Cambridge Assessment International Education

Cambridge International AS & A Level

HISTORY **9489/01**

Paper 1 Document question **For examination from 2021**

SPECIMEN PAPER **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. Blank pages are indicated.

Answer **one** question from **one** section only.

Section A: European option

Liberalism and nationalism in Germany, 1815–1871

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

Source A

Count Bismarck thinks that the time has come to mount a great Prussian action abroad and, if it can be done in no other way, to go to war. Such an action has been the goal from the beginning of his political career. It would satisfy his ungoverned and daring thirst for achievement. After such a success, especially if it were attained by means of a fortunate war, the Prussian government would more easily master its internal strife. The only means he has of bringing about a sudden change internally must thus be sought in the field of foreign policy. The diversion of a war is vital to Bismarck's internal policy.

The Austrian ambassador in Prussia, to the Austrian Foreign Minister, February 1866.

Source B

We had to avoid wounding Austria too severely; we had to avoid leaving behind in her any unnecessary bitterness of feeling or desire for revenge; we ought rather to reserve the possibility of becoming friends again and regard the Austrian state as a piece on the European chessboard. If Austria were severely injured she would become the ally of France.

From Bismarck's memoirs, published in 1898, describing events in July 1866.

Source C

Unhappily I believe in a war with France before long – her vanity, hurt by our victories, will drive her in that direction. Yet since I do not know of any French or German interest requiring a resort to arms, I do not see it as certain. Only a country's most vital interests justify embarking on a war, only its honour, which is not to be confused with prestige. No statesman has a right to begin a war simply because in his opinion it is inevitable in a given period of time. If foreign ministers followed their rulers and military commanders into the field, History would record fewer wars. On the battlefield and in the hospitals I have seen the flower of our youth struck down by wounds and disease. I would not have a moment's peace if I thought I had made war from personal ambition and national vanity. I will never advise His Majesty to wage war unless the most vital interests of the Fatherland require it.

A letter from Bismarck to a Conservative Deputy in the Landtag, March 1867.

Source D

There is nothing in our attitude to annoy or alarm France, there is nothing to prevent the maintenance of peace for ten or fifteen years by which time the French will have become accustomed to German unity and will have ceased to care about it.

I told our generals this spring, when they endeavoured to prove to me by all sorts of arguments that we would beat the French if we went to war at that time, 'I will still do all I can to prevent war. You must remember, gentlemen, a war between such near neighbours and old enemies as France and Prussia, however it may turn out, is only the first of at least six, and what should we have succeeded in doing? Ruining France and most likely ourselves into the bargain. Do you think a poor bankrupt neighbour is as desirable as a solvent one? France buys largely from us and sells us many things we want.' I strove for peace then and I will do so now. But German feelings must be respected or I cannot answer for the people or the King!

From an interview given by Bismarck to a British journalist, September 1867.

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

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

To what extent do these two sources agree about Bismarck's attitude towards France? [15]

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

'Bismarck always intended to use war to achieve German unification.' How far do the sources support this view? [25]

Section B: American option

The origins of the Civil War, 1820–1861

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

Source A

Everyone knows Douglas, a short, thick-set burly man with a fierce bulldog look. Skilled by a thousand conflicts in all the strategy of a hand-to-hand fight, proud, defiant, arrogant, audacious, unscrupulous, 'Little Dug' ascended the platform and looked out impudently upon the immense throng before him. The other – Lincoln – is in physique the opposite of Douglas. I must admit that 'Long Abe's' appearance is not attractive. But stir him up and the fire of his genius plays on every feature. Listening to him on Saturday, calmly and unprejudiced, I was convinced he has no superior as an election speaker. The Republicans of Illinois have chosen a champion worthy of their heartiest support and fully equipped for conflict with the great 'Squatter Sovereign'.

From a report of the Ottawa debate in the 'Chicago Press and Tribune', 1 September 1858.

