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**HISTORY (PRINCIPAL)**

**9769/71**

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

**May/June 2015**

**2 hours**

Additional Materials: Answer Booklet/Paper

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**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.



**Answer the following question.**

**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 upon the documents, it is essential to set them alongside, and to make use of, your own contextual knowledge.

- A** *A defender of the key town of Sviazhsk recalls the situation when the Reds were under White attack in 1918.*

Trotsky's organising genius now became apparent: across railways that had been openly sabotaged by the Whites, he could get to Sviazhsk not only fresh artillery, but everything that was needed for resistance and for offensive. This, it should be noted, was in 1918, a period when the excitement of demobilisation was still strong. To do this was to fight against the weariness of four years of war, and against the effects of the revolution itself, which over the whole country was sweeping aside the old military discipline. Ivan Smirnov, an old Bolshevik from Siberia and a former worker, was the communist conscience of Sviazhsk. We knew that in the worst moments of danger he would be the bravest, the most fearless. At Trotsky's side we could die in battle with the last cartridge gone, oblivious of our wounds; for Trotsky was an inspiration to us, with words and gestures summoning up the most heroic pages of the French Revolution's history. But with Smirnov beside us we could feel calm and clear-headed.

S.I. Gusov, *The Days of Sviazhsk, Proletarian Revolution*, 1924.

- B** *A Welsh socialist and eye-witness to events in Moscow describes the beginning of Red Terror in 1919.*

The Reds proposed to take hostages from the former officers of the Tsar's army, from the Cadets and from the middle-classes, and to shoot ten of them for every Communist who fell to the White Terror. A panic resulted among the Moscow middle-classes, as I could see. Some counselled submission to the decree, while others swore resistance to the last. The reason given for the Red Terror was that conspirators could only be convinced that the Soviet Republic was powerful enough to be respected if it was able to punish its enemies, as everyone thought that the Soviet Republic was falling. Given these circumstances, it is difficult to see what other weapon the Communists could have used to get their will respected. The Whites felt that they were saving Russia from the tyranny of a minority. The Reds felt that they stood for a nobler, higher order of society. It was, therefore, a question which of these two minorities had the strongest moral conviction, which of them had the most courage and belief in themselves. The Bolsheviks won through partly at least because the Whites had prejudiced their cause by calling in the aid of foreigners.

Morgan Philips Price, *My Three Revolutions*, 1969.

- C *Wrangel, a White general, writes to his colleague Admiral Denikin about the military situation.*

The continual Red advance has reduced the White army's effective force. The rear has become too vast. Disorganisation is all the greater because of the re-equipment system which Supreme Headquarters have adopted; they have turned over this duty to the troops and take no share in it themselves.

For some, the war is becoming a means of growing rich; re-equipment has degenerated into theft. Each unit strives to secure as much as possible for itself, and seizes everything that comes to hand. What cannot be used on the spot is sent back to the interior and sold at a profit. A considerable number of troops have retreated to the interior, and many officers are away on prolonged missions, busy selling and exchanging loot. The White army is absolutely demoralised, and is fast becoming a collection of tradesmen and profiteers. All those employed on re-equipment work — that is to say, nearly all the officers — have enormous sums of money in their possession; as a result, there has been an outbreak of debauchery, gambling and wild orgies.

Letter, 9 December 1919.

- D *A Bolshevik artist portrays Trotsky as St George, fighting a dragon. The label reads 'Counter Revolution'.*



Victor Seni, poster, 1920.

**E** *A modern historian offers a view about the outcome of the Civil War.*

By 1920, the Reds had an overwhelming numerical superiority. All that could have destroyed them was internal disagreement and they were able to control the most serious internal crises until after their victory. They also controlled a vast territory and could give up ground without being seriously threatened. Lenin, in 1920, listed four conditions facilitating victory. One was the possibility of holding out thanks to the gigantic size of the country and its poor communications. Trotsky made the same point when he said that they were able to win 'due to our expanses'. The other factors were the Bolshevik peace policy, imperialist disunity and peasant revolution.

Evan Mawdsley, *The Russian Civil War*, 1987.

- (a) How far is the view of Trotsky in Document D corroborated by the evidence of Document A? [10]
- (b) How convincing is the evidence provided by this set of documents for the view that the strength of the Red leadership was the decisive element in their victory in the Civil War?

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 How important was Lenin's ideology to the Bolsheviks between 1903 and the eve of the October Revolution? [30]
- 3 'The events of February 1917 amounted to a popular revolution; the events of October did not.' Discuss. [30]
- 4 How substantial were the social changes brought about by Communist rule by the time of Lenin's death in January 1924? [30]

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