Cambridge Assessment International Education

Cambridge International AS & A Level

HISTORY **9489/12**

Paper 1 Document Question **May/June 2021**

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

Liberalism and nationalism in Germany, 1815–71

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

Source A

Here is a little word about the crown which the Frankfurt parliament has for sale. Every German nobleman, who bears on his coat of arms a cross or a bar, is a hundred times too good to accept such a crown moulded out of the dirt and dregs of revolution, disloyalty and treason. The old legitimate crown of the German nation, not worn since 1806, is the crown by divine right. This makes he who bears it the highest authority in Germany. Men will obey the crown for conscience sake. That crown one can accept if one feels one has the strength for it, and one's own duties allow it. That crown, however, no one can grant except the Emperor Francis Joseph, myself, and our equals; and woe to him who accepts it.

From Frederick William IV to his friend, the conservative Prussian politician, Joseph von Radowitz, December 1848.

Source B

To our deep grief the hopes of the German nation, so near fulfilment, seem likely to fail. Though faced by the very great dangers threatening the Fatherland, four German kings, including the Prussian king himself, have declined the formula of mediation which the constitution offered. At the same time, violence has arisen, nothing to do with the proposed constitution, yet threatening one of its most important sections: its central power.

A series of decisions have been taken by a new majority in the Assembly, which are impossible to execute and quite contradictory to the course pursued by the earlier majority to which we belonged. In this position of affairs, the National Assembly has only one choice. It can set aside the Imperial Regent who has been the central power, tearing apart the last legal bond between all German governments and peoples, and start a civil war. Alternatively, it can renounce the constitution. The signatories consider the second of these two evils as the lesser for the Fatherland.

Declaration signed by sixty-five members of the National Assembly of the Frankfurt parliament submitting their resignations, May 1849.

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Source C

I could not give an affirmative answer to the Frankfurt parliament's offer of a crown because the Assembly did not have the right to grant the crown, which it offered me, without the agreement of the German governments. Also, it was offered to me on condition that I accepted a constitution which was incompatible with the rights and security of the German states. I sought in vain to reach an understanding with the National Assembly and exhausted every available means to do so.

When the Assembly abandoned their ideas of justice, law and duty by decisions which all honourable men fearlessly opposed, by summoning men to resist us, it broke with Prussia. In loyalty and steadfastness, I, as King, preserve my faith in German unity. However, the hope of seeing it attained through the Frankfurt parliament was destroyed by mindless violence.

From a public address by Frederick William IV to his people, 1851.

Source D

The political horizon, which after the revolution in March 1848 looked so glorious, soon began to darken. In South Germany, a republican uprising took place but was speedily suppressed by force of arms. The bulk of the liberal element did not desire anything beyond the establishment of national unity and a constitutional monarchy on a broad democratic basis.

The national parliament at Frankfurt, elected in the spring, showed a dangerous tendency to engage in more-or-less pointless debates. This wasted time which was sorely needed for prompt and decisive action to secure the legitimate results of the revolution against hostile forces.

What troubled me most was the visibly and constantly growing power of the reactionary forces and the frittering away of the opportunities to create something real and durable, by the national parliament in Frankfurt and by the assembly in Berlin.

From 'The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz', 1913. In 1848 Schurz was a student in Prussia and the editor of a newspaper which promoted democratic reform.

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

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

How far do these sources agree about Frederick William's refusal of the German crown? [15]

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

'The Frankfurt parliament was to blame for the failure of the 1848–49 revolutions.' How far do the sources support this assertion? [25]

Section B: American option

The origins of the Civil War, 1820–61

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

Source A

The South wishes to have Texas annexed to the Union. It is a Southern measure. It is for their interest. We of the North are opposed to it. We regard it as a clear violation of the Federal principle. We find no authority for it in the Constitution. We think it would leave us a country not worth living in, a country disgraced throughout in all its parts by the voluntary adoption of the practice of slavery. Does the South pause to inquire whether it is constitutional? Oh, no – they do not condescend to discuss the matter at all. Without the knowledge of the North, they have been separately negotiating for its admission. But Texas will not be admitted into this Union without a struggle, a struggle which will begin peacefully but the end of which is not easy to foresee.

From the 'New York Daily Tribune', March 1844.

Source B

We have always concluded that whenever Texas can be annexed without a violation of national faith, it is our duty to annex her. We have endeavoured to show that Texas is necessary to the commerce of the United States. The possession of Texas is important for the protection of the interests of the cotton-growing states. Finally, the whole country is deeply interested in re-obtaining what was once ours. There is one other reason of which we have never lost sight and which is little understood. As the friend of the slave, we desire to see Texas admitted to the Union. If, by the annexation of Texas, we can prevent the smuggling of slaves from the West Indies, what man of feeling can possibly object?

From the 'New York Courier and Enquirer', November 1844.

Source C

Now is the time for the opposition to the annexation of Texas to cease. Texas is now ours. Other nations have undertaken to interfere in the question of the reception of Texas into the Union for the avowed object of thwarting our policy, limiting our greatness and checking the fulfilment of our manifest destiny to overspread the continent for the free development of our multiplying millions. The view that the annexation has been a measure of military conquest and of territorial expansion is wholly untrue and unjust. It has been so amply refuted that we shall not again dwell on it. No obligation of duty towards Mexico tended in the least degree to restrain our right to bring about the desired recovery of the fair province once our own.

From an article by John O'Sullivan, 'United States Magazine and Democratic Review', July–August 1845.

