



Cambridge International AS & A Level

HISTORY

9389/12

Paper 1 Document Question

October/November 2021

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. Any blank pages are indicated.

Section A: European Option**Liberalism and Nationalism in Italy and Germany, 1815–1871****The Schleswig-Holstein Question**

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

Source A

The Duchies are armed to the teeth and the sword is kept in its sheath only by the presence of Prussian and Swedish troops. The Danes are aware of this. It would appear that they calculate upon driving the Duchies into despair, and that the Danes want to provoke them into an attack. This would naturally be resented by the Great Powers determined to maintain the peace. The Danes hope, with the assistance of some powers, to impose upon the Duchies the badge of servitude. I hope that Great Britain, disgusted by the Danes' eternal shifts and delays, will step in and mediate in order to prevent any spilling of blood and block the Danes from their actions.

*From a letter by a German historian to Lord Palmerston,
British Foreign Secretary, 1850.*

Source B

Everyone in Germany is conscious of the profound significance the Schleswig-Holstein question must have for the internal policies of our states. Everyone knows that through the Schleswig-Holstein question the German question will also be decided. The question of Schleswig-Holstein is therefore to the people a broader question of rights. For the governments it is also a question of their power. It is a question of the existence of the Confederation and the smaller states in Germany.

*Prince Hohenlohe, writing in his diary, August 1863.
Later in the 1860s Hohenlohe became Prime Minister of Bavaria.*

Source C

We ought to have a fixed programme in order to proceed on this issue of the Duchies, the realisation of which would still depend on circumstances. Instead, the only programme you seem to have is that we must 'act according to circumstances'. However, there are secret intentions which are attributed to you. With regard to these secret ideas of a Prussian policy of expansion, I will only state that my opinion is that to carry them out would entirely damage our whole German policy. It might also place us in a difficult position within Europe. It would not be the first time that Prussia had tried to be better than everyone else, only to find itself with no support from the other powers.

A letter from Crown Prince Frederick of Prussia to Bismarck, 17 April 1864.

Source D

The whole episode of the Schleswig-Holstein war, looked at as a whole, so completely exhibits the character of a dramatic intrigue—the cleverest and most successful ever seen on a political stage. Both his friends and enemies see it as Bismarck's masterpiece. If it be true that the series of incidents which followed in succession after the sudden death of the King of Denmark up to the actual war were the result of a preconceived plan, it must be admitted that cynical plotting, at its most extreme, has never produced anything parallel to it. To damage Austria at the same time, to undermine the German Princes, avoid conflict with France and England and annex the Duchies as well, must certainly be reckoned the highest perfection of the art of deception.

From a biography of Bismarck, written by a German Liberal politician, published in 1868.

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

- (a) Compare and contrast the views of Bismarck's policies in Sources C and D. [15]
- (b) 'Denmark caused the Schleswig-Holstein crisis.' How far do Sources A to D support this view? [25]

Section B: American Option**The Origins of the Civil War, 1846–1861****The Dred Scott Judgement, 1857**

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

Source A

The slavery question has finally found its way into the Supreme Court. The Court decides that the constitution recognises 'man' can be property and that, as a result, human slavery must be protected wherever the Constitution is in force. The Court seemed to think that it had headed off the great Republican Party, which came so near to triumphing in the election, and had consolidated the slaveholders' political power. It forgot that its decision would be regarded, throughout the free states, only as the votes of the five slaveholders and two doughfaces* about a question upon which its opinion was not asked. Alas, the character of the Supreme Court as an impartial judicial body has gone. It has abdicated its proper functions and descended into the political arena. It is clear that the decision must be temporary.

From the 'New York Tribune', March 1857.

* *doughfaces* was a term given to Northern Democrats who supported slavery.

Source B

The decision of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case will bring the enemies of the South face to face with the constitution of the country. They cannot escape the issue presented – the observance of the laws of the land or disunion. The leaders of the Black Republican party are denouncing the decision. They will endeavour to organise a party on the basis of opposition to the Dred Scott decision. Some of our Southern newspapers regret the trouble that this may cause. But let it come. The fury of the storm has passed. The treasonable conduct of the leaders of the Black Republican Party will be rejected even in the North. The issue they have raised will be met by the true-hearted, constitutional, law-abiding men of the North who will sustain the determination of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case.

From the Milledgeville (Georgia) 'Federal Union', March 1857.

