Cambridge Assessment International Education

Cambridge International AS & A Level

HISTORY **9489/11**

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

1 hour 15 minutes

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

France, 1774–1814

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

Source A

Yesterday the people tried to enter the Bastille. The treacherous governor, de Launay, put out a flag of peace. A detachment of guards, with 6 000 armed citizens, penetrated the outer courtyard. However, as soon as some 600 people had crossed the first drawbridge, it was raised and they were fired upon. Cannon fired on the town. Many were killed or wounded. The citizens rallied and attacked, advancing from various directions beneath a ceaseless round of fire. The fighting grew steadily more intense. Eventually cannon fire was directed against the second drawbridge. And so the Bastille fell and de Launay was captured. Blessed liberty, for the first time, has at last been introduced into this place of horrors.

The citizens marched to the Hôtel de Ville surrounded by an enormous cheering crowd. The people, anxious for revenge, allowed neither de Launay nor the other officers to reach the place of their trial. They seized them and trampled them underfoot. De Launay was struck by many blows, his head was cut off and hoisted on the end of a pike. This glorious day must amaze our enemies, and finally bring us the triumph of justice and liberty. In the evening, there were celebrations.

From an account of the storming of the Bastille, published in a Paris newspaper, July 1789.

Source B

On 14 July a large detachment with two cannons went to the Bastille to seize ammunition. A flag of truce was sent on before and accepted from within. The governor, Marquis de Launay, contrary to expectations, fired on the people, killing several. The enraged crowd rushed to the gates, determined to force their way through. The governor agreed to let in some of them on condition that they committed no violence. These terms agreed, a detachment of about 40 was admitted. The drawbridge was immediately raised and they were instantly massacred. This breach of honour excited a spirit of revenge in the crowd. The cannons were placed against the gate and soon made the breach which resulted in surrender.

De Launay and the principal gunner were seized and carried to the Hôtel de Ville. After a quick trial, they were put to death. De Launay had his head cut off, but with circumstances of barbarity too shocking to relate. Thus, the greatest revolution has been carried out with the loss of very few lives. We may consider France a free country; the king a limited monarch and the nobility reduced to a level with the rest of the nation.

From a report by the British Ambassador in Paris, writing to the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 16 July 1789.

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Source C

It is not without worry that one sees 200 000 Parisian men in arms, 200 000 men little accustomed to discipline, proud of their liberty, perhaps already altered by bloodshed. May the spirit of moderation and peace always reign! May the people understand that to be and always remain free, there must be order and justice.

I do not consider without fright that there still exists quite a dangerous fury against the nobility. It has been suppressed a little, but who knows what will prevent it from being reborn more terrible than ever.

From the diary of an elected deputy of the Third Estate in the National Assembly, 16 July 1789.

Source D

A cartoon titled 'The Awakening of the Third Estate', published in France in July 1789. The Bastille is in the background.

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 the events of 14 July 1789. [15]

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

'The storming of the Bastille had widespread support.' 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

THE REAL OBJECT OF THE OPERATORS IS TO CRUSH IT.

A cartoon about the coal strike, published in an Ohio newspaper, 1902.
'Arbitration' is where an independent person makes an official judgement in a dispute.
'Operators' are the owners of the coal mines.

Source B

The present strike was declared by the Mine Workers' Union on 10 May 1902. Many of our workmen who do not belong to, or are not willing to obey, that organisation are trying to work in our mines. They are content to work. Many more wish to work but are prevented by violence and intimidation towards them and their families. This is often accompanied by destruction of their property and a fear of death or bodily harm. A reign of terror has been created against those who wish to work. The coal companies believe that the wages paid to their men are fair and all that their businesses can afford. To survive, their capital has to have a reasonable return. Profits have been small and several companies have become bankrupt recently. We are prepared to accept arbitration, but the Mine Workers' Union is not.

Statement by the operators of the coal mines, May 1902.

Source C

The miners' leaders have destroyed any opportunity for arbitration and this means there will be no peace in the coal mines. President Roosevelt has attempted to intervene. We accept his right to create a commission to try and end the dispute, but not one which could dictate the terms of a settlement. This is not only illegal but also unconstitutional. This and his other actions, not specified by the Constitution, challenge the very principles upon which this country is based. He argues that this refusal to work by some miners creates a crisis which entitles him to act in a way which no president has done except in time of war. The Constitution guarantees our freedoms, one of which is the right of a man to work. The operators and the miners have the right to negotiate freely without interference from anyone. That is what our forefathers fought for.

