

<p>Edexcel – AS GCE Unit 1: Historical Themes in Breadth Option D</p>	<p>D3 Russia in Revolution, 1881–1924: From Autocracy to Dictatorship</p>	<p>Essay Question 1</p>
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### Examiner's Specific Advice

The focus of this question is 1917–24 and the work of Lenin and Trotsky in this period. This means that the learning requirements in bullet point 4 of the Edexcel specification will be the most relevant, but you should be aware that the bullet points cannot necessarily be taken in isolation.

The question is asking you to make a judgement as to *how significant was the work of two individuals in this period when Bolshevik power was consolidated*, that is between 1917 and 1924. In your answer, you need not refer to the period before the Bolsheviks came to power.

Tips for your plan:

- **The key words** in the question are 'securing' the 'survival'. They are in fact the key issues.
- **Introduction:** This needs to reflect the timeline, individuals, key issues and style of the question.
- **Main body of the essay:** Each paragraph ideally should offer some analysis/evaluation of the information in terms of the question. Try to select at least three relevant points or large topics which can be used to illustrate your understanding of the question.
- **Conclusion:** This should pull the essay together with an evaluation of the relative importance of the various issues discussed.

### Exemplar Question

How significant were Lenin and Trotsky in securing the survival of the Bolshevik regime?

(30 marks)

### Planning Your Response

To achieve Level 5 in the mark scheme your answer must *directly address* the focus of the question.

#### Plan

- Introduction: reference to Lenin, Trotsky and relevant other factors; reference to the question
- A range of relevant factors: terror, Red Army and Cheka; Brest-Litovsk – input from Lenin and Trotsky; economic policy and differing views on

- this by Lenin and Trotsky; centralisation - Lenin
- Other factors: civil war; First World War
  - Conclusion: assess Lenin and Trotsky's role in the survival of the Bolshevik regime alongside other relevant factors and reach a judgement on the question

### Examiner's Exemplar Answer 1

The Bolsheviks came to power and soon Lenin and Trotsky were playing a part in events. They wanted the Bolsheviks to stay in power and there were many factors which helped this as well as the work of these two men.

Lenin was famous for the April Theses and Trotsky was in charge of the Red Army. Both used terror to keep the Bolsheviks in power. Trotsky used the Red Army in the civil war and terrorised the Russian population (1).

Trotsky played a key role in the October Revolution in 1917, through his control of the Petrograd Soviet. He was able to plan the overthrow of the Provisional government after he was appointed as one of the Troika to run the military Revolutionary Committee. This was the first step in securing the survival of the Bolshevik regime.

Trotsky secured the survival of the Bolshevik regime through terror (2). This was via the Red Army, controlled by Trotsky as Commissar for War. The creation of the Red Army helped the survival of the Bolsheviks. The Red Army produced a victory for the Reds in the civil war. There were many reasons for the victory of the Reds: the Whites fought as separate groups, their individual interests dominated their fighting campaigns and they were widely scattered, which weakened their attacks. The Red Army was also used to impose Bolshevik authority throughout the regime. Within the Red Army, Trotsky tolerated no opposition from officers or men. The death penalty was imposed for desertion or disloyalty. He insisted on tight discipline in the interests of war. He allowed the term 'commander' instead of officer but he got rid of soldiers' committees. When the civil war broke out, areas under Bolshevik control found they were subjected to conscription. The existence of the Red Army meant that the future of the Bolshevik regime was secure (3).

The peasants who were drafted into the army were reluctant warriors. They could not be relied on in a crisis. Despite heavy penalties, desertions were commonplace.

The Kulaks, peasants, were also treated to Red Army

(1) The introduction needs to reflect the timeline, individuals, key issues and style of the question. This introduction is vague and not all of it relevant, e.g. reference to April Theses. However, it is showing some awareness of the question, e.g. 'both used terror'.

(2) A relevant factor is introduced: Trotsky and use of terror.

(3) The question is asking you to make a judgement as to *how* significant was the work of Lenin and Trotsky. Without this judgement, the answer will probably not be analytical. As shown here, the approach is descriptive and only refers to Trotsky. The final sentence does attempt to focus on the question, but the preceding information has not always led us to this conclusion in an analytical way.

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terror. They were suspected of hoarding grain and paid a heavy price and were seen as anti-revolutionaries. Between 1918 and 1921 the requisition squads terrorised the countryside (4).

Trotsky plotted the destruction of the trade unions in Russia, despite the fact that it was the workers who were the most dependable members of the Red Army (5). This led to the suppression of the Kronstadt Rising in 1921. The Red Army provided Trotsky with a means to terrorise the Russian population. In March 1921, he used his position as Commissar of War to crush the Kronstadt Rising whose workers were calling for the overthrow of the Bolshevik regime. This was the most serious threat faced by the Bolsheviks. Trotsky ordered the Red Army under General Tukhachevsky to cross the late-winter ice linking Kronstadt to Petrograd and crush 'the tools of former Tsarist generals and agents of the interventionists'. After the ultimatum was rejected, the Red Army bombarded the base at Kronstadt. The sailors and workers resisted but they were finally defeated. The leaders were rounded up and shot. Trotsky had saved the day for the Bolsheviks and so was able to ensure the Bolshevik regime survived.

Trotsky was a keen Marxist and could be quite rigid in the way he used the ideas on the Russians (6). He did not appreciate the peasants – he found them to be unreliable soldiers – so he tended to treat them harshly like when he did not want to see the end of war communism. He did not see the need to leave the repressive measures of war communism – he saw it as the proper strategy for Bolsheviks to follow. Trotsky was very scathing about war communism's replacement – NEP. He called it 'the first sign of the degeneration of Bolshevism'. He saw following war communism as a means to secure the future of the Bolshevik regime.

The Russians made peace with Germany at Brest-Litovsk on 3 March 1918 (7). It was Trotsky who did most of the negotiating. He reduced the costs of war and also pressured the Germans to continue with payments. He also behaved very rudely at the proceedings, which upset the Germans. In particular, the chief negotiator for the Germans, Field Marshal Hindenburg, complained that 'Trotsky degraded the conference table to the level of a tub-thumper's street corner'.

The civil war also provided several factors which helped the Bolshevik regime to survive (8). The civil war saw the Whites taking up arms to overthrow the Bolsheviks. During the civil war, Trotsky justified conscription and the Red Army's brutality because he said that Russia faced

(4) You are required to include relevant and accurate information to demonstrate your understanding. These two paragraphs are relevant and accurate but the information is not developed in terms of the question.

(5) Another factor is introduced: Trotsky and trade unions. The end of this paragraph links to the question.

(6) Another factor: Trotsky and Marxism. Again, the end of the paragraph links to the question.

(7) Another factor: Brest-Litovsk and Trotsky.

(8) Another factor introduced: civil war and Trotsky.

danger from internal enemies and from enemies beyond her borders. The Bolsheviks were saved from defeat by the Red Army with Trotsky as their leader.

Trotsky did not always find it easy to deal with criticism. He held a powerful position within the Bolshevik party as leader of the Red Army but he did not always have his own way. He found that local Red commanders challenged his position and tactics in the civil war. He fell out with Joseph Stalin, who spoke on behalf of the Caucasus (9). This quarrel continued for many years and eventually became critical in his leadership of the Bolsheviks. Trotsky believed in permanent revolution but this became condemned as anti-soviet. Stalin preferred to put 'socialism in one country' before international revolution. This quarrel threatened to weaken the Bolsheviks, so Trotsky could be accused of threatening rather than securing the future of the Bolshevik regime.

In conclusion I think that Trotsky was more significant than Lenin in securing the Bolshevik regime (10).

### Examiner's Assessment

This answer would achieve Level 3. The main reason for this is that only Trotsky's work has been included. The specific references to Lenin in the introduction are not relevant to this question and in the rest of the answer Lenin's work is at best implied. This means that the maximum this answer can score is 18. The mark scheme should be adhered to on this point. The answer does not relate well to the focus of the question and so cannot reach Level 4.

However, in terms of the style employed, this essay could achieve a Level 4 if it included Lenin's work. There are descriptive passages and, although not as well focused or supported as the Level 5 example, there are attempts to link each paragraph to the question. There is an awareness of the question and some range of reasons, but the answer lacks balance, analysis and depth.

