



UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL EXAMINATIONS
Cambridge International Level 3 Pre-U Certificate
Principal Subject

HISTORY

9769/71

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

May/June 2013

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 a soft pencil for any diagrams, graphs or rough working.

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

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: Economic and Social Changes, 1917–1924

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

A *The Kronstadt rebels express their opposition to the Communist party in a manifesto.*

After carrying out the October Revolution, the working class hoped to achieve freedom. The result has been to create even greater enslavement. The power of the monarchy's police has gone into the hands of the Communist usurpers who instead of freedom offer workers only the torture chambers of the *Cheka*. They have bound the workers to their benches and have made work not a joy but a new type of slavery. The workers and the peasants will go forward abandoning the dictatorship of the Communists, its *Cheka*, its state capitalism, its hangman's noose encircling the neck of the workers. Our opposition makes it possible for the workers to have their freely-elected soviets, working without violent party pressure. At last the policeman's truncheon of the Communist autocracy has been smashed.

The Kronstadt Temporary Revolutionary Committee, *What We Are Fighting For*,
8 March 1921.

B *Lenin defends the introduction of the New Economic Policy (NEP) to the Party.*

NEP is capitalism we must and can accept, and to which we can and must assign certain limits, for it is necessary to the great mass of the peasantry and to the trade that enables the peasants' needs to be satisfied. We must arrange things in such a way that the regular operation of the economy and patterns of exchange characteristic of capitalism become possible. It must be so for the sake of the people. Otherwise we should not be able to live.

Lenin, *Speech*, March 1921.

C *An exiled Russian Marxist opposition group opposes NEP.*

The working class of Russia is disorganized; confusion reigns in the minds of the workers: are they in a country of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat', as the Communist Party untiringly reiterates by word of mouth and in the press? Or are they in a country of arbitrary rule and exploitation, as life tells them at every step? The working class is leading a miserable existence at home when the new bourgeoisie (i.e. factory managers, chairmen of executive committees etc. and the NEP-men) live in luxury and recall in our memory the life of the bourgeoisie at all times.

The Communist Party, which during the years of the Revolution was a party of the working class, has become the ruling party, the party of the organizers and directors of the government apparatus and economic life on capitalist lines. The NEP has resulted in the growth of the big Kulak class in the Russian village. The proletariat is incapable of playing any substantial role.

Workers' Truth Group, *Appeal*, 1922, published in *The Socialist Herald* in Berlin,
January 1923.

- D** *Lenin rejects the view that Socialism cannot be achieved in Russia because of lack of economic development and argues that NEP is part of the path to Socialism.*

'Russia has not attained the level of development of productive forces that makes Socialism possible.' Our opponents keep repeating this proposition and imagine that it is the way to judge our revolution. But what if peculiar circumstances led Russia first into the world imperialist war and brought about the union of peasant war with the working class movement that Marx himself suggested as a possible prospect for revolution in Prussia in 1856? If a definite level of development is required for the building of Socialism, why cannot we begin first by achieving the preconditions for revolution by a workers' and peasants' government and the Soviet system and *THEN* catch up with other countries which have that level of development necessary for socialism?

Napoleon said '*On s'engage et puis – on voit*' – which can be loosely translated as 'One must first start a serious battle and then see what happens'. Well, we did start a serious battle in October 1917. And then we saw what happened – the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and the New Economic Policy. And now there can be no doubt that in the main we have been victorious in our quest for Socialism.

Lenin, *Our Revolution*, January 1923.

- E** *A modern historian considers the extent of change after 1921.*

Neither the failure of War Communism nor the retreat into NEP signified the restoration of Soviet democracy. The notion of a democratic, militia-style army was finally laid to rest in 1921. The brutalising experience of civil war had severely weakened democratic currents within the party. The regime could not afford to slacken its political grip. The very success of NEP made political pluralism suicidal: it would merely invite 'counter revolutionary' organizations and give voice to 'bourgeois' elements. Drastic measures were taken against the remnants of the Mensheviks and SR parties and their leaders were imprisoned or exiled. The Soviet Union became a one-party state.

Edward Acton, *Russia*, 1986.

- (a)** How far is the view of the impact of Bolshevik rule on the working class in Document A corroborated by the view expressed in Document C? [10]
- (b)** How convincing is the evidence provided by this set of documents for the view that Lenin was forced into ideological retreat when he introduced NEP in 1921?

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 Assess the view that the Tsarist reforms between 1905 and 1911 were 'too little, too late'. [30]
- 3 To what extent was the ideology that Lenin had developed by 1917 a betrayal of Marxism? [30]
- 4 How valid is the judgement that Kerensky was more responsible for the October Revolution than Lenin? [30]

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