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Cambridge Assessment International Education

Cambridge International AS & A Level

HISTORY **9489/12**

Paper 1 Document Question **May/June 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

The trouble will start with the government being blamed for all disasters. In the legislative institutions a bitter campaign against the government will begin. This will be followed by revolutionary demonstrations throughout the country. Socialist slogans, capable of arousing and rallying the masses, will call for first the division of land and then the redistribution of all valuables and property. The defeated army, having lost its most dependable men and carried away by the tide of primitive peasant desire for land, will find itself too demoralised to defend law and order. The legislative institutions and the moderate opposition parties, lacking real authority in the eyes of the people, will be powerless to stop the popular tide and Russia will be flung into hopeless anarchy, the outcome of which cannot be foreseen.

From a memorandum by the former Minister of the Interior to the Tsar, February 1914.

Source B

The Social Revolutionaries view things differently from the Social Democrats and other left-wing parties. A revolution based on the 1905 model is impossible at present but a combined revolution between the military and working-class masses is more than possible. The success of the propaganda of the Social Revolutionaries in the army, about which new information is arriving daily, leads us to expect the revolution will be begun by those soldiers formed from yesterday's workers and by those workers who are subjected to the harsh rule of the militaristic police state, driven to work by bullets and bayonets. Certain facts, such as success in spreading pacifism among the soldiers and the militarised workers, growth of general discontent with the high cost of living and lack of food are true. The Social Revolutionaries correctly realise that the present moment is most favourable for sowing the seeds of revolution.

From an Okhrana (secret police) report, October 1916.

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Source C

Neither the Bolsheviks, the Mensheviks, nor the Social Revolutionaries led the workers of Petrograd on to the streets. It was someone mightier than they: Tsar Hunger.

It began with ordinary food riots. The bakeshops lacked bread. Long queues, at first chiefly of women and boys, took out their resentment on the bakers, suspecting them of hoarding flour for purposes of speculation. The police restored order. They were greeted with hostile shouts. The people demanded 'Bread!'. Then naturally they began to shout, 'Down with the police!' But no sooner was this echoing through the streets, than there appeared the old slogans, 'Down with the autocracy!' and 'Down with the war!' There were disorders but there was still no revolution. There was no leader but every revolutionary and democratic group, organised or unorganised, rushed headlong into the movement, trying to attract as many people as possible and to inspire it with militant political slogans.

From an account by a member of the Social Revolutionary Party (Victor Chernov), who was in Petrograd during February 1917.

Source D

The movement broke out spontaneously, without preparation and exclusively because of the supply crisis. Since the military units did not hinder the crowd and, in individual cases even took steps to paralyse the actions of the police, the masses gained confidence that they could act without fear of punishment. Now, after two days of unimpeded movement on the streets, when revolutionary groups have raised the slogans 'Down with the war!' and 'Down with the government!', the people have become convinced that the revolution has begun, that the masses are winning and that the authorities are powerless to suppress the movement by virtue of the fact that the military units are not on their side. They believe that victory is near because the military, either today or tomorrow, will come out openly on the side of the revolutionary forces, that the movement which has begun will not subside but grow ceaselessly until ultimate victory and the overthrow of the government.

From an Okhrana (secret police) report, February 1917.

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

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

How far do Sources C and D agree about the events of the February Revolution? [15]

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

'The demand for revolutionary change in Russia was brought about by the First World War.' How far do these sources support this view? [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

I would save the Union. I would save it in the shortest way under the Constitution. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time *save* slavery, I would not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time *destroy* slavery, I do not agree with them. My main aim in this struggle *is* to save the Union, and it is *not* to either save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could do it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. I have here stated my purpose according to my view of my *official* duty and I intend no modification of my *personal* wish that all men everywhere should be free.

President Lincoln to Horace Greeley, editor of the 'New York Tribune', 22 August 1862.

Source B

The President then proceeded to read his Emancipation Proclamation to the Cabinet. After he had finished, Governor Seward said: 'The general question has now been decided and agreed on by all.' I followed, saying 'Mr President, you have given the discussion every consideration. You have now expressed your conclusion. This is your right and duty. This Proclamation does not mark out a course I would prefer, but I will stand by it with all my heart.' Mr Blair then said that he would make no objection to issuing the Proclamation, but he went on to say that he was afraid of the influence of it on the Border States and on the army, where there was not strong support. He had no objections to emancipation itself, always being in favour of it, and was ready for immediate emancipation rather than submit to perpetuating slavery.

From the diary of Secretary of State Chase, 22 September 1862.