### Examiner's Exemplar Answer 2

After the Bolsheviks crushed the democratically elected Constituent Assembly in January 1918, in which they did not hold a majority, the security and survival of the Bolshevik regime was not certain. Lenin, as a committed Marxist, used his political leadership to achieve this and Trotsky, as War Commissar, proved to be a brilliant military strategist for the Red Army. Between 1917 and 1924 the Bolshevik regime faced many moments of

(9) Another factor - Trotsky and Stalin: an attempt to link to the question.

(10) The final paragraph should pull the essay together with an evaluation of the relative importance of the various factors or topics which have been raised. This conclusion is aware of the question but the essay does not reflect the comment on Lenin.

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crisis: a humiliating peace with Germany, almost constant threat from famine, an economy on the brink of collapse, civil war and the Kronstadt Rising which called for their overthrow. Lenin and Trotsky were significant in this period as they responded to these crises. Their approach on occasions differed and they did not always agree but nevertheless both were intent on securing the survival of the Bolshevik regime (11).

The key to Lenin and Trotsky securing the survival of the Bolshevik regime was terror (12). This was via Cheka, the secret police, on the one hand, answerable only to Lenin, and the Red Army, controlled by Trotsky as Commissar for War, on the other. It was the creation of the Red Army which explains the survival of the Bolsheviks more than any other factor. Not only did the Red Army produce a victory for the Reds in the civil war, it also was used increasingly to impose Bolshevik authority throughout the regime. From this perspective it could be said that Trotsky was the more significant of the two in securing the survival of the Bolshevik regime (13).

Lenin used the Cheka – the secret police, formed in 1917 – to take action against counter revolution and sabotage. The Cheka were under Lenin’s direct control and were therefore able to arrest, detain and torture anyone who the Bolsheviks disapproved of. This led to the murder of the Romanov family without a trial in July 1918 and the persecution of the Kulaks for allegedly resisting grain requisitions at about the same time. With the Romanovs exterminated, this meant there would be less chance of a return to Tsarism and Lenin was directly responsible for this. The Cheka alone did not manage to secure the regime, but in tandem with the Red Army the future of the regime was secure. Both Lenin and Trotsky played a significant part in the terror which these two organisations created, although Lenin did have a more flexible approach. Between 1917 and 1921 – the spread and consolidation of the Bolshevik regime – terror was used to great effect. Some argue that the end justified the means, in that Lenin’s government felt that the only response to the problems confronting the Bolsheviks after the October Revolution was terror, and we see this argument used by Trotsky too in terms of defending the actions of the Red Army. However, others would argue that the use of terror was in fact a defining characteristic of Marxism-Leninism and to a large extent it also reflected the totalitarian nature of Lenin himself. Lenin certainly believed that for the survival of the Bolshevik regime, a Marxist revolution was required to smash their enemies. He said, ‘Coercion is necessary for the transition from capitalism to socialism.’ So the use of terror to secure the survival of the Bolshevik regime had

(11) The introduction needs to reflect the timeline, individuals, key issues and style of the question, as shown here.

(12) The first relevant topic is terror – Lenin and Trotsky.

(13) The question is asking you to make a judgement as to *how* significant was the work of Lenin and Trotsky. Without this judgement, a Level 5 will not be achieved. If you say that their work was significant and do not make an evaluation, then Level 5 will probably not be achieved. An evaluation requires you to consider, in this case, the relative significance of Lenin and Trotsky. You must aim to draw firm conclusions on the question, as you progress through the essay. These points are demonstrated in paragraphs 2 and 3. These paragraphs directly address the focus of the question, i.e. Level 5.

(14) Level 5 also requires that you show explicit understanding of key issues, e.g. both Lenin and Trotsky’s use of terror, covered here in

and at its core was a rigid adherence to Marxism (14).

The Red Army provided Trotsky with a means to terrorise the Russian population. He used his position as Commissar of War to crush the Kronstadt Rising in March 1921 (15), whose workers were calling for the overthrow of the Bolshevik regime. This was a critical moment in the history of the Bolshevik regime and it was Trotsky, through his control of the Red Army, who played the most significant role in securing the survival of the regime.

One way the Bolshevik regime was secured was by agreeing to an Armistice with the Germans at Brest-Litovsk on 3 March 1918 (16). This was achieved by the skilful negotiating of Trotsky, who managed to persuade the Germans to accept Lenin's idea of continuing to pay the Bolsheviks. This gave the Bolsheviks financial income with reduced war costs. However, there was some risk to the regime when the Armistice was first suggested because many Bolsheviks saw the terms, for example the loss of land, as humiliating. It was only Lenin's insistence that loyalty to the party was paramount in times of crisis that averted a challenge to the Bolshevik regime coming from within. Lenin said: 'the Russian revolution must sign the peace to obtain a breathing space to recuperate for the struggle'. He hinted at the possibility of future revolution and glory to win over the sceptics.

In this way, both Lenin and Trotsky played a significant part in securing the survival of the Bolshevik regime through clever rhetoric at home and abroad when peace was made with Germany. I feel that Lenin was the more significant in securing the survival of the Bolshevik regime by winning the war of words within Russia, but he was aided by military events which brought about the collapse of Germany's western front and the consequent removal of German troops from Russian soil (17).

Lenin additionally took the opportunity at this stage to ban other parties, This particularly affected the SRs, who were a credible alternative to the Bolsheviks. They were punished for opposing the peace agreement. By doing this, Lenin hoped to secure the survival of the Bolshevik regime, by eliminating rivals when opportunities presented themselves. However, without the Reign of Terror through both the Cheka and Red Army this policy was risky.

Famine threatened to topple the regime on several occasions during the time the Bolsheviks were in power. The peasants were the majority of the population and

paragraphs 2 and 3. There is an even deeper understanding of key issues demonstrated here with specific reference to Marxism.

(15) Level 5 requires you to include relevant and accurate information to demonstrate your understanding of the issues.

(16) A second relevant topic is introduced: Brest-Litovsk – Lenin and Trotsky's involvement.

(17) The question is asking you to make a judgement as to *how* significant was the work of Lenin and Trotsky. Without this judgement, a Level 5 will not be achieved. If you say that their work was significant and do not make an evaluation, then Level 5 will probably not be achieved. An evaluation requires you to consider, in this case, the relative significance of Lenin and Trotsky. You must aim to draw firm conclusions on the question, as you progress through the essay.

(18) Level 5 requires you to include relevant and accurate information, as is shown here, to demonstrate your

Lenin knew that to secure the survival of the Bolshevik regime required the support of the peasants. Lenin recognised that something drastic was needed to avert the failure of State Capitalism, which had been introduced as a compromise to aid transition towards a socialist economy in 1917. The Decree on Land, an early Bolshevik initiative, gave power to the peasants by abolishing private property and the Decree on Workers Control attempted to centrally organise the factory workers (18). Both Decrees re-stated the position of the proletariat after the October Revolution, but both had failed to deliver economic revival. In June 1918 the Decree of Nationalisation was issued, which was yet another attempt to stimulate industry via centralised control.

Another factor which was significant in the Bolshevik regime being secured was Lenin's flexible approach to the economy (19). Lenin continued to look for solutions to Russia's economic woes as he realised what a critical factor this was in securing the survival of the Bolshevik regime. Lenin introduced War Communism in 1918. This was a series of harsh economic measures to try and overcome Russia's massive economic problems, which State Capitalism had failed to resolve. It was following the Kronstadt Rising, 1921, that Lenin gave up on the harsh economic policies of War Communism and reverted to a relatively less harsh economic programme – NEP. NEP gave the peasants the opportunity to trade for profit. It was clear that Lenin adopted a more flexible economic policy to suit the situation and, unlike Trotsky, he veered from the rigidity of Marxist ideology regarding the role of the peasant in the revolution. Trotsky disagreed with the ending of War Communism. It was the more flexible attitude of Lenin towards the peasants which contributed significantly towards the survival of the Bolshevik regime. However, NEP also caused tremendous arguments within the Bolshevik party. Lenin's policy needed the support of Bukharin to gain acceptance and, by 1924, the Russian economy was indeed improving. At the time of Lenin's death, NEP promised to secure the long-term future of the Bolshevik regime. This can be seen as a most significant contribution (20).

Centralisation was another way in which Lenin managed to secure the survival of the Bolshevik regime (21). He introduced the Vesenkha to take care of all aspects of economic life. In this way banks were nationalised, which had a steadying effect on the economy, as did the cancellation of the foreign debt. These factors eventually had a positive impact on the economy and were significant in securing the survival of the Bolshevik regime in the long term.

understanding of the issues.

