Cambridge International AS & A Level

Cambridge International Examinations
Cambridge International Advanced Subsidiary and Advanced Level

HISTORY **9389/11**

Paper 1 Document Question **October/November 2016**

1 hour

No Additional Materials are required.



READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

An answer booklet is provided inside this question paper. You should follow the instructions on the front cover of the answer booklet. If you need additional answer paper ask the invigilator for a continuation booklet.

This paper contains **three** sections:
Section A: European Option
Section B: American Option
Section C: International Option

Answer **both** parts of the question from **one** section only.

The marks are given in brackets [ ] at the end of each part question.

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CAMBRIDGE International Examinations

Section A: European Option

Liberalism and Nationalism in Italy and Germany, 1815–1871

Bismarck and France

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

Source A

It remains to be remarked that the feeling of uneasiness in Germany is increased by the impression that, when the Paris Exhibition of next year shall have passed over, and when France has completed her military preparations, she will seek a war with Germany. She will try to obtain those compensations for the aggrandisement of Prussia which she has sketched out, but which she has already learned will only be yielded to a superior force.

British Ambassador in Bavaria to the British Foreign Secretary, December 1866.

Source B

I think it is probable that German unity will be forwarded through violent events. It is quite another matter, however, to bring about such a catastrophe and to bear responsibility for the choice of time for it. France will almost certainly oppose the rise of Germany and Germany must be prepared to fight for it. However, our position in Europe is such that we must not be seen to be aggressors and there may be the opportunity, however unlikely it may seem at present, for agreement with France. German unity is not at this moment a ripe fruit; the capacity to wait while circumstances develop is one of the requirements of a practical policy.

Bismarck to Werthern, Prussian ambassador to Bavaria, February 1869.

Source C

Our government has had no part in the candidacy of a German prince for the throne of Spain. It is of no real interest to us beyond that we are a friendly nation hoping to obtain an orderly and peace-loving regime there. Yet it has led the government of the French Emperor to war. Germany in the past has silently put up with such violations of her rights and honour. Now Germany, with its spiritual and legal bond of unity, has the ability to frustrate any new French violence. It is a fact that those in power in France have understood how to utilise for their personal interest the well-meaning but excitable temperament of our great neighbouring people. The more our German allies realise how every honourable and dignified method was used to secure the blessings of peace for Europe and how plain it is before all eyes that the sword has been forced into our hands, the more certain we shall be in our call to defend our honour and independence.

Speech from the Throne by William I, July 1870, on the declaration of war against France.

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Source D

After dinner last night I was present when the three conspirators, Generals Roon, Moltke and Bismarck sat around smoking cigars and discussing the events of the summer of 1870. Bismarck said, 'What a stroke of luck it was that the French went so far! How hard it would have been to find another equally favourable opportunity! We never actually altered the French telegram, but shortened it in such a way to show the French ambitions in their full strength. We had given up everything that the French wanted over the Hohenzollern candidacy, and if the French had not insisted that we promise never to do so again, we would have conceded even more to them.' Bismarck then asked both men, 'Were you ready for war?' and when they replied that they had been, he said, 'So was I and the country, all preparations had been made.'

From the diary of Robert Lucius von Ballhausen, a Prussian politician and member of Bismarck's inner circle, January 1877.

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

(a) To what extent do Sources B and D agree on Bismarck's views on a war with France? [15]

(b) To what extent do Sources A to D show that Prussia was responsible for the war against France? [25]

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Section B: American Option

The Origins of the Civil War, 1846–1861

Zachary Taylor and the Wilmot Proviso, 1848

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

Source A

The fact is not denied, even by his supporters, that General Taylor was nominated by the Whig Convention at Philadelphia solely on the ground of his availability. That he has no political principles and is perfectly ignorant of political matters, he humbly acknowledges. Therefore the advocates of his election can represent him to be anything they choose, as will best suit the different localities where they hope to gain supporters. But particularly on the subject of slavery and the Wilmot Proviso he is represented with two aspects to his face. At the North he is represented in favour of the Wilmot Proviso because he has endorsed himself against the exercise of the veto power. At the South, his advocates contend that he is opposed to the Wilmot Proviso and will certainly kill it with the veto, if elected, because he is a southern man and a slaveholder. It is important that this disgraceful fraud should be exposed.

From 'General Taylor's Two Faces', published by the National and Jackson Democratic Association Committee, August 1848.

Source B

Mr Kellogg then introduced the Hon. Abraham Lincoln, Whig member of Congress from Illinois, a representative of *free soil*. Mr Lincoln spoke in a clear, cool and very eloquent manner for an hour and a half. He began to show the fallacy of some of the arguments against General Taylor, making his chief theme the fashionable statement of those who oppose him that the Whig party have abandoned their principles in adopting him as their candidate. He maintained that General Taylor occupied a high and unexceptional Whig ground. Mr Lincoln proceeded to examine the absurdity of an attempt to make a platform or creed for a national party to *all* parts of which *all* must consent and agree. The speaker then went on to show the danger of the extension of slavery likely to result from the election of General Cass, the Democratic candidate. General Taylor, he confidently believed, would not encourage it and would not prohibit its restriction.

