Texts in this examination paper have been edited: word additions or explanations are shown in square brackets [ ]; substantive deletions of text are indicated by ellipses in square brackets ~ ... ]; minor changes are not indicated. Candidates should answer the questions in order.

SECTION A

Prescribed Subject 1 The Russian Revolutions and the New Soviet State 1917-1929

These documents relate to the period between the two 1917 revolutions.

DOCUMENT A

An extract from Lenin's April Theses, 4 April 1917.

In our attitude towards the war not the slightest concession must be made to "Revolutionary Defensism" for even under the new government the war on Russia's part unquestionably remains an imperialist war owing to the capitalist nature of that government. We must organise propaganda of this view among the whole army on active service.

The specific feature of the present situation in Russia is that it represents a transition from the first stage of revolution which led to the assumption of power by the bourgeoisie to the second stage, which must place power in the hands of the proletariat and the poorer peasantry.

No support must by given to the Provisional Government; the utter falsity of its promises must be exposed. It must be explained to the masses that the Soviet of Workers' Deputies is the only possible form of revolutionary government, and therefore our task is, as long as this government is influenced by the bourgeoisie, to explain the error of its ways.

DOCUMENT B

A resolution passed by the All Russian Conference of Soviets, S April 1917.

In agreement with the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, the Provisional Government has published a programme of governmental works. The All Russian Conference of Soviets recognises that this programme includes the basic demands of Russian democracy. The Conference also recognises the necessity of gradually gaining political control and influence over the Provisional Government and its local organs to conduct the most energetic struggle against counter-revolutionary forces, and to make preparations for universal peace.

The Conference appeals to democracy to support the Provisional Government without assuming responsibility for all the work of the government, as long as the government steadfastly confirms and expands the gains of the revolution and so long as its foreign policy is based on the renunciation of ambitions of territorial expansion.

DOCUMENT C

An extract from a lecture given by Richard Pipes, Professor of History, Harvard University, in Vienna in 1995.

Lenin wanted power, Lenin's rivals did not want it. In 1917 the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries were quite content to let the 'bourgeois' Provisional Government govern while they kept up a steady barrage of denunciation and criticism. But Lenin wanted much more. In April 1917 he had just returned to Russia from Switzerland. His followers lined up with the Mensheviks in expressing satisfaction with the arrangement under which the Socialists through the
Soviets controlled the 'bourgeoisie' and prevented it from straying from the democratic path without themselves assuming responsibility for administering the country. At the All Russian Conference of Soviets held in April, the Menshevik, Irakli Tsereteli said, "there is at present no party in Russia willing to assume responsibility for governing." To which Lenin from his seat shouted, "there is". This hunger for power more than compensated for the relatively small following of the Bolsheviks.

**DOCUMENT D**  
*A report by General Alexei Brusilov, Commander-in-Chief of the Russian army, from the northern war front May 1917.*

When I arrived at their camp, I demanded to speak to a delegation of the soldiers. It would have been dangerous to appear before the whole crowd. When these arrived I asked them which party they belonged to, and they replied that before they had been Social Revolutionaries but that now they supported the Bolsheviks. "What do you want?" I asked them. "Land and freedom," they all cried. "And what else?" The answer was simple, "Nothing else!" When I asked them what they wanted now, they said that they did not want to fight any more and pleaded to go home in order to share the land their fellow villagers had taken from the squires [land owners], and live in freedom. And when I asked them: "What will happen to Mother Russia if no one wants to defend it, and everyone like you only thinks of themselves?", they replied that it was not their job to think about what should become of the state, and they had firmly decided to go home.

**DOCUMENT E**  
*A photograph of volunteers for the Women's Death Battalion queuing to have their hair cut to military length, June 1917.*

*For the Motherland*
The Women's Death Battalion was formed in June 1917 to shame male deserters who were destroying the Russian army as a fighting force. About a million soldiers left their units between March and October 1917.

1. **(a)** What can be inferred from Document D about the following?  
   (i) Why the soldiers wanted to go home.  
   (ii) Why the soldiers now supported the Bolsheviks.  
   
   **(b)** What propaganda/political message is intended by Document E?  

2. In what ways do Documents A, B and C support the assertion made in Document C that "Lenin wanted power, Lenin's rivals did not want it"?  

3. With reference to their origin and purpose, assess the value and limitations of Documents A and B for historians studying the period between the two 1917 Russian Revolutions.  

4. Using the documents and your own knowledge analyse the contributions of both continued participation in the First World War and widespread unrest and disorder within Russia, in causing the downfall of the Provisional Government.  

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