(19) A third major topic is introduced: economic policy – Lenin and Trotsky.

(20) The question is asking you to make a judgement as to *how* significant was the work of Lenin and Trotsky. Without this judgement, a Level 5 will not be achieved. If you say that their work was significant and do not make an evaluation, then Level 5 will probably not be achieved. An evaluation requires you to consider, in this case, the relative significance of Lenin and Trotsky. You must aim to draw firm conclusions on the question, as you progress through the essay.

(21) A fourth major or relevant topic is introduced: Centralisation and Lenin.

(22) Another factor which can be used in addition to the role of Lenin or Trotsky: the

The civil war (22) provided several factors which secured the survival of the Bolshevik regime. The civil war heralded the Whites taking up arms to overthrow the Bolsheviks. They included monarchists and those suppressed by the regime. The civil war was a confused affair because of the patchwork of political regional and national loyalties. During the civil war, Trotsky justified conscription and the Red Army's brutality by the level of danger Russia faced internally and externally. He relied heavily on the workers as he found the peasants to be unwilling warriors. The railways were nationalised in December 1917 and the network was used to transport troops in the civil war, making it a war of movement. It was the use of the railways which was to play a key part in the victory of the Red Army in the Russian civil war. Most of the decisive confrontations took place near rail junctions. This was a most significant aspect of the Bolshevik victory in the civil war and hence the survival of the Bolshevik regime. Centralisation was to prove a significant factor in the long-term survival of the Bolshevik regime, whereas the Red Army's significance was more immediate (23). The Bolshevik victory in the civil war gives credit to the strength and organisation of the Reds, but part of the strength came from the significant weaknesses of the Whites. Their weakness contributed also to the survival of the Bolshevik regime.

Once the First World war had ended in 1918, the major powers considered an offensive against the Bolsheviks, fuelled by the setting up of Comintern and the spread of revolution in Germany. In this instance, the survival of the Bolshevik regime was secured less by the actions of Lenin and Trotsky and more by the lack of a concerted attempt to unseat the Bolshevik regime by western democracies.

In conclusion, it is clear that both Lenin and Trotsky were very significant in securing the Bolshevik regime, but other factors, such as lack of co-ordinated foreign opposition, Marxist ideology and the weakness of the Whites, cannot be dismissed. However, Trotsky's significance in securing the survival of the Bolshevik regime was through the military terror and military victories of the Red Army, essential at the time and brutally effective. By contrast, Lenin's significance lay especially in persuasion and an emerging understanding of the key role to be played by the peasants, despite Marxist ideology, in improving Russia's economy. This ultimately gave the Bolsheviks their long-term future and therefore made Lenin the more significant in this respect (24).

civil war. This adds a further dimension to the answer but note that it is through careful wording, directly focused on the question, to achieve Level 5.

(23) An assessment is made about this other factor in terms of the question and also linking into the Red Army, i.e. Trotsky. This is an integrated level of response worthy of a high Level 5.

(24) This final paragraph should pull the essay together with an evaluation of the relative importance of the various factors or topics which have been raised. This conclusion does all this, and so is at Level 5.



### Examiner's Assessment

This essay reaches Level 5 for several reasons.

- It addresses the question directly throughout.
- It is analytical in its approach.
- It is broadly balanced in its references to both Lenin and Trotsky, and to some other factors.
- It includes accurate material which has been appropriately selected (it does not try to include everything) and linked to the question.
- It shows a sound understanding of the issues and of the underlying philosophy – Marxism.

This essay would gain a mark at high Level 5.

You need to ensure that there is a clear argument running throughout the essay. In this example, a range of factors is considered, with detailed and precise supporting material, for example Terror, Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, Centralisation, Marxist ideology etc. The information is kept tightly on track – a focused answer – through careful wording which often includes the key words from the question. For example: (a) 'Famine threatened to topple the regime on several occasions during the time the Bolsheviks were in power. The peasants were the majority of the population and Lenin knew that to secure the survival of the Bolshevik regime required the support of the peasants.' (paragraph 8)

Each paragraph, ideally, should offer some analysis/evaluation of the information in terms of the question. For example: (b) 'This was a critical moment in the history of the Bolshevik regime and it was Trotsky, through his control of the Red Army, who played the most significant role in securing the survival of the regime.' (paragraph 4)

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Edexcel – AS GCE Unit 1: Historical Themes in Breadth Option D	D3 Russia in Revolution, 1881–1924: From Autocracy to Dictatorship	Mark Scheme for Essay Question 1
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How significant were Lenin and Trotsky in securing the survival of the Bolshevik regime?

(30 marks)

**Target: AO1a and AO1b (13%)**

Essay – to present historical explanations and reach a judgement.

<b>Level 1</b>	<p>Candidates will produce mostly simple statements. These will be supported by limited factual material which has some accuracy and relevance, although not directed at the focus of the question. The material will be mostly generalised. There will be few, if any, links between the simple statements.</p> <p><i>The qualities of Level 1 are securely displayed; material is convincing in range and depth consistent with Level 1. The writing may have limited coherence and will be generally comprehensible, but passages will lack both clarity and organisation. The skills needed to produce effective writing will not normally be present. Frequent syntactical and/or spelling errors are likely to be present.</i></p> <p><b>Low Level 1: 1–2 marks</b> The qualities of Level 1 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth <b>and</b> the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p><b>Mid Level 1: 3–4 marks</b> The qualities of Level 1 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth <b>or</b> the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p><b>High Level 1: 5–6 marks</b> The qualities of Level 1 are securely displayed.</p>	<b>(1–6)</b>
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<p><b>Level 2</b></p>	<p>Candidates will produce a series of simple statements supported by some mostly accurate and relevant factual material. The analytical focus will be mostly implicit and there are likely to be only limited links between the simple statements. Material is unlikely to be developed very far.</p> <p><i>The writing will have some coherence and will be generally comprehensible, but passages will lack both clarity and organisation. Some of the skills needed to produce effective writing will be present. Frequent syntactical and/or spelling errors are likely to be present.</i></p> <p><b>Low Level 2: 7–8 marks</b> The qualities of Level 2 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth <b>and</b> the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p><b>Mid Level 2: 9–10 marks</b> The qualities of Level 2 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth <b>or</b> the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p><b>High Level 2: 11–12 marks</b> The qualities of Level 2 are securely displayed.</p>	<p><b>(7–12)</b></p>
<p><b>Level 3</b></p>	<p>Candidates' answers will attempt analysis and will show some understanding of the focus of the question. They will, however, include material which is either descriptive, and thus only implicitly relevant to the question's focus, or which strays from that focus. Factual material will be accurate but it may lack depth and/or relevance in places.</p> <p><i>The writing will be coherent in places but there are likely to be passages which lack clarity and/or proper organisation. Only some of the skills needed to produce convincing extended writing are likely to be present. Syntactical and/or spelling errors are likely to be present.</i></p> <p><b>Low Level 3: 13–14 marks</b> The qualities of Level 3 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth <b>and</b> the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p><b>Mid Level 3: 15–16 marks</b> The qualities of Level 3 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth <b>or</b> the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p><b>High Level 3: 17–18 marks</b> The qualities of Level 3 are securely displayed.</p>	<p><b>(13–18)</b></p>

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<p><b>Level 4</b></p>	<p>Candidates offer an analytical response which relates well to the focus of the question and which shows some understanding of the key issues contained in it. The analysis will be supported by accurate factual material which will be mostly relevant to the question asked. The selection of material may lack balance in places.</p> <p><i>The answer will show some degree of direction and control but these attributes may not be sustained throughout the answer. The candidate will demonstrate the skills needed to produce convincing extended writing but there may be passages which lack clarity or coherence. The answer is likely to include some syntactical and/or spelling errors.</i></p> <p><b>Low Level 4: 19–20 marks</b> The qualities of Level 4 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth <b>and</b> the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p><b>Mid Level 4: 21–22 marks</b> The qualities of Level 4 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth <b>or</b> the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p><b>High Level 4: 23–24 marks</b> The qualities of Level 4 are securely displayed.</p>	<p><b>(19–24)</b></p>
<p><b>Level 5</b></p>	<p>Candidates offer an analytical response which directly addresses the focus of the question and which demonstrates explicit understanding of the key issues contained in it. It will be broadly balanced in its treatment of these key issues. The analysis will be supported by accurate, relevant and appropriately selected factual material which demonstrates some range and depth.</p> <p><i>The exposition will be controlled and the deployment logical. Some syntactical and/or spelling errors may be found but the writing will be coherent overall. The skills required to produce convincing extended writing will be in place.</i></p> <p><b>Low Level 5: 25–26 marks</b> The qualities of Level 5 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth <b>and</b> the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p><b>Mid Level 5: 27–28 marks</b> The qualities of Level 5 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth <b>or</b> the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p><b>High Level 5: 29–30 marks</b> The qualities of Level 5 are securely displayed.</p>	<p><b>(25–30)</b></p>

Edexcel – AS GCE Unit 1: Historical Themes in Breadth Option D	<b>D3 Russia in Revolution, 1881–1924: From Autocracy to Dictatorship</b>	<b>Essay Question 2</b>
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### Examiner's Specific Advice

The focus of this question is 1881–1917 and the reasons why Tsarism survived until the abdication of Tsar Nicholas II in March 1917. This means that the learning requirements in several bullet points in the Edexcel specification will be relevant.

