
HISTORY (PRINCIPAL)

9769/58

Paper 5h Special Subject: Russia in Revolution, 1905–1924

May/June 2017

2 hours

Additional Materials: Answer Booklet/Paper

READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

If you have been given an Answer Booklet, follow the instructions on the front cover of the Booklet.

Write your Centre number, candidate number and name on all the work you hand in.

Write in dark blue or black pen.

Do not use staples, paper clips, glue or correction fluid.

DO NOT WRITE IN ANY BARCODES.

Answer Question 1 in Section A.

Answer **one** question from Section B.

You are reminded of the need for analysis and critical evaluation in your answers to questions. You should also show, where appropriate, an awareness of links and comparisons between different countries and different periods.

At the end of the examination, fasten all your work securely together.

The number of marks is given in brackets [] at the end of each question or part question.



Section A

Nominated topic: Economic and social changes, 1917–1924

- 1 Study all the following documents and answer the questions which follow. In evaluating and commenting upon the documents, it is essential to set them alongside, and to make use of, your own contextual knowledge.

- A** *A Bolshevik commissar reports on a meeting with peasants in a district near Sergievskoye, about 200 miles south of Moscow.*

The meeting was at eight o'clock in the evening. Kulaks yelled 'Godless authority!' 'Out with Communists.' 'Give us bread, you exploiters, then we'll talk.' The speaker set out our goal to bolster the ranks of the poor and to squeeze out the Kulaks – the White-Guardist scum. He ended by saying 'If the citizens of Karl-Marx district (as the village had been re-named) are thinking of breaking away from the authority of the Bolsheviks, then the hand of the proletariat will not spare its enemies. The poor must chase out wolves in sheep's clothing from its midst.' But nobody listened, and they threw stones. It was hard work persuading the peasants. Kulaks crushed everything. Everywhere, everything was sabotaged. Students did not help, either. There was not a single Communist among the students.

Report, March 1919.

- B** *Secret orders to the Kamensky Executive Committee urge a vigorous approach to local separatism.*

Taking into consideration the experience of a year of civil war with the Cossacks, we have to face the fact that the only solution is a pitiless fight with all the wealthy Cossacks by destroying them one by one. No half-measures are possible and, therefore, we must institute a wholesale terror against the wealthy Cossacks and peasants. Having destroyed them, we must carry out a mass-terror against the Cossacks in general. We must confiscate corn and make the Cossacks bring all their surpluses to prescribed centres. We must carry out complete disarmament and shoot anyone bearing arms. Take all measures to help newly arrived poor settlers, organising settlements wherever possible and put these settlers on an equal footing with the Cossacks in land and other respects. Army detachments should be posted in Cossack villages.

Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party, directive, 1919.

- C** *In a work of political theory, Lenin discusses the need for compromise.*

There are compromises and compromises. One must learn to distinguish between a man who gives bandits money and weapons to lessen the damage they can do and a man who gives them money and weapons in order to share in their loot. We in Russia are going from the first stages in the transition from capitalism to socialism, or the lower stage of Communism. Classes will remain for years after the conquest of power by the proletariat. The abolition of classes means not only driving out the landlords and capitalists – that we have done with comparative ease – but it also means abolishing the small commodity producers. They cannot be driven out, or crushed, so we must live in harmony with them. They can (and must) be remoulded and re-educated, but only by very prolonged, slow, cautious organisational work. They encircle the proletariat on every side with a petty-bourgeois atmosphere which corrupts the proletariat and causes constant relapses into spinelessness, disunity and individualism.

Lenin, '*Left-Wing' Communism: An Infantile Disorder*, April 1920.

- D** *Stalin, Commissar for Nationalities, warns the central committee of the Communist Party about the current policy towards the Republics.*

In four years of civil war, we were obliged to be very tolerant in our attitudes towards the republics. As a result, we helped to form in those republics hard-line 'social independents' – those who want to operate outside our control. They now regard the Central Committee of the Party's decisions as simply being the decisions of Moscow imposed on the provinces. If we do not transform them immediately, the unity of the Soviet republics will be a lost cause. We are now busy worrying about how not to offend these nationalities. But if we carry on like this, in a year's time we will be verging on the break-up of the party and an end to its authority over the republics and nationalities.

Stalin, Memorandum, September 1922.

- E** *Following a visit to the USSR in 1932, two famous British socialists express their views on Russia's peasants in the period 1917–1924.*

Ever since the seizure of power, the maintenance of the food supply had been a preoccupation of the Soviet government. This anxiety was not directly due to any socialist measure taken by Lenin. It sprang from the inability to deal with the extreme individualism and primitive conditions of Russian peasant agriculture. The situation became desperate enough to drive Lenin to the New Economic Policy of 1921. It could not, however, avert the serious famine of 1921. The great bulk of the peasantry, whether poor or relatively prosperous, had supported the Bolsheviks in overthrowing the Provisional Government, because this enabled the peasants to drive away the landowners and share their estates. The peasants had everywhere supported the Red Armies against the Whites because of the threat to reinstate the landlords. However, the peasants resented any direct taxes. The development of greed, cunning, and outbursts of drunkenness and recurrent periods of idleness did not provide anything like prosperity. The peasant, formerly servile, became rebellious.

Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *Soviet Communism: A New Civilisation*, 1935.

- (a)** To what extent does Document A corroborate the view of the Russian peasants' attitudes towards Communism in Document E? [10]
- (b)** How convincing is the evidence provided by this set of documents that the Bolsheviks proceeded cautiously to bring about social and economic change from 1917 to 1924? In making your evaluation, you should refer to contextual knowledge as well as to all the documents in this set (A–E). [20]

Section B

Answer **one** of the following questions. Where appropriate, your essay should make use of any relevant documents you have studied as well as contextual knowledge.

- 2 Why did Lenin's ideas about Bolshevism excite so much debate among revolutionaries before 1914? [30]
- 3 Assess the importance of the First World War in bringing about the end of the Tsarist regime in Russia. [30]
- 4 Was the October Revolution a popular revolution or a takeover by a minority extremist group? [30]

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