
HISTORY (PRINCIPAL)

9769/58

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

May/June 2016

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: Russia, 1905–1914**

- 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 *The Tsar makes promises in the October Manifesto.*

The disturbances and unrest in St Petersburg, Moscow, and in many other parts of our Empire, have filled Our heart with great and profound sorrow. The present disturbances could give rise to national instability and present a threat to the unity of Our State. We have, therefore, ordered the government to take the following measures: fundamental civil freedoms will be granted to the population, including freedom of conscience, speech, assembly and association. Participation in the Duma will be granted to those classes of the population which are at present deprived of voting powers, and this will lead to the development of a universal franchise. There will be no delay to calling the Duma. It is established as an unshakeable rule that no law can come into force without the Duma's approval, and representatives of the people will be given the opportunity to ensure that the government is bound by the laws and does not act in an arbitrary way.

Manifesto, 17 October 1905.

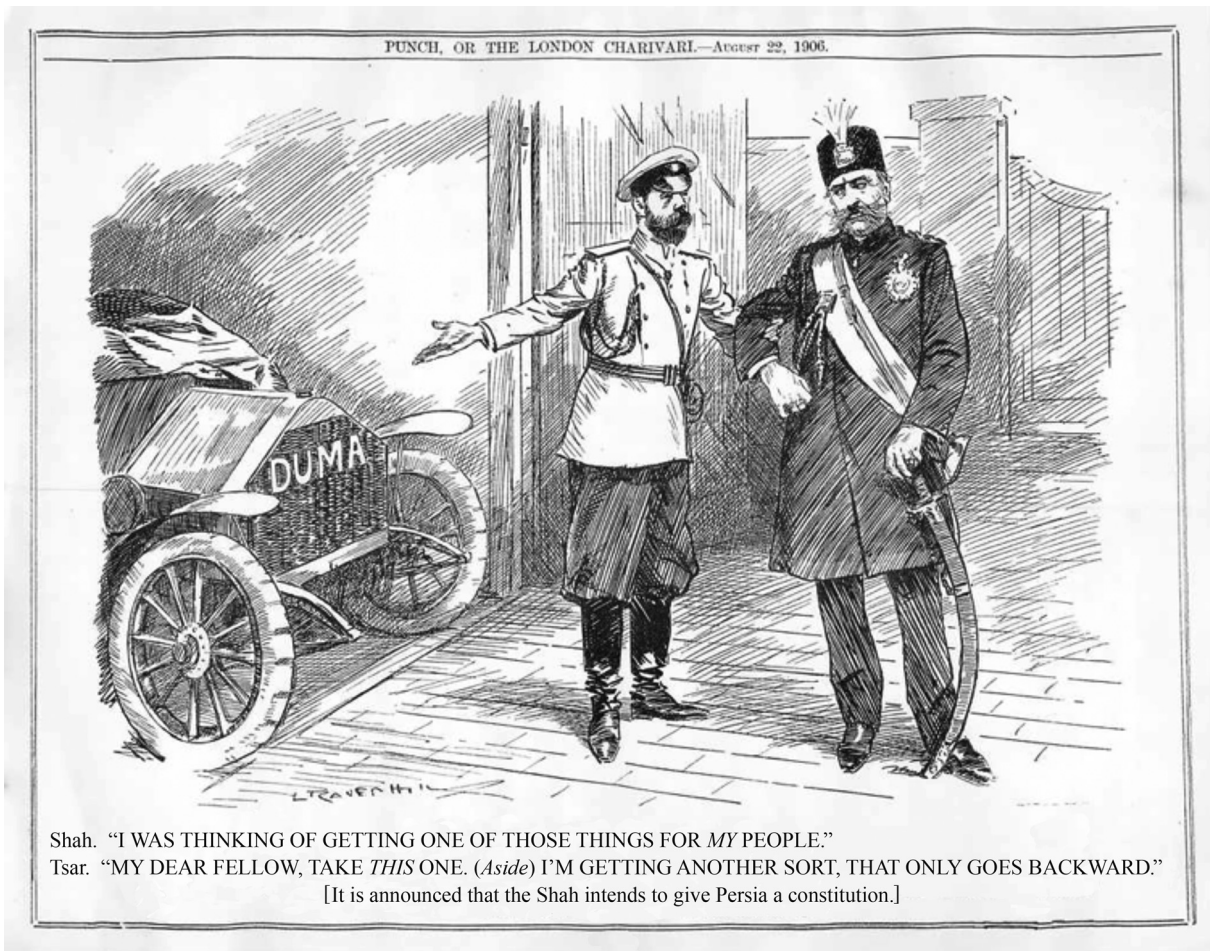
B *The Tsar defines his rights in the Fundamental Law.*