The question is asking you to assess a situation and to make a judgement on the extent to which the weakness of the Tsar's opponents kept him in power until 1917.

Tips for your plan:

- **The key words** in the question are 'weaknesses of its opponents' and 'survival of Tsarism'.
- **Introduction:** This needs to reflect the timeline, individuals, key issues and style of the question.
- **Main body of the essay:** Each paragraph ideally should offer some analysis/evaluation of the information in terms of the question. Try to select at least three relevant points or large topics which can be used to illustrate your understanding of the question.
- **Conclusion:** This should pull the essay together with an evaluation of the relative importance of the various issues discussed.

### Exemplar Question

To what extent were the weaknesses of its opponents responsible for the survival of Tsarism in the years 1881–1917?

**(30 marks)**

### Planning Your Response

To achieve Level 5 in the mark scheme your answer must *directly address* the focus of the question.

#### Plan

- Introduction: reference to Tsar Nicholas II and relevant other factors; reference to the question
- A range of relevant factors: nature of enemies of Tsarism and Tsar's reaction; 1905 revolution and Tsar's reaction (October Manifesto); nature of opposition
- Other factors: Tsar's servants; First World War; Tsar's position in 1917
- Conclusion: assess role of Nicholas II in the timing of his downfall in 1917 alongside other factors

### Examiner's Exemplar Answer 1

On 2 March 1917 Tsar Nicholas was told by his generals that it would be a good idea to abdicate. He wanted to protect his immediate family, so he did. He suggested his brother, the Grand Duke Michael, as his replacement but he refused, so the Provisional Government took over the government of Russia. Nicholas was the last of the Romanovs – Tsarism was dead. The Tsar had many opponents since 1905. Was the fact that they were weak the reason for him remaining in power until 1917 or were there other reasons (1)?

The first real sign of trouble for Nicholas II came in February 1905 (2). The trouble erupted after Father Gapon attempted to lead a peaceful march of workers and their families on the Winter Palace in St Petersburg. They wanted to present a petition to the Tsar saying they were loyal to him but that they needed his help as they needed him to change the harsh laws, e.g. Russification, which were making their lives hell. The march led to panic amongst the police and many marchers were killed. This was called Bloody Sunday. This led to disorder and strikes spreading to other Russian cities. Even the peasants went on the rampage (3).

In desperation the Tsar turned to an old minister – Sergei Witte. He advised the Tsar to issue a piece of paper called the October Manifesto. He did this in October 1905 and took the steam out of the revolution. The Tsar promised a Duma – a parliament – which pleased the people so his enemies lost support. It was very clever to introduce the October Manifesto and he had a loyal army (4).

The First World War caused the Tsar some problems. He took charge of the army and so when they did badly, he got the blame. He had lost a good minister – Stolypin – a bit earlier and this left a gap. This gap was filled by Rasputin but he was not trusted by anyone except the Tsar and his wife who became infatuated with him. He was murdered in 1916. This left the Tsar alone. The Tsar had refused to accept the advice of the Duma and replace his incompetent ministers. From this time on his enemies began to block together and even his supporters were losing patience. The Tsar was becoming weaker. As the leader of the Duma said, 'There is not one honest man left in your entourage, all decent people have either been dismissed or left' (5).

Rasputin controlled the royal court – especially the Tsarina, who bore him two children. His full name was

(1) The introduction needs to reflect the timeline, individuals, key issues and style of the question. This introduction is focused on the question.

(2) A relevant factor is introduced: trouble for Tsar Nicholas II.

(3) The question is asking you to make a judgement about the link between the strength of the Tsar's opponents and his fall from power. Without this judgement, the answer will probably not be analytical. Here, the style is descriptive about the events of Bloody Sunday 1905 and the answer does not link explicitly to the question.

(4) Relevant factor – the way the Tsar responded in 1905. However, there is only a limited level of explanation and implied reference to Witte's role, and the importance of the army is not used well.

(5) You are required to include relevant and accurate information to demonstrate your understanding. Paragraphs 3 and 4 are relevant and accurate but the information is not developed in terms of

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Gregory Efimovich Rasputin. He claimed to be a holy man but he was known to be attracted to wealthy women. This is surprising because he did not wash regularly or change his clothes. He made the most of the fact that the Tsar was busy fighting a war so he moved in on the Tsarina. She was infatuated with him (6).

In December 1916 Rasputin was murdered. It was done by a group of people who said they wanted to save the Tsar. He was poisoned with arsenic, shot at point blank range, battered over the head with a steel bar and thrown into the river Neva wrapped in a blanket. The actual cause of death was drowning.

It could be said that by 1917 the opponents of the Tsar were more experienced than they had been in 1905 and that the Tsar had no good officials left by 1917. These factors led to his downfall (7).

**Examiner's Assessment**

This answer would be marked at mid Level 3. The essay has a narrow chronological range, which is common at Level 3. The question asks for a broad assessment from 1881 to 1917. This answer essentially starts in 1905. The answer contains inaccuracy, it is descriptive in style and the paragraphs do not link to the question. However, it does show some awareness of the question and the information is relevant. There are passages which stray from the focus of the question. There is an attempt to have a range of factors but the detail given does not focus well on the question.

**Examiner's Exemplar Answer 2**

On 2 March 1917 Tsar Nicholas II abdicated after receiving advice from a group of generals and representatives of the old Duma that his best option was to relinquish his position. The Provisional Government took over the government of Russia in the absence of a willing replacement from the Romanov dynasty. Tsarism was dead. Factors which brought this situation about in 1917 are varied, not least the characteristics of the Romanov Tsars, such as Alexander III, and their autocratic style of government. Was Nicholas II's decision making to blame for his downfall in 1917 or did the nature and extent of his opponents, combined with the impact of the First World War, seal the fate of Tsarism?(8)

The opponents of Tsarism first showed their passion

the question.

(6) A descriptive paragraph. The topic is relevant and could be turned to focus on the question. In this instance there is no link to the question and there is inaccuracy – the Tsarina did not have Rasputin's children.

(7) The conclusion does not do its job of tying up the points which have been raised in the essay. The judgement is very brief.

(8) The introduction needs to reflect the timeline, individuals, key issues and style of the question, as shown here.

Will in 1881. Their terrorist style originated with the Populist Movement of the 1870s, who envisaged a role for the peasant in Russian economic modernisation and recognised the stranglehold that the Tsarist system had on progress. The People's Will, numbering about 400, did not present a serious threat to Tsarism, once the panic in the immediate aftermath of the assassination had died down. His successor Alexander III stepped into his shoes and immediately embarked on a repressive regime aimed at destroying any further revolution. The Reaction, as it was known, was predictable – secret police, liberals removed from office and government control of universities to name some of the measures introduced by Alexander III between 1881 and 1894. Opposition did not really show itself because of the harshness of the regime; the relatively short time span of the reign and the growth of industrialisation. Opponents, still few in number, had only a limited time to organise themselves. So up until 1894, Tsarism remained in control, opposition was incredibly weak and membership was limited (9).