Source B

The debate at Freeport was attended by 20 000 people. At two o'clock the debates began. Lincoln led off by replying to the questions put by Douglas at Ottawa. Lincoln then proceeded to bring out Douglas's views by asking him some questions. Mr D replied to Lincoln's questions and retracted what he said in Chicago. Douglas evidently adapts his speeches to the section of the state he is in, taking for granted that his followers in southern Illinois cannot, or will not, read the anti-slavery sentiments he may advocate in the North. Lincoln in his reply utterly demolished Douglas and exposed his double dealing and his cowardice so fully that the friends of Douglas slunk away. No more was heard from his friends while the Republicans held rousing meetings during the remainder of the evening.

From the 'Galesburg Semi-weekly Democrat' (Illinois), 1 September 1858.

Source C

The discussion between Douglas and Lincoln drew an immense crowd of people, numbering we think about 10 000, though some put the figure as high as 15 000. The weather was cloudy and cold and in consequence of a high wind which prevailed a part of the time, many were prevented from hearing the speakers. Lincoln had the opening speech and consumed his time in vain attempts to remove himself from the unpleasant position in which Douglas's arguments had placed him in Ottawa. Taken as a whole, his speech was made up of lame and impotent conclusions and came very short of the expectations of his friends. Of Douglas's speech, suffice it to say it was a masterly effort. We heard more than one Republican acknowledge that, much as they admired Lincoln, he was no match for the 'Little Giant'.

From the 'Freeport Weekly Bulletin' (Illinois), 2 September 1858.

Source D

When I was a boy of fourteen I had the good fortune to see and hear Lincoln in one of his series of historic debates with Douglas – at Freeport. I was within a few feet of the low platform from which the two speeches were made and both saw and heard everything which went on. The contrast between the two speakers was immense, not in physique and bearing only but in relation to their supporters and the audience as a whole. Lincoln seemed a man of the people. His arguments were as direct in their appeal to Democrats as to Republicans. Douglas, on the other hand, was the aggressive, defiant party leader, determined to intimidate his opponents by a violence of bearing and expressions of contempt. I came away from the meeting quite aflame with enthusiasm for the new Republican Party and especially for Lincoln as its new champion.

From an account written in 1917 by a Professor at Illinois University.

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

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

Compare and contrast the accounts of the Freeport meeting given by Sources B and D. [15]

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

How far do the sources support the view that, in the debates with Douglas in 1858, Lincoln showed all the talents needed to be a leader of the new Republican Party? [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

Senator Swanson, the US Representative, drew the determined opposition of almost the entire Naval Commission of the Disarmament Conference when he defended the right of the USA and Great Britain to maintain their mighty war fleets. He bore the brunt of attacks by other powers seeking abolition of aircraft carriers and battleships. He created the biggest sensation when he made it clear that the USA is prepared to maintain a fleet of big submarines for the defence of its Philippine possessions unless the Conference abolishes submarines altogether. This raises the danger of possible future naval warfare between the USA and Japan.

