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CAMBRIDGE
International Education

Cambridge International AS & A Level

HISTORY **9489/12**

Paper 1 Document Question **May/June 2026**

1 hour 15 minutes

0703602209

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 **12** 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

In the summer of 1918, I heard about the so-called struggle between the poor peasants and rich peasants, or kulaks, about the formation of the committees of the poor (the main power in the village), and about raids on villages by worker detachments to confiscate excess grain.

Peasants were being de-kulakised. Anyone who expressed discontent with Bolshevik policy was a kulak. A household that had two cows, or a pair of horses, was considered kulak. Villages that refused to give up excess grain or expose kulaks were raided by Soviet detachments. Therefore, peasants had special meetings to decide who was going to be a kulak. I was astonished but the peasants explained: 'We were ordered to uncover kulaks, so what else can we do?' The village elected kulaks the way they used to elect elders. To spare the children they usually chose childless bachelors.

From the memoirs of a woman who was a Socialist Revolutionary and a student in Petrograd in 1917. Her family were landowners near Kursk. Her memoirs were published after she was released from a prison camp in 1960.

Source B

We shall carry out state purchases of grain and requisition grain surpluses. This is the only way to remove want and hunger. Most of the workers suffer hardship because of the incorrect distribution of grain. To distribute it properly, the peasants must deliver their quotas to the state as assessed and without fail. This is not a matter of the workers' government fighting the peasants, but an issue involving the very existence of socialism, the existence of Soviet power. Today we cannot give the peasants any goods because there is a shortage of fuel and railway traffic is being held up.

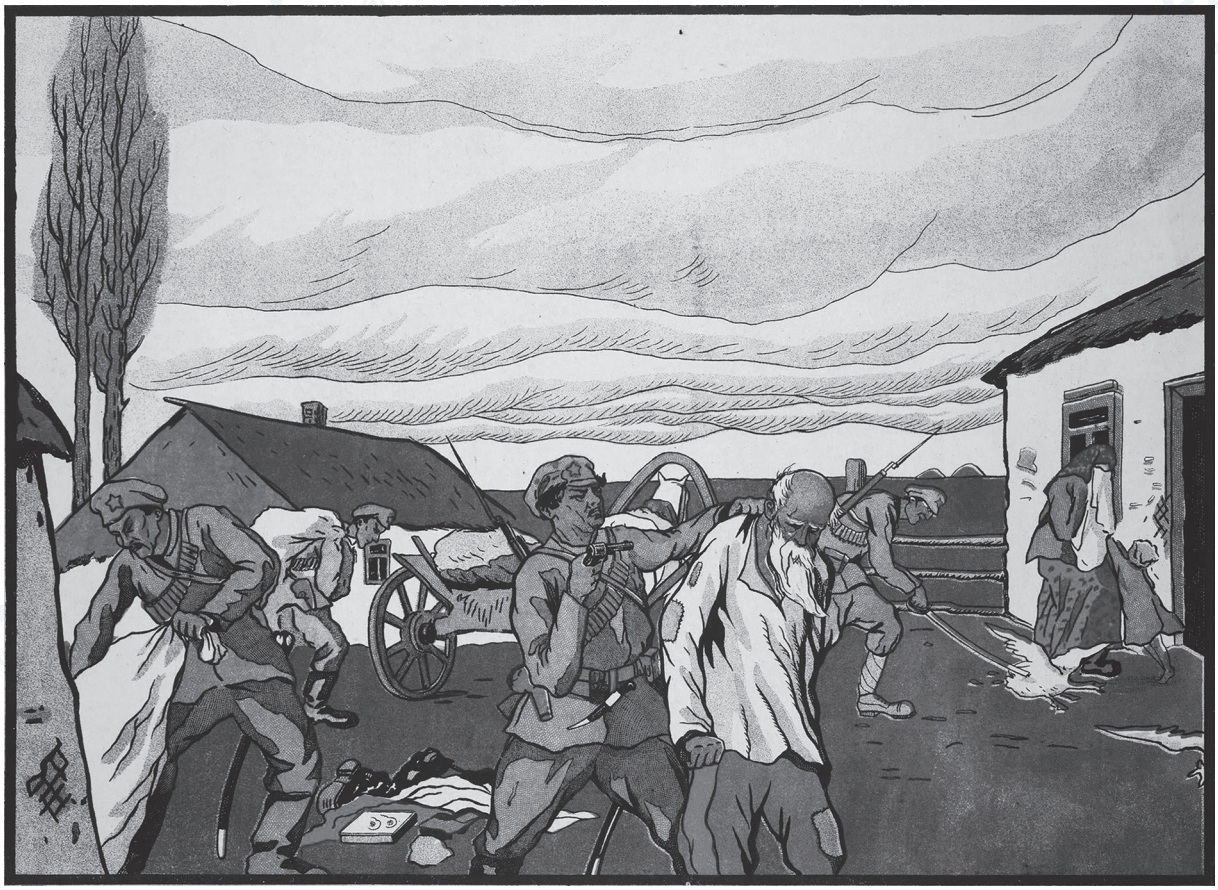
We must start with the peasants lending the workers grain at fixed prices, not at profiteering prices, so that the workers can revive production. Every peasant would agree to this policy if they saw an individual worker dying from starvation before their eyes. But when millions of workers are in question, they do not understand. They fall back on the old habit of hiding their grain to profit from price rises.