From a speech by Abraham Lincoln, as reported in the Boston (Massachusetts) 'Daily Advertiser', September 1848.

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Source C

The Whigs at the North affirm that General Taylor is in favour of the Wilmot Proviso. Everybody in Louisiana knows that General Taylor cannot be in favour of any doctrine or measure which would afford the slightest countenance to the machinations of the abolitionists because he is the owner of at least TWO HUNDRED SLAVES which he works on two plantations, one in Louisiana, the other in Mississippi, and not long since he added to their force by PURCHASING A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF NEGROES from New Orleans. It would be strange indeed if General Taylor, under such circumstances, could be so forgetful of the safety of his property and that of his family as to aid the enemies of the South.

From the New Orleans (Louisiana) 'Courier', October 1848.

Source D

It is said of General Taylor that he is unsound on the vital issue of the extension of slavery. Yet his most zealous of enemies have not produced a shadow of reliable evidence going to show that he would veto the Wilmot Proviso, if passed by Congress during his administration. And again we have assurances from the most reliable private sources that he is accustomed to express his dislike of the institution of slavery and his settled opinion that it should not be extended beyond its present limits. Whatever his individual opinions, he has explicitly declared his determination to leave all such matters of legislation ENTIRELY TO CONGRESS. His language on this subject has been invariably interpreted in that sense by all Northern Whigs, from whom his chief support is derived, so that no man in his situation, unless utterly deluded, would think for a moment of violating this implied pledge.

From the Middlebury (Vermont) 'Galaxy', 7 November 1848.

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

(a) To what extent do Sources A and B agree about General Taylor's commitment to Whig principles? [15]

(b) How far do Sources A to D support the assertion that the Whig party was deeply divided over the extension of slavery? [25]

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Section C: International Option

The Search for International Peace and Security, 1919–1945

The League of Nations and Disarmament, 1919–1921

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

Source A

The leading members of the League of Nations should arrive at an understanding regarding armaments. It is pointless to impose an arms limitation upon Germany unless we are prepared to impose a similar limitation upon ourselves. League members must arrive at such an armaments agreement as would make it impossible for suspicion to arise between them in regard to their intentions towards one another. If the League is to succeed it will only be because the members trust it themselves and because there are no rivalries and jealousies in the matter of armaments between them. The first condition of success for the League of Nations is, therefore, a firm understanding between Britain, the USA, France and Italy that there will be no competitive building up of fleets or armies between them. Unless this is agreed, the League of Nations will be a mockery and we shall not achieve lasting peace.

Lloyd George, British Prime Minister, March 1919.

Source B

Members of the League recognise that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.

The Council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each State, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the member Governments. Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every ten years.

After these plans have been adopted by the member Governments, the limits of armaments therein fixed shall not be exceeded without the agreement of the Council.

The Members of the League undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military, naval and air programmes and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to war-like purposes.

Article VIII of the League of Nations' Covenant, June 1919.

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Source C

Disarmament has become the symbol of a new hope in the world. Disarmament is the dream of common people everywhere in Europe. Even some of Europe's leaders agree. Only recently the Danish Minister of Defence, in a strong plea for immediate disarmament, advocated the abolition of conscription. How is disarmament to be accomplished? It is here that we run into difficulties. If there were in the world some great democratic power, with no warlike traditions to maintain, no far-flung empire to protect, no territorial ambitions to be satisfied, such a power, by sheer force of leadership and the contagion of ideas, could compel the universal adoption of disarmament. But where is there such a nation? Surely not France or Britain under their present governments. And America? America has repudiated the League of Nations and announced its plans for 'the world's biggest navy'. The USA is raising the stakes in the gamble of armaments and jeopardising the peace of the world by rejecting the League of Nations.

From an article in an American magazine, June 1920.

Source D

We all want the League to be effective. We desire security, but the Covenant will only provide security if it is loyally observed. Quite frankly, at the present moment we do not feel that the securities are adequate. German disarmament is nearly completed, but the impossibility of re-armament is no less an essential condition of security. What is the use of destroying weapons if people may manufacture improved weapons of greater destructive power? We can only feel secure when the German Republic is established on a stable foundation. Meanwhile, we must keep our weapons in readiness. France is obliged to be military for the present, and to continue to be so in order to avoid the resumption of war. France does not want to have lost a million and a half lives for nothing.

From a speech by the French delegate to the League of Nations Assembly, 1921.

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

(a) Compare and contrast the views of Lloyd George (Source A) and the French delegate (Source D) regarding the League of Nations' ability to maintain peace and security. [15]

(b) How far do Sources A to D support the view that there was strong support for disarmament in the period from 1919 to 1921? [25]

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