhuyi* or Three People's Principles gave the Tongmenghui a clear policy to put to the people of China. The first item was 'Nationalism' which was initially anti-Manchu. His other policies of Democracy and People's Livelihood added to the appeal of this nationalist revolutionary organisation.

While Sun's attempts at revolution in the south of China failed they, and Sun's policies, enabled the successful revolt in Wuhan in 1911. These revolutionary groups acknowledged Sun's influence by declaring him Provisional President of the Republic of China.

Question 2

Mao had retrospectively stated that he chose Yan'an as the Long March's goal as it would be a base from which the Red Army could take on the encroaching Japanese. While this motivation is debatable, there is no doubt that the Shaanxi Soviet, with its Anti-Japanese University and Edgar Snow's favourable report in *Red Star Over China*, won the propaganda war.

As had been done in earlier Soviets, the land was taken from the landlords and redistributed to the peasants. This policy was a shining light to peasants in Guomindang areas who would be encouraged to support the Red Army when the Civil War broke out in 1946.

As the land was not very fertile and food not abundant, Mao ordered the Red Army soldiers to farm the land and become less dependent on the peasants. On occasions the soldiers were sent into the fields to assist the peasants. This was a far cry from traditional armies which pillaged any villages they encountered. Zhu De's Ten Principles for the Red Army still applied, and were extended, in Yan'an thus forging a bond between Red Army and peasants which helped to swell the army's ranks.

The relative peace of the Second United Front gave the Yan'an base the chance to train the soldiers in military skills but also to educate them in CCP principles, such as Mao's 'Mass Line'. This helped forge a committed, focused and united army.

While Mao's 1946 Rectification Movement was initially divisive and destructive, it did leave Mao decisively in control and this ensured a single and sustained revolutionary policy.

Once the Civil War broke out the Yan'an Soviet was on the defensive. However, by following their guerrilla tactics, extending the GMD forces, 'surrounding the cities with countryside' and only killing 'little Jiangs' (and winning over the generals), the Red Army was able to counter the superior numbers of the GMD armies. With its image of incorruptibility and land equalisation the Communists were able to win increased support with each battle.

Creating a new society

China [1949–1976 death of Mao]

Question 3

- a. Toilet rightists, having-poison-but-not released-it rightists.
- b. Lots-drawing rightists, self-acknowledged rightists.
- c. Being labelled a rightist moved one out of the protection of the work unit (*danwei*) and of the party. You were seen as an enemy of Mao and the party which meant you lost friends and often family, who had to distance themselves from you. You were subject to denunciation, self-criticism, constantly watched and some were sent to reform-through-labour which could be a death sentence. Many knew from the experiences of the Yan'an Rectification Campaign as well as the 3-Antis and 5-Antis campaigns following the Korean War, that a stigma would remain following 'rehabilitation' which would make you a victim of the next witch-hunt. In the meantime, you would be one of the 'snakes' that Mao had lured from their 'lair' with his 100 Flowers Campaign.
- d. Mao may have later declared that the purpose of the 100 Flowers campaign was to 'lure snakes from their lairs', but this may be a cover-up for Mao's miscalculation. By 1957, with the success of the First Five Year Plan and Krushchev's speech denouncing the late Stalin, Mao may have seen an advantage in loosening the controls over the people. In fact, he may have thought that, following the 1956 failed Hungarian uprising, that 'China would be inoculated with a benign form of the Hungarian distemper' (Jack Gray).

Certainly, Mao would not have minded the Communist Party receiving some criticism to keep them on their toes. Mao would not have anticipated that criticism would extend as far up as the Chairman himself. So, when the party beseeched Mao to halt the campaign (reminiscent of the officials imploring Cixi to stop the 100 Days of Reform in 1898) Mao was willing to turn against those who took up his offer to speak out, and appointed Deng Xiaoping to launch the Anti-Rightist crackdown. Using Mao's 1-10% estimation the farcical hunt for the compromise 5% was 'treachery' according to Nien Cheng who was one of those people who became a 'non-person' in the Orwellian sense, as a result. The biggest consequence of the 100 Flowers was that the people had learnt not to speak up again.

SECTION B – Revolution two**France****Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events****Question 1**

a. The figure is from the Third Estate. He is an urban worker because he is working hard with his sleeves rolled up. He is likely to be a blacksmith because of his apron and tools.

