Cambridge Assessment International Education

Cambridge International AS & A Level

HISTORY **9489/12**

Paper 1 Document Question **May/June 2023**

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.

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Answer **one** question from **one** section only.

Section A: European option

France, 1774–1814

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

Source A

However difficult it may be to foretell the result of this Assembly of Notables, it is obviously the consequence of the financial embarrassment which Calonne cannot resolve and which he has not the courage to face. The paternal goodness of the King, in calling together a meeting of his subjects of different ranks to organise means of general relief and benefit to the community at large, is talked of in terms of the highest praise and satisfaction.

The friends and well-wishers of Calonne are warm in their praises of him, while others are persuaded that little real advantage is to be expected and instead consider the Assembly to be proof of a pressing emergency. Unless some new system of economy for reducing the expenses of the royal court can be found, the arrears of debt will continue to be enormous.

From a letter written by the British Ambassador in Paris to a member of the British government, January 1787.

Source B



A cartoon called 'Buffet of the Court' published in France, February 1787.
Calonne (represented by the animal seated at the desk): 'My dear Notables, I would like to know with which sauce you would like to be eaten?'
Notables (represented by the birds): 'But we don't want to be eaten at all!'
Calonne: 'You're avoiding the question!'

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Source C

The plans which will be revealed to you on my behalf are large and important. On the one hand, we aim to improve the revenues of the State through a fairer system of taxation. On the other hand, we aim to free trade from the different restrictions which hinder its circulation, and to relieve, as far as circumstances allow, the poorest of my subjects. Such are the projects which I am determined to pursue after the most mature consideration. Because they are all directed towards the public good, and I know the enthusiasm for my service with which you are inspired, I do not hesitate to consult you about them. I will hear and consider carefully whatever observations you wish to make. I trust that your advice, directed entirely towards the same end, will display ready agreement, and that no private interest will oppose itself to the general good.

From the King's speech on the opening of the Assembly of Notables, 22 February 1787.

Source D

The most striking of the country's troubles was the chaos in its finances, the result of years of extravagance intensified by the expense of the American War of Independence. No one could think of any remedy but a search for fresh funds. Calonne, Minister of Finance, conceived a bold, wide-ranging plan. The King gave it his approval and promised to support its implementation with the full weight of his authority.

The Notables were naturally bound to oppose the ending of abuses from which they profited. Nevertheless, most were well-intentioned. They would have carried the rest with them but for the intrigues of Archbishop Brienne of Toulouse. Abandoned by the King, Calonne was disgraced and forced into exile for fear of the fury of the people. Brienne was put in charge of the administration of finance. The King was unwise enough to make him principal minister. He gathered a few remnants of Calonne's plan containing useful insights and suggestions for solving immediate problems, but the Assembly put up a stubborn resistance to them.

A French nobleman, who was a member of the Assembly of Notables, writing in his memoirs in 1797.

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

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

Compare and contrast these two sources as evidence of views about Calonne. [15]

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

'The Assembly of Notables was likely to fail.' How far do these sources support this view? [25]

Section B: American option

The Gilded Age and Progressive Era, 1870s to 1920

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

Source A



A cartoon published in 1871.
It shows a man paying money for membership of a union rather than putting it into a savings bank.

Source B

We propose an eight-hour day. This might decrease production, but our members and their families will be better educated, have more leisure and become better citizens. This will increase consumption. We believe that a man who works an eight-hour day will demand a better home than a man who works longer hours; he will not be willing to live in one or two squalid rooms. He will demand better clothes and food. He will want more books, more education and more of the commodities that work provides. This will bring about a better distribution of wealth and will consequently limit financial panics.

We would like better legal protection for all unions and their members. This would give our organisation more stability and help to avoid strikes by enabling us to settle with employers in a peaceful manner. We are not a Socialist organisation, which would threaten our way of life.

The evidence of the President of the Cigar Makers' Union to a Senate investigating committee, August 1883.

Source C

The steel industry employers are strongly opposed to the steelworkers' demands for an eight-hour day. The twelve-hour day, often for seven days a week, is still quite common in the industry. The employers argue that the eight-hour day will decrease production, reduce wages and therefore reduce consumption. This will increase poverty. While it will give their workers greater leisure, they will not have sufficient income to use it to their, or their families, benefit. The employers maintain that it will lead to a reduction in our nation's wealth. While they agreed that it could increase employment in the short term, it would produce considerable unemployment in the longer term. There would also be a real risk of their prices rising so high that foreign competitors could make serious inroads into our overseas markets. Their hostility to unions remains strong, they are viewed as serious threats to good management, share prices and the national economy.

