

Examiners' Report  
June 2018

GCE History 9HI0 2C

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June 2018

Publications Code 9HI0\_2C\_1806\_ER

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# Introduction

It was pleasing to see candidates able to engage effectively across the ability range in this the second year of the new A Level paper 2C which deals with France in revolution, 1774-99 (2C.1) and Russia in revolution, 1894-1924 (2C.2).

The paper is divided into two sections. Section A contains a compulsory question which is based on two linked sources. It assesses source analysis and evaluation skills (AO2). Section B comprises a choice of essays that assess understanding of the period in depth (AO1) by targeting five second order concepts - cause, consequence, change and continuity, similarity and difference, and significance. Candidates appeared to organise their time effectively and there was little evidence of candidates being unable to attempt both answers within the time allocated. Examiners did note that more scripts than has been usual posed some problems with the legibility of handwriting. Examiners can only give credit for what they can read.

In Section A, the strongest answers demonstrated an ability to draw out reasoned inferences developed from the sources and to evaluate the sources thoroughly in relation to the demands of the question on the basis of both contextual knowledge and the nature, origin and purpose of the source. It is important that candidates appreciate that weight is not necessarily established by a discussion of what is missing from a source. If the author of the source has omitted something intentionally in order to modify meaning or distort the message of the source, then it will be relevant to discuss that omission in reaching a conclusion regarding the use that a historian might make of the sources. However, comments on all the things that the sources might have contained, but failed to do so, is unlikely to contribute to establishing weight. The question requires candidates to use the sources 'together' and it was pleasing to see that the majority of candidates were aware of this instruction and achieved it using a variety of different approaches.

Candidates are more familiar with the essay section of Paper 2 and in section B most candidates were well prepared to write, or to attempt, an analytical response. Stronger answers clearly understood the importance of identifying the appropriate second order concept that was being targeted by the question, although weaker candidates often wanted to engage in a main factor/other factors approach, even where this did not necessarily address the demands of the conceptual focus. Candidates do need to formulate a plan so that there is an argument and a counter argument within their answer; many candidates lacked any counter argument at all. The generic mark scheme clearly indicates the four bullet-pointed strands which are the focus for awarding marks and centres should note how these strands progress through the levels. Candidates do need to be aware of key dates, as identified in the specification, and ensure that they draw their evidence in responses from the appropriate time period.

The candidates' performance on individual questions is considered in the next section.

## Question 1

On Question 1, stronger responses clearly considered the sources together (e.g. both sources suggest that the Directory's constitutional/political arrangements were flawed and the government was losing popular support), although treatment of the sources may have been uneven. Such responses also analysed the source material in relation to the enquiry with a sense of interrogation which went beyond selecting key points and made reasoned inferences (e.g. the Directory failed to establish real liberty and legal equality because of its treatment of nobles and priests). Knowledge of the historical context was used to discuss limitations/what can be gained from the content of the source material (e.g. the Directory's constitutional arrangements prevented the concentration of power and avoided the extremism of 1793-94) and revealed an awareness of the values and concerns of the society from which it was drawn (e.g. concern to stabilise French government and society after the Terror). Furthermore, high-scoring candidates evaluated the source material relevantly in line with the specified enquiry and considered matters of provenance confidently (e.g. de Staël was well educated and connected and so would potentially be in a good position to offer an informed assessment of the extent of the Directory's success). The weight of the evidence was taken into consideration when coming to a judgement (e.g. the pessimistic tone and candid assessment of the police in Source 2).

Weaker responses began to consider the sources together (e.g. both state that Directory's policies were not successful in the late 1790s). In addition, such responses showed some limited understanding and analysis of the source material through the selection of key points relevant to the question (e.g. the Directory achieved some political and financial successes) and valid inferences (e.g. after some initial success the Directory was a failure). However, these valid inferences had only limited support or remained undeveloped. Knowledge of the historical context was mainly used to expand, confirm or challenge matters of detail with some attempt to support inferences (e.g. two-thirds of the national debt was written off in 1797 which temporarily stabilised French finances). Lower-scoring candidates tended to evaluate the source material with some relevance regarding the specified enquiry and noted some aspects of source provenance to draw conclusions about reliability or utility. At this level, judgments often lacked support and could be based on questionable assumptions (e.g. de Staël, author of Source 1, was writing almost twenty years later and so would have little knowledge of the Directory's policies and actions).

Source 1 and 2 are together to some extent useful for showing the limited success that the Directory had in the long-term. However, due to their mutual ignorance of the failings of its constitution and ultimate collapse in the coup of Brumaire, as well as overall they are together very limited.

Source 1 and 2 are together useful for showing the extent of the Directory's success as they both show its financial failures. Source 1's suggestion that the Directory's first years 'were so poor from every perspective' can be used to make the same inference as Source 2's claim that 'a great amount of public anxiety has been caused by the financial situation', that the Directory struggled to assert long-term financial stability. This reflects how, following the Paine report of 1797 in Source 2, the Directory had to raise not indirect taxes and 3 new direct taxes in order to try and ease economic struggles, and that this was inadequate given the need to resort to a forced loan in June 1799. This suggests the sources are together very valuable as when combined with they can be used to show that the

Directory's finances were a long-term failure, which makes them valuable as this shows the Directory's limited success. Their actual ability is enhanced by the fact that the sources are from contrasting perspectives but both show that in the long-term the Directory struggle; with source 2 written years after its eventual collapse in 1799, but source 2 prior to it, that both sources reinforce each other increases their usefulness together.

