

Cambridge International AS & A Level

HISTORY

9389/12

Paper 1 Document Question

October/November 2020

1 hour



You must answer on the enclosed answer booklet.

You will need: Answer booklet (enclosed)

INSTRUCTIONS

- Answer **one** question from **one** section only. Answer **both** parts of the question.
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. Blank pages are indicated.

Section A: European Option**Liberalism and Nationalism in Italy and Germany, 1815–1871****The Results of the Franco-Prussian War**

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

Source A

About Alsace and Lorraine there is only one voice all over Germany, that if we do not keep them (or part of them), we shall be doing a wrong thing. This could result in us exposing ourselves to the same disaster which threatened us in July – being attacked and overrun by the French whenever it suits them, as our frontiers are too weak to keep them out. Our only chance for a long era of peace, which Germany is desperate for, is by subduing the French and making our frontier so formidable that we are protected from the dangers of an attack.

Letter from the Crown Princess of Germany to Queen Victoria, December 1870.

Source B

We should give thanks for the joint action under arms of the whole of Germany. Its efforts go beyond victory on the battlefield and foreshadow the peaceable completion of the work of unification. We, together with the Princes of Germany, address to his Majesty the King of Prussia the request that it may please him to accept the Imperial Crown and so complete the work of unification. The German Confederation shall become a Reich, a united and closed state.

The President then said, 'Thanks to the victories to which your Majesty led the armies of Germany in loyal comradeship-in-arms, the nation now looks forward to permanent unity.'

Report of the meeting of the Reichstag, 10 December 1870.

Source C

We are deemed capable of every wickedness and the distrust of us grows more and more pronounced. This is not only a consequence of this War, but also of Bismarck's theory of 'Blood and Iron'. What good is all this power, military glory and renown if hatred and mistrust meet us at every turn? Now every step we advance in our development is a subject for suspicion and grudging. Bismarck has made us great and powerful but he has robbed us of our friends, the sympathies of the world and our conscience.

The Crown Prince of Prussia writing in his war diary, January 1871.

Source D

Now let me impress on the attention of the House the character of the war. It is no common war, like the war between Austria and Prussia, or like the Italian War in which France was engaged some years ago; nor is it like the Crimean War. This war represents the German Revolution, a greater political event than the French Revolution last century. What its social consequences may be are a matter for the future. Not a single principle in the management of foreign affairs, accepted by all statesmen for guidance up to six months ago, any longer exists. There is not a diplomatic tradition that has not been swept away. You now have a new world, new influences at work, new and uncrowned objects and dangers with which to cope. We used to have discussions in this House about the balance of power in Europe. That balance of power has been entirely destroyed.

Disraeli, a leading politician, speaking in the British House of Commons, February 1871.

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

- (a) Compare and contrast Sources C and D as evidence about the international consequences of the Franco-Prussian War. [15]
- (b) 'The Franco-Prussian War brought few benefits to Germany.' How far do Sources A to D support this view? [25]

Section B: American Option

The Origins of the Civil War, 1846–1861

Southern Reactions to the Result of the 1860 Presidential Election

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

Source A

The election of an abolitionist white man as President of the United States and an abolitionist coloured man as Vice President¹ has put the South in the position where the existence of slavery is at stake. No man of common sense who has observed the progress of events can doubt that the time for action has come – now or never. If we read the signs of the times correctly, the only thing needed for our deliverance is that the ball of revolution be set in motion. There is sufficient readiness among the people to make it entirely successful. Cooperation will follow the action of any state which breaks away. We have countless assurances that the men of action in all the Southern states earnestly desire South Carolina to act quickly and decisively at this time. Other states are torn and divided by old party issues. South Carolina is not.

From the 'Charleston Mercury' (South Carolina), November 1860.

¹Hannibal Hamlin was dark skinned and some Southerners claimed he was mixed race.