It was the reign of Nicholas II, beginning in 1894, where opposition to the Tsar began to take shape. This manifested itself in the first serious opposition to the Tsar in February 1905. What had happened in the previous eleven years? Certainly the harsh policies adopted by Nicholas, such as Russification, Pogroms and local government reforms, played their part in consolidating the opposition rather than dissipating it. Crucially, this opposition began to take in all sections of society. The Great Spurt of the late 1890s had encouraged ambitious industrialists, lawyers and financiers to embrace Liberalism with a goal of removing the shackles of autocracy in the interests of the economy. In this phase the SRs modified the Populist focus on the peasants to include all workers who wanted to see the end of Tsardom. Equally the SDs had begun to see the increased relevance of the Marxist view – the Great Spurt had shown them that the proletariat had the potential to overthrow the bourgeoisie and, in 1905, the peasants supported the revolutionaries. So opposition to the Tsar was stronger as a result of Russia's apparent economic modernisation and, together with the humiliating end of the war with Japan in 1905, the Tsar looked vulnerable. So why did they not succeed in overthrowing the Tsar in 1905? The answer to this lies in Nicholas's response to the 1905 revolution as well as the relative strength of his opponents.

In the face of united opposition, on the advice of his official Witte, Tsar Nicholas issued the October Manifesto – this proved to be enough to take the steam out of the

(9) Setting the scene: the timeline 1881–1917. The paragraph talks about the first signs of opposition which shows an understanding of the nature of Tsarism and the opposition and an explicit link to the question in the last sentence. Level 5 also requires that you show explicit understanding of key issues – in this case the changes in Russian society which were pressurising Tsardom and also the relative strength of the opposition.



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uprising which seemed to be focused in two cities (St Petersburg and Moscow). The industrial elements were crushed and the Soviets destroyed. Instead, a legislative Duma was promised, which appeased the Liberals, and in November announcements were made to pacify the peasants. The army remained loyal and the Tsar appeared to remain calm and the crisis passed. How did the Tsar survive? In short, he played a clever game. In the heat of the crisis he appeared reasonable and granted political and economic concessions. Once he had regained composure, he attacked with the swingeing Fundamental Laws of 1906. The opposition had perhaps been too trusting about the promised changes and also as Trotsky observed 'disunited and in-experienced'. Weakness of the opposition had helped the Tsar to survive in this instance (10).

The aftermath of the 1905 revolution shifted focus to the newly formed Duma (11). The Fundamental Laws, which reminded the Duma of the Tsar's autocratic powers, set the tone as they coincided with the opening of the First Duma and simultaneously they reduced its power by declaring there were two chambers and also emphasising the Supreme Autocratic Power of the Tsar. It was quite clear that the Tsar had in reality not relinquished any power. The atmosphere of the first Duma was predictably hostile and their 'call to arms', e.g. the Vyborg Appeal, resulted in fierce repression by Stolypin. More significant were the subsequent shifts in power within the second Duma. The SRs and SDs won at the expense of the Kadets. Stolypin's retaliation was to 'doctor' the electoral system with the resulting more docile 3rd and 4th Dumas as the propertied classes dominated them. As such they gained a reputation with the revolutionaries as being a rubber stamp for the Tsar. The Dumas had promised a voice for the people but thanks to the Tsar this was never realised and hostility built up accordingly. So the opponents of the Tsar appeared to have been out-manoeuvred and seemed weak. He remained in power to fight another day (12).

In 1914 the Duma showed its support for the Tsar by calling for its own suspension for the duration of the war (13). The poor military performance of Russian troops led the Duma to demand its own recall. By July 1915 the Tsar had reluctantly bowed to the pressure. The Tsar was asked to replace his incompetent ministers with a ministry of 'national confidence' – this he refused to do and in so doing put the final nail in the coffin of Tsardom. The members of the Duma, out of frustration with the Tsar, formed what was called the Progressive Bloc in 1916. All shades of political opinion joined together officially, with the exception of the SRs. The Bloc,

(10) The question is asking you to make a judgement about the nature of the Tsar's enemies and how this affected his power. If you say that the Tsar's opponents were weak, so the Tsar was able to remain in power until 1917, and you do not make an assessment of 'to what extent' this factor in comparison with others was responsible, then you may not achieve a Level 5. You must aim to draw firm conclusions on the question, as you progress through the essay.

Paragraphs 3 and 4 show how the Tsar was able to avert disaster in 1905 even with a strong opposition. These paragraphs directly address the focus of the question, i.e. Level 5.

(11) Another factor: the Tsar and relationship with the Duma.

(12) Level 5 also requires that you show explicit understanding of key issues, e.g. the nature of Tsarism and the decisions of Nicholas II; and some reference to some of his political enemies.

(13) Another factor: the First World War, the Duma and the Tsar.

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comprised of Octobrists, Kadets, Nationalists and the Party of Progressive Industrialists, tried to avert revolution by trying to encourage the Tsar to make concessions and also to enable him to finish the war. They were not advocating his overthrow. Eventually, however, the Bloc moved from being a supporter of the Tsar to becoming a force of resistance and it was the issue on which their loss of patience with the Tsar manifested itself – that of the poor military performance of the troops in the war. The Tsar could not dodge this criticism as Commander-in-chief, so this was a self-inflicted error by the Tsar. These events show that the Tsar's stubbornness gripped the decisions he made and the detrimental impact of the lack of effective and experienced officials at his side, such as Witte or Stolypin, was plain to see. Weak or not, the Tsar's opponents watched him press the self-destruct button on Tsarism (14).

There are those who consider that the Tsar's officials played the most important part in the Tsar remaining in power. In the case of both Witte (focus on industrial development) and Stolypin (Land Reforms and de-revolutionising the peasantry) they tried to embark on economic reform programmes in order to protect Tsarism. This was particularly of note up to 1911 and Stolypin's murder. It was a thankless task – on the one hand the Tsar constantly regained any loss to his power and on the other there was fierce resistance to change, particularly by the peasants, who were crucial to economic progress. Neither of these officials was appreciated by the Tsar for the changes they set in motion, but it became clear that without their efforts Tsarism would have been even weaker and therefore more likely to fall (15).

The role of Stolypin can only be appreciated in stemming the level of opposition to the Tsar when events after his death are analysed. He was murdered in 1911 and his successors embarked on even more repression. By 1912, after the Lena Goldfields incident, even the moderates began to despair with the Tsar. This was a very dangerous position for the Tsar to be in. Those who were critical of the Tsar yet in essence loyal began to wonder whether their loyalty was misplaced. This would strengthen the hand of the opposition. In addition, the furore and scandal surrounding the court and Rasputin culminated in Rasputin's murder in December 1916 and only weakened the Tsar's position still further. Rasputin came to prominence in the royal court in 1907. It was the Tsar's absence from court in 1915 as Commander-in-chief which allowed Rasputin's influence to grow too much, in tandem with his influence over the Tsarina

(14) Level 5 requires you to include relevant and accurate information to demonstrate your understanding, e.g. that of the Tsar's changing relationship with the Duma. This is linked to the question by reference to his lack of experienced officials, the failure of the Tsar in war and the strength of the opposition. You must aim to draw firm conclusions on the question, as you progress through the essay.

(15) Another factor – the Tsar's officials, Stolypin and Witte, are assessed for their role in the Tsar's position, i.e. linked to the question.

(16) The question is asking you to make a judgement about the nature of the Tsar's enemies and how this affected his power. In this instance, it is other factors such as the role of his officials which played a part in him

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Alexandra, who happened to be German. Here was a self-inflicted wound. Personal weakness of the Tsar played a crucial part in his political demise. By surrounding himself with those more intent on their own power rather than that of the institution of Tsardom, his reputation plummeted to depths which even a weak and divided opposition, with experience, could gain from. Events again showed that the Tsar relied in reality on his officials and their links with the military for him to remain in power. In essence that was the strength of Tsarism (16).

The First World War had a tremendous impact on most countries involved and Russia was to be no exception. The Bolsheviks were vilified as traitors for being anti-war and many of them, including Lenin, left the country, thus weakening their influence within Russia. Entry into the war created a massive strain on the Russian economy and as such helped the slide towards revolution in 1917. In 1915 the Tsar took responsibility for the army as Commander-in-Chief. This proved to be a fateful decision as his reputation and destiny were tied to Russian military success. The experiences of 1905 should have signalled to the Tsar that he was in danger: a weak economy coupled to a disaster in war fuelled attacks on the Tsarist regime. Perhaps he misjudged the strength and breadth of the fury with the absence of revolutionary leaders in Russia on the eve of the February 1917 revolution (18 February to 4 March) and decided not to compromise (17).