Source 1 is alone to some degree useful as it shows that the Directory inherited very severe problems and initially dealt with them well, rendering it useful for revealing the successes the Directory had at first. Its claim that 'we have to give credit to the Directory' as money had fallen so extensively in value suggests it was effective at dealing with the serious financial problems it inherited. This adds the source useful as this reflects the reality that prior to the Directory taking power in November 1795, the value of the assignat had dropped from 34% in August 1794 to 4% in May 1795, and that the Directory dealt with this by abolishing just the assignats in February 1796, then the mandats in February 1797 so that the situation improved



greatly due to depletion in 1697 and then Land's reforms and the successes of war, for instance Napoleon's Italian campaign promised 200m liras. ~~and the annexation of Belgium in October 1795~~ gave so. This usefulness is increased by the fact that sure 2 is from the point of view of Neche's daughter, a contemporary, who wrote retrospectively that as an intellectual she would have well understood the financial situation, and thus this enhances sure 1's value for revealing the successes the Directory had.

Furthermore, since 2 alone is also to some extent useful as it demonstrates the limited success that the Directory had due to its constitutional weaknesses, and subsequent quarrels in political opposition. Sure 2's claim that there was anger from the 'critics of Bail Frubidor' and 'many' of another page suggest there was disaffection with the Directory's inability to rule constitutionally; this makes the sure valuable as it reflects the reality that the Directory used Angereau's troops in the coup of Frubidor to purge 127 deputies, and that it purged 127 deputies the following year in France. As this contributed to growing opposition to the Directory, seen in the rebellions in the West





Source 2's reference to 'fews', 'complaints and an ever grumbling' suggests the Directory was not as unsuccessful as it really was because it does not show that the Directory aroused so much opposition that it could be overthrown, which reduces its usefulness for revealing the Directory's overall success. Furthermore, as each source solely focuses on revealing the impact of the Directory on society, and doesn't address the way in which its constitution arose - arguments with the Councils, it is unable to show why Sieyès sided with the Councils in the Coup of Brumaire. It is because of this focus on finances and public perceptions that reduces the usefulness of the sources together.

In addition to this, source 1 alone is also of limited value ~~to the extent~~ as it overemphasises the Directory's financial achievements. Its claim that 'in six months the Directory healed the 'deplorable situation' suggests that by May 1796, the financial situation was improved. This does not fit in with the reality that the mandates introduced in February 1796 plummeted to 5% of their value in July 1796, ~~and~~ showing that source 1 is somewhat inaccurate. Thus,

its usefulness for revealing the extent of the Directory's success is undermined by this false claim.

In conclusion, sources 1 and 2 together are, although in some ways useful, overall limited. Whilst they together demonstrate in the long-term the failure of the Directory to achieve financial stability, and whilst source 1 does acknowledge its limited successes and source 2 does reveal some of the constitutional issues, overall it is of limited usefulness as it doesn't demonstrate how the Directory collapsed. Each source is overly-focused on economics and public perceptions, and thus the ignorance of political conflicts and the cap of Bourgeois circles taken together of limited value as they cannot be used to show the epitome of determining the Directory's success, that it collapsed in 1799.



This Level 5 response possesses several obvious strengths, namely (1) it interrogates the evidence of both sources making reasoned inferences (e.g. the Directory struggled to establish long-term financial stability and was weakened by constitutional/political problems), (2) it deploys knowledge of the historical context to illuminate and/or discuss the limitations of what can be gained from the content of the source (e.g. Ramel's financial reforms, the coup of Fructidor) and (3) it evaluates the source material taking into account its weight as part of coming to a judgement (e.g. the nature and purpose of de Stael's account and the police report are examined to establish weight).



The two main ways to establish the weight of a source are (1) to use contextual knowledge to confirm or challenge claims or statements made in the source and (2) to consider the nature and purpose of the source (for e.g. the status and motivation of the author). Simply stating that a source fails to cover a particular event or development does NOT establish weight.

## Question 2

On Question 2, stronger responses clearly considered the sources together (e.g. both sources indicate that the Kornilov affair had a positive impact on the Bolsheviks), although treatment of the sources may have been uneven. Such responses also analysed the source material in relation to the enquiry with a sense of interrogation which went beyond selecting key points and made reasoned inferences (e.g. before the Kornilov affair, Bolshevik support and influence was limited). Knowledge of the historical context was used to discuss limitations/what can be gained from the content of the source material (e.g. support for the Bolsheviks was rising before the Kornilov affair, as shown by the results of the Petrograd City Duma elections) and revealed an awareness of the values and concerns of the society from which it was drawn (e.g. Lenin's/Bolshevik justification for the growth in party support). Furthermore, high-scoring candidates evaluated the source material relevantly in line with the specified enquiry and considered matters of provenance confidently (e.g. Kerensky as Prime Minister at the time would be an informed observer regarding the impact the Kornilov affair had on the Bolsheviks). The weight of the evidence was taken into consideration when coming to a judgement (e.g. Lenin's account of the impact of the Kornilov affair is attempting to justify Bolshevik (i.e. his) policy since July 1917).

Weaker responses began to consider the sources together (e.g. both sources indicate that the Kornilov affair helped the Bolsheviks). In addition, such responses showed some limited understanding and analysis of the source material through the selection of key points relevant to the question and valid inferences (e.g. support for the Bolsheviks was growing before the Kornilov affair). However, these valid inferences had only limited support or remained undeveloped. Knowledge of the historical context was mainly used to expand, confirm or challenge matters of detail with some attempt to support inferences (e.g. Bolshevik fortunes dipped as a result of the July Days). Lower-scoring candidates tended to evaluate the source material with some relevance regarding the specified enquiry and noted some aspects of source provenance to draw conclusions about reliability or utility. At this level, judgements often lacked support and could be based on questionable assumptions (e.g. Kerensky, author of Source 4, had been Prime Minister at the time and was therefore able to give an unbiased account).



