Cambridge International AS & A Level

Cambridge Assessment International Education
Cambridge International Advanced Subsidiary and Advanced Level

HISTORY **9389/12**

Paper 1 Document Question **October/November 2019**

1 hour

No Additional Materials are required.

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READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

An answer booklet is provided inside this question paper. You should follow the instructions on the front cover of the answer booklet. If you need additional answer paper ask the invigilator for a continuation booklet.

This paper contains **three** sections:
Section A: European Option
Section B: American Option
Section C: International Option

Answer **both** parts of the question from **one** section only.

The marks are given in brackets [ ] at the end of each part question.

This document consists of **7** printed pages, **1** blank page and **1** Insert.

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Cambridge Assessment International Education

Section A: European Option

Liberalism and Nationalism in Italy and Germany, 1815–1871

The appointment of Bismarck as Minister President in 1862

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

Source A

This appointment of Count von Bismarck will upset the members of the legislature. It will cause chaos. People will smell a reactionary conservative. It will cause great mistrust on all sides and the poor King will have a difficult time with this false character. The Liberals will lose out and the conservatives will not cease their many intrigues and will regain all the influence that they have lost up till now. Ideas of German unity will disappear. The advances we have made since the events of 1848–49 have been forgotten and the wishes of many of our people will be ignored. Freedoms will be lost. The cause of Prussia and its rise in Germany will suffer and the conservatism of many of the Princely States will flourish.

The Crown Prince of Prussia, writing in a private letter, 1862.

Source B

Bismarck is a man who would appear to be a liberal, even a revolutionary, in foreign affairs in order to be a conservative in domestic affairs. However, he is not as conservative as some think. He would sacrifice the German princes and their independence in order to save the nobility of Brandenburg-Prussia. He supports popular representation when it suits him. He is a dangerous revolutionary as his ideas on economic unity and progress show. These revolutionary ideas will not remain local; they will spread across Germany and Europe like a cancer.

From the diary of Ernst Ludwig von Gerlach, a conservative commentator and politician, 1862.

Source C

I was received by Bismarck in a most friendly way just after his appointment. He said he was no enemy of Austria and saw his main task as being to moderate the very unfavourable impression that had been given of him, both at home and abroad, of being a radical. He indicated that he would not yield anything of his principles but he wished to be as friendly as possible while still developing the special position of Prussia in Germany. He seemed to dwell much less than before on 'blood and iron'. He hoped for a true Union of Austria and Prussia to secure the well-being of Germany as a whole. He felt there was no danger of a war with France; there was no prospect of it and he had the means of restraining France.

Count Friedrich von Thun, Austrian ambassador to Russia, to Count Johann Bernhard von Rechberg, the Austrian representative to the Federal Diet, January 1863.

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Source D

I told the King that I was ready to become the Minister President. I agreed that I was prepared to support the reorganisation of the army and also its expansion. I was also prepared to help him deal with this in the face of parliamentary opposition. I also assured him that I was not the strong conservative that his wife had suggested I was. However it was not a question of being liberal or conservative, but of choosing between monarchical rule or parliamentary government. The latter had to be avoided at all costs, even if it meant a period of dictatorship. I did not discuss with him my ideas for Germany and its future, but we both knew that dealing with Parliament and gaining a larger army were important steps towards achieving German unity. Prussia had a great task ahead and I would rather die than abandon the King.

Bismarck's account of his appointment as Minister President, written in his memoirs in the 1890s.

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

(a) To what extent do Sources A and B agree about the appointment of Bismarck? [15]

(b) 'Bismarck's appointment as Minister President advanced the cause of German unity.' How far do Sources A to D support this view? [25]

Section B: American Option

The Origins of the Civil War, 1846–1861

The outcomes of the Mexican–American War

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

Source A

Mr Bagby submitted the following resolutions for consideration:

- That Congress has no constitutional power to abolish or to prohibit slavery in any State or Territory in this Union.
- That if territory is hereafter acquired by the United States, either by treaty or conquest, it shall not be competent for the treaty-making power, or Congress, to exclude slavery from such territory, either by treaty stipulation or by act of Congress: but such territory shall be equally free and open to the citizens of all the United States, in regard to slaves, or any other description of property whatsoever.
- That neither the people nor the Legislature of a Territory have any constitutional power to exclude slavery from such a Territory. And since Congress has no power to exclude or prohibit slavery in any Territory of the United States, they cannot delegate such a power to the Legislature of a Territory or its people.