From a speech written by Lenin and read out at the Conference on Party Work in the Countryside, November 1919.

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Source C



A White Army propaganda poster with the caption 'How the Bolsheviks feel at home in Cossack villages', published in 1919.

Source D

The proletariat can and must win over the masses – win them by satisfying their most urgent economic needs in a revolutionary way. That is exactly how the Russian proletariat won the peasantry from the Socialist Revolutionaries and won them literally a few hours after achieving state power. Only hours after the victory in Petrograd, the proletariat issued a 'decree on land' and in that decree entirely satisfied all the most urgent economic needs of most of the peasants. It confiscated land from the landowners and without compensation.

To prove to the peasants that the proletarians did not want to force them, did not want to boss them, but to help them and be their friends, the Bolsheviks did not put a word of their own into that decree on land but copied it word for word from the peasant mandates which the Socialist Revolutionaries had published.

From an account by Lenin of the outcome of the Constituent Assembly elections, written in December 1919. The Bolsheviks had won fewer seats than the Socialist Revolutionaries.

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

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

Compare and contrast these sources as evidence about food requisitioning by the Bolsheviks. [15]

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

'The Bolsheviks were hostile towards the peasants.' How far do these sources support this view? [25]

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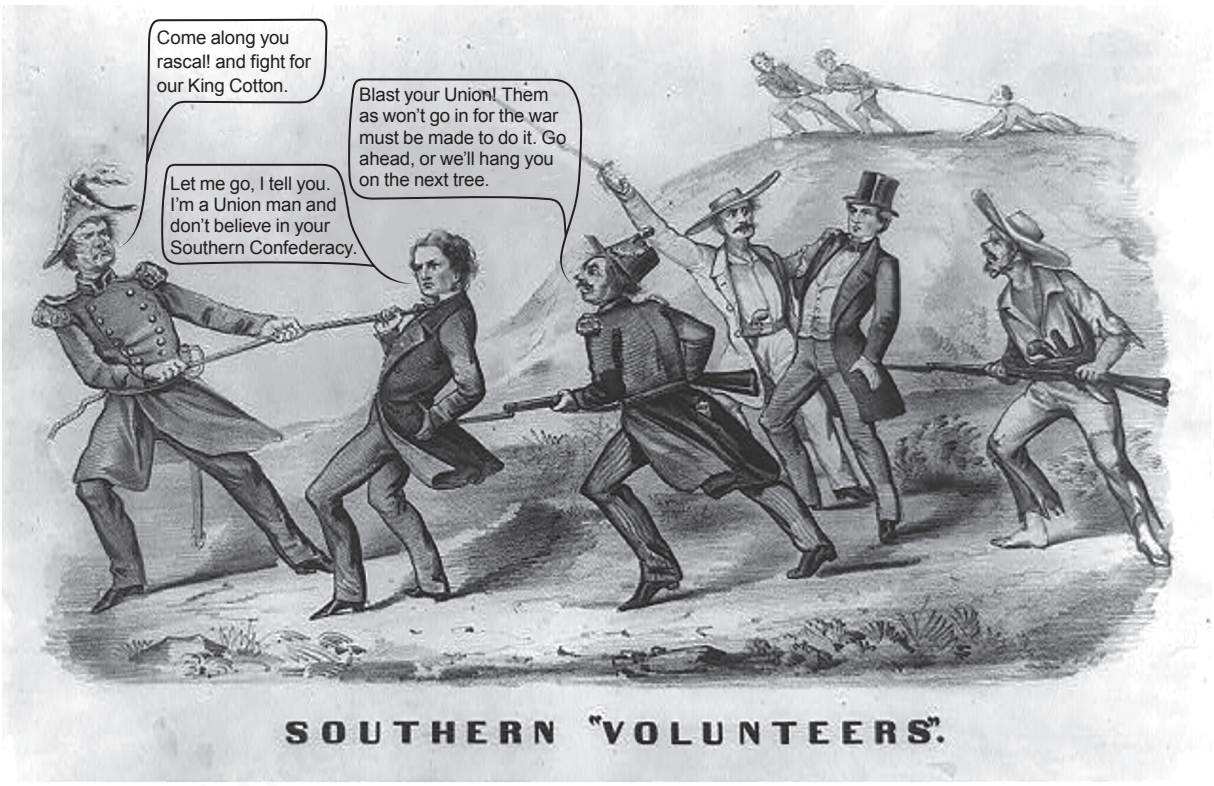
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Section B: American option

