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Cambridge Assessment International Education

Cambridge International AS & A Level

HISTORY **9489/13**

Paper 1 Document Question **October/November 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



A French cartoon entitled 'Astonishment' published in 1906.
The larger figure represents the Russian people.
The Tsar, on the right, says, 'How he has grown in just a year!'

Source B

The application of the death penalty has been terribly frequent during the last few years. According to a lawyer in St Petersburg, 'In 1908, 7016 civilians were delivered to the military tribunals as a result of emergency laws. In one single year more men were executed than during the preceding thirty-three years of the history of these courts, and one and a half times more than during the so-called revolutionary period of 1905–07.' These figures relate only to capital punishment sanctioned by 'justice'. A greater number perished without trial. In 1905–06, during the stifling of the revolutionary movement, 26 000 persons were killed by the army and police. The number of those in prison had more than doubled between 1897 and 1909. These unfortunates consist principally of political criminals. As for the number of those deported to the north of European Russia or Siberia, it is so great it cannot be established.

From an account written by a former member of the Duma in 1913.

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Source C

The Third Duma (1907–12) coincided with a period of remarkable economic prosperity. Government revenues rose steadily. The railway administration, which was the subject of constant criticism, was so much improved that the railways made a profit for the first time. Most important of all was the cooperation between Stolypin and the Duma in addressing land settlement. Whole areas which had been uncultivated became prosperous. As soon as individual peasants owned land, improvements were seen in dairy farming and marketing of farm produce. Many peasants sold their new property and came to the towns with money in their pockets to start work. The men at the head of the leading trades and industries worked together to secure an intelligent commercial policy. They held their own industrial parliament within the sittings of the Duma and received more and more interest from the government. Foreign capitalists, having obtained a better knowledge of Russian trade conditions and greater confidence in Russian investments, invested in Russia at an ever-increasing rate.

From 'A History of Russia' written by a British professor who had lived in Russia, published in 1926.

Source D

Between the 1905 revolution and the war, industrial production in Russia approximately doubled. By 1914, when Tsarist Russia had attained the highest point of its prosperity, the national income per person was eight times less than in the United States – not surprising when 80 per cent of the workforce of Russia was occupied with agriculture while in the United States almost 70 per cent were engaged in industry. On the eve of war, for every hundred square kilometres of land, Russia had only 0.4 kilometres of railroads, while Germany had 11.7 kilometres. Heavy industry was almost wholly under the control of foreign finance. Foreigners made profits from Russia but only held influence in foreign parliaments and did not promote the struggle for political rights in Russia. The proletariat grew rapidly, in a sharp break from the past. It is this fact, combined with the concentrated oppressions of Tsarism, that made the Russian workers open to the boldest revolutionary ideas.

From Trotsky's 'History of the Russian Revolution', published in 1930.

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

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

How far do these sources agree about the state of the Russian economy? [15]

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

'The Tsarist regime became more secure in the years up to 1914.' How far do these 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

Many of the recent state constitutional conventions, required as part of Reconstruction in the South, have produced important democratic reforms. They are often magnificent for their liberal principles. They have created, for example, the South's first state-funded systems of free public education for all, overseen by appropriate commissioners of education. In South Carolina and Texas, school attendance is now compulsory for all children. There are now laws requiring the establishment of orphanages and the provision of poor relief. All these new constitutions guarantee both civil and political rights for the Negro. Nine out of ten states even recognise a married woman's separate property rights.

From the 'New Orleans Tribune' (Louisiana), 1869.

Source B

Your attention is called to the fact that there are numerous bands of Ku Klux roaming throughout Kentucky to the terror of our best citizens. Their hanging, murdering or whipping of radical and Union men is a nightly occurrence. It is alarming to think that this rebel party has an overwhelming majority of over one hundred thousand in this state. This party has resolved itself into a Ku Klux party for the purpose of hunting down and killing Union men all over the state and destroying Reconstruction processes. There is now no loyal member of Congress in the state except Colonel Barnes. Please send a regiment of coloured soldiers to the towns of Richmond and Madison and let them live at the expense of the rich Ku Klux rebels and hunt down and punish these midnight assassins. Union men are afraid to speak out against these rebels.

A Republican politician, to President Grant, January 1870.