Clearly, by February 1917, the Tsar had been deserted by those who had been close to him, his political position was weakening. As stated by the Duma President, 'there is not one honest man left in your entourage, all decent people have either been dismissed or left'. The Tsar was given the last chance by the Duma to save the Tsarist regime – all he needed to do was to grant concessions in the face of increasing violence and the breakdown of order, particularly in Petrograd. Instead of granting concessions, the Tsar ordered the Duma to close.

It was the actions of the Tsar from 1915 which gave notice to Tsardom rather than the weakness of his opponents coming to an end. Certainly his opponents were more organised and experienced in February 1917 than in previous crises, but this was not the critical factor. The revolution in February was not driven by the revolutionaries – both Lenin and Trotsky only came back to Petrograd after February 1917. Had the Tsar played things differently in the run-up to 1917, then his abdication on 2 March, after his failed attempt to return to Petrograd, could not have been predicted. If he had

losing control in 1917. The relative importance of Stolypin and Rasputin are discussed here and this factor is assessed for its relative importance to achieve a Level 5. You must aim to draw firm conclusions on the question, as you progress through the essay.

(17) Another factor to be considered in the Tsar losing power in 1917: the First World War. Without making an evaluation, a Level 5 will not be achieved. An evaluation requires you to consider, in this case, the relative significance of the war on the Tsar's reputation and how this linked to other issues to bring matters to a head. You must aim to draw firm conclusions on the question, as you progress through the essay.

(18) This should pull the essay together with an assessment of the relative importance of

been prepared to change, he might have retained the crucial support of the liberal loyalists in the Duma and if he had not been Commander-in-chief, the military would not have seen him as a valid target (18).

### Examiner's Assessment

This essay reaches Level 5. It addresses the question directly throughout. The information is kept tightly on track – a focused answer - through careful wording which often includes the key words from the question. For example, (a) 'It was the reign of Nicholas II, beginning in 1894, where opposition to the Tsar began to take shape. This manifested itself in the first serious opposition to the Tsar in February 1905.' (paragraph 3) or (b) 'In the face of united opposition, on the advice of his official Witte, Tsar Nicholas issued the October Manifesto – this proved to be enough to take the steam out of the uprising which seemed to be focused in two cities (St Petersburg and Moscow).' (paragraph 4)

The answer is analytical in its approach and style. It is broadly balanced in its references to the role of Nicholas II and his decisions and several other factors which influenced his fall in 1917. However, the range of factors is limited. It attempts to make an assessment of these factors for the part they play in the timing of the Tsar falling from power.

It includes accurate material which has been appropriately selected (does not try to include everything) and the paragraphs are linked to the question.

There is an argument running throughout the essay. In this example, a range of factors is considered with detailed and precise supporting material, e.g. the impact of the First World War, the nature and extent of the Tsar's opponents and the decisions made by the Tsar, i.e. his choice of advisers.

The answer would be given a mark in low Level 5 because of the limited range of factors discussed and the limited integration of links between the factors.

the Tsar's decisions, and the strength/weakness of his opponents in determining the timing of his abdication.

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To what extent were the weaknesses of its opponents responsible for the survival of Tsarism in the years 1881–1917?

(30 marks)

**Target: AO1a and AO1b (13%)**

Essay – to present historical explanations and reach a judgement.

<b>Level 1</b>	<p>Candidates will produce mostly simple statements. These will be supported by limited factual material which has some accuracy and relevance, although not directed at the focus of the question. The material will be mostly generalised. There will be few, if any, links between the simple statements.</p> <p><i>The writing may have limited coherence and will be generally comprehensible, but passages will lack both clarity and organisation. The skills needed to produce effective writing will not normally be present. Frequent syntactical and/or spelling errors are likely to be present.</i></p> <p><b>Low Level 1: 1-2 marks</b> The qualities of Level 1 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth <b>and</b> the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p><b>Mid Level 1: 3-4 marks</b> The qualities of Level 1 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth <b>or</b> the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p><b>High Level 1: 5-6 marks</b> The qualities of Level 1 are securely displayed.</p>	<b>(1–6)</b>
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<p><b>Level 2</b></p>	<p>Candidates will produce a series of simple statements supported by some mostly accurate and relevant factual material. The analytical focus will be mostly implicit and there are likely to be only limited links between the simple statements. Material is unlikely to be developed very far.</p> <p><i>The writing will have some coherence and will be generally comprehensible, but passages will lack both clarity and organisation. Some of the skills needed to produce effective writing will be present. Frequent syntactical and/or spelling errors are likely to be present.</i></p> <p><b>Low Level 2: 7-8 marks</b> The qualities of Level 2 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth <b>and</b> the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p><b>Mid Level 2: 9-10 marks</b> The qualities of Level 2 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth <b>or</b> the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p><b>High Level 2: 11-12 marks</b> The qualities of Level 2 are securely displayed.</p>	<p><b>(7–12)</b></p>
<p><b>Level 3</b></p>	<p>Candidates' answers will attempt analysis and will show some understanding of the focus of the question. They will, however, include material which is either descriptive, and thus only implicitly relevant to the question's focus, or which strays from that focus. Factual material will be accurate but it may lack depth and/or relevance in places.</p> <p><i>The writing will be coherent in places but there are likely to be passages which lack clarity and/or proper organisation. Only some of the skills needed to produce convincing extended writing are likely to be present. Syntactical and/or spelling errors are likely to be present.</i></p> <p><b>Low Level 3: 13-14 marks</b> The qualities of Level 3 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth <b>and</b> the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p><b>Mid Level 3: 15-16 marks</b> The qualities of Level 3 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth <b>or</b> the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p><b>High Level 3: 17-18 marks</b> The qualities of Level 3 are securely displayed.</p>	<p><b>(13–18)</b></p>

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<p><b>Level 4</b></p>	<p>Candidates offer an analytical response which relates well to the focus of the question and which shows some understanding of the key issues contained in it. The analysis will be supported by accurate factual material which will be mostly relevant to the question asked. The selection of material may lack balance in places.</p> <p><i>The answer will show some degree of direction and control but these attributes may not be sustained throughout the answer. The candidate will demonstrate the skills needed to produce convincing extended writing but there may be passages which lack clarity or coherence. The answer is likely to include some syntactical and/or spelling errors.</i></p> <p><b>Low Level 4: 19-20 marks</b> The qualities of Level 4 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth <b>and</b> the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p><b>Mid Level 4: 21-22 marks</b> The qualities of Level 4 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth <b>or</b> the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p><b>High Level 4: 23-24 marks</b> The qualities of Level 4 are securely displayed.</p>	<p><b>(19–24)</b></p>
<p><b>Level 5</b></p>	<p>Candidates offer an analytical response which directly addresses the focus of the question and which demonstrates explicit understanding of the key issues contained in it. It will be broadly balanced in its treatment of these key issues. The analysis will be supported by accurate, relevant and appropriately selected factual material which demonstrates some range and depth.</p> <p><i>The exposition will be controlled and the deployment logical. Some syntactical and/or spelling errors may be found but the writing will be coherent overall. The skills required to produce convincing extended writing will be in place.</i></p> <p><b>Low Level 5: 25-26 marks</b> The qualities of Level 5 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth <b>and</b> the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p><b>Mid Level 5: 27-28 marks</b> The qualities of Level 5 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth <b>or</b> the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p><b>High Level 5: 29-30 marks</b> The qualities of Level 5 are securely displayed.</p>	<p><b>(25–30)</b></p>

Edexcel – AS GCE Unit 1: Historical Themes in Breadth Option D	<b>D3 Russia in Revolution, 1881–1924: From Autocracy to Dictatorship</b>	<b>Chronology</b>
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### Chronology: Key Events in *Russia in Revolution, 1881–1924*