The historian could make use of Sources 3 and 4 to an extremely large extent, across the Sources is explanation of the impacts of the Kornilov affair from both the Bolshevik and Provisional Government's perspective as well as large amounts of agreement between the sources on the main impacts.

The combined content of both Source 3 and 4 are highly useful to the historian. Both Sources state the most significant impact of the Kornilov affair, which allowed the Bolsheviks to ride back in on a wave of popular support as their Red Guard crushed Kornilov and the party was seen as the heroic defenders of the revolution, to be the vast success of the party in Soviet elections throughout the Summer and eventual control of not only the main Soviets in Petrograd and Moscow by also by the September / October control of the Soviet executive Committee which was enabled by this new-found support. This is ~~also~~ discussed in Source 3, Lenin states 'we did not have a majority among the workers and soldiers.... Now we have a majority in both

Soviets', referring to Petrograd and Moscow. This is agreed by Source 4 which states 'Before the Kornilov ~~to~~ rising, there had not been a Bolshevik majority in a single Soviet'. The idea that not in a single Soviet had the Bolsheviks had power not only confirms Lenin's comment about a lack of majority but serves to present just how significant the impact of Kornilov was ~~on the~~ in terms of the sheer scale of popularity it saw the Bolshevik party obtain. Furthermore, the significant impact of the Kornilov affair is highly vividly revealed by the Sources to be the event which enabled the Bolsheviks to ultimately take power in October 1917. This is inferred by the increased power obtained through control of the Soviets and the de jure power it gave them in terms of control of the army and workers and the workers key institutions such as the energy supply, railway and communication industries which enabled them to seize power in October. The Sources also reveal this impact on the Bolsheviks by expressing the loss of support for the Provisional Government and other revolutionary parties or groups such as the Mensheviks and SRs, discredited by association with Kerensky and the Provisional

Government which furthered support not only for the Bolshevik party but for the Bolshevik party as an alternative form of government exercised through the Soviet, as the only remaining credible choice. That Kerensky's wife herself said after the Kornilov affair 'Kerensky and the Provisional Government were left almost entirely without supporters'. This is reflected in Source 3 where Lenin states 'There was no country-wide revolutionary upsurge at that time. There is now'. The phrase 'there is now' infers the popular opinions in favour of Bolshevik control and acknowledges the absence of such popular ambitions prior to the Kornilov affair. Similarly, in Source 4 Kerensky refers to the affair as 'the prologue to the Bolshevik coup'. Such a statement agrees that it was the Kornilov affair that <sup>began the party</sup> ~~led~~ to Bolshevik power in October 1917, although the term 'coup' infers the opposite of the idea of popular support but may be considered a reflection simply of Kerensky's resentment at the affair.<sup>26</sup>

The Sources may be considered slightly limited in that Kerensky's resentful tone, such as is illustrated by use of the term 'coup' is



Slightly contradictory to the ideas posed by Lenin, however, the inferences of both sources widely agree throughout. Absent from both sources is mention of Trotsky, a vital figure in the organization of the Bolshevik Party as leader of the ~~Provisional~~ Petrograd Soviet. However there can be considered to be very small limitations to the content of the sources with the main impacts covered.

The provenance of the sources is also highly useful as they reflect the two opposing sides in the Kamilar affair. This increases their value as they may be considered more reliable in their content where they agree. Furthermore Lenin's letter is written in September 1917 which while useful in that the content can be considered fresh in the aftermath of the event may also be considered a limitation of the source. This is due to the fact that it excludes both the Bolshevik overall control of the Soviet Executive Committee, even beyond the main cities of Moscow and Petrograd and also being before October 1917 meaning that in his letter Lenin is able only to ~~predict~~ predict or contemplate

both the Bolshevik leader and the opposition

whereas alone source 3 as a letter to the party

may be limited in the reliability of having the purpose of convincing the opposition



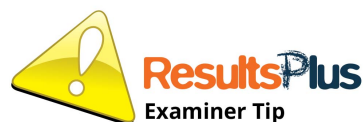
the Bolshevik ability to eventually seize power. However, these limitations are largely offset by the fact that ~~the~~ Source 4, ~~Kerensky's~~ was published in 1919, enabling both consolidation of the ideas presented about Bolshevik potential in Source 3 and filling in gaps of what may have occurred between <sup>mid-</sup>September and the Bolshevik's seizure of power at the end of October which may be associated with the affair. Kerensky's source alone could also be considered partially limited due to the personal goals of Kerensky, the man blamed for the Kornilov affair to some extent clear his name. This is seen in the source where Kerensky makes statements such as reference to 'skillful politicians' and blame of Kornilov and focus on this aspect rather than simply impacts on the Bolsheviks. However, this is again offset by the agreement of Source 3, by the Bolshevik leader, in reference to inferences or statements of impacts on Bolsheviks and this increased ability to overlook resentment and biased by the author. This balance between the sources serves to make the Provenance's highly useful as what

may seem to be imitations when considered alone can be viewed ~~and~~ as removed or even strengthening when the sources are considered together.

Overall ~~the~~ Sources 3 and 4 are ~~high~~ of extremely good use to the historian in terms of both their content and provenance in investigating the impact of the Kornilov affair on the Bolsheviks.



This Level 5 response possesses several obvious strengths, namely (1) it interrogates the evidence of both sources making reasoned inferences (e.g. the Kornilov affair rehabilitated the Bolsheviks after the July Days and enabled Lenin's party to take power in October 1917), (2) it deploys knowledge of the historical context to illuminate and/or discuss the limitations of what can be gained from the content of the source (e.g. the growth of Bolshevik support and power after August 1917, the Provisional Government lost support because of the Kornilov affair) and (3) it evaluates the source material taking into account its weight as part of coming to a judgement (e.g. the nature and purpose of both Lenin and Kerensky's account are examined to establish weight).