Source C

The issue of the Proclamation makes the army dissatisfied and the air there is thick with revolution. This has not only been thought of, but talked of, and the question now is where can the man be found to replace Lincoln? McClellan is idolised but he seems to have no political ambition. The sentiment throughout the whole army seems to be in favour of a change of president. Slavery is practically abolished, but this Proclamation makes it a very, very different affair. Unless it is received more kindly by other officers in the army than those whom I have seen, it will go far towards producing an expression on the part of the army that will startle the country and give us a military dictator.

A note from the Washington correspondent for 'The New York Herald' to his publisher, 25 September 1862.

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Source D

Lincoln was a supreme politician. He understood politics because he understood human nature. I saw this in 1864. His administration decided that the Constitution of the United States should be amended so that slavery should be prohibited. This was not only a change in our national policy, but it was also an important military measure. It was intended not merely as a means of abolishing slavery forever, but as a way of influencing those in rebellion. It was believed that such an amendment would be equivalent to new armies in the field. It would be worth at least a million men and it would also be an intellectual army that would overcome the enemy. In order to amend the Constitution, it had to be approved by the states. He ensured that states like Nevada, opposed to slavery, were admitted to the Union to support his aim. These states would also support his re-election.

Charles Dana, in his 'Recollections of the Civil War', 1898. Dana was a journalist and Assistant Secretary at the War Department under Lincoln during the Civil War.

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

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

Compare and contrast these two sources as evidence about Lincoln's views on slavery. [15]

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

'There was strong support in the North for emancipation.' How far do the 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

The people are more and more living in fear, afraid in business, afraid for their personal safety, afraid to join the church, because of the Japanese government's harassment of Christians.

The policy of Japan, despite all claims to the outside world of love for China, is that its economic and military power should extend throughout China. There is no probability Japan will give up Shandong Province after the war, and who will be able to force Japan to do it? From being a debtor nation before the war, it has now become a creditor nation, vastly increasing its merchant fleet, as well as its army and navy under the slogan of self-defence. Japan's wealth and power have increased and, with this, so has its colossal arrogance and pride.

From a report by an American missionary in Shandong, China, December 1917.

Source B

At the coming peace conference, in joining the League of Nations, Japan must insist that economic imperialism and discriminatory treatment of Orientals by Caucasians be rejected from the start. I fear Britain and America, which have profited most from the war, will promptly unify the world under their economic dominance, and will rule the world. They will use the League of Nations and arms limitations to serve their purpose. In such a case, the need to ensure its survival would compel Japan, which is limited in territory, and poor in natural resources, to attempt to challenge the situation as Germany did.

We must ensure that the British and Americans show deep remorse for their past sins and change their arrogant and insulting attitude. We must insist that they revise all laws that call for discriminatory treatment of Orientals, including of course removing immigration restrictions.

From a pamphlet written in 1918 by a Japanese delegate to the Paris Peace Conference.

Source C

The feeling against the United States has revived and become intensified since the news reached Japan that the question of the Shandong Province had come up for consideration at the Peace Conference. Proposals have been made which Japan interprets as contrary to its interests and insulting to its dignity.

The possibility of Great Britain and the United States working together is viewed in Japan with dismay. This is partly because this would threaten both the ambitious dreams of a Japanese dominance of Asia, which are cherished by the extremists, and the less absurd schemes of practical men for the exclusive exploitation of China. It is also because all Japanese see this union of the two great Anglo-Saxon nations as a menace of the gravest kind to the civilisation and culture of the Far East.

From a British Foreign Office memorandum, 1919.

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Source D

Japan is very willing indeed to agree to limitation of armaments. Japan has no aggressive intentions whatever and, although there may still be militarists in this country, the Japanese recognise that militarism is impossible. At the same time, it must obtain from the Powers recognition of its special rights in Manchuria and Siberia. This is not aggression in the least, but simply a condition of Japan's national existence. We must find a dumping ground for our surplus population and have access to other sources for the raw materials with which we are inadequately supplied. These are conditions necessary to ensure our national existence, and to demand special rights in the areas close to our borders is only right and proper. Japan's special duty at this stage is to get foreign powers to fully grasp the fact that it has no aggressive intentions.

From a speech by a member of the Japanese Parliament to the Washington Naval Conference, November 1921.

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

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

Compare and contrast Japan's views of the Paris Peace Conference expressed in Sources B and C. [15]

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

How far do the sources support the view that, by the end of the First World War, Japan was becoming aggressive in asserting its international status? [25]

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