The All-Russian Emperor possesses the supreme autocratic power. Not only fear and conscience, but God himself, commands obedience to his authority. The Emperor possesses the initiative in all legislative matters. The Fundamental Laws may be subject to revision in the State Council and State Duma only on his initiative. No law can come into force without the Tsar's approval. In central and local administration his authority is complete. He takes charge of all the external relations of the Russian State. He determines the direction of Russia's foreign policy; he alone declares war, concludes peace, and negotiates treaties with foreign states. He is the Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy, and appoints and dismisses the Chairman of the Council of Ministers and individual ministers.

Russian subjects have the right to organise societies and unions for purposes not contrary to the law. Russian subjects enjoy freedom of religion by law. Exceptions to these rules include localities where martial law is declared. No new law can be enacted without the approval of the State Council and the State Duma, and it shall not be legally binding without the approval of the Sovereign Emperor.

Law, 23 April 1906.

- C An English magazine comments on constitutional progress in Russia in 1906. It shows an imaginary conversation between the Tsar of Russia and the autocratic Shah [Emperor] of Persia who is thinking of giving his people a constitution. The explanation given in brackets says that 'It is announced that the Shah intends to give Persia a constitution.'



Punch, 22 August 1906.

- D *Lenin writes about Stolypin after the Minister's assassination.*

Stolypin gained 'fame' in the eyes of the Tsar and the reactionary court clique by his brutal reprisals against the peasants and the cruel punishment he inflicted upon them. He organised the Black-Hundred gangs and pogroms in 1905. He became Minister of the Interior in 1906 and Chairman of the Council of Ministers after the dissolution of the First Duma. Stolypin was minister during the period when the feudal landowners put all their efforts into introducing, as speedily as possible, a bourgeois policy in peasant life in the countryside. This was after they had thrown overboard all romantic illusions and hopes based on the peasants' traditional deference to authority. The landowners began to look for allies among the new, bourgeois elements of Russia in general and of rural Russia in particular. Stolypin tried to pour new wine into old bottles, to reshape the old autocracy into a bourgeois monarchy. The failure of Stolypin's policy is the failure of Tsarism itself, and ends any hopes it has for survival.

Stolypin and the Revolution, October 1911.

E *A modern historian gives a view of Stolypin's achievement.*

According to Stolypin in 1910, given ten more years of peace Russia would have been 'unrecognisable'. Most historians accept that he had a measure of success in revitalising Russian agriculture. His concern for the peasants was genuine and he was putting through his 'wager on the strong', encouraging a greater number of richer peasants who owned and developed their lands, not just to remove a powerful source of revolutionary unrest. By 1916, 24% of households in forty provinces had gained ownership of their own land. Ten million hectares of land were purchased by peasants with the aid of the land bank. Even Lenin agreed that Stolypin's policy might end hopes of peasant masses rallying to the side of the Bolsheviks. Given more years of peace, the prospects of revolution might have receded.

Leonard Schapiro, *Russian Studies*, 1986.

- (a) How far is the policy of Tsar Nicholas II as stated in Document A undermined by his policy outlined in Document B? [10]
- (b) How convincing is the evidence provided by this set of documents for the view that the changes made by the Tsar's regime from 1905 to 1911 reduced the threat of revolution? In making your evaluation, you should refer to contextual knowledge as well as to 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 was there so little effective resistance in Russia to both the revolutions of 1917? [30]
- 3 Was the Civil War won mainly because of the ruthlessness of the Bolsheviks? [30]
- 4 What best explains the introduction of the New Economic Policy? [30]

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