Simply stating that a source fails to cover a particular event or development does NOT establish weight. See Examiner Tip for Question 1 for advice about how to establish the weight of a source.

### Question 3

On Question 3, stronger responses were targeted on an analysis of the significance of the challenge posed by the Enlightenment to the *ancien régime* in France in the years 1774-89. Such responses explored key issues and developments relevant to the question (e.g. the circulation of, and social support for, Enlightenment ideas, low literacy rates and government censorship, the opposition of the Catholic Church) although the treatment of key issues was sometimes uneven (e.g. an extensive focus on the radicalising impact of Enlightenment ideas on sections of French society). High-scoring candidates also demonstrated an understanding of the conceptual focus of the question (significance), deployed sufficient knowledge and established criteria to make a judgement (e.g. nature and extent of popular support for such ideas, impact of low literacy rates, effectiveness of official censorship). Such responses were also clearly organised and effectively communicated.

Weaker responses tended to be generalised and, at best, offered a fairly limited analysis of the significance of the challenge posed by the Enlightenment to the *ancien régime* in France in the years 1774-89. Low scoring answers also often lacked focus on significance or were essentially a description of the Enlightenment in the 1770s and 1780s. Where some analysis using relevant knowledge was evident, it tended to lack range/depth (e.g. limited comments on the popularity of Enlightenment ideas). Furthermore, such responses were often fairly brief, lacked coherence and structure, and made unsubstantiated or weakly supported judgements.

The challenge the Enlightenment posed to the ancien régime was significant through the role ~~the~~ it played in the political crisis, ~~the~~ and the effect it had in mobilising the Parisian mob. However, the Enlightenment didn't pose as much of a threat to the régime as Louis XVI's instability, the plans in the régime itself, and the ongoing economic problems.

The Enlightenment challenged the ancien régime through the effect it had on the nobles, and the resulting spread of radical ideas which motivated the aristocracy to turn against the ancien régime in favour of a constitutional monarchy. The ideas posed by ~~de~~ de Montesquieu, Voltaire and Rousseau advocated a constitutional monarchy rather than an absolute one, which was a key motivator in turning the political elite against Louis XVI. The Duc d'Orléans ~~was~~ made his palais a place to disperse radical ideas, and this



helped challenge the ancien régime. The ideas could be seen in the Assembly of Notables demanding the Estates-General be called in May 1789, as the ~~at~~ ideas of equality prompted them to seek popular support. As well as this, the nobles' desire for the end to the ancien régime, caused by the Duc d'Orléans and others spreading Enlightenment ideas, could be seen in the cahiers de doléances in 1788, in which 87% nobles volunteered to give up parts of their wealth and tax exemption, showing the growing ideas of equality and resulting breakdown of the ancien régime.

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~  
The Enlightenment ideas, as well as turning the nobility against the ancien régime had a considerable effect in motivating the Parisian mob to turn against the King, through the more radical ideas of Voltaire and Sieyès. The dismantling of the ancien régime was caused by the Parisian poor attacking the Bastille and deposing the King in favour of the National Assembly. This was a result of their anger at their poverty and the economic crisis being politicised, and

due to Enlightenment ideas. Sieyès' pamphlet in January 1789 ('What is the Third Estate?') pointed out the lack of political power the Third Estate had, and the lack of influence in the Estates-General. This was a factor in turning the poor against the King, and directing their discontent at the Estate system and ancient régime. The more radical ideas of ~~the~~ Voltaire, who argued for complete equality, were also a factor in bringing attention to the inequality of the system and proposing a solution in the dismantling of the ancient régime.

However, the fall of the ancient régime, though in part caused by the radical equality posed by the Enlightenment, was far more fundamentally by the incompetence of its ruler, King Louis XVI, due to his failure to manage the financial crisis, and ~~thus~~ the unpopularity of his court. The financial crisis was a key factor in the discontent of the Parisians, and Louis XVI's failure to solve it contributed to the fall of the ancient régime. The rapid firing of his Controller-General, Turgot ~~could~~ *could* de



Brienne, and especially his dismissal of Necker, turned the poor against him. As well as this, his political ineptitude during the Estates-General ~~with the failed 'lit de justice'~~ ~~with the failed 'lit de justice'~~, helped to expose the problems of the ancien régime, and ~~made~~ made people hate him, and so resulted in the fall of the ancien régime. Lastly, the expenditure of his court, and lack of popularity for his wife, also contributed to the régime's collapse. Marie-Antoinette was reported to have bought a necklace for 1.2 million livres, and the court cost 6% of royal expenditure. This waste of money contributed to the financial crisis, and made the unpopularity of the King and ancien régime worse, so contributing to its collapse.

The ancien régime was challenged by the flaws in the system, which were only exposed by the ideas of the Enlightenment, ~~such as~~ such as the inefficient taxation and inherent subjugation of the Third Estate. The direct taxes, such as the taille (a 10% income tax) and the gabelle (the tax on salt) both affected the Third

Estate, while leaving the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> exempt. This left large portions of the country's wealth inaccessible, and contributed both to the financial crisis, and to the hatred towards the regime. 50% of crown income came from taxing the Third Estate, causing a large level of discontent, which was only given exposure and political momentum by the Enlightenment.