Source C

Public affairs here are growing about as bad as the Devil would wish. Our laws on the subject of the outrages in the South are clear, strict and comprehensive. However, President Grant has sent us no message asking for any further legislation on Reconstruction to prevent this violence. I do not think that Congress should take the initiative in dealing with it or give the Executive any more tools when there is no evidence from the President that he needs them. All are worried by the great difficulty of the situation, but the President has made no communication to Congress on any subject. He has been away in Philadelphia on a pleasure excursion and the papers are filled with his trip to California and then to his summer residence at Long Branch. Not one word comes to us from him touching public affairs. It is said that he is anxious for Congress to legislate concerning the Ku Klux, but he does nothing.

A letter from one Republican congressman to another, March 1871.

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Source D

By using endless violence and in defiance of federal law and the national Constitution, the Democrats have taken control of Mississippi. A revolution has taken place here by force of arms. A whole race has now been disenfranchised. They are to be returned to a condition of serfdom, an era of second slavery. The administration here is too weak to enforce the laws. The Federal Government and President Grant must share responsibility for this. While the President has sent many troops to support the unstable and highly corrupt Republican government in Louisiana, he has turned a deaf ear to the stronger and more honest government of Mississippi. He has allowed the constitutional rights of American citizens to be openly violated. We are told that Reconstruction is seen by our President now as a political liability and there was no sense in trying to save Mississippi as his party would then lose Ohio.

A message from the Republican Governor of Mississippi to Congress, November 1875.

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

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

Compare and contrast the opinions about President Grant in the two sources. [15]

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

'Reconstruction failed.' 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

On 15 April, a move against the Communists occurred at Guangzhou, the most encouraging development of its sort during the past two years. It was estimated that more than two thousand Communist radicals were arrested by soldiers and police acting under instructions from Chiang Kai-shek. Between fifty and one hundred people were killed, mostly members of the railway unions who resisted arrest. Government forces acted with energy and skill, the entire movement against the Communists having been clearly planned. This prevented the radical plot to attack the government and move against foreign settlements.

For the moment at least, the crisis of destructive Soviet activity in China has paused. Furthermore, it shows a fundamental break between the right and left wings of the Kuomintang on account of the anti-Communist stand taken by Chiang Kai-shek. It also highlights the apparently successful attempt of moderate groups to assert themselves against the Russianised extremists.

From the US Ambassador in China to the US Secretary of State, May 1927.

Source B

The Russian press announced the seizure of Guangzhou by the workers and peasants. The shops were closed. Posters on the walls proclaimed: 'Down with Chiang Kai-shek, enemy of the peasants and workers! Down with the Kuomintang, agent of the counter-revolution! Rice and meat to the workers! Land to the peasants!'

The Communists were able to hold on for only 48 hours. After prolonged street battles, the workers and peasants retreated, leaving behind more than 300 dead (the Japanese and American press spoke of some 4000 dead; we prefer to believe the Soviet figures). Executions began the same day; more than 2500 people have been executed in Guangzhou. The repression was frightful and the condemned were paraded through the streets. The officials of the great powers approved and even encouraged these outrages.

From an article by a Soviet Communist, in a French radical journal, March 1928.
It describes the Guangzhou Uprising of December 1927.

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Source C

That was the darkest and most painful chapter in our history. What almost destroyed the foundation of the Kuomintang was the promotion of divisions within the Kuomintang by the Communist Party during 1926 and 1927. This forced the Kuomintang to re-examine its policy of tolerating Communists as members of the party.

Furthermore, they held the theory that the Nationalist Revolution was a democratic revolution of the capitalist class, and that they must change it into a social revolution of the proletariat. In accordance with this class struggle, they regarded the peasants and workers as exclusive instruments of the Communist Party and encouraged production stoppages. They encouraged our youth to despise the ancient virtues of our nation as reactionary, and treated family love, loyalty and obedience with contempt.

From a book by Chiang Kai-shek, 1943.

Source D

At a critical moment in the progress of the Northern Expedition in 1927 the treacherous and reactionary policies of 'party purge' and massacre adopted by the Kuomintang authorities wrecked the national United Front of the Kuomintang, the Communist Party and all sections of the people, which embodied the Chinese people's cause of liberation. A sudden, treacherous attack was launched against the Chinese Communist Party and the people. Unity was replaced by civil war, democracy by dictatorship and a China full of brightness by a China covered in darkness.

But the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people were not disheartened. They picked themselves up, wiped off the blood, buried their fallen comrades and went off to battle again. Holding high the great flag of revolution, they rose in armed resistance and set up people's governments.

From the report by Mao Zedong, to the Congress of the Communist Party of China, 1945.

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

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

Compare and contrast Sources A and B as evidence about the actions against the Communists in 1927. [15]

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

How far do the sources support the view that Chiang Kai-shek was responsible for destroying the United Front with the Communists? [25]

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