From a magazine article titled 'The Operators' side of the Great Strike', September 1902.

Source D

Very much the most important action I took as regards labour had nothing to do with legislation. It was my executive action which was technically illegal and not required by the Constitution. I believe that occasionally great national crises arise which call for immediate and vigorous presidential action. It is the duty of the president to act as he is the steward of the people. He is compelled to assume that he has the legal right to do whatever the real needs of the people demand, unless the Constitution or the laws expressly forbid him to do it. In the 1902 coal strike, which would have led to a national disaster in the coming winter, the big coal operators refused to negotiate or concede. They were determined to break the strike by force if needed. While they agreed to accept my Commission, they took an extreme individualistic view of their property rights, knowing that the miners' suffering was great. They believed that I had no constitutional power to act in this matter.

From President Roosevelt's autobiography, published in 1913.

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

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

Compare and contrast these two sources as evidence about presidential power. [15]

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

'The mine operators were responsible for the difficulty in resolving the coal strike of 1902.' How far do these sources support this view? [25]

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

Until ten years ago we remained masters of Africa, or the greater part of it, by the simple fact that we were masters of the sea. Then suddenly we found out that this had no foundation in international law. We were confronted with a demand from Germany to be allowed to occupy enormous stretches of territory. It was impossible that Britain should have the right to lock up the whole of Africa and say that nobody should be there except itself. So, we accepted that Germany as well as Britain could develop the vast untrodden fields of Africa, making them into new outlets for colonisation by the excessive population at home, and new fields of industry and trade.

We would risk the happy agreement between the two governments if we allowed the many causes of conflict and questions of territory in various parts of the continent to remain undecided.

From a speech by Lord Salisbury, the British Prime Minister, to the House of Lords 1890.

Source B

The Pax Britannica*, always a lie, has recently become an ugly monster of hypocrisy. Along our Indian frontiers, in West Africa, the Sudan, Uganda and Rhodesia fighting has been constant. Although the great imperialist powers have kept their hands off one another, except where the rising empire of the United States has found its opportunity in the falling empire of Spain, the self-restraint has been costly and fragile. The main cause of the vast armaments which are draining the resources of most European countries is their conflicting interests in territorial and commercial expansion. Thirty years ago, there existed one sensitive spot in our relations with France, or Germany, or Russia, now there are a dozen. Diplomatic strains are frequent between powers with African or Chinese interests, and the chiefly commercial nature of the national rivalry makes it more dangerous.

From a book by the South African correspondent of a British newspaper during the Boer War, published 1902.
**Pax Britannica was international peace supervised by Britain.*

Source C

My friendship for Britain has been proved. I have referred to the speeches in which I have proclaimed my goodwill. But, as actions speak louder than words, let me also refer to my acts. It is commonly believed in Britain that Germany was hostile throughout the Boer War. German public opinion undoubtedly was bitterly hostile. But what of official Germany?

When the struggle was at its height, the German government was invited by the governments of France and Russia to join with them in calling upon Britain to end the Boer War. The moment had come, they said, not only to save the Boer Republics, but also to humiliate Britain. What was my reply? I said that, far from joining any European action, Germany would always keep distanced from politics that could bring it into complications with a sea power like Britain.

From an interview with Kaiser Wilhelm II, published in a British newspaper, October 1908.

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Source D

I discussed with the British ambassador at Berlin the German need for refuelling bases to serve the ends of commerce and open up China to international trade. I complained of the treatment received from the British government, which everywhere opposed German wishes. The ambassador agreed and expressed his astonishment at Britain's failure to meet Germany halfway. When a rising nation like Germany turned directly to Britain to acquire territory with its consent, it was more than Britain could reasonably ask. Germany could have gone straight ahead or allied itself with other nations. Moreover, he added that, since Britain already owned almost all the world, it could certainly find a place where Germany might establish a base; should Germany not obtain Britain's approval, it would probably occupy suitable places in any case.

This talk was fruitless. Finally, the negotiations with Britain were broken off, without result, in a rather impolite manner.

From a conversation in the 1890s, recalled in his memoirs by Kaiser Wilhelm II, published 1922.

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 about German ambitions for imperial expansion. [15]

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

How far do the sources support the view that imperial expansion caused tensions between the colonial powers? [25]

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