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Cambridge Assessment International Education

Cambridge International AS & A Level

HISTORY **9489/12**

Paper 1 Document Question **February/March 2022**

1 hour 15 minutes

You must answer on the enclosed answer booklet.

You will need: Answer booklet (enclosed)

INSTRUCTIONS

- Answer **one** question from **one** section only.
  - Section A: European option
  - Section B: American option
  - Section C: International option
- Follow the instructions on the front cover of the answer booklet. If you need additional answer paper, ask the invigilator for a continuation booklet.

INFORMATION

- The total mark for this paper is 40.
- The number of marks for each question or part question is shown in brackets [ ].

This document has **8** pages. Any blank pages are indicated.

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Answer **one** question from **one** section only.

Section A: European option

The Russian Revolution, 1894–1921

1 Read the sources and then answer **both** parts of the question.

Source A

There have been mass shootings of tens of thousands of our comrades, plots have been discovered behind our army lines and Right-Socialist Revolutionaries and other counter-revolutionary scoundrels are openly implicated in these plots. There must emphatically be an end to these plots. At the same time, and despite constant talk about us using mass terror against the Right-Socialist Revolutionaries, White Guards and the bourgeoisie, this terror really does not exist. All Right-Socialist Revolutionaries who are known to local Soviets must be arrested immediately. Considerable numbers of hostages must be taken from the bourgeoisie and the White officers. Even at the smallest sign of resistance, mass shooting must be inflicted without hesitation. All measures must be taken to detect and arrest all persons who are hiding under assumed names and all who are implicated in White Guard activity must be shot without fail.

From the Bolshevik 'Order for Red Terror', September 1918.

Source B

Red troops have liberated the entire Urals area from the Whites under Kolchak and have begun the liberation of Siberia. The workers and peasants are enthusiastically welcoming Soviet power, for it is sweeping away the Whites, the landowners and capitalist scum who ground down the people with taxes, humiliations, floggings and the restoration of Tsarist oppression. Although we rejoice at the liberation of the Urals and the entry of the Red troops into Siberia, we must not allow ourselves to be lulled into a false sense of security. The Whites are still far from being destroyed. The chief reason now that our Red Army successes are not swift and stable enough is the shortage of state stocks of grain. He who does not give his surplus of grain to the state is helping Kolchak, he is a betrayer of the workers and peasants and is responsible for the death and suffering of tens of thousands of workers and peasants in the Red Army. If the government granaries are empty, the army is powerless, and the victory of Kolchak and Denikin is inevitable.

From an open letter written by Lenin to the workers and peasants, August 1919.

Source C

At no time was there enough popular support behind Kolchak for him, or the people supporting him, to have lasted one month if all Allied support had been removed. Kolchak was suspected, not without reason, of Tsarist leanings. Certainly, he was entirely opposed to democracy. From the first, his regime was distrusted and detested by all but the military clique who created it. Most worrying of all was the hostility of the common people. All the old vices of the Tsarist regime came back. Floggings and shootings once more became the basis of army organisation. The officers gambled, drank and stole military supplies while their own troops starved. The anti-democratic colour of the White leadership became clearer every day and their agricultural policy showed that the clock had been turned back to pre-revolutionary times. Meanwhile, a White Terror was inaugurated, far worse than anything perpetrated by the Reds.

From a book written by General W S Graves, US Commander-in-Chief in Siberia, published 1920.

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Source D



A Bolshevik poster published in 1920.
The caption reads 'Every Blow of the Hammer is a Blow Against the Enemy!'

Answer **both** parts of the question with reference to the sources.

(a) Read Sources **B** and **C**.

How far do Sources B and C agree about the Whites? [15]

(b) Read **all** of the sources.

'Bolshevik strength in the Civil War was dependent on their use of terror.' How far do the sources support this statement? [25]

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Section B: American option

Civil War and Reconstruction, 1861–77

2 Read the sources and then answer **both** parts of the question.

Source A

While a great step forward, the 15th Amendment is more remarkable for what it does *not* do than what it does do. It fails to guarantee the right of blacks to hold office as that might harm the prospect of ratification in the North. It makes no mention of suffrage provisions covering the white man, as Southern Republicans and Northern Radicals feared that this would return the franchise to the rebels. Many Northern states wished to retain their own individual suffrage qualifications, insisting on owning property for example. In the West there is opposition to the Chinese immigrants getting the vote; some argue that it will destroy the Republican Party there. It is feared that enfranchising the poor, the illiterate and the foreign-born will lead to victory for the Democratic Party. This Amendment will exclude as many as it enfranchises.

Henry Adams, an American historian, in a newspaper article, April 1869.

Source B

You have been presented for consideration the question whether Negroes shall be permitted to vote and hold office in Connecticut. Over and over again the freemen of this Commonwealth have, on their deliberate judgement, refused to enfranchise this separate and inferior race.