#### 1. Background: reaction and repression, 1881–1905

Year	Month	Event
1881		<u>Alexander II assassinated by 'the People's Will' [1]. This leads to the introduction of the repressive 'temporary laws'</u>
1881-95		Pobedonostsev presides over 'the Reaction', a period of severe political repression
1885		New strict criminal code introduced
1887		University Statute restricts academic freedoms Lenin's elder brother executed for his involvement in a plot to murder Alexander III
1890		<u>Zemstvo Act sets up a network of rural councils</u>
1891-1902		Construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway
1893-1903		<u>Under Sergei Witte's leadership Russia experiences 'the Great Spurt' in industrial production [2]</u>
1894		<u>Accession of Nicholas II, who will be the last Tsar [3]</u>
1897		Revolutionary Jewish Bund formed
1898		<u>All Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party (SDs) of Marxist revolutionaries formed [4]</u>
1901		<u>Social Revolutionary Party (SRs), a development of Populism formed under Victor Chernov [5]</u>
1902		Lenin publishes his pamphlet, 'What Is To Be Done', setting out his revolutionary programme
1903		<u>SDs split into Mensheviks (under Plekhanov) and Bolsheviks (under Lenin) [6]</u>

#### 2. The revolution of 1905 and its aftermath

Year	Month	Event
1904-5		Russo-Japanese War sees the humiliating defeat of Russia
1905		Revolution breaks out
	January	Bloody Sunday
	May	<u>Constitutional Democratic Party (Kadets) formed under Paul Milyukov; creates Union of Unions to lead revolutionary effort [7]</u>
	June	Potemkin Mutiny
	August	War with Japan ends
	September	<u>Formation of first Soviets [8]</u>



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	October	<u>October Manifesto issued [9]; <u>Octobrist Party formed [10]</u></u>
	November	Abolition of Redemption dues promised
	December	Soviets and workers groups crushed by army
1906		Elections held for first Duma
	April	<u>Fundamental Laws issued [11]</u>
	April/June	<u>First Duma sits, followed by Vyborg Manifesto</u> <u>Witte dismissed as chief minister – replaced by</u> <u>Stolypin [12]</u>
1907	February/June	<u>Second Duma sits [13]</u>
	November	<u>Third Duma begins, elected on revised franchise [14]</u>
1907-11		<u>Stolypin as chief minister embarks on a combined</u> <u>policy of political repression and agrarian reform</u> <u>[15]</u>
1911		Assassination of Stolypin
1912		Serious disturbances occur in the Lena goldfields, Siberia
	June	Third Duma dissolved
	November	<u>Fourth Duma begins. Strikes and demonstrations</u> <u>increasing and, by 1913, even Duma leaders</u> <u>warning of new political crisis [16]</u>
1914		Outbreak of First World War

**3. War and revolution, 1914–17**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Month</b>	<b>Event</b>
1914	June	Assassination of Franz Ferdinand at Sarajevo
	July	Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia Russian full mobilisation orders given
	1 August	Germany declares war on Russia
	August	Suspension of fourth Duma
1915	June	The Duma is reconvened <u>The Progressive Bloc forms in the Duma [17]</u>
	August	Nicholas II makes himself commander-in-chief of the Russian armies
1916	November	Duma reconvened
	December	Rasputin murdered by a group of aristocrats
1917		February Revolution
	18 February	Strike begins at Putilov factories in Petrograd
	23 February	International Women's Day sees the beginning of widespread workers' demonstrations
	25 February	A general strike begins
	27 February	Unofficial meeting of committee of Duma coincides with the first meeting of the Petrograd Soviet
	28 February	Nicholas II prevented from returning to Petrograd
	1 March	Soviet 'Order Number I' is issued
	2 March	Provisional Government formed from the Duma committee Nicholas II abdicates
	3 March	<u>New Provisional Government publicly declared. Led</u> <u>by Prince Lvov, with one socialist member -</u> <u>Kerensky [18]</u>

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	4 March	Formal declaration of Romanov abdication issued
	14 March	Petrograd Soviet issues its <i>Address to the people of the whole world</i>
	3 April	Lenin returns to Petrograd after completing his journey across Europe in a sealed train under German protection
	4 April	<u>Lenin issues his April Theses [19], rejecting Bolshevik support for the Provisional Government</u>
	May	Provisional Government reorganised; Kerensky becomes Minister of War
	26 June	Major Russian offensive launched against Austro-German armies on the south-western front
	3-6 July	<u>Failure of 'July Days' Bolshevik uprising against the Provisional Government. Three hundred Bolsheviks arrested; Lenin flees from Petrograd [20]</u>
	8 July	Kerensky becomes prime minister
	18 July	Kornilov becomes commander-in-chief
	August	German advance threatens Petrograd
		<u>Kornilov begins march on Petrograd to 'restore order'; Bolshevik prisoners released to help resistance [21]</u>
	26 August – 1 September	Resistance of the Petrograd workers forces Kornilov to abandon his march on the city
	25 September	Bolsheviks gain a majority in Petrograd Soviet and elect Trotsky as chairman
	7 October	Lenin secretly returns to Petrograd
	10 October	Bolshevik Central Committee commits itself to armed revolution, despite doubts
	12 October	Petrograd Soviet sets up Military Revolutionary Committee
	23 October	Kerensky moves against Bolsheviks by attempting to close down Pravda and Izvestya Lenin instructs the Bolsheviks to move against the government
	24 October	Congress of Soviets meets in Petrograd
	24-25 October	<u>Bolsheviks seize control of Petrograd [22]</u>
	25-26 October	Kerensky flees and Bolsheviks seize control of Winter Palace
	26 October	Bolsheviks establish Sovnarkom with Lenin as chairman
	27 October	Lenin announces Bolshevik seizure of power to the Congress of Soviets. Claim to have taken power in their name. Almost bloodless in Petrograd, although fighting in Moscow lasts a week and hundreds killed

<b>Year</b>	<b>Month</b>	<b>Event</b>
1917	November	Bolsheviks issued Decrees on Land and Workers' Control
		Elections for Constituent Assembly
	December	Armistice signed at Brest-Litovsk
		<u>Creation of Cheka [23]</u>
1918–20		<u>Russian Civil War [24]</u>
1918–21		<u>War Communism [25]</u>
1918	January	Bolsheviks dissolved Constituent Assembly by force. All other parties were banned.
		<u>Workers and Peasant Red Army established [26]</u>

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	March	<u>Treaty of Brest-Litovsk</u> [27] and foreign interventions: British, French and American troops occupy Murmansk and Archangel
	June	Decree on Nationalisation
	July	Forced grain requisitions
	September	Red Terror officially introduced
1919	March	Comintern established
		<u>Bolshevik Party renamed Communist Party</u> [28]
1920	April	Invading Red Army driven from Poland
1921	March	<u>The Kronstadt Rising</u> [29]
		Introduction of the NEP

1. **Assassination of Alexander II** Tsars were unlikely to introduce measures which would weaken their position. The result was that political activists were drawn to extremism, e.g. assassination of Tsar Alexander II by an activist group known as 'The People's Will'. Use of the army to keep the 'dark masses' in check. Alexander III's policies were so oppressive they earned the title 'the Reaction'.

2. **The Great Spurt: urbanisation/industrialisation** 1861: the emancipation of the serfs (peasants 82% of population in 1897) resulted in them having large mortgages which took generations to repay. Agriculture was inefficient and peasants were uneducated. 1893: the 'Great Spurt' began – rapid industrial growth under Witte. **Sergei Witte** set about modernising the Russian economy, aiming to compete with the nations of the west. The vehicle was to be the State.

3. **Tsar Nicholas II** (1894–1917) was regarded as a man of weakness and limited outlook when a strong Tsar was required to deal effectively with the challenges of increased opposition from revolutionaries. His attitudes were key to the future direction of Russia.

4. **Revolutionaries** had many splinter groups but all believed that Tsardom must be destroyed via revolution. Inspired by the Populists, the **Social Democratic Party** believed that the Russian Revolution would be achieved by following the ideas of **Karl Marx**, through 'class struggle'. This was made more likely in their view after the 'Great Spurt'.

5. **Social Revolutionary Party** grew directly from the Populists but became divided between the Left Social Revolutionaries (terrorist faction – copied ideas of the People's Will) and the Right Social Revolutionaries (revolution was their ultimate goal but in the short term they were prepared to work with other groups to help the workers). The Left Social Revolutionaries were dominant between 1901 and 1905.

6. **Bolsheviks** and **Mensheviks** emerged when the Social Democrats split following an argument between Lenin and Plekhanov. Lenin wanted the Social Democrats to be a small exclusive party and Plekhanov did not.

7. **Liberal group in opposition to the Tsar: Kadets** (Constitutional Democrats) – Party of the People's Freedom. They were the largest of Liberal parties and wanted a **constitutional monarchy**. Academics and entrepreneurs were prominent and played a major role in the February Revolution of 1917.