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Source D

I must repeat the objections I have against this annexation. Firstly, there must be some limit to the extent of our territory, if we are to make our institutions permanent. The government is likely to be endangered by a further enlargement of its already vast surface. Secondly, I have always wished that this country should exhibit to other nations of the earth the example of a great, rich and powerful republic which is not possessed by the spirit of expansionism. Thirdly, I will never be in favour of the admission of other states as slave states. I do not think free states could be called upon to admit further slave states having the unequal advantages arising to them from the mode of apportioning representation under the existing constitution.

From a speech to the US Senate by Daniel Webster, Senator for Massachusetts, December 1845.

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

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

Compare and contrast the views of New York regarding the annexation of Texas. [15]

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

How far do the sources agree that the annexation of Texas would benefit the United States? [25]

Section C: International option

The League of Nations and international relations in the 1930s

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

Source A

The Non-Intervention Committee held a meeting for six and three-quarter hours. Lord Plymouth (Britain) presented documents from the Spanish government alleging breaches of the agreement. Both Signor Grandi (Italy) and Prince Bismarck (Germany) objected to any consideration of the Spanish government's accusations. Signor Grandi said that the Spanish charges were false and 'entirely fantastic'. He denied the allegations against Italy, and opened a bitter counter-attack, charging the Soviet government with having violated the agreement. Eventually Signor Grandi suggested a brief official statement to the effect that the Committee had not accepted the allegations of breaches of the agreement and had, therefore, decided to take no action. Several delegates protested against this interpretation of proceedings, and after an angry debate a statement was agreed upon leaving the Committee free to do anything it wanted at any time in the future, or to continue doing nothing.

From an account of a meeting of the International Committee of Non-Intervention in Spain, 9 October 1936. This was recorded by a member of a British pressure group committed to non-intervention.

Source B

It is the duty of every state to respect the territorial integrity and political independence of other states, a duty which, for members of the League of Nations, has been recognised in the Covenant. New attempts are being made in the Non-Intervention Committee to make its action more effective, and we recommend that the members of the League represented on the Committee make the non-intervention undertakings as strong as possible, and take appropriate measures to ensure that these are effectively supervised. This is with a view to avoiding the dangers which the present state of affairs in Spain is causing to peace and to good understanding between nations.

Draft Resolution of the League of Nations,12 December 1936.

Source C

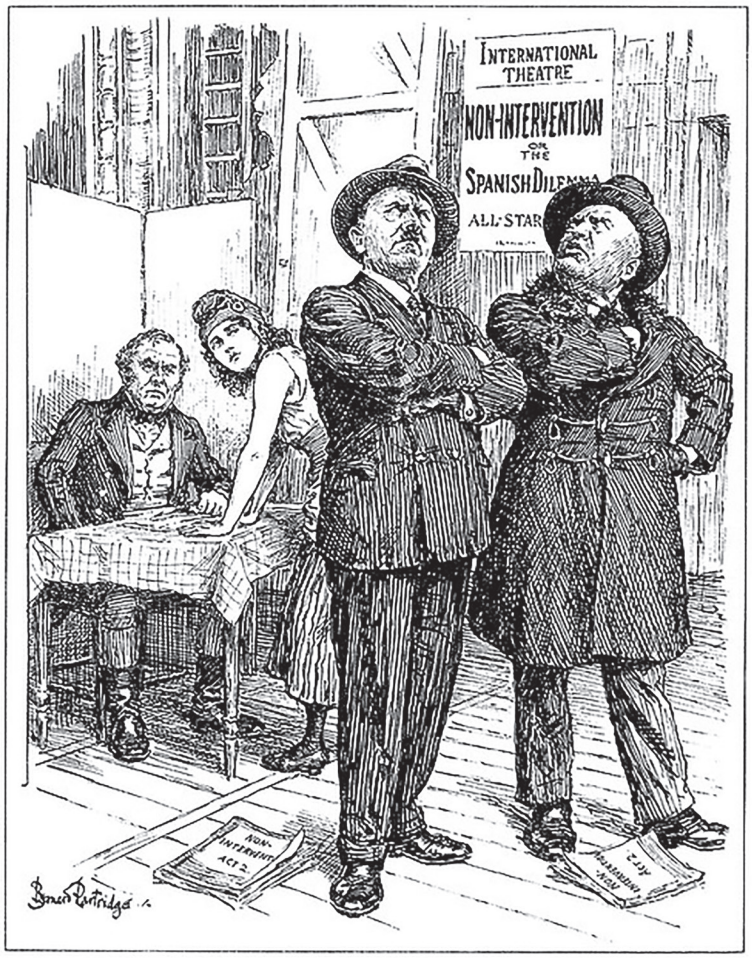
To the Secretary-General

The statements of the Italian officers and men taken prisoner during the last few days in the Guadalajara sector confirm beyond possibility of denial the presence of regular military units of the Italian army sent to fight on Spanish soil. This is clearly against the provisions of Article 10 of the Covenant whereby 'the members of the League undertake to respect and preserve against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League.' From these statements it appears that on 6 February, a number of Italian regular troops landed at Cadiz from the Italian steamer Sicilia and other ships. They were subsequently transported to the Guadalajara front to take part in the present offensive. This is being conducted by four regular divisions of the Italian army. The attacking forces are completed by two special brigades, one of German and Italian regular troops and the other of German regular troops.

Telegram from the Spanish government to the League of Nations, 13 March 1937.

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Source D



THE STROLLING PLAYERS

FRANCE. "THOSE TWO SEEM TO BE ALWAYS WALKING OUT ON US."

JOHN BULL. "WELL, HOWEVER AWKWARD IT IS FOR THE REST OF US. THE SHOW MUST GO ON."

A cartoon in the British magazine, Punch, September 1937.

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

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

Compare and contrast these sources as evidence about foreign intervention in Spain. [15]

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

'There was a genuine commitment to enforcing non-intervention in the Spanish Civil War.' How far do the sources support this view? [25]

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