Cambridge Assessment International Education

Cambridge International AS & A Level

HISTORY **9489/12**

Paper 1 Document Question **October/November 2024**

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 Industrial Revolution in Britain, 1750–1850

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

Source A

We demand universal suffrage because it is our right, because we believe it will bring freedom to our country, happiness to our homes. We believe it will give us bread, beef and beer. We are for peace, law and order, but we must have justice. We must have our rights speedily; peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must. The lack of universal suffrage has enabled our oppressors so long to ride rough-shod over us. Until I have the right to vote, I consider myself a slave. I have not the power to vote for the men who make laws, who press me into the military and make the laws by which food is taxed. And so long as they possess the power to make these laws without my consent, I shall consider myself a political slave. I mean to tell the government and the aristocracy that they should not amass fortunes out of the sweat and blood of the poor – that the poor should no longer be starved to supply their luxuries.

From a speech made at a Chartist meeting, reported in the 'Northern Star', a Chartist newspaper, February 1839.

Source B

Unhappily, the conflicting opinions of some of the working classes regarding the means of accomplishing the Chartists' aims have greatly held back the movement. However, we trust that experience has led them to understand that no other means will be so effective as a peaceful combination of the millions, founding their hopes on the power and influence of intellectual and moral progress. Being in favour of such a peaceful organisation, I will set forth the advantages it would possess. First, using moral force will cause great numbers to join us who are currently politically indifferent or have the wrong ideas about the intentions of the Chartists. Disagreement and foolishness have unhappily prevailed. However, Chartism has already been led by knowledge beyond the damaging influence of irresponsible and vindictive physical force supporters. Although prejudice and faction may be an issue for a short time, Chartism is destined to become a great and efficient instrument of moral and intellectual improvement.

From an article by William Lovett, a leading Chartist, published in 1840.

Source C

A cartoon depicting the presentation of a Chartist petition to Parliament, published in 1843.

Source D

Discussions of moral and physical force were a waste of time. I consider the two kinds of force as inseparably linked. In political matters, governments are necessarily institutions of force, moral to a certain extent, but beyond that, physical. A government without physical force would be simply no government at all. All threats of physical force should be avoided in every case, until the people are instilled with a sound knowledge of their political and social rights. When so prepared, should their oppressors refuse to concede their claims, they will know when to act and what to do. The war of words between moral and physical force reformers grew heated on both sides. For a while it did not detract from the power of the movement. However, the split increasingly caused weakness and injury to the Chartist movement.

From a 'History of the Chartist Movement', written by a former Chartist, published in 1845.

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

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

Compare and contrast these two sources as evidence about the methods used by the Chartists. [15]