Civil War and Reconstruction, 1861–77

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

Source A



A print bearing the title Southern 'Volunteers' which was published in the North in April 1862.

Source B

The conscription law is now being enforced. Thousands of small farmers, unable to employ substitutes, are taken from their homes and helpless families into camp. The condition of their crops is such that they will be ruined unless the few neighbours they have left can help.

This law taxes patriotism severely, for its operation is so unequal. It demands such great sacrifices that only the highest devotion to State and the Southern cause could encourage them to submit to it. And yet we rejoice to see them obeying the law. The patriotism of our people is unbounded. Citizens of North Carolina – men of means and wealth, display your patriotism and your humanity. Let the families of all our brave soldiers be provided for.

From a North Carolina newspaper published in July 1862.

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Source C

You will, no doubt, be hard on us rioters tomorrow morning, but remember that the exemption clause has made us nobodies, vagabonds and cast-outs of society for whom nobody cares when we must go to war and be shot down. We are the poor rabble, and the rich rabble is our enemy by this law. Therefore, we will give our enemy battle right here, and ask no mercy. Although we have got hard fists, and our clothes are dirty, we have soft hearts, and have clean consciences within, and that's the reason we love our wives and children more than the rich do, and we will not go and leave them at home to starve. Until that draft law is repealed, I for one, am willing to continue to protest with full force against it.

Letter to the editor of 'The New York Times' newspaper from a protestor who took part in riots in New York against the draft, published on 15 July 1863.

Source D

Our correspondent is evidently very much in earnest, but he is in a very dense fog on the subject of the draft. It may be very hard that a poor man should be compelled to serve his country as a soldier, but he is not asked to do it needlessly, and every possible precaution is taken to provide for his wife and children. Hundreds of thousands of such men have volunteered to defend their country now that its existence is in danger and have never dreamed that they become either 'vagabonds' or a 'rabble' on that account. It is true that men who have $300 can purchase exemption from this honourable duty, but their $300 goes into the pockets of the poor men who may volunteer to take their places. Money will buy freedom from a great many of the labours of life, and there always will be a great many men willing to use it for that purpose; and neither laws nor anything else can change this state of things.

But if our correspondent thinks that this justifies him in committing murder and arson, or that he shows his love for his wife and children by plunging the society in which they live into the midst of anarchy and crime, he will live to find out his mistake.

The editor's reply to the letter from the protestor written to 'The New York Times' newspaper, published on 15 July 1863.

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

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

Compare and contrast the views in these two sources as evidence about the exemption clause in the Conscription Act. [15]

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

How far do the sources support the view that Americans on both sides agreed with the introduction of conscription? [25]