- b.**
- i. first estate clergy
 - ii. second estate noble

c. One of the key crisis of the old regime was the political system of absolute monarchy which was exposed under Louis XVI's inept leadership. Socially, it was a society that was based on privilege by birth which had allowed the development of corrupt upper clergy and powerful nobles of the robe. The new constitution aimed to address all these problems – to establish a constitutional monarchy with a National Assembly that represented all estates, as this image also shows. The famous Tennis Court Oath on 20 June 1789 demonstrated this aim perfectly – royal tennis court full of members of all three estates promising to write a new constitution for France. The urgency to implement all of these changes was demonstrated in the heading “Soon. Soon. Soon. Strike while the iron is hot.”

d. The core message of the image is that all three estates worked together in 1789. While the lower clergy indeed voted to join the Third Estate deputies, the nobles were far more reluctant. The leadership of the new National Assembly was representative of all estates as it included cleric Abbe Sieyes and liberal nobles Lafayette and Mirabeau. In comparison, the image suggests that all estates played equal roles which is totally inaccurate. The aristocratic revolt of 1787-8 indeed sparked the calling of the Estates General but it was the intelligence and initiative of the bourgeoisie that formed the core of the new system. The urban revolt at the Bastille and peasant revolts in the provinces, as emphasized by Marxist historians, certainly empowered the bourgeoisie revolution in Paris but in no way lead it. Historian Simon Schama argues that the revolution was characterized by violence but this overemphasizes the role of the masses and ignores the crucial legal and political initiatives of the bourgeoisie. Overall, this image is only partially helpful because it overemphasizes the role of the first and second estates.

Creating a new society

Question 2

“Violence was the motor of the revolution” debates Schama. His argument that all the benefits achieved by the revolution from 1789 should be discounted because of the violence of 1792 and 1793, however, this is problematic. Schama has overlooked key political and social gains of the revolution.

Schama is correct that there were some horrific acts of violence. Although the ideological period of 1789 was primarily very unified, there were two acts that brought division. Firstly, there was the aggressive attack on Marie Antoinette and the royal family by the women of Paris who had marched to Versailles in October 1789. Secondly, the Champ de Mars massacre was the first time that the new government had fired on its own people through the popular Lafayette and his National Guard. More crucially, however, was the violence in the years of 1792-3. Austria’s continual defeats of the French Army introduced the fear of Paris being overthrown. The subsequent Storming of the Tuileries and Prison Massacres were both blood thirsty events instigated by radical leaders such as Marat and Hébert. The influence of Robespierre and the Committee of Public Safety imposed terror on both Paris and the provinces in 1793, including the guillotining of the former King Louis XVI.

Politically, the revolution established a vertical transfer of power changing a system of absolute power to one of popular sovereignty. King Louis’ flight to Varennes dashed any possibility of a constitutional monarchy as delivered in the 1791 Constitution. The Legislative Assembly declared France a Republic in September 1792. All of the new governments operated in Paris rather than Versailles which made them directly accountable to the people – from the menu people through to the intellectuals such as the Jacobin club. France’s confusing and corrupt military districts, diocese and regions were reorganised into 83 departments which streamlined the decision making and economic systems. The revolution did have political problems in these early years as its new politicians desperately attempted to solve massive crises.

Socially, the revolution created significant and permanent gains. In place of hereditary monarchy, France had created a nation of citizens who could vote and elect governments. The Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen powerfully declared inalienable rights of liberty, property, security and resistance to oppression. Whilst the sans culottes were indeed involved in temporary acts of violence, the underlying message that people had a voice that could influence government decision was incredibly powerful. Daily life was dramatically changed such as new inheritance laws, abolition of the hated feudal rights and dues and freedom of slave colonies. Religion and education also underwent major reforms. The revolution witnessed the explosion of freedom of speech through the rise of several dominant leaders and influential newspapers. Focussing just on the violence in Paris ignores the permanent and positive changes in social life throughout France.

Overall, Peter McPhee’s approach to the revolution is more reasonable than that of Schama. McPhee describes himself as a maximalist historian as he highlights the positive outcomes of the revolution. McPhee argues that the political gains and social benefits of the revolution overshadow the violent events that also occurred during this period. Schama, incorrectly, does the opposite.

Russia

Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events

Question 1

a.

- i. Tsar falling off the cliff.
- ii. Throne close to the edge of the cliff.

b.

