

Cambridge International AS & A Level

HISTORY**9489/11**

Paper 1 Document Question

May/June 2026**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.

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 All-Russian Extraordinary Commission (Cheka) was formed on 20 December 1917. The Soviet government was being attacked on all sides. The Kadets and the old army officers started one uprising after another with the intention of taking power from the hands of the Soviets. The Mensheviks and the Right Social Revolutionaries employed all kinds of weapons in waging a continuous war against the government. Profiteers took advantage of the difficult situation of the country to carry on their illegal trade. At the same time, German troops were advancing. Only strong measures could save the situation and these were taken by the Soviet of People's Commissars.

It was necessary to create an organisation that would protect the rear of the Red Army and permit peaceful development of the Soviet government. The Commission, led by Dzerzhinsky, saw its duties as to prevent counter-revolution and sabotage in Russia. Enemies needed to know that everywhere there was a seeing eye and a heavy hand ready to come down the moment they did anything against the Soviet government.

From an account written in 1920 by a Bolshevik who was a senior state security officer in the Cheka.

Source B



A poster published in the Soviet Union by the Provincial Emergency Commission on the Elimination of Illiteracy in 1921. The caption reads, 'Long live the sun. May the darkness disappear', a quotation from the work of a famous nineteenth-century Russian poet and writer.

Source C

My main work as People's Commissar consisted of improving the situation of the war-disabled, to set up the first hostels for the needy and street-children and to appoint a committee, composed of doctors, to devise a free public health system for the whole country. In my opinion, the most important accomplishment was the foundation of a central office for maternity and infant welfare. The decree to establish this was signed by me in January 1918.

My efforts to nationalise maternity and infant care set off a new wave of insane attacks against me. A special fury gripped the religious followers of the old regime when, on my own authority, I transformed a famous monastery into a home for war invalids. I received countless threatening letters, but I never requested military protection. I always went out alone and never gave a thought to any kind of danger.

From a book, published in 1926, by Alexandra Kollontai. She was elected People's Commissar for Social Welfare in October 1917.

Source D

Since the first massacres of Red prisoners by the Whites, and the attempted assassination of Lenin, the practice of arresting and executing hostages had become generalised and legal. Although under formal control of the Bolsheviks, the Cheka made mass arrests of suspects, whose fate they decided independently, without anybody's knowledge. The Party endeavoured to head the Cheka with incorruptible men like the former convict Dzerzhinsky. But the Party had few men of his character.

The formation of the Cheka was one of the most unforgivable errors that the Bolshevik leaders committed in 1918 when plots, blockades and Allied interventions made them lose their heads. All evidence indicates that revolutionary tribunals, functioning in the light of day and admitting the right of defence, would have attained the same efficiency with far less abuse and depravity. By the beginning of 1919, the Cheka had become corrupt.

From The Memoirs of a Revolutionary, written in the 1940s by a Bolshevik who was a close associate of Trotsky and exiled under Stalin.

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

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

Compare and contrast these sources as evidence about the Cheka. [15]

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

How far do these sources agree that Bolshevik rule had a positive impact on Russians? [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

If any would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them. If any would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. My main object in this struggle is to save the Union and is not either to save or to 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. If I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery I do because I believe it helps to save the Union. What I avoid doing, I avoid because I do not believe it would help to save the Union. I have stated my purpose according to my view of official duty, and I intend no modification of my personal wish that all men everywhere could be free.

Letter from Abraham Lincoln to Horace Greeley, editor of The New York Tribune newspaper, 22 August 1862.

Source B

President Lincoln has signed and attached the great seal of the nation to the grandest proclamation ever issued by man. He has declared that after the first day of January next all the slaves in the rebellious states *shall be free*. He has indicated his purpose to propose once more his scheme for the abolishment of slavery in the Border States. Thus, it will be perceived, his proclamation aims at nothing less than complete emancipation, and the establishment of a free republic from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Lakes to the Gulf.

So splendid a vision has never before shone upon the world. From the date of this proclamation begins the history of the Republic as our fathers designed it – the home of freedom, the asylum of the oppressed, the seat of justice, the land of equal rights under the law, where each man however humble, shall be entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

An editorial which appeared in the Chicago Tribune newspaper, 23 September 1862.