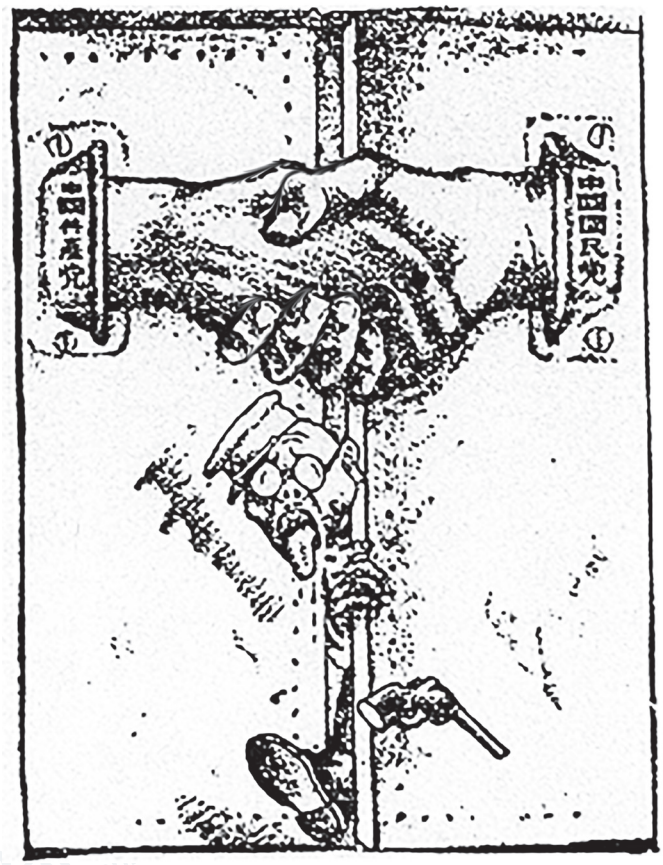
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Section C: International option

China and Japan, 1912–45

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

Source A



A cartoon entitled 'A Sacred Handshake' published in 1937. The characters on the left sleeve say 'Chinese Communist Party' and those on the right, 'Chinese Nationalist Party'. The cartoonist was working for a magazine supporting resistance against Japan.

Source B

The New Fourth Army has won fame by its distinguished service in the War of Resistance. Commander Yeh Ting has an outstanding record in leading the army against the enemy. Recently, however, while it was moving northward in accordance with instructions, this army was treacherously attacked by the pro-Japanese clique, and Commander Yeh, wounded and exhausted in the fighting, was thrown into jail. The Kuomintang Military Council stated that the New Fourth Army had 'mutinied' and cancelled its official status. They published the telegram of 19 October in order to arouse public opinion. How can a move into the Nanking–Shanghai–Hangchow triangle be regarded as a 'mutiny'? Is it not an area under Japanese occupation? Then why should you prevent the New Fourth Army from moving into that area to fight it? Ah, of course! After all that is what loyal servants of Japanese imperialism would do.

We value co-operation, but the stage of concessions is over as far as we are concerned.

From a Communist Party statement, issued by Mao Zedong, 20 January 1941.

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Source C

The truce with the Chinese Communists, made after the Xi'an incident at the end of 1936, became genuine and apparently whole-hearted cooperation in the early stage of the war with Japan. There was a real effort to arouse and unite the people, and great activity in propaganda and organising guerrilla operations. In this spontaneous outburst of enthusiastic war work, the country's leading writers and artists (most of them left-wing) and the Communists took a major part. Many people, even within the present government, look back on this period as that of the government's greatest efficiency and effectiveness.

In the autumn of 1938, the Kuomintang became jealous of the increasing influence of the Communists and subjected them to growing repression. This culminated in the clash with the New Fourth Army and has led to the present situation of suspicion and near hostilities. The effect has been to give the Kuomintang a strong anti-Communist bias.

From a report by a US diplomat, based in China, to the US ambassador in China, 1942.

Source D

Though the order to avoid conflicts was uniformly obeyed by government troops, the same could not be said of the New Fourth Army. In view of the serious situation created by the Communist attacks on government troops, our High Command dispatched a telegram on 19 October to the New Fourth Army's commander setting the end of November as the deadline to arrive at the new area of operations north of the Yellow River. I issued an order for all units of the New Fourth Army to move north of the Yangtze River and to cross the Yellow River northward by 31 January.

The New Fourth Army refused to move northward as ordered. Instead, it made plans to control the triangular area formed by Nanking, Shanghai and Hangchow. On 5 January 1941, its units even attacked the government's 40th Division. Disciplinary action led to the National Military Council disbanding the Communist forces and the cancellation of the New Fourth Army's official status. Their leader, Yeh Ting, was captured and sent to the military court for trial.

From Chiang Kai-shek's memoirs, 1957.

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

(a) Read Source **B** and Source **D**.

To what extent do Sources B and D agree about the New Fourth Army? [15]

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

How far do the sources support the view that the Kuomintang and Communists were united in waging war with Japan after 1937? [25]

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