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

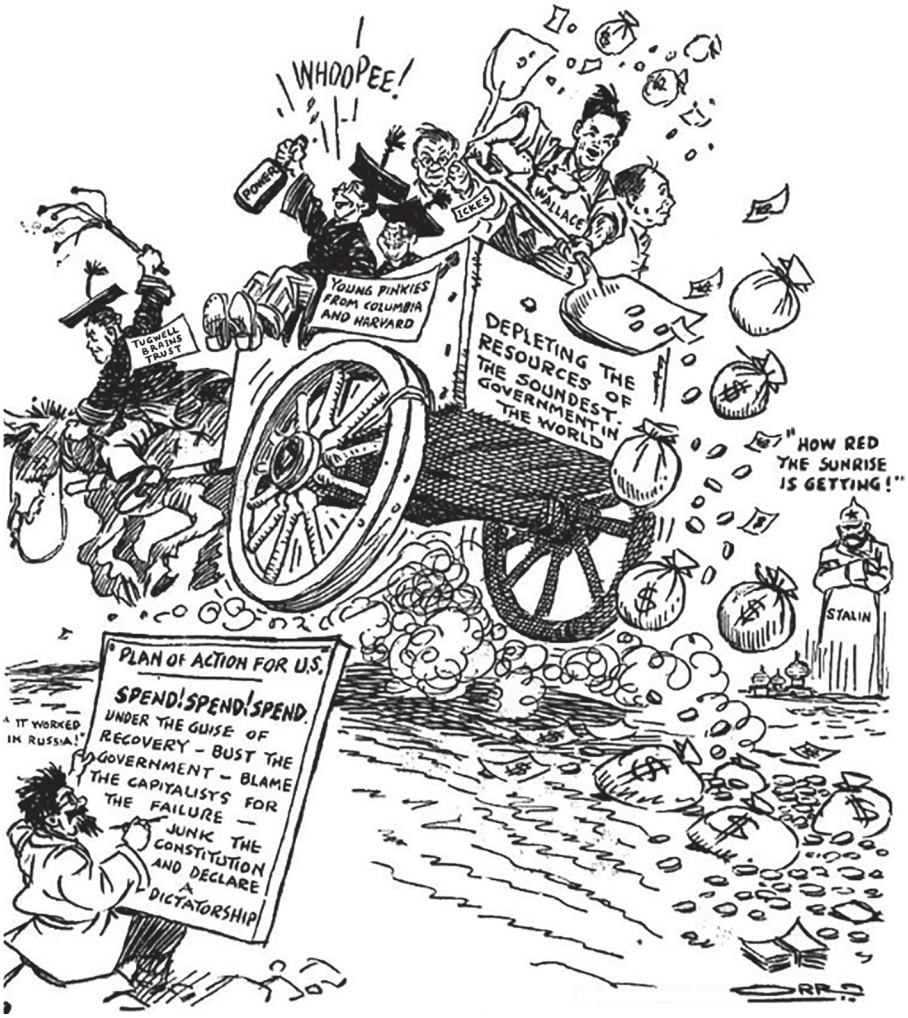
'The Chartist movement had a good chance of success.' How far do these sources support this view? [25]

Section B: American option

The Great Crash, the Great Depression and the New Deal policies, 1920–41

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

Source A



A newspaper cartoon about the New Deal, March 1934.

Source B

I do not like strong central government. I am seeking a middle way between a government by the very rich and a government by bureaucrats in Washington. I think another four more years of these New Deal policies will wreck our system of government. My record as Governor of Kansas shows that I can be humane without being extravagant. This government has spent far too much of the public's money. I see their Social Security Act to be unjust, unworkable, stupidly drafted and above all, wastefully financed. Mr Roosevelt is trying to change our form of government so that workers, business and agriculture are all directed by government. Unchecked, the policies of the New Deal will lead to revolution.

From an election speech by Alf Landon, Republican candidate for the Presidency, October 1936.

Source C

Long was brilliant, erratic and potentially dangerous. He was often seen as a threat to both the President himself as well as the whole New Deal programme. However, if he had lived to challenge the President in 1936, we would have seen him off easily. He was so obviously motivated entirely by personal ambition. His radical attacks on the New Deal legislation were designed to win votes from those disillusioned with the New Deal and who felt it had not gone far enough. He actually assisted the New Deal programme in two ways. He helped to incentivise Roosevelt to bring in later major New Deal measures such as the Social Security Act, the National Labor Relations Act and the Wealth Tax Act. It was the fear of the extreme radicalism that Long represented that encouraged so many moderate Conservatives, natural opponents of the New Deal, to actually support it. Better to have moderate change than radical change.

From the memoirs of a long-serving member of Roosevelt's government, published in 1938.

