Cambridge Assessment International Education

Cambridge International AS & A Level

HISTORY **9489/12**

Paper 1 Document Question **October/November 2022**

1 hour 15 minutes

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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 soldiers are awakening, they are beginning to feel that they are human, they no longer blindly obey the orders of their superiors, and often greet their upstart officers with whistling and threats. The Tsarist autocracy is losing its main prop – its 'reliable troops'. The Tsar's treasury is becoming more depleted every day. Defeat follows defeat. And so, the Tsarist autocracy is losing its second main prop – its rich treasury and the credit which keeps it filled. Meanwhile, the industrial crisis is becoming more acute every day; factories and mills are closing and millions of workers are demanding bread. The waves of popular anger rise higher and higher and dash against the Tsarist throne with increasing force, shaking the decaying Tsarist autocracy to its foundations.

From a newspaper article written by Stalin in January 1905.

Source B



A postcard published in Russia in 1905.
The caption reads 'The conclusion of the demonstration of 18 October'.

Source C

I don't know why the Governor allowed this, but all sorts of meetings took place in Moscow to prepare for the railway strike. The first one began in Moscow, and then spread all over Russia practically at once. St Petersburg is entirely cut off from the interior; the only way to get to town is by sea. How convenient at this time of year! The strike spread to the factories and workshops, and then even to the municipal organisations and services. What a shame, just think of it! God knows what happened in the universities. Every kind of riff-raff walked in from the streets; riot was loudly proclaimed – nobody seemed to mind. The governing bodies couldn't even lock the doors in time to keep out the disrespectful crowd. Then, of course, they complained they could not get any help from the police! It makes me sick to read the news – nothing but strikes, murders, riots, disorders and mutinies. The ministers, instead of acting with quick decision, assembled like a lot of frightened hens and cackled about providing united ministerial action.

From a letter written by the Tsar to his mother, October 1905.

Source D

One of the strongest of the new professional unions was that of the railwaymen. On 20 October, it was reported that the whole leadership of this union had been arrested. As a result, nearly all the railways went on strike and this forced most of the factories to stop work. This general strike came into being without any controlling organisation, but the call everywhere by the strikers was the demand for a constituent assembly based on universal suffrage. In St Petersburg, where the strike was especially effective, the Ministers had to go by water from the capital to the Peterhof Palace. General Trepov found no better remedy than to order his troops 'not to spare the cartridges'. On 27 October, the socialist parties instituted a Soviet which at once took the lead. Witte, essentially a strong Conservative, became convinced that a constitution was inevitable. He addressed a strong memorandum to the Tsar to this effect. On 30 October, a manifesto was issued which promised reforms and a wide extension of the franchise.

From 'A History of Russia' written by a British professor who lived in Russia in 1905, published in 1926.

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 strikes in Russia in October 1905? [15]

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

'Tsarism was in danger of collapse during 1905.' How far do the sources support this view? [25]

Section B: American option

Civil War and Reconstruction, 1861–77

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

Source A

On 25 May 1861, John Merryman of Baltimore was arrested by a Federal military officer and charged with armed hostility against the government, communication with rebels and treason. Merryman at once demanded that the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court hear his case and release him under the rule of habeas corpus. The officer refused, saying he was authorised by the President of the United States to suspend habeas corpus in a time of national emergency and in the interests of public safety.

The Chief Justice ordered Merryman's release, as the detention of the prisoner was unlawful for two reasons.

1 The President under the Constitution and the laws of the United States cannot suspend habeas corpus, nor order any military officer to do so.

2 A military officer has no right to arrest and detain a person unless they have broken the laws of the United States. If that person has broken the law, then they must be handed over to the civil courts to be dealt with, and not detained by the military.

Supreme Court Proceedings, June 1861.

Source B

The Washington government has been forced, in order to secure the safety of the Republic, to destroy the liberty of the press. This is guaranteed by the Constitution and is not the first instance in which the Constitution of the United States will exist in name only. The telegraph may convey no messages concerning military movements unless permitted by the General. Today all newspaper correspondents here have agreed to follow suit. They do not accept that it is right, but they accept it as a temporary necessity. The freedom of the press here no longer includes the right to publish any news which might be seen as hostile to the cause of this country. Neither can it involve any obligation on the part of the government to issue any dispatches which may harm the cause it represents.

From 'My Civil War Diary' by W H Russell, War Correspondent of 'The Times' (London), July 1861.