The ongoing economic crisis was, similar to the famines of the ancien régime, a challenge due to the anger it caused, which was then politicised by the Enlightenment philosophy. The poor harvests in 1789, caused bread prices to rise by 88%, while wages only rose by 50%. This caused widespread famine and anger, especially in Paris. 50% of a worker's wages had to be spent on food, again resulting in a hatred for the regime that kept the poor in these conditions, and a desire for change. The Eden Treaty with Britain in ~~1788~~ 1786 had a similar effect, further weakening the economy and causing hatred for the king. This was a key to challenging the ancien régime, as without the anger it caused due to



poverty and starvation, there would have been far less of a desire for equality and a hatred of the ancien régime.

Overall, the Enlightenment played a major role in challenging the ancien régime, as it pitted both the nobles and the poor against Louis XVI. However, the key cause of the ancien régime collapsing was the ~~mistakes~~ mistakes Louis XVI made. His antagonisation of both the nobles (during the Estates-General and the financial crisis) and the poor (in the dismissal of Necker and spending his wife's dowry), was what ~~led to the~~ made the Enlightenment ideas so popular, and produced the anger at Louis XVI that was then turned into a revolution by the Enlightenment ideas. The fact that the ancien régime had survived previously, but only collapsed with Louis XVI on the throne shows that the incompetent monarch was the reason the ancien régime was suddenly hated so much, and explains why the Enlightenment ideas had so much appeal to the poor in France, causing the fall of the régime.



This response secured Level 5 because it (1) attempts to analyse the significance of the challenge posed by the Enlightenment to the *ancien regime* in France in the years 1774-89 (e.g. the impact of such ideas on social groups such as the nobility and the lower orders), (2) considers the significance of other factors (e.g. financial problems, the economic crisis of the late 1780s) and (3) reaches a judgement in the conclusion related to the criteria developed in the analysis.



When planning your answer to a support / challenge question make sure you have a good balance of key points on either side of the argument, or be prepared to argue support and challenge within each key point.

## **Question 4**

On Question 4, stronger responses were targeted on an analysis of how far religious issues were responsible for the deepening divisions in France in the years 1790-94 and weighed this factor (e.g. Louis XVI's intervention in religious issues, mass rebellion in the Vendée, dechristianisation) against others (e.g. the outbreak of war in 1792 and the role of the Terror). These responses included an analysis of the links between key issues and a focus on the concept (causation) in the question. Judgements made about the relative importance of religious issues were reasoned and based on clear criteria (e.g. the nature, extent and degree of polarisation due to religious issues, the actions of Louis XVI, war and the Terror). Higher scoring answers were also clearly organised and effectively communicated.

Weaker responses tended to describe key events that took place in France during the years 1790-94 with limited focus on causation and/or the stated factor (religious issues). Where some analysis using relevant knowledge was evident, it lacked range/depth (e.g. limited comments on the Civil Constitution of the Clergy and the oath of loyalty (1790)). Furthermore, such responses were often brief, lacked coherence and structure, and made unsubstantiated or weakly supported judgements.

It could be argued that religious issues were primarily responsible for deepening divisions in France in the years 1790-94. However, it ~~could~~ could also be argued that divisions were a result of conflicts, the Terror, and the actions of Robespierre. Whether or not it is a factor in responsibility can be assessed through if it was long or short term, and if everyone was divided by it. The ~~the~~ main cause of divisions between 1790-94 was Robespierre.

It could be argued that religious issues were responsible for deepening divisions in France in the years 1790-94. In 1791, the National Constituent Assembly implemented a new tax system ~~which~~ and currency. Whilst this was being implemented, they needed money. And they done so by



tearing church land and selling it. This caused division because the religious people were angry. Much of France was Catholic. There was a public outrage. Religious divisions were further created in 1793.

The ~~Armed~~ Armée Révolutionnaire was originally established to try and find herded food. But instead they went around smashing up churches, bringing a halt to de-christianisation. However, this ~~may not~~ did not cause large scale divisions. Many people did not agree with what the Armée Révolutionnaire <sup>(a small group)</sup> was doing - even Robespierre disagreed. Furthermore, rights were given to religious minorities, such as Jews in 1791. ~~therefor~~ therefore, religion was not primarily responsible. Robespierre was primarily responsible for divisions in France in the years 1790-1794. Robespierre created the Terror. Although deemed necessary at first to help stop the internal threat of rebels, once France was doing well in the war against the 1<sup>st</sup>

Coalition it seemed pointless.

Nonetheless, Robespierre continued the Terror.

This caused divisions because people were scared. Anyone could be a spy who's

listening to you, ready to arrest you for saying any bad word against the NCA.

For you could trust no one. Furthermore, the Law of Suspects (~~1791~~<sup>1791</sup>) meant

anyone could be arrested simply because someone didn't like their

personality, and you weren't allowed to defend yourself at court.

In addition to the implementation of the Terror,

Robespierre released a list of enemies in 1794, but refused to tell anyone who's

on it. This caused divisions in France as everyone was suspicious of everyone.

However, the list of enemies could be viewed as not causing divisions as

it allowed everyone to agree on one thing - Robespierre needs to go. Furthermore,

many argue that, after the coup de

thermidor <sup>(1794)</sup> and Robespierre's execution, that the Terror died with him. Although it took

a long time for ~~new laws~~ the laws to be removed, his death brought about the



end to many divisions in France. People were no longer scared of each other, people were given free trial. Therefore, Robespierre and his actions were the biggest cause of divisions in France in 1790-94.

It could also be argued that conflicts were responsible for divisions in France between 1790-94. The war with the 1<sup>st</sup> coalition was going badly until <sup>Summer</sup> 1792. But this war resulted in an increase of poverty. Much of the harvest was going to the army, leaving little left for the French people. And what was left was expensive. This caused divisions as people believed that farmers were hoarding food, causing public outrage. Furthermore, much of the country was now in poverty, causing them to be angry at the NCA. However, a price cap was put on bread to stop farmers putting up the price. Furthermore, the Armée Révolutionnaire was set up to find hoarded food, but they didn't find much. The internal conflicts such as the Vendée uprisings also led to divisions.