Resolutions put before the Senate by Mr Bagby, a Senator representing Alabama, January 1848.

Source B

When driven from every other argument, gentlemen of the South threaten that if the Wilmot Proviso, or a law prohibiting slavery in free territory, is passed, they will dissolve the Union. On the part of the North no 'compromises' can be made. But one answer – a stern, unyielding NO – will be given to all such proposals. We have made all the concessions that we ought to make, or can make. If a law under the name of a 'compromise' is passed, planting slavery upon a single square mile of free territory, it will have no rest. 'Repeal!' will be shouted from the mountain tops of the North. The preservation of 'free soil for free men' will alone be satisfactory. For this purpose, an act of Congress prohibiting slavery in free territory will be unceasingly urged, until the great measure is passed.

From a speech by William Collins, a New York Democrat, in the House of Representatives, 28 July 1848.

Source C

When white settlers know that slavery is to go into a country they avoid it. I don't believe that all Texas, at this date, contains 150 000 people. When the slaveholders fill up a neighbourhood, however, 20 000 white folks and 100 000 slaves will meet the requirements for a new state. There will be two Senators representing about a quarter or half as many whites as we find in a congressional district in the North, but outvoting or nullifying Massachusetts, Ohio or Pennsylvania, every day in Senate, and either lobbying Senators or threatening them. The Wilmot Proviso would help to check this mode of bleeding the Constitution of 1789 to death.

From a report published in the 'New York Daily Tribune', 20 March 1850.

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Source D

Mr Chase (Ohio) presented to the Senate:

- seven petitions of citizens of Ohio and one of citizens of New York, asking that no State may be admitted into the Union whose constitution does not prohibit slavery within its limits
- five petitions of citizens of Ohio and two petitions of citizens of Illinois, asking that the right of trial by jury may be secured by law to fugitive slaves arrested in any state other than that in which their service is claimed
- a petition of citizens of Medina county, Ohio, asking that slavery may be prohibited by law in the territories of New Mexico and California
- two petitions of citizens of Harrison county, Ohio, protesting against the resolutions submitted by Mr Clay, on 29 January last, and asking that Congress exercise its constitutional power to prohibit the introduction of slavery into territories now free.

An extract from congressional records of petitions presented to the Senate, 8 April 1850.

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

(a) Compare and contrast the views expressed in Sources A and B on the issue of slavery in new Territories. [15]

(b) How far do Sources A to D support the assertion that the powers of the federal government were the main issue in disagreements that originated in the Mexican–American War? [25]

