Cambridge Assessment International Education

Cambridge International AS & A Level

HISTORY **9489/12**

Paper 1 Document Question **October/November 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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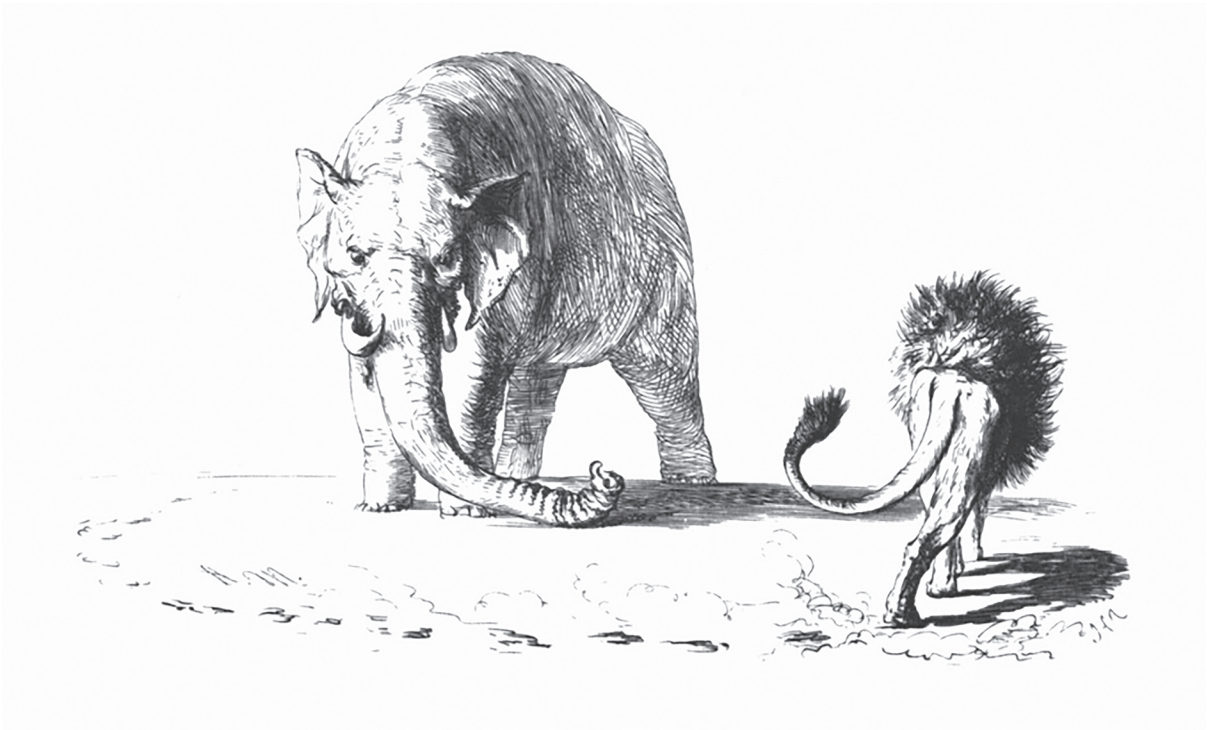
Answer **one** question from **one** section only.

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



A cartoon published in 1846 by a German artist.
Austria is represented by the elephant and Prussia by the lion.

Source B

Austria's policy has made Germany suddenly too small for us both. So long as an honourable arrangement over the influence of each in Germany is not reached and acted upon, we shall remain in competition with each other. Austria will remain the only state to whom we continually lose and from whom we could continually gain. We have a great number of conflicting interests which neither of us can give up. These are interests which cannot be resolved peacefully through diplomacy.

I do not intend, by this reasoning, to reach the conclusion that we should immediately direct our policy to bringing about a decision between Austria and ourselves in as favourable circumstances as possible. I only wish to express my conviction that we shall be obliged sooner or later to fight Austria for our existence. It does not lie in our power to evade the fight because the course of events in Germany can have no other outcome.