Peasant uprisings as well as uprisings from the poor occurred all over France. Consequently, ~~armies~~ divisions were caused as the uprisings occurred due to ~~dis~~ dissatisfaction with the government. However, these internal revolts were often small scale. The Terror was implemented in order to stop these so that the army could focus on the external threat of war. And although the Terror angered some, it was widely accepted as necessary by many.

To conclude, the actions of Robespierre were the most responsible for divisions in France between 1790-94. Religion did cause division; dechristianisation through the selling of church land as well as by the ~~Army~~ Revolutionary, ~~did~~ but laws also gave more rights to religion. Furthermore, conflicts caused poverty and hunger, resulting in division, but the conflicts were either small scale (internal) or ~~at~~ a war France was winning (external). As a result, Robespierre is the main cause of divisions. He continued with



The Terror longer than deemed necessary, he acted like a dictator, and he ~~refer~~ made people turn against each other.



This Level 3 response offers (1) some limited analysis of the extent to which religious issues were responsible for the deepening divisions in France in the years 1790-94 (e.g. selling church land, dechristianisation) but there is scope to develop this section further (2) some consideration of the role played by other factors (e.g. the role of Robespierre and the Terror, and the impact of war) (3) criteria for judgement that are mostly implicit and the conclusion at the end needs further development.



You will be expected to offer detailed knowledge to support your arguments. Check the specification so you know what is required.

## **Question 5**

On Question 5, stronger responses were targeted on an analysis of the extent to which the survival of the Tsarist system, in the years 1894-1906, owed more to the weaknesses of its opponents than to government policies. These also included an analysis of relationships between key issues and a focus on the concept (consequence) in the question. Such responses had a solid grasp of relevant issues regarding 'owed more' (e.g. limited influence of liberal and Marxist opponents, organisational weaknesses of the Populists and SRs, fundamental divisions between these opposition groups, the role of the Okhrana, the October Manifesto and Stolypin's repression beginning in 1906). Judgements made about the relative importance of opposition weakness/government policy were reasoned and based on clear criteria (e.g. the nature and extent of opposition to the Tsarist system, the effectiveness of the Tsar's reforms or military response). Higher scoring answers were also clearly organised and effectively communicated.

Weaker responses tended to be generalised and, at best, offered a fairly limited analysis of the extent to which the survival of the Tsarist system, in the years 1894-1906, owed more to the weaknesses of its opponents than to government policies. Low scoring answers also often lacked focus on consequence or were essentially a description of the Tsarist system in the years 1894-1906. Where some analysis using relevant knowledge was evident, it tended to lack range/depth (e.g. limited comments on the impact of the October Manifesto or Stolypin's repression). Furthermore, such responses were often brief, lacked coherence and structure, and made unsubstantiated or weakly supported judgements.

The survival of the Tsarist regime in the years 1894-1906 owed more to the nature of government policies as opposed to the weakness of political opposition. Whilst the weakness of political opposition was a strength for the Tsarist system, the governmental policies allowed this to be contained highlighted in the Duma, so both <sup>are synchronised</sup> ~~go in sync~~. Although both factors retain significance, it must be considered that ~~other~~ alternatives, such as the loyalty of the army ~~and the~~ was also a main contributing factor towards the survival of the Tsar.

The 1905 Revolution saw much reform and political adjustment of Russia. The introduction of the Duma in 1905 remains a huge liberal reform of Russian politics. Whilst the Tsar remained autocratic, it was evident that he was able to contain his opposition by the creation of the Duma. The powers of the Duma which ~~were~~ promised were: the right to ratify the laws passed by the Tsar, universal suffrage and an increase in freedom

of speech and press. Although the Fundamental Laws of 1906 contradicted the view that Russia would have a constitutional government, the Duma did arguably retain some sort of control.

However, the creation of the Duma's did highlight much <sup>weakness of</sup> political opposition, in the light of the Liberal Party, which was caused to divide into the Kadets and the Octoberists, the latter not accepting the reforms of 1905. The Social Democrats excluded themselves from the Duma as both the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks called for more radical reform. \*

~~The fact that the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks were excluded from this can arguably be a cause for the Tsar's later dem.~~

\* The Social Revolutionaries gained much popularity from the peasants as they advocated land reform. ~~The~~ Whilst they were a more stable opposition group in regards, to support, it ~~is~~ is still evident that they would not tempt the fate of the Tsar. Due to their main support system coming from peasants, ~~they were~~ ~~where~~ in which the majority were illiterate, they were unable to deal with the real political affairs well, as the peasants solely supported them for land reform and did not understand



the political side.

By the third and fourth Duma, with government policies that persecuted and isolated political opposition, the Tsar was able to manipulate the nature of the Duma to suit his autocratic rule. The third and fourth Duma's were equally conservative and requested little reform as they were mainly Liberals and Tsarists.

It must be addressed that the main factor that contributed towards the survival of the Tsar was the loyalty of the army, which was mainly seen during protests such as Bloody Sunday in 1905, which was ultimately the spark of the 1905 revolution. The extreme force applied on the Bloody

Sunday Massacre was arguably what allowed the Tsar to remain in power. The physical ~~retention~~ retention of power was extremely vital for the Tsar as he could not politically ease, ~~as~~ ~~previously noted~~ unless he had a conservative assembly, as previously stated. The Bloody Sunday Massacre amounted to the death toll of around 100 victims shot by the Tsar's loyal army, the Southern Russian Cossack soldiers.