This measure strikes at the foundation of our system of government. It is a gross perversion of the authority of Congress to propose amendments. It is a long stride toward a deprivation of the States of their essential character, and the consolidation of all power at Washington. This would make this a Kingdom instead of a Republic. Congress might as well propose an amendment setting up a King or an Emperor over us and wiping out at a single stroke of the pen all our rights of citizenship.

This sweeping measure is being hurried through before the people at large can have an opportunity to pass judgement upon it. President Washington, with his dying breath, warned his countrymen to beware of sudden changes in their form of government. The injunction should now be heeded.

From a political leaflet published in Connecticut, 1869.

Source C

While supporting a franchise extension to all men in principle, this 15th Amendment is another in a long line of humiliations for women that Republicans have inflicted on our great cause. We reject the idea that the Constitution should prohibit racial discrimination in voting while also supporting discrimination on grounds of sex. Why should black men get the vote while women of culture and wealth remain excluded? Think of those Irish, Blacks, Germans and Chinese, who do not know the difference between a Monarchy and a Republic, having the right to vote. They will not have read the Declaration of Independence and will be making laws for educated and cultured women.

Susan B Anthony, a leading supporter of the emancipation of women, to Charles Sumner, 8 February 1870.

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Source D



A cartoon from 'Harper's Weekly', published March 1870.
The black voter shoos away the irritating 'flies' of states which voted against ratification of the 15th Amendment.

Answer **both** parts of the question with reference to the sources.

(a) Read Sources **A** and **C**.

Compare and contrast the views of these two sources on the 15th Amendment. [15]

(b) Read **all** of the sources.

'The 15th Amendment was opposed for racial reasons.' How far do these sources support this view? [25]

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Section C: International option

China and Japan, 1912–45

3 Read the sources and then answer **both** parts of the question.

Source A

There are two reasons for joining the Kuomintang. In the first place, it will give us an opportunity to use propaganda and win over their many organised workers. Second, we can only fight imperialism if we combine the forces of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. If we do not join, we shall remain isolated and preach a communism which consists of a noble ideal, but one which the masses do not follow.

The masses certainly would follow the bourgeois Kuomintang, who would use them for its purpose. If we join the Kuomintang, we can show the masses that we too are for a revolutionary democracy, but that for us revolutionary democracy is only a means to an end. Furthermore, we can point out that we do not forget the daily needs of the masses. We shall be able to gather the masses around us and split the Kuomintang Party.

From a speech by a Chinese delegate to the Congress of the Communist International,1922.

Source B

Dr Sun Yat-sen and Mr Adolph Joffe, special envoy from the Soviet Union, have had several conversations. Many opinions have been expressed in connection with Sino–Soviet relations. Dr Sun Yat-sen believes that the Soviet system of communism cannot be adopted in China since China does not have the conditions to make this adoption a success. Mr Joffe completely agrees with this analysis. Dr Sun Yat-sen further believes that the most urgent problem China faces today is the successful unification of the republic and the completion of national independence. Mr Joffe assures Dr Sun Yat-sen that China not only enjoys the deepest sympathy of the Russian people but can also rely on Russia's assistance and support.

Mr Joffe and Dr Sun Yat-sen part with each other in the most cordial manner.

From the Sun–Joffe agreement, January 1923.

Source C

If we want to overthrow the double oppressions of imperialism and of the warlords, we must rely upon the power of all our people in a national revolutionary movement. We look around the country, and find the Kuomintang the only party with history, principles and leadership to liberate the nation, and improve the condition of the people. To complete successfully this revolution, we must have a united revolutionary party, as we cannot afford to have our revolutionary forces divided.

The reason why we join this party is to make some contribution to this party, and to the cause of national revolution. We can link this party with the world revolutionary movement, so that the two can go forward together. We have definitely not come to deceive and take advantage of it, and to use the name of the Kuomintang for the purposes of promoting the communist movement.

From a speech by Li Ta-chao, a leading communist, to the National Congress of the Kuomintang, January 1924.

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Source D

Dr Sun Yat-sen, in his wisdom, secured the help of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Communist Party and reinterpreted the Three People's Principles. As a result, a united front was formed between the Three People's Principles and communism. Kuomintang–Communist cooperation was established for the first time, the sympathy of the people of the whole country was won and the revolution of 1924–27 was launched.

The cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party spread the new Three People's Principles all over China, extending to a section of the educational and academic world and the mass of student youth.

No sooner had the strength of the workers brought the revolution of 1927 to victory than the capitalist class kicked the masses aside. They seized the gains of the revolution, formed a counter-revolutionary alliance with imperialism and then pushed themselves to the limit in a war of 'communist suppression' for ten years.

From an essay by Mao Zedong, January 1940.

Answer **both** parts of the question with reference to the sources.

(a) Read Sources **A** and **C**.

To what extent do Sources A and C agree about the motives of the Communists for working with the Kuomintang? [15]

(b) Read **all** of the sources.

How far do the sources support the view that the Kuomintang shared the aims of the Communists? [25]

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