From a letter written by Bismarck to the Prussian Minister-President, Otto von Manteuffel, April 1856.

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Source C

Prussia, so Austria reasons, must be opposed on every occasion, since what is good for Prussia is bad for Austria. The old, unhappy jealousy has blazed up. Prussia shall be weakened, annihilated, dishonoured. With Prussia no treaties are to be observed. The confederated princes have not only been aroused against Prussia; they have been encouraged to dissolve the confederation. Wherever we look throughout Germany we are surrounded by enemies, whose war cry is 'Down with Prussia!'

But the spirit of 1813, when we defeated Napoleon, still lives in my people. Who can rob us of a single foot of Prussian soil, if we are firmly resolved to protect it, if the king and people are united more firmly than ever by the danger to the fatherland?

From a speech by William I to his people, 18 June 1866.

Source D

During the joint occupation of the Duchies it soon became evident that Austria's game was not an open one regarding Prussia, but Austria considered this new ground a favourable one for its long-established jealousy. This policy placed Prussia in a false position in Europe, the more so as the state of things at home demanded the restoration of a conservative policy. The hatred against Prussia was purposely excited in and out of Germany, and Austria considered the ground sufficiently prepared for a war by which Prussia must suffer. In the winter of 1865–66 Austria began to provoke Prussia in every way.

You know well what conflicts of conscience I had to go through before I could believe in the possibility of this war and how I tried every means of preventing it. It was not until I saw how the honour of Prussia was at stake, and when all doubts of Austria's intentions were removed, that I considered it my duty to break the dual control over Germany by the force of arms.

From a letter written by William I to his wife, 1867.

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

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

How far do these sources agree about the relationship between Austria and Prussia? [15]

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

How far do the sources support the view that Austria was responsible for war with Prussia? [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 declared purpose of the Union from which we have just withdrawn was 'to ensure domestic tranquillity and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and posterity'. When, in the judgement of the sovereign states now composing this Confederacy, it had been perverted from the purposes for which it had been established, a peaceful appeal to the ballot box declared that, so far as they were concerned, the government created by the Union should cease to exist. In this they merely asserted a right which the Declaration of Independence of 1776 had defined as inalienable. It is by abuse of language that their act has been nominated a revolution. Anxious to cultivate peace and commerce, if we cannot avoid war, we may at least expect future generations to acquit us of having needlessly engaged in it.

From the inaugural address of Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America, February 1861.

Source B

The Union is perpetual, confirmed by the history of the Union itself. The Union is much older than the Constitution. It was formed, in fact, by the Articles of Association in 1774. Finally, in 1787, one of the declared acts for establishing the Constitution was 'to form a more perfect Union'. It was matured and continued by the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It follows that no state, upon its own mere motion, can lawfully get out of the Union. Resolutions to that effect are legally void and acts of violence against the authority of the United States are insurrectionary or revolutionary. The power confided to me will be used to hold the property belonging to the government and to collect duties and taxes but beyond what may be necessary for these objects there will be no using of force against or among the people anywhere.

From the inaugural address of President Abraham Lincoln, March 1861.

Source C

The prospect of war is not so threatening as it has been. The idea of coercion, anticipated in President Lincoln's inaugural address, seems not to have been followed up thus far so vigorously as was expected. Fort Sumter, it is believed, will soon be evacuated. We are willing to settle all matters relating to Federal property within the Confederacy. War can be of no more benefit to the North than to us. Whether the evacuation of Fort Sumter is to be received as evidence of a desire for a peaceful solution of our difficulties with the United States, or as the result of necessity, I will not undertake to say. I would happily hope the former. There are rumours that it is the result of necessity. All I can say to you is keep your armour bright and your powder dry. *[Enthusiastic cheering.]*

From a speech by the Vice-President of the Confederate States, Alexander Stephens, in Georgia, March 1861.

