Cambridge Assessment International Education

Cambridge International AS & A Level

HISTORY **9489/13**

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

We have come to realise that Prussia's existence and greatness depends on a solid unification for Germany, which cannot be imagined without a strong central authority in Prussia's hands and without common German parliamentary representation. For our domestic institutions we demand a solid liberal government, which sees its strength in the respect for citizens' constitutional rights. No less necessary for Prussia's honour and for the consolidation of the constitution, is the establishment of local, district and provincial constitutions based on principles of equality and self-administration, requiring the abolition of administration based on social class.

Whenever the honour and position of power of our Fatherland need to be preserved or attained through a war, no sacrifice will ever be too great. However, it strikes us that the greatest thrift is advisable for the military budget in peacetime. But achieving these goals will remain nothing but a wish unless there is a thorough reform of the current House of Lords along a constitutional path.

From the Programme of the German Progressive Party, a liberal party, 1861.

Source B



A cartoon published in Britain in 1866.
Bismarck (reading from a petition from 2000 citizens of Cologne): 'In view of the miserable condition of the country, in view of a civil war, with its attendant sufferings and fatal calamities, we solemnly protest against engaging in such a war.'
King of Prussia: 'What is that? Dare my subjects object to be slaughtered? What next I wonder?'

Source C

Even now the man who has made a united Germany a possibility and has raised Prussia from the position of a second-rate power to the highest rank among continental empires is but little honoured in his own country. The cheers with which he was greeted were tame compared to those which welcomed the generals who had been the instruments of the work his brain had planned. But to those who look at all beyond the excitement of the day, the true hero of that brilliant gathering was neither King nor Princes of the royal blood, but Bismarck. The sickly, livid-looking statesman was there in spite of terrible pain, and against his doctor's advice, in order that his work might be completed to the end.

A British journalist describes the return of the victorious Prussian army to Berlin, September 1866.

Source D

We welcome the memorable moment when the old and new Prussia will seal its united statehood in a common representative body of the people. We have come together in the Reichstag as German countrymen, and it shall thus be the German national interest that unites us in the most heartfelt way.

We recognise the legitimacy of the party system, but we resolutely reject its excesses and exaggerations. We always value the Fatherland above the party; we value the national interest above all else. We honour the state constitution as a source of strength for the monarchy. We reject constitutionalism as a moral corruption of public life.

The nature and the benefits of liberty are not founded on allowing as many people as possible to be called upon to join in governing the state. Instead, they derive from the fact that everywhere a sphere of independent will and action, based on law and justice, makes itself in regard to a strong government.

From the Founding Manifesto of the Imperial and Free Conservative Party, 1867.

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

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

Compare and contrast the political views expressed in Sources A and D. [15]

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

How far do these sources show that the unification of Germany was a popular policy? [25]

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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



Interior view of Fort Sumter following its evacuation by Major Anderson, April 1861. There is no evidence that this photograph was published at the time.

Source B

We proceeded to Fort Sumter. The war garrison of the fort ought to hold at least 600 men but only 79 were within its walls, along with 109 labourers, at the time of the attack. The walls of the fort are dented on all sides by shot marks but at no time were they close to being breached. The greatest damage, on the south face, was only two feet deep. The entrance to the fort was blocked up by masses of masonry thrown down from the burnt barracks and officers' quarters. To an untrained eye it would seem as if the fort could not be defended but, in reality, in spite of the destruction, a stout garrison, properly supplied, would have been in no danger from anything. Major Anderson was in all respects most miserably equipped. Had he been properly provided for, I have no doubt that he would have silenced the enemy's fire.

From a letter by W H Russell, a British war correspondent, April 1861. Russell had become famous for his reporting of the Crimean War, 1854–56.

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Source C

A gentleman in this city has received a letter from a soldier in the Southern army. The letter is dated 19 April, Charleston (South Carolina), and is ornamented with a representation of the Southern confederacy flag with seven stars. 'This is the flag that floats over Fort Sumter' was written at the side. A few extracts will no doubt interest our readers:

'Dear Joe, You will see from what I said in my last letter, we were going to have a real fight, which has been the case. I am sorry to say I was not in the engagement, although I was close by. It was rather a splendid sight to see the shell, red hot shot and round shot pouring into Fort Sumter like a shower of hail. Major Anderson stood it well. He fought like a brick. He did his best and could do no more. I am sure that even if there had been one thousand men in Fort Sumter, we would have made them surrender.'

