

HISTORY

9769/71

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

May/June 2014

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.

You may use an HB pencil for any diagrams or graphs.

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

DO NOT WRITE IN ANY BARCODES.

Answer Question 1 and **one** other question.

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.

This document consists of **4** printed pages.

Answer the following question.

Nominated topic: The Revolutions of 1917

- 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 *Extracts from Lenin's April Theses of 1917 proposing new policies based on his theory of revolution.*

In our attitude to the war, which under the new government of Lvov and Co. unquestionably remains on Russia's part a predatory imperialist war owing to the capitalist nature of that government, not the slightest concession to 'revolutionary defencism' is permissible. Believers in this who accept that the war is necessary are being deceived by the bourgeoisie.

The present situation represents a transition from the first stage of the revolution, an assumption of power by the bourgeoisie, to the second stage which must place power in the hands of the proletariat and the poorer peasants.

We demand:

Confiscation of all landed estates.

Nationalisation of all lands in the country, the land to be disposed of by the local Soviets of Agricultural Labourers' and Peasants' Deputies.

The organisation of separate Soviets of Deputies of Poor Peasants.

Lenin, *April Theses*, 7 April 1917.

B *Kamenev comments on Lenin's Theses in the Bolshevik newspaper, Pravda.*

In his theses, Comrade Lenin did something that is the duty of every outstanding public man and submitted to the judgement of the revolutionary democracy of Russia his understanding of current events in a very concise and thorough form. However, the policy of *Pravda** on the war was made public and approved by the Bolshevik delegates at the Congress. Pending new decisions by the central committee, those resolutions remain our platform and we will defend them against Comrade Lenin's criticism. His general line appears to us unacceptable because he assumes that the bourgeois democratic revolution has been completed and there has been an immediate transformation into a socialist revolution.

**Pravda* was the Party newspaper of the Bolsheviks.

Lev Kamenev, *Our Differences*, 8 April 1917.

C *Lenin's widow describes the strength and resolution of the Bolsheviks in 1917.*

The Bolsheviks had been reduced to semi-legality in the aftermath of the July Days, but they grew in numbers and strength. By the time of the 6th Congress of the Party on 26 July, its membership had reached 127,000, twice as large as three months previously. There could be no doubt of the growth of Bolshevik influence, particularly in the army. The Congress helped rally support even more. It called attention to the counter-revolutionary position of the Provisional Government. Our party has not dropped its banner. It will hold it aloft for socialism, for it knows that a new movement is arising and that the death knell of the old order is approaching. On 10 October Lenin attended a meeting of the Central Committee where his resolution in favour of an armed insurrection was passed. Ten members voted for this resolution. Zinoviev and Kamenev voted against. Chudnovsky argued that it would jeopardise the revolution but the overwhelming majority supported Lenin. All the Vyborg* delegates were in favour. The workers were for revolution.

*Vyborg was the industrial part of Petrograd.

N. Krupskaya, *Memories of Lenin*, 1930.

D *A Socialist Revolutionary member of the Soviet describes criticisms of Lenin after he went into hiding in Finland after the July Days.*

The disappearance of Lenin when faced by arrest and trial produced an immense sensation and led to passionate discussions. Some Bolsheviks approved, but the majority of the Soviet reacted with sharp condemnation. From the political and moral point of view, the flight of the shepherd could not but deliver a heavy blow to the sheep. After all, the masses mobilised by Lenin bore the whole burden of responsibility for the July Days while the real culprit abandoned his comrades, abandoned the soldiers who supported him and sought personal safety in flight.

Nikolai Sukhanov, *The Russian Revolution*, 1922.

E *A modern historian considers the role of Trotsky and Lenin in September 1917 in planning revolution.*

In September 1917, Lenin's associates rejected his demands for an immediate armed uprising, preferring a slower, safer course. Their tactics were formulated by Trotsky, who thought Lenin's proposals too impetuous. Trotsky wanted the armed uprising disguised as the assumption of power by an All Russian Congress of Soviets – not one properly convened, but one which the Bolsheviks would convene on their own and pack with their own followers. Seen in retrospect, this undoubtedly was the correct course, because the country would not have tolerated the seizure of power by a single party as Lenin wanted.

Richard Pipes, *The Russian Revolution, 1899–1919*, published in 1990.

- (a) To what extent does Document B challenge the views of Document A about the nature and aims of a possible Bolshevik revolution? [10]
- (b) How convincing is the evidence provided in this set of documents for the view that, in 1917, Lenin was an effective and visionary revolutionary leader?

In making your evaluation, you should refer to contextual knowledge as well as to all the documents in this set (A–E). [20]

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 'The 1905 Revolution failed mainly because of the disunity of the Tsar's opponents.' Discuss. [30]
- 3 'It was the First World War alone that brought about the fall of Tsarism.' How valid is this view? [30]
- 4 How important was Trotsky's contribution to the Bolshevik victory in the Russian Civil War? [30]

Copyright Acknowledgements:

Question 1 Document A © Lenin; April Theses; www.historyguide.org/europe/april.html; 1917.
 Question 1 Document B © Ed Trachtenberg; Collected Works of VI Lenin Part 20 Kamenev pamphlet Our Differences 1917; Kessinger Publishing; 2004.
 Question 1 Document C © N. Krupskaya; Memories of Lenin; Lawrence and Wishart.
 Question 1 Documents D & E © R. Pipes; The Russian Revolution, 1899–1919; Collins; 1990.

Permission to reproduce items where third-party owned material protected by copyright is included has been sought and cleared where possible. Every reasonable effort has been made by the publisher (UCLES) to trace copyright holders, but if any items requiring clearance have unwittingly been included, the publisher will be pleased to make amends at the earliest possible opportunity.

University of Cambridge International Examinations is part of the Cambridge Assessment Group. Cambridge Assessment is the brand name of University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate (UCLES), which is itself a department of the University of Cambridge.