Source C

It may happen, as a matter of military policy, that a government may feel compelled during an actual war, to control the use of the telegraph as well as the circulation of any newspapers openly supporting the enemy. However, the right to do this by no means implies the right to prevent an honest discussion of public policy. No government can be expected to put up with, in times of extreme danger, attacks aimed at its very life. But there is a wide distinction, easily seen, between an attack on a government's existence and a just criticism of its measures. We have criticised its measures when justified and will continue to do so.

Editorial in the 'New York Tribune', November 1861.

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Source D

I am pleased that you agree with me about General Bragg's declaration of martial law in Atlanta, Georgia. I am deeply worried by the actions of such military authorities. It seems that military men are assuming the whole power of government to themselves and are ignoring constitutions, laws, states' rights, state sovereignty and every other principle of civil liberty. Our people are so involved in the struggle with the enemy that they are prepared to put up with these unlawful actions and military tyranny without complaint or resistance. I have decided to take no notice of this declaration of martial law. I fear we have more to fear from military tyranny than defeat by the enemy.

A private letter from the Governor of Georgia to Confederate Vice President Stephens, September 1862.

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

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

Compare and contrast the views in these sources on the role of newspapers and the telegraph in wartime. [15]

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

'Civil liberties were destroyed during the Civil War.' How far do the sources support this view? [25]

Section C: International option

China and Japan, 1912–45

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

Source A

Oh brothers: were you fools or heroes to march? The imperialist bullets were of steel, your bodies only of flesh and blood.

But see: Chiang Kai-shek's new wife has a beautiful diamond ring and a twelve-thousand-dollar automobile with expensive musical horns, and he rolls in splendour to his palace while his mercenaries cheer. He has glory and power, while you are dead.

But oh, my brothers: don't envy that traitor general. All China knows that the workers' blood and sweat pay for those luxuries. All China will find revenge. And you, my brothers, were not foolish or mad, but the first sparks of the fire to burn him up. You will live while it blazes, the fire of World Revolution.

From a poem called 'To the Martyred Students and Workers Killed in the Shanghai Massacre', published in a radical newspaper, May 1928.

Source B

We are fighting this war for our national existence and for freedom. A virtuous government has the support of the people. In our present struggle against Japan we have been able to live up to this high principle.

Economically we have the advantage. During eighteen months of hostilities our financial structure has not been seriously injured, our currency has remained steady and the livelihood of the people has been little affected. Owing to the excellent harvests in several provinces last year and the campaign against waste, there are signs of plenty among our people.

There is no use denying the fact that we have lost much territory. We have sacrificed heavily the lives and wealth of our fellow-countrymen and have abandoned vast material properties and resources.

Our enemy today is approaching collapse. With determination and confidence in victory we can offset our shortage of modern armaments.

From a speech by Chiang Kai-shek to the Central Committee of the Kuomintang,1939.

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Source C

Many left-wing writers comment that the Kuomintang is hopelessly corrupt. It does include a very high proportion of shopkeepers, Christians, landlords, students and others who have lived overseas. Since the Kuomintang was Westernised, it gathered modernised Chinese of all classes. Naturally the poorest peasants and workers were not a large proportion of such membership.

As the governing group, the Kuomintang naturally attracts those who would seek to enter any government. Since it does not promote rural class warfare, existing class relationships continue. It has tried, not always efficiently or faithfully, to carry out land reform and democratisation. The Kuomintang has tolerated widespread corruption because this already existed. It was preoccupied with building a national government, a modern army, adequate finance, and with eradicating some of the worst evils, such as opium, bandits, and Communists (who, whatever their ideals, made a poor nation poorer by fighting this merciless civil war).

From an account by an American living in China and advising Chiang Kai-shek, 1941.

Source D

Chiang Kai-shek says he won't fight the Japanese. What a fight the Russians have made. Compare it with the Chinese disaster. Chiang and his regime are a gang of thugs with the one idea of preserving themselves and their regime. Money, influence, and position are the only consideration of the leaders. Conspiracy, double-crossing, lying reports. Grasping for anything they can get; their only idea is to let someone else do the fighting; false propaganda on their 'heroic struggle'; indifference of leaders to their men. Cowardice and corruption everywhere, smuggling above duty, colossal ignorance and stupidity of staff, total inability to control factions and cliques, continued oppression of the masses. The only factor that saves them is the silent compliance of the common people. And we are manoeuvred into a position of having to support this rotten regime and glorify its figurehead, the all-wise, great patriot and soldier Chiang.

From US General Joseph Stilwell's diary, January 1942.
He was commander of the American Army Forces in China, 1942–44.

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

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

Compare and contrast these sources as evidence about the Chinese response to the Japanese invasion. [15]

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

How far do the sources support the view that Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang were corrupt? [25]

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