
HISTORY (PRINCIPAL)

9769/58

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

May/June 2019

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: The consolidation of power and the Civil War, late 1917–1921

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

A *Lenin explains the reasons for press censorship.*

The suppression of the bourgeois press was dictated not only by purely military needs in the course of the revolution, and for the checking of counter-revolutionary action, but it is also necessary as a measure of transition toward the establishment of a new regime.

The re-establishment of the so-called ‘freedom of the press’, the simple return of printing presses and paper to the capitalists – poisoners of the mind of the people – this would be an inadmissible surrender, a giving up of one of the most important conquests of the Revolution.

Decree on Freedom of the Press, November 1917.

B *An American visitor who was in Russia before and after the Bolsheviks took power writes about censorship.*

A number of papers were shut down after the October revolution and the conservatives wagged their heads with a good deal of reason and said: ‘Well, you see how it is when the radicals come into power – they do the same things that we do.’ The Soviet government does not pretend to believe that the reactionaries should be allowed to control the press, that a handful of capitalists should make public opinion. They believe that the press should be the expression of the will of the people. Certain papers were stopped because they attempted to create panic and incited people to riot by printing all sorts of exaggerated reports. While the Soviets declared a temporary suppression of the press, they never at any time tried to interfere with public speaking or with theatrical performances. Street talks were common. Red Guards would stand quietly listening to a speaker criticise the Bolsheviks without getting the least angry; they seemed often deeply interested in the arguments put up by their opponents.

Louise Bryant, Six Red Months in Russia, 1918.

C *A leading supporter of women’s rights and a commissar in Lenin’s government writes about the period after the Revolution.*

The first Congress of Women Workers and Women Peasants was called as early as November of 1918; some 1147 delegates were present. Thus the foundation was laid for the liberation of the women of the working and the peasant classes. The question now was one of drawing women into the People’s Kitchens and helping with children’s homes and day-care centres, the school system, and many other pressing matters. The main thrust of all this activity was to implement equal rights for women as workers in the national economy and as citizens in the political sphere. Maternity was to be seen as a social function and therefore protected and provided for by the State. The State institutes for pre-natal care also flourished then. Offices were established in the whole country to deal with issues and tasks connected with women’s liberation and to draw women into Soviet work.

Alexandra Kollontai, The Autobiography of a Sexually Emancipated Communist Woman, written in 1926.

D *The Anarchist leader warns of the methods used to defend the Revolution.*

The evils inherent in a party dictatorship have been made worse by the conditions of war in which this party maintains its power. This state of war has been the pretext for strengthening dictatorial methods. The evils natural to state communism have been increased ten-fold under the pretext that all our misery is due to foreign intervention. Workers and peasants have suffered. This is bound to end in failure. We are learning to know in Russia how not to introduce communism, even with a people tired of the old regime. The immense constructive work demanded by a social revolution needs knowledge, brains and the willing collaboration of a host of local and specialised forces which alone can solve local economic problems. To reject this collaboration and to turn everything over to party dictators is to destroy the independent centre of our life. Workers cease to be free when liberty of the press no longer exists, under a pretext that we are in a state of war. The excuse is that a dictatorship is inevitable in order to combat the old regime.

Peter Kropotkin, *Letter to the Workers of Western Europe*, April 1919.

E *A White poster of 1919 portraying the Communist threat as a legendary horseman of death. His scythe reads 'Death' and the writing warns 'what will happen to the people under Bolshevism'.*



Poster, 1919.

- (a) To what extent does Document B corroborate the evidence in Document A about the censorship imposed by the Bolshevik regime? [10]
- (b) How convincing is the evidence provided by this set of documents for the view that violence and repression were the main features of the consolidation of Bolshevik power in the period 1918–1919? 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 What best explains why the Tsarist regime survived the 1905 revolution? [30]
- 3 How far were the key developments in Lenin's thinking by 1917 brought about by the First World War? [30]
- 4 How far was the February Revolution a result of Russia's failures in the First World War? [30]

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