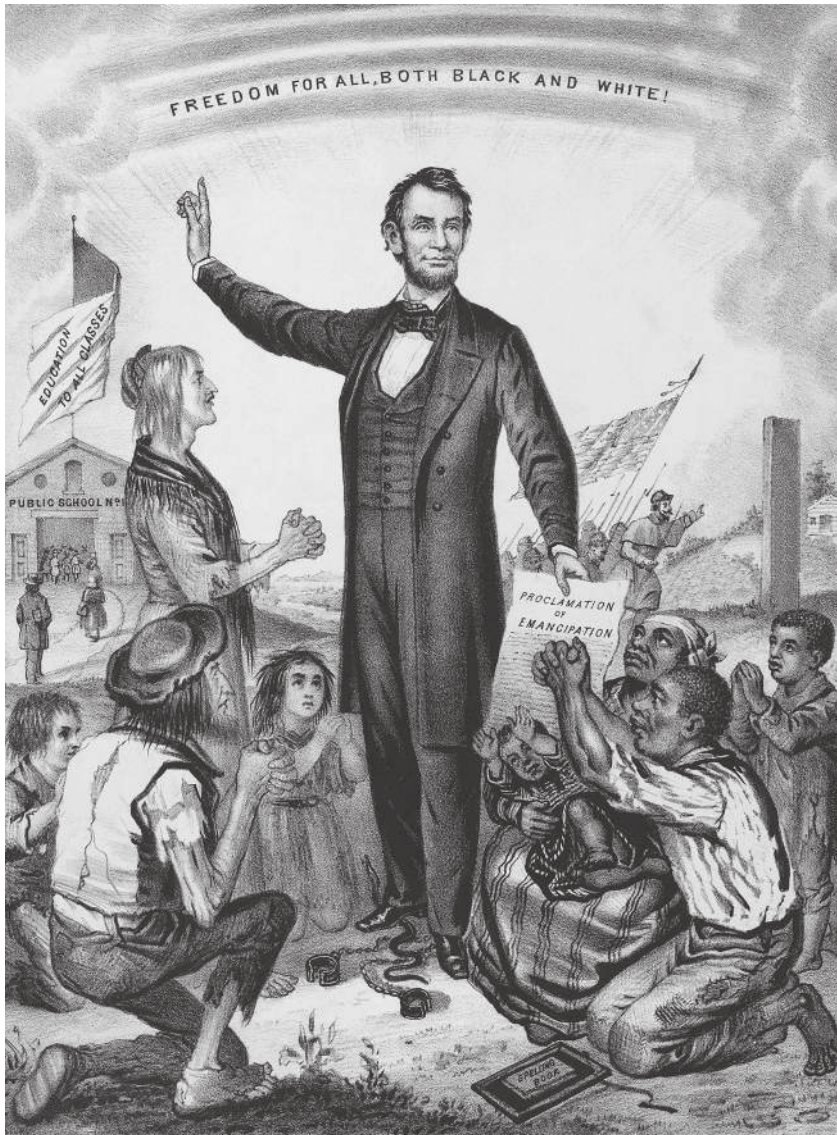
Source C

The proclamation of Abraham Lincoln to decree the abolition of slavery in the Confederacy is laid before the reader this morning. This proclamation is the most startling political crime and blunder in political history.

The proclamation will only accomplish this vile end if our armies are not only beaten but destroyed. It exposes the true character of the enemy, beyond the possibility of misconception. It will obtain the universal condemnation and contempt of Europe, and fill every mind of the North that still retains traces of humanity, with amazement, indignation, and horror. Its effect on the people of the South will be most beneficial. It shuts the door of retreat and repentance on the weak and timid. Those who would turn back in their path, if there are any, have now no longer that miserable chance. Even submission now cannot procure mercy. The deed is done, and the Southern people have only to choose between victory and death.

A report published in a Southern newspaper, 7 January 1863.

Source D



A print entitled 'Emancipation', published in Pennsylvania in 1865 during the ratification process for the Thirteenth Amendment.

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

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

Compare and contrast the views in these sources about Lincoln and the issue of emancipation.

[15]

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

How far do these sources agree that the abolition of slavery would be a positive development?

[25]

Section C: International option

China and Japan, 1912–45

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

Source A



A poster entitled 'Love the people, help the people', published by the Political Department of the Communist Army, 1937.

Source B

Chiang Kai-shek's political wisdom, rather than any desire for reconciliation with the Communists, prevents an open break. General Lin, a commander of Communist troops, states that he has been well received at the Kuomintang headquarters in Chongqing but is pessimistic regarding cooperation between the Kuomintang and Communist forces. He tells the old story of no supplies, blockade and general suspicion.

It is not uncommon that the strength of an opposition party lies more in the failures of the party in power than in any positive strength of the opposition. This is true in the case of the Kuomintang and the Communist party. If the Kuomintang had the foresight to adopt simple effective measures for agrarian reform and equitable taxation, it could steal the advantage from the Communists.

The Kuomintang leadership sees the present serious economic situation as the real threat to its power. It is trying to meet this by strengthening its control over industries and also over education and social organisation.

From a report by the US ambassador in China to his government, December 1942.

Source C

I asked Marshal Yan in private what he thought of the Communists. 'The administration in the Communist-controlled areas is rather good,' he replied. 'Their chief mistake is that they think only of their party and not of the people. They train the people to die for the party but not to improve their own livelihood. Publicly, the attitude of the common people towards the administration is good. But if one talks to them privately, the people weep about their conditions.'

Then, with more emphasis, 'The government is to blame for the present situation. The reason why so many people are following the Communists is that the administration of the National Government is bad. The more progressive the Communists are, the more the Kuomintang leaders are afraid. The Kuomintang must reform itself. The demand that the Communists should withdraw from areas they have captured is unreasonable. Why do I get from Chongqing regular payments for my soldiers' wages and a large quantity of food as well as bullets – none of which the Communists get? It is simply because the government knows I do not want to overthrow it.'

From an interview with Yan Xishan, the Shanxi warlord, by a left-wing German journalist, 1944.

Source D

When the Communists sought to create class struggle in the villages of China which they controlled, they found propaganda alone inadequate. They resorted to such tactics as robbery, kidnapping, murder and destruction of entire villages. They used the local ruffians to massacre landlords and rich farmers. They created a reign of terror and caused hatred between landlords and tenants. Before setting fire to the homes of landlords and rich farmers they encouraged the poor people to help themselves to whatever they could lay their hands on. They also let the fires burn down the homes of the poor so that they could force the homeless to join them and become part of their roving bands.

The Communists' grip over the people was through torture. According to reports filed with the government by the victims, the Communists practised as many as seventy-two different kinds of torture.

From Chiang Kai-shek's memoirs, 1957.

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

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

To what extent do Sources B and C agree about the Kuomintang government? [15]

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

How far do the sources support the view that, during the war with Japan, the policies of the Communists were popular with the Chinese people? [25]

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