Source B

Next to the election of Abraham Lincoln, no circumstance of the recent contest has been so gratifying as the large vote polled in Border slave states by Mr Bell and Senator Douglas. It demonstrates that the people of those states, when brought to the test, have a love of the Union deeper and more abiding than that for party or section. The results in Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Maryland and Missouri clearly show that the citizens of those states, however hateful the Republican Party of the North may appear in their eyes, have, if anything, a more supreme hatred and contempt for the disunionists of the South.

From the 'Evansville Daily Journal' (Indiana), November 1860.

Source C

We have received the following reports from other parts of the South:

Charleston, South Carolina – the excitement throughout the state has no limits. The people are determined to get South Carolina out of the Union at any cost. Reports are continually coming here from neighbouring states, offering ready equipped military organisations, paying their own expenses to aid this state in the event of coercion. Abraham Lincoln, the President-elect, was burned in effigy.

Savannah, Georgia – the secession feeling is so strong that it is difficult to prevent the populace from seizing Fort Pulaski, a nearby federal fort. The leading men of all parties unanimously agree to a convention of the people. They recommend resistance – the time and mode to be settled by the convention. Good order prevails.

Baltimore, Maryland – the secession of South Carolina is now considered, both here and at Washington DC, to be inevitable. The Breckinridge General Committee of this state has issued an address condemning secession.

From the 'Dallas Herald' (Texas), November 1860.

Source D

We strongly opposed Mr Lincoln because we fully anticipated the dreadful events that have followed his election. We now cherish an intense desire that he may be a patriot in action as we believe he is in intention. War waged by the federal government against the South could accomplish no rightful purpose but would work terrible ruin to both sections. The forts and arsenals seized by the South could not be taken by an army of a hundred thousand strong. Let none of the Border States falter for an instant in their position of conservatism. There is no shadow of reason why they should. Their plain duty to themselves and to their country is to watch the progress of events calmly and keenly and to be ready to meet wisely whatever crisis may arise. Impulsive moves at a time like this would be a sin against earth and against heaven. Those who counsel them are traitors.

From the 'Louisville Journal' (Kentucky), February 1861.

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

- (a) Compare and contrast Sources B and D as evidence of attitudes towards the election of Abraham Lincoln as President in 1860. [15]
- (b) How far do Sources A to D support the view that, following the election of Abraham Lincoln, the Southern states were united in their determination to secede? [25]