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Source D

Sir,

The President has prepared an expedition to relieve you. Hoping that you will be able to sustain yourself until the 11 or 12 of this month, the expedition will go forward. If we find your flag flying we will attempt to provide you with supplies and, in case the effort is resisted, will endeavour also to reinforce you. You will therefore hold, if possible, until the arrival of the expedition. It is not the intention of the President to subject your command to any danger or hardship beyond what, in your judgement, would be usual in military life. He has entire confidence you will act as a patriot and a soldier in all circumstances. If a surrender becomes necessary, to save yourself and command, you are authorised to make it.

Respectfully,

Simon Cameron, US Secretary of War

From a letter sent to Major Anderson, commander of the Federal forces at Fort Sumter, 4 April 1861.

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

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

Compare and contrast the inaugural addresses of the two presidents. [15]

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

'In early 1861, war was unlikely.' How far do the sources support this view? [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 most difficult problem was German–Polish relations.

Within a year, I succeeded in reaching an agreement which absolutely eliminated the danger of a conflict for ten years. We are all convinced that this agreement will bring about lasting satisfaction. We understand that we are two peoples, we must live side by side; neither one can eliminate the other. A large state such as Poland will always strive for an access to the sea. A path to an understanding had to be found here. It was found, and is constantly being improved upon. This deed was truly in the service of peace, worth much more than the idle talk in the League of Nations' Palace in Geneva.

We have no interest in violating the peace. We all hope that those who gain the upper hand in Britain are of the same determination!

From a speech by Hitler to the German people, 26 September 1938.

Source B

Baron von Weizsäcker admitted to the occupation of Danzig, but said that its object had been entirely defensive. Germany believed that the attitude of the Poles should free the British Government from any obligation to support them.

I told the Baron that, if the Poles were compelled by any act of Germany to defend themselves, there was not a shadow of doubt that we would give them our full armed support. We had made that abundantly clear and Germany would be making a tragic mistake if it believed otherwise.

The Baron seemed very confident, and claimed to believe that Russians would not give any significant help to the Poles, but that they would even join in any attack. Nor did my insistence on the inevitability of British intervention seem to worry him.

The British Ambassador in Berlin, reporting to the British Foreign Minister on his meeting with a German official, 16 August 1939.

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Source C

The relationship with Poland has become unbearable. My proposals to Poland (to occupy Danzig and the Corridor) were blocked by Britain's intervention. They talked to us again in the language of Versailles. There is still a great probability that the West will not intervene. We must take the risk with ruthless determination.

Britain and France have undertaken obligations which neither is able to fulfil. There is no real rearmament in Britain, but only propaganda. The naval construction programme for 1938 has not yet been completed. Little has been done on land. Britain will be able to send no more than three divisions to the continent. A little has been done for the air force, but it is only a beginning. Britain does not want the conflict to break out for two or three years.

This suggests that Britain does not really want to support Poland, and will not take any risks.

From a speech by Hitler at a secret meeting with leaders of the armed services, 22 August 1939.

Source D

Hitler seemed calm and earnest. He pointed out that he always wanted a deal with Britain but he was not deterred by Britain's actions. He was angry with the Poles for their persecutions of his people. He was going to have his rights in Poland even if it meant a great war, from which Britain would suffer much more than Germany. He now had Russia to back him up with supplies and therefore he could go on.

If, however, he could resolve this Polish business he would make a deal with Britain that would guarantee the British Empire forever. The British ambassador kept pointing out that Britain could not make any deal that the Poles did not want, and Hitler said he did not want Britain to break her word. In the next breath, he said that Poland had no future anyway because Russia and Germany would settle Poland.

From a report by the US Ambassador in London of a conversation in Berlin between the British Ambassador and Hitler, 25 August 1939.

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

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

Compare and contrast Sources A and C on German relations with Poland. [15]

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

How far do the sources support the view that Germany and Britain would go to war over Poland? [25]

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