- i. The big hand called “The People”.
- ii. Black cloud of revolution.

c. The hand of the people being drawn extra large reveals the power of the popular movements in the February 1917 protests. The power of the Tsar was limited in the face of these 240,000 strong crowds. Within days he was at the war front (shown by him wearing the army uniform in the image) and not in Petrograd. Yet he and his wife Alexandra misread the situation as a “hooligan” movement. They did not just fail to implement reforms but went even further to instruct General Khabalov to “suppress” all the protests with force. The Tsar’s inability to solve the economic and social problems in Russia were also symbolized in the image by his crown coming off and his scepter being upside down. The direct result of Tsar Nicholas’ political weakness was the establishment of a new political bodies – the Petrograd Soviet and a Provisional Government – and his inevitable abdication.

d. This image powerfully suggests that the failures of the Tsar were the sole cause of the revolution. It was his unwillingness to reform, such as refusing to implement effective Dumas to keep his October Manifesto promises, lack of economic awareness, such as his ignoring of the worker’s petition from January 1905 and the serious problems experienced during World War One, that had placed his throne precariously on the edge of the cliff in the first place. Soviet historians would directly oppose this view and instead emphasise the role of the hand of the people. It was the growing class consciousness of the proletariat that made them fight against the oppressive Tsarist regime. The image also portrays revolution negatively as a dark cloud. In fact, the February Revolution immediately established representation for the proletariat through the system of soviets. The first act of the Provisional Government was to introduce liberal reforms that included freedom of speech and press and release of political prisoners. Another key problem is that this image focuses on the final act of abdication only and does not cover all of the long term political, social and economic problems. The reliability of the image is also questionable as it was an Australian publication not a Russian one. Overall, this image is scarcely helpful in understanding the causes of the February Revolution.

Creating a new society

Question 2

One key problem in the new society was that Lenin’s Government only ruled for 13 months in peace and with Lenin in good health. Concluding World War One and the duration of the Civil War impacted greatly on the full implementation of Communist policies. This did not totally ‘ruin’ or destroy all opportunities or attempts to implement communism.

War dominated the new society. The only positive of the humiliating Treaty of Brest Litovsk was that Russia was withdrawn from World War One. Otherwise, the treaty was incredibly costly both financially and socially. Yet within months the Civil War had begun in full. By mid 1918, Russia was fighting both internal and external enemies. Internal enemies included both the white and green armies whereas the external forces were invading armies from countries such as Britain, France and the USA. This meant that the Government devoted its whole political energy into mobilizing the efficient Red Army under Trotsky and the ruthless CHEKA under Dzerzhinsky.

Lenin's Government did introduce many Communist policies during its rule. Bolshevik leaders Bukharin and Preobrazhensky wrote a book in early 1918 called *The ABC of Communism* which outlined communist policy on every aspect of daily life. From as early as November 1917, the government implemented a Land Decree, abolished private property and introduced far reaching educational, social and religious reforms. In order to modernize Russia, the updated Gregorian calendar was adopted in January 1918.

Even during the Civil War, however, the new government attempted to implement Communist policies. One of the hated aspects of the war were the series of economic policies made by the government that collectively were called War Communism. War Communism were planned and deliberate policies that discriminated against the peasants through heavy grain requisitioning in favour of developing a healthy industrial proletariat. It was an example of attempted socialism where the state exercised control over the economy. The economic failure of War Communism created widespread famine which led to a desperate introduction of 'bridled capitalism' with the New Economic Policy in March 1921. These new policies created an ideological crisis as it indicated that capitalist policies were needed to save the failed communist ones.

Overall, despite the obvious economic and social problems of being in a Civil War for the majority of Lenin's rule, significant Communist policies were introduced. The social policies were very successful but the economic ones were not. Therefore, it was not the Civil War that ruined many Communist ideals, it was the Government's inability to effectively implement them within a resistant society. Perhaps both historians Figes and Pipes were right when they argued that the failure of Communism was the failure to understand and refashion human nature.

China

Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events

China [1898–1949]

Question 1

- a.** The fact that the men are roped together suggests a lack of support for the GMD. The soldier with a whip and using the rifle butt to control the conscripts suggests the use of force. The conscripts are not given proper uniforms or weapons.
- b.** The families are weeping for their conscripted men, suggesting they do not support conscription. The peasant conscripts, by their dejected or anguished looks, are very reluctant to be conscripted.
- c.** The Red Army gave the peasants a reason to fight as victory would assure them of their own land and freedom from debt to landlords, whereas the GMD continued the feudal system that existed under the Qing. This was despite the third of Dr Sun's 'Three Principles' which promised land to the people. It was obvious that Jiang Jieshi was not keen to implement this policy.