Source C

The decision of the Supreme Court, in this instance, as in all others, is the law of the land. What it has decided must stand, regardless of all the arguments in the world to the contrary. If we thought we could persuade the judges to reverse their decision, we would gladly try, but we see no special ground to hope for such a result. Some of our readers denounce the Court's judges, reject its authority and strive to stir up popular hostility against the supremacy assigned to it by the Constitution. We cannot approve of their plans because we deem them unsound and unsafe. The Supreme Court is an essential part of our federal organisation. The government could not exist without it. If any section, or any party, is to seek the annihilation of whatever branch of government happens to be against it, our political contests will become struggles for national life.

From the 'New York Times', March 1857.

Source D

You will ask how I am affected by this devilish decision of the slaveholding wing of the Supreme Court? My answer is, my hopes were never brighter than now. I have no fear that the national conscience will be put to sleep by such an open and scandalous tissue of lies. If it were at all likely that the people of the free states would tamely submit to this judgement, I might feel gloomy. We, the abolitionists and coloured people, should meet this decision in a cheerful spirit. This very attempt to blot out forever the hopes of an enslaved people may be a necessary link in the chain of events preparatory to the downfall of the whole slave system.

From a speech by Frederick Douglass, ex-slave and abolitionist, to an abolitionist meeting, New York, May 1857.

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

- (a) Compare and contrast Sources A and C as evidence of Northern views of the Supreme Court. [15]
- (b) 'The Dred Scott judgement was accepted as final.' How far do Sources A to D support this view? [25]

Section C: International Option**The Search for International Peace and Security, 1919–1945****The League and the Italian Invasion of Abyssinia**

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

Source A

France is loyal to the Covenant. Sometimes at difficult moments, we have suffered disappointment at Geneva; yet our faith has never wavered. France has constantly sought to increase the authority of this supreme international institution. The Covenant is our international law. How could we allow such a law to be weakened? France's policy rests entirely on the League. We desire peace for all through the collaboration of all. On 7 January Mussolini and I, acting in the interests of the peace of Europe, reached a final settlement of our differences. I have left nothing undone to prevent any blow to the new policy. At Stresa, we found Mussolini with the same desire to serve the cause of peace. I have spared no effort at conciliation. We are studying every proposal likely to satisfy Italy's legitimate aspirations so far as is compatible with the sovereignty of another member of the League.

*Pierre Laval, Prime Minister of France, speaking to the Assembly of the League,
September 1935.*

Source B

The League of Nations will remain the foundation of British foreign policy. We shall therefore continue to uphold the Covenant and to support the League. In the present unhappy dispute between Italy and Abyssinia there will be no wavering in our policy. We shall take no action in isolation, but we will be prepared to take our part in any collective action decided upon by the League. We shall support any discussions which may offer the hope of a fair settlement, provided it is within the framework of the League and acceptable to Italy.

*From the manifesto of the National Government for the British general election,
published in October 1935.*

Source C

The Abyssinian Government has received, from Britain and France, communication of a proposed settlement for putting an end to the war of aggression against Abyssinia by the Italian Government. The Abyssinian Government urgently asks that the Assembly of the League be convened for a full and free public debate when every member state can express its opinions on the true, practical significance of these proposals. This will help avoid such a settlement between the victim of a properly established act of aggression and the aggressor government. Such action could result in the destruction of the League and ruin of the system of guaranteed collective security. The Abyssinian Government, taught by cruel experience, declares itself firmly opposed to all secret negotiations.

*A note from the Abyssinian Government to the Secretary-General of the League,
12 December 1935.*

Source D

It must have been clear that the threat of war had raised difficulties between ourselves and France. France was intensely nervous of a breach with Italy. In view of this, I did everything in my power to make a settlement possible while loyally continuing a policy of sanctions. About a fortnight ago a new situation was created by the question of the oil embargo. We received reports that no responsible government could ignore that Italy would regard the oil embargo as an act of war against it. We had no fear of any Italian threats. If the Italians attacked us, we should retaliate, but we feared that an isolated attack upon one Power, without the full support of other Powers, would lead to the dissolution of the League. It seemed to me that Anglo–French co-operation was essential if there was to be no breach at Geneva and if the sanctions when functioning were not to be destroyed.

*From a speech by Sir Samuel Hoare to the House of Commons
on the day after his resignation from the British Government, 19 December 1935.*

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

- (a) To what extent do Sources A and D agree about Italy? [15]
- (b) 'The League was undermined by Britain and France.' How far do Sources A to D support this view? [25]

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