Section C: International Option

The Search for International Peace and Security, 1919–1945

The Great Powers and the League in the 1920s

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

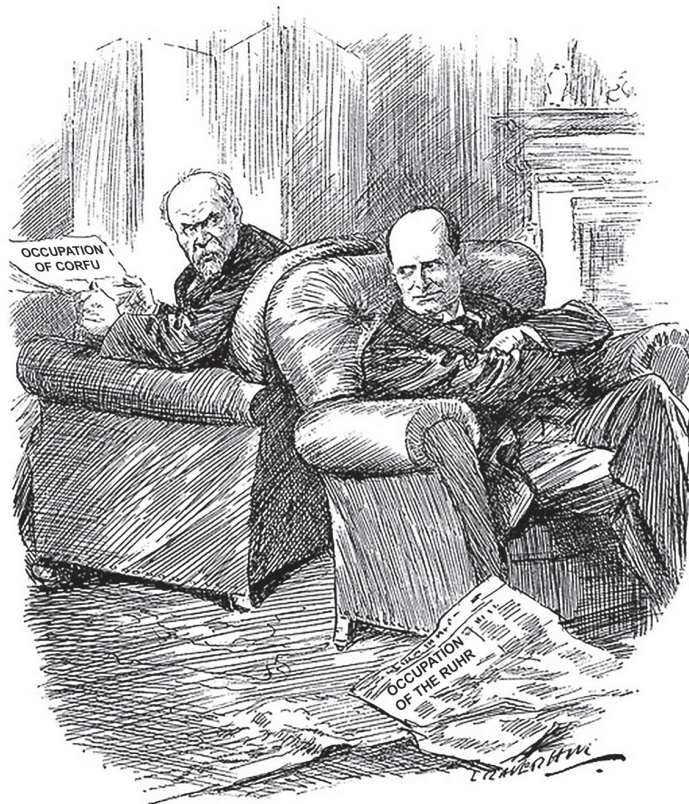
Source A

In the first place, Mussolini challenged the League of Nations, of which both Italy and Greece are members and bound by the Covenant. In the second, he challenged the existing order in the Mediterranean. The seizure of Corfu has placed Britain in a most unhappy dilemma. How to retain friendship with Italy, and at the same time preserve the existing order, is the problem. The moment Great Britain insisted on the League becoming a referee in the dispute, Europe was confronted with another problem that was difficult to resolve. The League of Nations has been given an opportunity to win heavily or lose everything. Success for the League would open the way for that body to become a potent force in world settlement. Failure would mean an end to the Geneva assembly.

Of course, there is always the question of the Ruhr and whether Italy will support France there. France and Italy also have conflicting ambitions in the Mediterranean. Friendship between the two countries has been maintained only with the greatest difficulty.

From an article in an American newspaper, September 1923.

Source B



THE OCCUPATIONISTS.

A British cartoon about the Corfu crisis published in September 1923. It shows the French Prime Minister, Poincaré, on the left and Mussolini on the right.

Source C

You must not believe that the occupation of Corfu was carried out only as a sanction against Greece; it was also carried out to increase the prestige of Italy. Greece very cleverly turned to the League of Nations, saying the matter came within the scope of the Covenant. The League threw itself into the affair with the greatest excitement, because this was a dramatic episode and because it offered the opportunity of pronouncing a verdict that would go down in history. In my opinion the Corfu crisis is of the very greatest importance in the history of Italy because it has brought the problem of the League of Nations to the attention of the Italian public. Italians have never been very much interested in the League; they believed that it was a lifeless organisation of no importance. In fact, the League is an Anglo–French duet; each of these powers has its satellites and clients, and Italy's position so far has been one of absolute inferiority.

From a speech by Mussolini to the Italian Senate, November 1923.

Source D

There must be no clinging to ancient rights to wage wars. There must be no secret hopes that, if the League is weak in certain areas, it can be made to serve national interests. Certainly, it cannot be denied that the Great Powers on occasion have given the impression of acting without proper consideration for the views of the other members of the League. But the small nations have ample opportunity to state their case if they will just confidently take it. And when they fail to do so, the blame falls chiefly on themselves. As Briand said in his splendid speech to the last Assembly, there must be no more resorting to 'methods of negotiation which are inconsistent with the true spirit of the League of Nations. In future, the League's work shall take place in the full light of day and with the collaboration of all its members.'

*From a speech by Nobel Peace Prize winner Fridtjof Nansen,
High Commissioner for Refugees in the League of Nations, December 1926.*

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

- (a) Compare and contrast Sources A and C as evidence about the Corfu crisis. [15]
- (b) 'The Great Powers were determined to put their own interests before those of the League.'
How far do Sources A to D support this view? [25]

BLANK PAGE

Permission to reproduce items where third-party owned material protected by copyright is included has been sought and cleared where possible. Every reasonable effort has been made by the publisher (UCLES) to trace copyright holders, but if any items requiring clearance have unwittingly been included, the publisher will be pleased to make amends at the earliest possible opportunity.

To avoid the issue of disclosure of answer-related information to candidates, all copyright acknowledgements are reproduced online in the Cambridge Assessment International Education Copyright Acknowledgements Booklet. This is produced for each series of examinations and is freely available to download at www.cambridgeinternational.org after the live examination series.

Cambridge Assessment International Education is part of the Cambridge Assessment Group. Cambridge Assessment is the brand name of the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate (UCLES), which itself is a department of the University of Cambridge.