Source D

Although a Democratic Senator, the very clever and totally unpredictable Huey Long proved to be one of the greatest threats to the President's New Deal programme. Initially a keen supporter, he turned against both Roosevelt and the New Deal because he himself wished to lead the country. It was not just personal ambition that motivated Long. Like other opponents of the New Deal, he felt that the New Dealers preferred order to justice. They were just not interested in the rural poor. Like so many opponents on the Left, he saw the New Dealers as a privileged class determined to retain their status in society. As Long said in the Senate, describing the Administration in 1934, 'Maybe now you see a little change in the men waiting at tables in the dining room, but back in the kitchen the same cooks are dishing up the same mess that we had under Hoover.' Long wanted a genuine social revolution with him in charge. There was enormous relief in the White House when he was assassinated.

From the memoirs of a member of Roosevelt's original 'Brain Trust', published in 1939.
The author became a strong critic of the New Deal and had joined the Republican Party in 1935.

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

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

Compare and contrast these two sources as evidence about Huey Long. [15]

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

'The New Deal was opposed because it cost too much.' How far do the sources support this view? [25]

Section C: International option

The League of Nations and international relations in the 1920s

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

Source A

Russia wants industry and trade; the basis must come from those who make investments and can be assured that these will be secure. The war loans obtained by Russia before the revolution were simply cancelled by the Soviet authorities.

Last November a Russian leader said: 'The Russian revolution is the beginning of the world revolution.' Another, addressing the Congress of the Russian Communist Youth last October said: 'Revolution is coming in Europe as well as in America. It will be long, cruel and bloody.'

We are just as anxious as you can possibly be to promote peace in the world, to have a spirit of mutual understanding, but the world we desire is a world not threatened with the destructive propaganda of the Soviet authorities, and one in which there will be good faith and the recognition of debts and obligations and a sound basis of international relations.

From a response by the US Secretary of State to the delegation of the Women's Committee for Recognition of Russia, March 1923.

Source B

A period of peaceful coexistence has led to recognition of the Soviet Union. I think that America is the power that has not done this. Our foreign trade has grown considerably. America, which exports cotton to us, and Britain and Germany, which import our grain and agricultural produce, are particularly interested in this trade. We negotiated with Britain to cancel the Tsarist war debts, but this agreement was prevented. By whom? Undoubtedly, by America. America did not want to create such a precedent, for fear of losing the thousands of millions that Europe owed.

Accusations that we are spreading propaganda abroad are utter nonsense. Workers' delegations visit our country and are the most effective propaganda for the Soviet system. Our tasks in foreign policy are to maintain peace and build relations with the capitalist countries, expand international trade and work with the countries that were defeated in the imperialist war in order to oppose the Great Powers.

From a report by Stalin to the Congress of the Communist Party, December 1925.

Source C

An aeroplane factory has been built by the Junkers Works in Russia for the purpose of manufacturing military aeroplanes for German as well as Russian use. Arrangements for erecting chemical works in Russia to manufacture poison gas for both countries were also made by German and Russian military experts. These activities began at least five years ago but have been going on ever since. To make the necessary arrangements, German officers have travelled to and from Russia with false papers, with visas issued by the Russian authorities. The German Commander-in-Chief was on the best of terms with the Russians, particularly with officers of high rank in the Soviet Army. It seems that he was aware of the facts mentioned above.

From an article by a British newspaper correspondent in Germany, December 1926.

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Source D

I was head of the government which initiated the first Trade Agreement with Russia. We have a great need for trade. We have over a million people out of work. Our export trade is down twenty per cent. There is no doubt that the breach of diplomatic relations with Russia has had the effect of losing millions of pounds of trade which we cannot afford. That is the first reason why we should resume relations. The second reason is this. I think you will have greater influence in restraining Russia if you bring it into the community of nations. You cannot have disarmament in Europe if Russia is pushed out of the way as an outcast. If we are not to resume relations with Russia until it ceases to be revolutionary, I despair of seeing any peace established in this world.

From a speech to the British Parliament by Lloyd George, November 1929.

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

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

Compare and contrast these two sources as evidence about Soviet foreign policy. [15]

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

To what extent do these sources agree that the policies of other nations towards the Soviet Union were based on economic considerations? [25]

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