



National
Qualifications
2017

X737/77/11

History

TUESDAY, 9 MAY

INSTRUCTIONS TO CANDIDATES

Candidates should enter their surname, forename(s), date of birth, Scottish candidate number and the name and Level of the subject at the top of their first answer sheet.

Note: Only SECTION 9 — Russia: From Tsarism to Stalinism, 1914 to 1945 is provided in this paper.

Total marks — 90

Write your answers clearly on your answer sheet. On your answer sheet you must clearly identify the question number you are attempting.

Marks are shown in square brackets at the end of each question.

An OW in the margin indicates a new question.

SECTION 9 — Russia: From Tsarism to Stalinism, 1914 to 1945

Attempt **BOTH** Parts

Part A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks

Attempt **TWO** questions.

- 65.** “There were not to be found anywhere in the country any groups of the population which were ready to put up a fight for the old régime.”

How valid is this view as an explanation of the breakdown of Tsarist society between 1914 and January 1917? [25 marks]

- 66.** “All Power to the Soviets.”

To what extent does this explain the reasons for Bolshevik success in the October Revolution? [25 marks]

- 67.** “The Comintern was central to the achievement of Bolshevik foreign policy between 1917 and 1924.”

How valid is this view of the role of the Comintern in Bolshevik foreign policy? [25 marks]

- 68.** How valid is the view that Soviet society experienced a “Great Retreat” under Stalin? [25 marks]

- 69.** How significant was the harnessing of patriotism in contributing to Soviet victory in the Great Patriotic War? [25 marks]

SECTION 9 — Russia: From Tsarism to Stalinism, 1914 to 1945

Part B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the questions which follow.

Source A from *The Russian Revolution, 1917: A Personal Record* by NN Sukhanov (1922)

On Wednesday and Thursday — February 22nd and 23rd — the movements in the street became clearly defined, going beyond the limits of the usual factory meetings. On Friday 24th the movement swept over St. Petersburg like a great flood. Fugitive meetings were held in the main street and were dispersed by Cossacks and mounted police — but without any energy or zeal and after many lengthy delays. Unexpectedly the Cossack unit displayed special sympathy with the revolution at several points, when in direct conversation they emphasized their neutrality and sometimes showed a clear tendency to fraternize. The unforgettable 27th came. There were no officers visible at all with the patrols and detachments. And these demonstrated their complete demoralisation as Tsarist fighting forces; they were disorderly groups of grey coats, mingling with the working class crowd . . . willingly giving up their rifles.

Source B from *A History of Twentieth-Century Russia* by Robert Service (2003)

The leaders of Russian industry, commerce and finance considered that the removal of Nicholas II would facilitate a decisive increase in economic and administrative efficiency. Such public figures had not personally suffered in the war; many of them had actually experienced an improvement either in their careers or in their bank accounts. But they had become convinced that they and their country would do better without being bound by the dictates of Nicholas II. The Emperor was resented even more bitterly by those members of the upper and middle classes who had not done well out of the war. There was an uncomfortably large number of them. The Okhrana's files bulged with reports of their disaffection. By 1916 even the Council of the United Gentry, a traditional bastion of tsarism, was reconsidering its loyalty to the sovereign. The background to this was economic. There were bankruptcies and other financial embarrassments among industrialists who had failed to win governmental contracts. This happened most notably in the Moscow region (whereas Petrograd's large businesses gained a great deal from the war).

Source C from *The Russian Civil War* by Evan Mawdsley (2011)

The loss of the Urals spelled the doom of Kolchak's forces. The Urals are not a particularly high range — they do not compare, for example, with the Caucasus Mountains — but the rough terrain and dense woods of the region were the most easily defended territory east of the Volga. This barrier was now in Red hands; Kolchak had been pushed back too far to threaten central Sovdepia. And the Whites had lost the factories and mines of the Urals which had been their only industrial base; to the east was only thinly settled, agricultural Siberia. Meanwhile the loss of the Cheliabinsk rail junction completed the isolation of General Belov's Southern Army which had withdrawn in desperation down the Orenburg — Tashkent railway. It was forced to surrender in September 1919, rather than face death in the desert.

Source D from *The Trial of the Seventeen* by Leon Trotsky (22nd January, 1937)

How could these old Bolsheviks who went through the jails and exiles of Tsarism, who were the heroes of the Civil War and the builders of the Party turn out at the moment of “the complete victory of socialism” to be saboteurs, allies of fascism, organisers of espionage, agents of capitalist restoration? Who can believe such accusations and why is Stalin compelled to tie up the fate of his personal rule with these monstrous, impossible, nightmarish trials?

I must reaffirm the conclusion I had previously drawn that the ruling tops feel themselves more and more shaky. The degree of repression is always in proportion to the magnitude of the danger. The omnipotence of the soviet bureaucracy, its privileges, its lavish mode of life, are not cloaked by any tradition, any ideology, any legal norms.

The ruling caste is unable, however, to punish the opposition for its real thoughts and actions. The unremitting repressions are precisely for the purpose of preventing the masses from following the real programme of Trotskyism, which demands first of all more equality and more freedom for the masses.

Attempt all of the following questions.

70. How much do **Sources A** and **B** reveal about the differing interpretations of the outbreak of the February Revolution? [16 marks]
71. How fully does **Source C** explain the reasons for White defeat in the Civil War? [12 marks]
72. Evaluate the usefulness of **Source D** as an explanation for the reasons for the Purges. [12 marks]

[END OF QUESTION PAPER]