Consequently, the Red Army consisted of volunteers not conscripts. Several of the Red Army generals were from peasant stock themselves. Zhu De's 'Ten Rules of Conduct' for the Red Army showed a respect for the peasants that the GMD and their middle class officers did not.

Red Army soldiers were given uniforms and weapons. They were also given a political education to explain what they were fighting for. The Red Army also included women soldiers, whereas the GMD government was not interested in liberating women to that degree. Finally, thanks to Edgar Snow's *Red Star Over China* the communists were winning the propaganda war, presenting itself as the true opponent of the Japanese. Thus, the Red Army found volunteers much easier to come by.

- d.** The Red Army had the advantage of high morale which included, as the illustration suggests, volunteer soldiers, peasant co-operation, training, equipment, and political indoctrination.

The illustration does not hint at the support the Guomindang received from the USA, although much of this was siphoned off due to corruption. After the defeat of Japan, the communists received aid and equipment from the USSR as well as equipment abandoned by the Japanese.

In the propaganda war the CCP was able to depict itself as the true opponents of the invading Japanese while Jiang's retreat to Chongqing did not instil confidence. In fact, there were significant engagements by the GMD with the Japanese, which resulted in the odd GMD victory. The Red Army found itself in an area of not much interest to the invaders (Jack Gray supports this interpretation by saying the Japanese were mainly interested in the 'coastal cities and main communication routes...') and so, after the Japanese reprisals following the 100 Regiments Offensive, the Communists stuck mainly to harassment tactics.

In the Civil War's initial stages the GMD forces were able to oust the Red Army from Yan'an, who retreated into the hills. The GMD forces overextended themselves. They also recaptured key northern cities but the CCP was able to 'surround the cities with countryside'.

Another tactic not shown in the illustration is that of the Red Army encouraging defections, especially of generals who would bring their troops with them. By 1947 the Red Army was able to cease its guerrilla tactics and engage the GMD in open warfare.

So, while the illustration implies the advantages the CCP had in morale and support, it does not comment on the military tactics which were decisive in the 1949 victory.

Creating a new society

Question 2

There was no concise package offered by the Chinese Communist Party if the revolution succeeded. There were promises made explicitly or implicitly along the way. A socialist economy was an obvious goal. The Chinese Communist Party's participation in the Northern Expedition and the Anti-Japanese War implied a promise of unity and security. The peasants were definitely promised land. It would not be a Communist Party if a key aim was not a classless society.

From 1949 there was a period of transition to a socialist economy. 'Patriotic' bourgeoisie were allowed to continue running their factories – until the *San Fan* and *Wu Fan* movements forced many of them out of the factories and out of the country. Factories, department stores and public utilities all became state owned and operated. Workers participated through workers' committees and Party Secretaries maintained Party control.

As the revolution (or 'Liberation') was through a civil war, the obvious benefit was a united country – no warlords, concessions foreign companies. Yes, there were pockets of Guomindang resistance but they were not a serious problem. Taiwan had continued beyond mainland control, as did Hong Kong and Macao. The Korean War was a brief threat to unity but a 'victory' (stalemate) by PLA 'volunteers' maintained the political integrity of the mainland. The sabre-rattling of the Cold War kept Mao edgy but China remained secure and united – at least politico-geographically.

Land was a promise to peasants foreshadowed by redistribution in the Soviets. In 1950 the Agrarian Reform Law Act achieved just that. However, Mao accelerated the transition from co-operatives to communes in the Great Leap Forward (1958) with disastrous results. While this ideal was not really achieved the peasants were pleased with the resultant compromise as implemented by Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping. While Mao and Jiang Qing continued to praise the model commune of Dazhai the Great Leap Forward excesses never returned.

In its ideal of being classless, the new order needed to eliminate landlords and capitalists. The former were physically eliminated or demoted through the Party endorsed 'Speak Bitterness' meetings. Capitalists had either fled before the advancing PLA or were relegated to being 'workers'. Women, the underdogs for millennia, had achieved the equality (in law if not always practice) implied when Mao stated, 'Women hold up half the sky'. Education, choice of marriage partners and equal employment opportunities (including coal mining and oil drilling) were open to them. There was, in fact, a new class created with privileges not available to the rest – Party officials. They had the best accommodation, transport and access to consumer goods.

By and large, the PRC lived up to its promises, so long as they did not include personal security, wise policies or domestic peace.