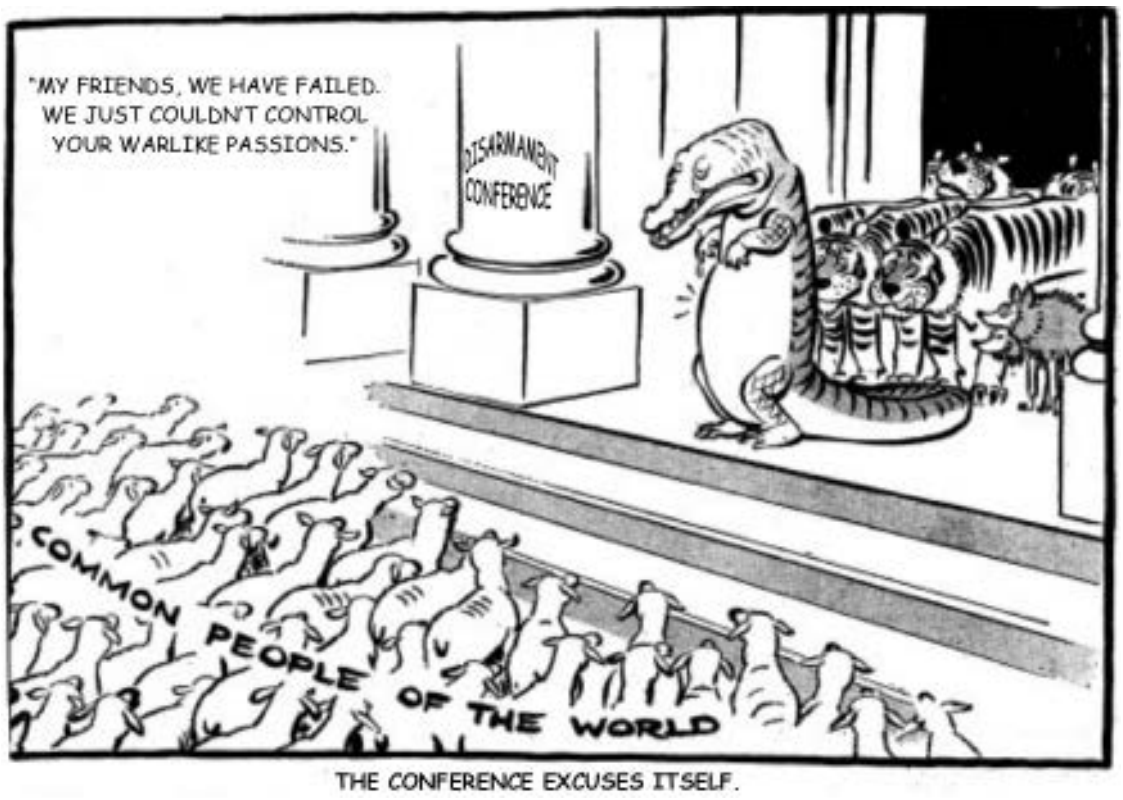
From a US newspaper report of the World Disarmament Conference, May 1932.

Source B

While the Disarmament Conference did not accomplish all that was desired, its substantial achievements give great promise for success when it reconvenes in January. When one considers there were more than fifty nations represented at the Conference, with diverse interests and varied needs for defence, it is pleasing that so much should have been accomplished. It assembled under adverse circumstances, with a conflict between China and Japan and with many political complications in Europe. However, it decided to abolish chemical and bacteriological warfare. It absolutely prohibited air attack on civil populations under any circumstances, and prepared plans for the complete abolition of all bombardment from the air. It has committed itself to this abolition provided means can be devised to make it effective. The Conference agreed to limit the size of tanks and provided for the limitation of land artillery. The Conference pledged itself to a substantial reduction in land, air and sea armaments. An encouraging feature of the Conference was that those who voted against the resolution which summarises the work of the Conference, did so not because the resolution went too far, but because it did not go far enough.

From a press release by Senator Swanson, US Representative at the World Disarmament Conference, August 1932.

Source C



Cartoon published in a British newspaper, May 1934.

Source D

It may be questioned whether, when the Conference met early in 1932, there existed the conditions required for ultimate success. The progress of the Conference was limited because the settlement of political questions had not been sufficiently prepared in advance and time was spent on a series of fruitless discussions. The Conference faced other difficulties, such as serious events in the Far East and conflicts between Colombia and Peru, Bolivia and Paraguay. Further, when the Conference met, the world was faced with the most serious and widespread economic and financial crisis in history. Economic difficulties were creating political unrest. All these events, creating as they did a general uneasiness, undermined mutual confidence between nations and troubled the atmosphere of the Conference from the very start.

From the official Report of the World Disarmament Conference, 1936.

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

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

Compare and contrast Sources A and B as evidence of the USA's attitude towards disarmament. [15]

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

'The World Disarmament Conference was a failure.' How far do the sources support this view? [25]

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