8. Formation of **Soviets**. These were city-based organisations representing the workers.

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9. **October Manifesto:** written by Witte, it gave rights and freedoms to the citizens. This seemed to satisfy their appetite for reform – temporarily.
10. **Liberal group in opposition to the Tsar: Octobrists** – another Liberal group who criticised the incompetence of the Tsar.
11. **Fundamental Laws.** The Tsar issued a statement on the Laws which reminded the Duma that, despite the October Manifesto, he would not tolerate any limitation on his autocratic powers.
12. The **Duma** – a form of representative parliament and seen as a significant constitutional development when proposed by the Tsar in the October Manifesto. It was intended to be a Duma with legislative powers, based on broader franchise and promise of civil rights. These promises were not kept. The Tsar's responses from December 1905 to April 1906 show that he was not going to allow the concessions he had made in 1905 to diminish his absolute authority. After the dissolution of the first Duma, angry Kadets issued the Vyborg Appeal to the people of Russia:
- i) Refuse to pay taxes.
  - ii) Disobey conscription orders.
- The government response was Martial Law and Military Courts.
13. **Second Duma** Strongly anti-Government as Kadets lost seats after the Vyborg Appeal. Such antagonism between Duma and Tsar meant he ordered it to be dissolved.
14. **Third Duma** More co-operative because it was heavily dominated by moderate parties. After the election, it was restricted to voters from propertied classes. National insurance for industrial workers set up; schools for poor; social reform.
15. **Stolypin's 'Wager on the Strong'** The aim of the policy was to de-revolutionise peasants and turn them into supporters of Tsarism. Stolypin aimed for them to become prosperous and more productive by the cancellation of mortgage debts, introduction of efficient farming methods, and through voluntary re-settlement programmes turn remoter areas of Russia into food-growing areas.
16. **Fourth Duma** Evidence of some criticism of the Tsar although the Duma was dominated by right wing parties who were willing to co-operate on social reform.
17. **Progressive Bloc** Made up of 236 of the 422 deputies (Kadets, Octobrists, Nationalists and Party of Progressive Industrialists) after the Tsar dismissed the Duma.
18. **Provisional Government** Shifted to the Right and a clash with Bolsheviks was increasingly likely. Lenin said: 'Either a soviet government or a Kornilovism – there is no middle course'. Kerensky was War Minister and he advocated the continuance of war against Germany as a revolutionary crusade. He was rewarded with the job of Prime Minister after the July Days. The Bolsheviks seemed to be weakening at this stage. The government attitude on Land Question was to set up a commission to re-distribute land to peasants. Foreign Policy – between February and October 1917 the Provisional Government remained committed to the war against Germany in return for allied war credits and supplies. Once the Bolsheviks came into power, fighting was halted on the western front. In December 1917 an Armistice followed between

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Russia and Germany and Russia's departure from the First World War was marked by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in March 1918.

19. In his **April Theses**, Lenin claimed that Tsardom had been replaced by a bourgeois regime. There were calls for 'Land to the Peasants' – an old Social Revolutionary proposal. Lenin injected a sense of urgency into the situation for the survival of the Bolsheviks.

20. **July Days** was an attempt by revolutionaries to bring down the Provisional Government over three days. The Bolsheviks were widely blamed but a debate still rages. The uprising did reveal the disunity amongst revolutionary parties and lack of dominance by the Bolsheviks. Rising failed.

21. **Kornilov Affair** Kerensky's government became involved in this crisis which weakened his position just after the July Days and helped the Bolsheviks recover their strength. Kornilov became Commander in Chief on 18<sup>th</sup> July. In August he offered to bring his loyal troops to protect Petrograd and the Provisional Government. There were rumours that Kornilov and Kerensky were plotting to overthrow the Soviet and to establish military dictatorship. Kerensky, on hearing the rumours, publicly called upon the citizens of Petrograd to defend the city against Kornilov and released Bolsheviks from prison to help with this. On September 1<sup>st</sup> Kornilov called off his march on Petrograd.

Kerensky later admitted that the Kornilov Affair had been a 'prelude to the October Revolution.'

22. The **Bolsheviks** did not seize power, it fell into their hands. They had control of the Military Revolutionary Committee through Trotsky.

23. **Cheka** Better organised state police than Okhrana, used to crush opposition and impose Bolshevik rule. Likened to the Gestapo for its tactics and had essential characteristics of ruthlessness and operating as a law unto itself. It was granted unlimited powers of arrest, detention and torture. The HQ were in Moscow under the direction of Felix Dzerzhinsky.

A Cheka detachment acted on Lenin's orders to shoot the Romanov family without a trial.

24. **Russian Civil War** Something that Lenin wanted in order to rid Russia of all opposition to the Bolsheviks. The Reds, Whites and Greens fought what Lenin termed a 'class war'. At times the fighting was simply a struggle for food. Hunger forced many workers out of the cities which meant that production slumped. Trotsky's strategy for the Civil War was control of the railways and supply routes which proved to be the key to Bolshevik victory. The Red Army had many other advantages, e.g. they held the key industrial areas, giving access to munitions. Trotsky employed a broad strategy including effective defence of the key areas around Moscow and Petrograd and then ground down the will of their enemies by driving them back until they surrendered.

Beyond hatred for Bolsheviks, the Whites had no common purpose and no leader to match Trotsky.

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25. **War communism** In the summer of 1918, the desperate economic situation led Lenin to adopt '**war communism**' which was enforced by the Cheka and the Red Army and led to the Decree on Nationalisation where all industry came under central government control. This also allowed Lenin to tighten up on the Kulaks. Attacks also made on the Church.

26. **Red Army** The Workers' and Peasants Red Army was developed into a formidable fighting force of 3 million men largely due to Trotsky's leadership as Commissar for War. The Red Army was a key factor in the survival of the Bolshevik government and also in its long term authority.

27. **Treaty of Brest-Litovsk** Much to the disappointment of the western allies, Lenin's Russia made peace with Germany. The western allies felt betrayed by the Bolsheviks and following Brest-Litovsk, British, French and American troops occupied Murmansk and Archangel. When the First World War ended in November 1918 the allies considered an offensive against the Bolsheviks.

28. **Bolshevik Party** After the Civil War the Bolshevik party became known as the Communist Party. Two key sub-committees – the Politburo and Orgburo – also emerged in 1919 to deal more effectively with day-to-day matters arising from the Civil War.

29. **Kronstadt Rising** Workers had demands which amounted to a challenge to Bolshevik power. The Rising was crushed under Trotsky's direction but after the end of the Kronstadt Rising, Lenin adopted the **New Economic Policy** primarily to meet the urgent need for food. There was an end to grain requisitioning and peasants could also trade for profit. These changes led to some economic recovery.

### Additional Sample Questions

1. How far was the provisional government responsible for its downfall?
2. How far do you agree that the economy of Tsarist Russia was transformed in the years to 1914?
3. To what extent were the weaknesses of its opponents responsible for the survival of the Bolshevik government in the years 1917–24?
4. To what extent did Russia undergo economic and political reform in the years 1906–14?
5. How far was Lenin responsible for the Bolsheviks' growing hold on power in the years 1917–24?
6. How far were divisions among its opponents responsible for the survival of Tsarist rule in the years 1881–1905?

### Resources

Issac Deutscher, *Trotsky* (OUP, 1954–70)

Orlando Figes, *A People's Tragedy: The Russian Revolution* (Jonathan Cape, 1996)

## **Access to History Online Edexcel Unit 1 – D3 Russia in Revolution, 1881–1924: From Autocracy to Dictatorship**

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Robert Service, *Lenin: A Biography* (Macmillan, 2000)

Dmitri Volkogonov, *Stalin: Triumph and Tragedy* (Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1991)

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Dmitri Volkogonov, *Trotsky: The Eternal Revolutionary* (Free Press, 1996)

Dmitri Volkogonov, *The Rise and Fall of the Soviet Empire: Political Leaders Lenin to Gorbachev* (Harper Collins, 1997)

### **Websites**

[www.edexcel.com](http://www.edexcel.com) Look up GCE History 6hi01 for exemplar material and advice

<https://eiewebvip.edexcel.org.uk/pastpapers>

<http://community.edexcel.com/forums/20.aspx>