From the New York Herald, April 1861.

Source D

Never were liars so clever as those of the New York press. One of their favourite stories is that we had 7000 troops against the 70 in Fort Sumter. It is just as well to put on record our version of the story. The 75 regular soldiers of Fort Sumter had an auxiliary force of some 30 workmen who were forced to fight at the guns and not allowed to leave the fort, however much they desired it. Of our 7000 troops on the adjoining islands, 6000 were not put there to fight Fort Sumter. They were there to engage those Northern troops, 6000 in number, whom the greedy editors of New York reported as being sent to eat us up. Our men waited in vain and they have been wanting a fight ever since.

From the 'Charleston (South Carolina) Mercury', May 1861.

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

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

Compare and contrast these two sources as evidence about Fort Sumter after the attack. [15]

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

'The Federal garrison in Fort Sumter was easily defeated.' 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

On 10 March Vienna woke up in a fever of patriotic enthusiasm. The supporters of the Fatherland Front* had been at work all night stencilling Schuschnigg's portrait, huge 'Yesses', and slogans on walls and streets. Aeroplanes showered leaflets over the city. Demonstrators were marching through every district shouting their loyalty to Schuschnigg and to Austria. The whole city was alive with patriotic emotion and activity.

From the autobiography of a young Jewish Austrian, who was living in Vienna in March 1938.
** The Fatherland Front campaigned for Austrian nationalism and independence from Germany.*

Source B

The Austrian Chancellor, Herr Schuschnigg, said that he wished the world to know that he had been forced to surrender by the German threat of invasion. Our Ambassador in Berlin registered a protest in strong terms with the German government against such use of force against an independent state.

Britain and Austria are both members of the League, and were signatories, as was the German government, of treaties which guaranteed the independence of Austria.

It is wrong to suggest that we have ever given Germany any encouragement to absorb Austria into the German Reich. We have never refused to recognise the special interest that Germany had in the development of relations with Austria, given the close ties existing between the two countries. But on every occasion on which any representative of the British government has discussed these matters with representatives of the German government, it has always been made clear that we would strongly disapprove of the use of violence to solve these problems.

From a speech in the British parliament by the Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, 14 March 1938.

Source C

Wilson's principle of self-determination was replaced by the most brutal national violation of countless millions of Germans. The free will of millions of people in Austria was simply cut off by the so-called peace diktats. These people were forced to surrender their right of self-determination and to accept an unnatural separation from the great motherland.

I left no doubt in Herr Schuschnigg's mind that every German-born Austrian with a sense of honour would be willing to strive for unification. Herr Schuschnigg, who was perfectly aware that only a minority of the population was behind him, attempted to gain for himself, by means of an election fraud, the moral justification for avoiding his obligations. I decided to put an end to any further violation of my homeland. Within the space of three days my entire homeland came rushing to meet me without a single shot having been fired and without a single casualty, as far as I know.

From a speech by Adolf Hitler to the Reichstag, 18 March 1938.

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Source D

The Foreign Office thought a pact between Germany and Italy could be prevented by making it known that it would no longer oppose the Anschluss between Germany and Austria. At that time Mussolini was still entirely opposed to the Anschluss. The British statement was made in November 1937 during the visit of their Foreign Secretary, Lord Halifax, to Berlin. He told me at that time – and I took care to make a note of his statement, which I quote in English word for word:

'People in Britain would never understand why they should go to war only because two German countries wish to unite.'

But at the same time, the Foreign Office, in a directive to the British Minister in Vienna, the wording of which is now well known, called upon the Austrian government to offer stubborn resistance to the Anschluss, and promised every support.

From a speech by the German Minister of Foreign Affairs (1932 to 1938), at the Nuremberg Trials, 1946.

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

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

Compare and contrast Sources B and D as evidence about Britain's attitude to the Anschluss. [15]

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

How far do the sources support the view that the people of Austria wanted the Anschluss? [25]

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