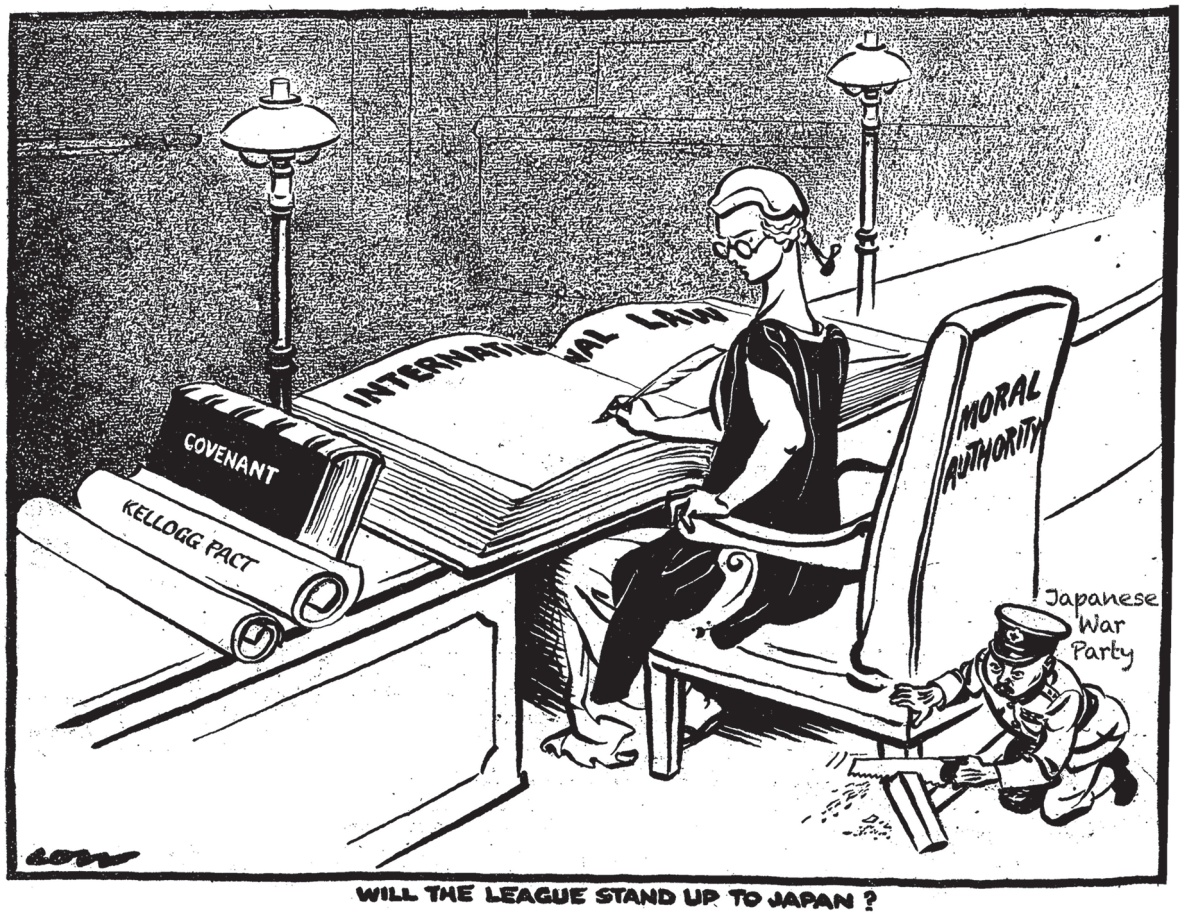
Section C: International Option

The Search for International Peace and Security, 1919–1945

Britain, the League of Nations and the Manchurian Question

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

Source A



Cartoon published in a British newspaper, 17 November 1931.

Source B

It is vital for the League to demonstrate that the Covenant is not empty words and that it can give real protection to a weak state exposed to aggression. It might have been expected that the League would leave no stone unturned to achieve success in the Manchurian affair. In fact, it has done nothing of the kind. On 18 September, Japan sent troops into Chinese territory. After three months, they are still there and the League has taken no active step. It is true that the dispute between China and Japan is complicated, and detailed examination is required if the League is to make a reasoned judgement. However, it is easy to see which state has violated the Covenant. Japan has marched its troops out of its own territory, refuses to recall them and rejects arbitration. The League should have said to Japan, 'Withdraw your troops; then we will immediately examine your arguments.' Instead, the League began by investigating the dispute. The League could have taken action against Japan, such as applying sanctions. But Japan made it clear that it would resist such sanctions. The statesmen saw the risk of war and they were so alarmed that they preferred anything to such a risk.

From an article in a British magazine, 19 December 1931.

Source C

I have always argued that it was necessary to listen to the case for both China and Japan. The Lytton Commission was established for this purpose by unanimous agreement at the League, largely on the initiative of the British representative. The Lytton Report was released in late September and deals fairly with both points of view. Japan has asked for time to study the Report and prepare its own observations. Japan's observations have not yet been received and it would not be right for the League to pass judgement until after the 18 November deadline agreed for their receipt. I am determined not to commit Britain to any judgement on the subject until I have heard what Japan has to say. We shall continue to act, as we have acted throughout, in loyal cooperation with the League.

Sir John Simon, British Foreign Secretary, addressing the British parliament, 10 November 1932.

Source D

The Manchurian question is a key test for the League of Nations. Unless it is settled satisfactorily, the League will lose its moral authority. You cannot expect states to rest on the security of the League if, in a leading case, they find that a member state has been denied security. Britain has abandoned its moral leadership of the world. It has been weak and timid over the Manchurian question. In September 1931, the Japanese began to overrun Manchuria. Britain showed great weakness at that time. If our government had given a bold lead to the League, Japan could have been stopped. Britain did not take sides and I think that was a definite encouragement to the Japanese militarists. We now have the Lytton Commission's Report, which gives a great opportunity to restore the authority of the League; perhaps the last chance of the League.

Clement Attlee, a Labour Party MP, addressing the British parliament, 10 November 1932.
The Labour Party opposed the British government in parliament.

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

(a) Compare and contrast the views expressed in Sources C and D regarding the role played by Britain in the League of Nations' consideration of the Manchurian question. [15]

(b) 'In the period from September 1931 to November 1932, the League of Nations responded appropriately to the problems in Manchuria.' How far do Sources A to D support this view? [25]

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