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# A-level HISTORY

Component 2N Revolution and dictatorship: Russia, 1917–1953

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Friday 16 June 2017

Morning

Time allowed: 2 hours 30 minutes

## Materials

For this paper you must have:

- an AQA 16-page answer book.

## Instructions

- Use black ink or black ball-point pen.
- Write the information required on the front of your answer book. The **Paper Reference** is 7042/2N.
- Answer **three** questions.  
In **Section A** answer Question 01.  
In **Section B** answer **two** questions.

## Information

- The marks for questions are shown in brackets.
- The maximum mark for this paper is 80.
- You will be marked on your ability to:
  - use good English
  - organise information clearly
  - use specialist vocabulary where appropriate.

## Advice

- You are advised to spend about:
  - 60 minutes on Question 01
  - 45 minutes on each of the two questions in Section B.

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**Section A**

Answer Question 01.

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**Source A**

From 'What we are fighting for: news of the Kronstadt Revolutionary Committee', published in the Kronstadt newspaper, March 1921.

The Communists have instilled constant fear of the Cheka, whose horrors surpass even the tsarist regime. Russia is drenched with the blood of those martyred for the greater glory of Communist dominion. In that sea of blood the Communists are drowning all the bright promises of the workers' revolution. The Communist Party is not the defender of the labouring masses. Workers' strikes have multiplied, but the Bolshevik police regime has taken every precaution against the inevitable Third Revolution, terrorising the rebels with prison, shooting and other barbarities. There is no middle road. To conquer or to die! In Kronstadt is laid the new road to Socialist creativeness. Without shedding any blood, the workers and peasants march on, leaving behind both the bourgeois Constituent Assembly and the Communist dictatorship with its Cheka and state capitalism, which threatens to strangle the workers. Kronstadt has raised the banner of rebellion. It cannot be that the Kronstadt explosion should fail to arouse the whole of Russia and, first of all, Petrograd.

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**Source B**

From a letter written by Trotsky in exile in Mexico, to be read at the Moscow show trials of 1937. Trotsky had been the Red Army commander in 1921 during the Kronstadt uprising.

The best, most self-sacrificing sailors were completely withdrawn from Kronstadt and played an important role at the fronts and in the local soviets throughout the country. What remained was the grey mass, without political education and unprepared for revolutionary sacrifice. The country was starving. The Kronstaders demanded privileges. The uprising was dictated by a desire to get privileged food rations. All the reactionary elements, both in Russia and abroad, immediately seized upon this uprising. The White émigrés demanded aid for the insurrectionists. The victory of this uprising could bring nothing but the victory of the counter-revolution, entirely independent of the ideas the sailors had in their heads. But the ideas themselves were deeply reactionary. They reflected the hostility of the backward peasantry toward the worker, the self-importance of the soldier or sailor in relation to 'civilian' Petrograd, the hatred of the petty bourgeois for revolutionary discipline.

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**Source C**

From Alexander Berkman's personal memoir, 'The Russian Tragedy', published in 1922. Berkman was a leading Russian anarchist who petitioned the Communist Government to adopt a peaceful solution to the Kronstadt crisis.

The Kronstadt movement was spontaneous and peaceful. It ended in a bloody tragedy entirely due to Communist dictatorship. Kronstadt had faith in the possibility of a friendly solution, crediting the Communist Government with some sense of justice and liberty. Kronstadt proves once more that the State has no soul, no principles. It has one aim: to secure and hold power at any cost. Kronstadt demanded only free elections to the Soviets. Having arrested a few commissars, the sailors prepared themselves against attack. The Bolshevik 'triumph' over Kronstadt held within it the defeat of Bolshevism. It exposed the true character of the Bolshevik dictatorship. Bolshevik economic policy was changed as a result of Kronstadt, giving concessions to capitalists and giving up Communism itself. Kronstadt sounded the death knell of Bolshevik dictatorship, mad centralisation and Cheka terrorism. It proved the Communist dictatorship and the Russian Revolution are contradictory and the Communist State itself is dangerous and counter-revolutionary. Kronstadt was the first popular and independent attempt at liberation from the oppression of state socialism.

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With reference to these sources and your understanding of the historical context, assess the value of these three sources to an historian studying the Kronstadt Rising of 1921.

**[30 marks]**

**Turn over for the next question.**

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**Section B**

Answer **two** questions.

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- 0 2** To what extent was the First Five-Year Plan more successful than the New Economic Policy in improving Soviet industrial performance?  
**[25 marks]**
- 0 3** 'The USSR experienced a social revolution during Stalin's regime in the 1930s.'  
Assess the validity of this view.  
**[25 marks]**
- 0 4** How far was Stalin's creation of a Soviet bloc in Eastern Europe after the Second World War the result of his obsession with ensuring international security for the USSR?  
**[25 marks]**

**END OF QUESTIONS**

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