From a government report to a Senate committee investigating the steel industry, November 1910.

Source D

In labour controversies it was not always possible to champion the cause of the workers. In many cases strikes were called which were completely unwarranted and were fought by methods which cannot be too harshly condemned. Such strikes could bring much harm to the economy. There are good and bad wage workers just as there are good and bad employers. However, we must recognise the enormous economic, moral and political possibilities of unions. We must repress all illegalities and discourage all immoralities of both unions and corporations. We must also recognise the fact that today trade unions are necessary and beneficial. They will enable us to attain a true industrial, as well as political, democracy in the United States. The labour problem is a human and moral problem as well as an economic one. Unions have a role to play in preventing families from want and loss of dignity.

From the autobiography of President Roosevelt, 1913.

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

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

Compare and contrast the views in these two sources about the impact of the eight-hour day. [15]

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

'The growth of workers' unions would benefit the US economy.' How far do the sources support this view? [25]

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Section C: International option

Empire and the emergence of world powers, 1870–1919

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

Source A

After dinner, Prince Bismarck asked me to speak with him. I found him alone. He said he wished to talk to me with perfect freedom and hoped I would pass on his views privately but not officially.

He desired neither colonies nor fleets for Germany. Colonies in his opinion would only be a cause of weakness, because colonies could only be defended by powerful fleets, and Germany's geographical position meant there was no need to develop into a first-class naval power. It was sufficient to have a fleet that could cope with those of Austria, Egypt, Holland and perhaps Italy, but it could not be in Germany's interests to rival naval powers like Britain, the United States or France. Many colonies had been offered to him, he had rejected them and wished only for refuelling bases acquired by treaty from other nations.

From a letter from Britain's ambassador in Germany to the British foreign secretary, 1873.

Source B

Public opinion now, as a result of our general development during the last few years, fully supports the German Reich's need for colonial possessions. The reasons for this change of mood are our economic position and our navy which is growing mightily. A genuine colonial policy is also the only effective means of transforming German emigration to maintain an active economic relationship with the mother country.

Any thought of gaining direct sources of income from these colonies for the mother country would be a big mistake. On the contrary, we will, particularly in the early stages, have to pay many subsidies. But we will soon receive these again with great riches. The exchange of colonial products for the industrial products of the mother country will not only grow rapidly, strengthening our shipping trade. A firm and steady relationship will also develop between the consumption and sales of either side.

From 'Does Germany Need Colonies?', a pamphlet written by the Director of the Rhine Missionary Society, 1879.

Source C

If perhaps some enthusiasm existed four or five years ago, it has disappeared. Today, the colonial question leaves the vast majority of the German people cold to the very core. The essence of all colonial policy is the exploitation of a foreign population. Wherever we look at the history of colonial policy over the last three centuries, we see the violent oppression of native peoples, which frequently ends in their complete extermination. And the driving force is always the acquisition of gold, gold, and more gold. Now, to continue exploiting the African population to the fullest possible extent, preferably undisturbed, millions are to be spent from the pockets of the taxpayers. The East Africa Company is to be supported with funds of the Reich in order to secure its business of exploitation. You will appreciate that we, as opponents of any form of oppression, will not support this.

From a speech to the German parliament by a socialist politician,1889.

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[Turn over

Source D

'Germany must have colonies', says the new Weltpolitik. And colonies were accordingly established, in such spots which were still available, or where others could be pushed out by the enthusiastic German demand for 'a place in the sun'.

Meanwhile the dream of a colonial empire had taken deep hold on the German imagination. Emperor, statesmen, journalists, economists, commercial and shipping houses, and the whole mass of educated and uneducated public opinion declared with one voice: 'We *must* have real colonies, where German emigrants can settle and spread the national ideals of the Fatherland, and we *must* have a fleet and refuelling bases to keep together the colonies which we are bound to acquire.' To the question, 'Why *must*?' the ready answer is: 'A powerful state like Germany, with its 60 million inhabitants, must have territories to which its overflowing population can emigrate without giving up its nationality.'

From a report by a British diplomat to the British Foreign Office, 1907.

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

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

Compare and contrast these two sources as evidence about the economic impact of colonies. [15]

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

How far do the sources agree that there was support in Germany for the acquisition of colonies? [25]

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