This extreme suppression of what was a

peaceful worker's protest led by Father Gappen shattered the image of The Tsar as being the 'Little Father' of Russia, but it did enforce the idea that there would be no toleration to opposition, securing the position of the Tsar, whilst the Tsar had not successfully destroyed opposition, a point had been proven that whilst the military remained faithful to the Tsar, ~~the~~ opposition had a massive competition. Through the events of 1905, ~~For~~ the Tsar was able to appeal to some of his opposition by ~~ap~~ the use of the Duma. ~~At~~

Although the weakness of political opposition did play a large part of the Tsar's survival, the political reforms are what allowed him to remain in power politically. If the Tsar had not offered the Duma, ~~the~~ arguably the political opposition would have become a lot more united. The weaknesses of the political opposition were solely highlighted by the Tsarist <sup>system</sup> ~~reform~~ during the years 1894-1906. At this time, the ideals of a Duma were still radical enough for many, such as Tsarists and Liberals, which offered the Tsar much survival support. This survival was ultimately capitalised by the strength and loyalty of the army, as without the

army, the Tsar would have been physically incapable of remaining in power, leading to destruction of the Tsarist regime. This was followed by the introduction of Tsarist groups such as the Black Hundred who targeted political opposition, ~~securing the Tsarist regime~~ <sup>who acted</sup> ~~for~~ just as a temporary remedy for the survival of the Tsarist regime



**ResultsPlus**  
Examiner Comments

This response achieved Level 4 because (1) it targets the opposition weakness/government policy debate concerning the survival of the Tsarist system in the years 1894-1906 with a decent focus on 'owed more', (2) sufficient own knowledge is brought in to support the arguments made (e.g. the creation of the Duma, political passivity of the peasantry, loyalty of the army) and (3) a reasoned judgement is reached in the conclusion based on the criteria developed in the analysis.



**ResultsPlus**  
Examiner Tip

Higher level responses are often based on brief plans that offer a logical structure for the analysis. They identify three or four themes and points for and against the proposition. Take a minute or two at the beginning to plan before you start writing your response. That way, you are more likely to produce a relevant, logical and well-structured response.

## **Question 6**

On Question 6, stronger responses targeted the extent to which the Bolshevik government consolidated communist rule in Russia in the years 1918-21. Such responses included an analysis of links between key factors and a clear focus on the concept (change/continuity). Higher-scoring candidates offered a sufficient range of relevant developments or events for discussion (e.g. Bolshevik consolidation through the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (1918), closure of the Constituent Assembly (1918), victory in the Russian Civil War (1918-21), the Red Terror (1918-21); limits to consolidation revealed by the revolt in Tambov, the Kronstadt rising and the Workers' Opposition (all 1921) and economic concessions via the NEP (1921)). Judgements made about the extent of consolidation were reasoned and based on clear criteria (e.g. territorial extent of control by 1921, extent of political opposition by 1921). Higher scoring answers were also clearly organised and effectively communicated.

Weaker responses tended to offer limited knowledge of the extent of Bolshevik consolidation and often took the form of a patchy narrative of the main events of 1918-21 in Russia or else drifted into the post-1921 period. Alternatively, lower-scoring candidates provided a limited analysis of Bolshevik power during these years which offered little development on the focus of the question. Where some analysis using relevant knowledge was evident, it was not developed very far or only offered one aspect related to the demands of the question (e.g. limited comments on the consolidation of communist rule due to the Bolsheviks' victory in the civil war). Furthermore, such responses were often brief, lacked coherence and structure, and made unsubstantiated or weakly supported judgements.



The Bolshevik government ~~consolidated~~ after the October Revolution had to consolidate their communist rule in order to defend the revolution and remain in power. It did this successfully to a large extent, as despite facing some threats, such as the opposing forces in the civil war, and opposition regarding economic policy, the Bolsheviks maintained their firm grip on power throughout this whole period, through the use of repression, <sup>and</sup> reform and economic

Firstly, the Bolsheviks consolidated ~~their~~ communist rule 1918-21 to a large extent through the actions of Lenin. Most notably, by closing the constituent assembly. When the Social Revolutionaries became the largest party in Russia in November 1918, posing a threat to the Bolshevik's rule, Lenin demanded they be subservient to the Sovnarkom, and upon their refusal expelled them using the Red Guards and other loyal troops. Therefore, although ~~the~~ they consolidated their

power by preventing the establishment of a more legitimate body in Russian government. Furthermore, ~~the Bolsheviks~~ <sup>Lenin</sup> effectively created a highly organized government, ensuring that they dominated and controlled all political activity, ~~which they~~ through the establishment of the Politburo, to which effectively controlled the Sennarcom. Furthermore, ~~the Bolsheviks~~ Lenin ~~ensured~~ helped consolidate Bolshevik rule by ensuring they remained credible and delivering on the promises they had made in the April Theses: The Decree on Land legitimized peasant land seizures, and the Decree on Peace ended ~~the~~ Russian involvement in the First World War, which had toppled 800 years of Tsarism and the Provisional Government. Hence, this consolidated Bolshevik rule as it prevented further social, economic and political issues that may threaten the regime, and allowed the Bolsheviks to prioritize crushing internal enemies, and therefore they did consolidate communist rule to a large extent.

However, the Decree on Land created an enemy in the nobility, who resented the territorial losses brought about by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, whereby Russia lost  $\frac{1}{3}$  of one third of its European land. Hence, this actually threatened consolidation of Bolshevik rule as it essentially started the Civil War, where opposing forces ~~attempted~~<sup>fought</sup> to remove them from power. Nevertheless, the Bolsheviks were again successful in dealing with this threat: the creation of the Red Army ~~and~~ from the Red Guards, ~~and~~ conscripted soldiers and experienced ex-Imperial officers (forced into warfare ~~due to~~ by Trotsky who held their families hostage), the civil war was effectively run by the Bolsheviks. That it largely due to the fact they ~~to~~ successfully emphasized their one united aim, defending the gains of the revolution, motivating the army to crush the whites, who were divided between those who favoured military dictatorship, a return to socialism, or liberal democracy. Overall, the Bolsheviks consolidated communist rule to a large extent through their victory on the civil war, by demonstrating that any threats could be quickly and effectively



suppressed by their ~~own~~ powerful government, and essentially demonstrating their power to the nation.

Furthermore, the ~~to~~ use of ~~the~~ repression allowed the Bolsheviks to effectively consolidate their communist rule. The Cheka was established, ~~and~~ a secret police force operating outside the law, allowing it to execute or imprison anyone without trial. 'My power is such that I can check anyone,' said one Cheka officer. This ~~has~~ helped to consolidate Bolshevik rule as they crushed any counter-revolutionary activity, labelling themselves as 'the sword and shield of the revolution'. Their influence can be best seen in the Red Terror, ~~of~~ September to October 1918, when they cracked down on government opposition, brutally murdering critics of the regime and even shooting the tsar and his family in a Ruthless demonstration of Bolshevik power. They killed 10,000 people ~~in~~ ~~a~~ critics in formally controlled Bolshevik areas alone, and widely publicized the death tolls to deter others from threatening the regime. Therefore, the Bolsheviks consolidated their communist rule to a large extent through repression, as ~~they~~ prevented ~~the~~ terrorized the nation.



to the point where no one was likely to risk  
challenging their rule.

Nevertheless, evidence to suggest that the Bolsheviks  
didn't successfully consolidate their power is  
seen with the significant amount of opposition  
to their economic policy. This was first  
seen with state capitalism, which was introduced  
due to Lenin attempting to please those who  
favoured a complete transfer to a socialist  
economy and those who opposed it. This led to  
a drop in industrial production, a lack  
of incentive for peasants to sell grain due to  
the scarcity of consumer goods, and a full  
time curfew on rationing, which dropped to 50 grams.  
Opposition was so extensive that the workers,  
who the Bolsheviks supposedly represented,  
left the cities in their thousands, causing  
the population of Petrograd to drop significantly.  
This suggests that they did not consolidate their  
~~rule~~ communist rule effectively. Furthermore,  
~~farmer discontent can be seen~~ discontent  
increased under war communism. ~~This was~~  
~~Due to the~~ abolition of private trade,  
and rationing being highly in favour of the workers  
and soldiers, 5 million people starved to death.

An grain requisitioning led to significant demonstrations such as the Tambov Revolt, although this was brutally crushed. & The most notable demonstration came from the Kronstadt Soldiers, who mobilised in opposition to the economic circumstances, sharing the huge extent of disillusionment with the regime as they had previously been avid Bolshevik supporters. Lenin called it 'the <sup>flash</sup> spark that lit up reality' in that, it made him realise concession was needed to save the regime, and to be ~~delivered~~ delivered this in the form of the New Economic Policy which reopened small businesses and stopped grain requisitioning. Therefore, the Bolsheviks arguably didn't consolidate their rule to a large extent, as they faced significant and potentially destabilising opposition. However, despite opposition from war communism, this policy effectively helped them win the civil war, ~~putting~~ strengthening their hold on power, and Lenin's compromise, in terms of the NEP also greatly ensured the survival of the regime, suggesting that communist rule was consolidated to a large extent ~~despite~~ regardless of opposition.

To conclude, the Bolsheviks did consolidate communist rule to a large extent 1918-21.

Although they were faced with significant threats like the civil war and opposition from the masses, they quickly suppressed these threats, each ~~also~~ further demonstrating their power and deterring others from challenging them. Overall, their <sup>political</sup> efficiency<sup>s</sup> and ruthless repression ~~and~~ ensured that by 1921, Russia was essentially an oligarchy.



**ResultsPlus**  
Examiner Comments

This response secured Level 5 because it (1) attempts to analyse the extent to which the Bolshevik government consolidated communist rule in Russia in the years 1918-21 with a clear focus on change/continuity (e.g. closure of Constituent Assembly, Decrees on Land and Peace, use of Red Terror, impact of War Communism and the introduction of the NEP) and (2) reaches a judgement in the conclusion related to the criteria developed in the analysis.



**ResultsPlus**  
Examiner Tip

If you use the key phrases from the question throughout your essay, this will help you to write a relevant analytical response.

## Paper Summary

Based on their performance on this paper, candidates are offered the following advice:

### Section A

- Candidates should aim to develop valid inferences supported by the arguments raised in the sources, not merely paraphrase the content of the sources.
- Inferences can be supported by reference to contextual knowledge surrounding the issues raised by the sources.
- Candidates should move beyond stereotypical approaches to the nature/purpose and authorship of the source by, for e.g., looking at and explaining the specific stance and/or purpose of the writer.
- Candidates should use the sources together at some point in the answer.

### Section B

- Spending a few minutes planning helps to ensure the second order concept is correctly identified.
- Candidates must provide more precise contextual knowledge as evidence. Weaker responses lacked depth and sometimes range here.
- Candidates should avoid a narrative/descriptive approach; this undermines the analysis that is required for the higher levels.
- Candidates need to be aware of key dates as identified in the specification so that they can address the questions with chronological precision.
- Candidates should try to explore the links between issues in order to make the structure of the response flow more logically and to facilitate an integrated analysis.



## Grade Boundaries

Grade boundaries for this, and all other papers, can be found on the website on this link:

<http://www.edexcel.com/iwantto/Pages/grade-boundaries.aspx>

