



Cambridge International AS & A Level

HISTORY

9389/13

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****Bismarck and the Constitutional Crisis, 1862–63**

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

Source A

The Prussian government is taking a new direction. It will become more conservative. The upper house of the legislature will continue to support the government. They will attempt to influence the elections to the lower house, the House of Representatives, in the government's favour. If the government is not successful in manipulating these elections, they will dissolve the House of Representatives. The King will carry on governing without it, supported by loyal men. He will hold firm on what he sees are the rights of the Crown against this invasion by democracy. He will attempt to do this without a coup d'état, or at least by avoiding violating the Constitution as a whole, as he has sworn loyalty to it. This is important, as if he is able to suppress democracy in Prussia, it will also stop its spread to the rest of Germany.

The Austrian Ambassador to Prussia to the Austrian Foreign Minister, 22 March 1862.

Source B

Since the House of Representatives has refused to vote the money needed for the reorganisation of the army in the Budget for 1862, the Royal Government must assume they will do the same in 1863. We must have a Budget passed that meets the needs of the country. These needs can only be met if money is voted to support the military. The Government intends to introduce the Budget early enough to allow the House of Representatives to have time to debate it. The Government will not allow any obstacle to prevent the Bill being passed. The Budget for 1863 will include all the money needed for the reorganisation of the army. The House of Representatives can debate it, as allowed by the Constitution, but will then have to pass it.

*Declaration by the Prussian Government, 29 September 1862.
This was six days after Bismarck was appointed Minister-President.*

Source C

According to the Prussian Constitution, spending by the Government may only happen if it is agreed in the Budget which has passed the House of Representatives. In exceptional circumstances spending can be based on special laws agreed by the House of Representatives or by permission of the Landtag, which includes the House of Representatives. Therefore the Royal Government is not allowed to spend money on the military next year simply because it was in the Budget last year.

So, the withdrawal of the Budget for 1863 and the proposed long delay in introducing a new budget by the Royal Government, continues the very wrongful way of conducting government. It breaks the Prussian Constitution if the Royal Government orders the spending of money which has been expressly forbidden by a Resolution of the House of Representatives.

Resolution of the Prussian House of Representatives, 7 October 1862.

Source D

You have declared that the Constitution has been violated as the Crown and the Upper House do not accept your views on the Budget. However, you are not in conflict with the Government, as you claim, but you are in conflict with the Crown for domination over the whole country. For the passage of a law such as the Budget, agreement of both Houses and the Crown is necessary. However if agreement between these three powers is not reached, the Constitution is not at all clear which one must give in. In other countries the difficulty would be settled by giving in to the House of Representatives. This does not apply in Prussia. What you are asking for is the establishment of rule by the House of Representatives. This is not in accordance with the Constitution of Prussia. Our Constitution points to a compromise.

Bismarck's speech in the House of Representatives, 27 January 1863.

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

- (a) How far do Sources C and D agree about the role of the House of Representatives? [15]
- (b) 'The King and his ministers were responsible for the constitutional crisis of 1862–63'. How far do Sources A to D support this view? [25]

Section B: American Option

The Origins of the Civil War, 1846–1861

The Admission of California, 1850

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

Source A

Four years ago, California, a Mexican province, scarcely inhabited, was unknown to us. Today California, a rich and populous territory, is asking for admission into the Union. Shall California be received? I answer, Yes. California, the youthful queen of the Pacific, in her robes of freedom, gorgeously inlaid with gold, is doubly welcome. But it is insisted that the admission of California shall be attended by a Compromise of questions which have arisen out of slavery.

What am I to receive in this Compromise? Freedom in California. It is well; it is worth a sacrifice. What am I to give in return? Recognition of the claim to perpetuate slavery in Washington DC; acceptance of more stringent laws concerning fugitive slaves in the free states; rejection of the Wilmot proviso of freedom in the new territories. But California brings gold and trade as well as freedom.

From a speech to the US Senate by William Seward, Senator for New York, March 1850.

Source B

The admission of California into the Union as a sovereign state now occupies the time of Congress and the attention of the public. The President, in his message to Congress on 21 January, recommended the admission of California into the Union. It could not be expected that all parties in all sections of the country should unite on this. Yet the President's recommendation was at once received with favour by a large proportion of the people and is, it is believed, still generally acceptable to them. But a difference of opinion as to the mode of carrying out the affirmative measure recommended by the President has caused it to linger in the two Houses of Congress and it has yet received the action of neither.

From the 'Glasgow Weekly Times' (Missouri), June 1850.

Source C

The California Bill was taken up on its third reading in the Senate. Mr Jefferson Davis, Senator for Mississippi, addressed the Senate at considerable length. He stated his objection to the Bill on several grounds. Why, he asked, were Northern men urging the admission of California? It was not to promote their goods because California would be a free trade state. It was not to preserve political power because the North had a majority already. The only purpose, therefore, was to commit an aggression upon the South. If there was now danger to the Union, it was because the North had acted unjustly to the South. The objections of the South were met with indifference or contempt. We stand on the verge of history. At a moment of unparalleled excitement, we are about to do an act which will overthrow the balance of power.

From the 'North Carolina Standard', August 1850.

Source D

Gentlemen of the Senate and the Assembly:

The application of California for admission to the Union gave rise to long and bitter discussions in Congress. The fearful state of passionate excitement at one time seriously threatened a dissolution of the Union and called for the calm and objective efforts of the great statesmen of all parties. The ominous state of things that existed six months ago, it is hoped, has passed away forever and our fellow citizens of every section of our country, once more united, are ready again to march forward in the path of progress. California will be ready to do its part. It will readily forget the opposition made to its admission. It will know no North, no South, no East and no West but only our whole country.

From an address given by the first Governor of California, January 1851.

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

- (a) Compare and contrast Sources A and C as explanations of Northern attitudes towards the admission of California. [15]
- (b) 'Bringing California into the Union divided the country'. 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 of Nations' Chances of Success

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

Source A

Let me recall the words with which you entered the war. They were, 'The new world order must make provision for common action against aggressors. If moral force is not sufficient, the physical force of the world will be.' And now today you are asking my countrymen and all the devastated lands of our Allies to be content with the shield of a Covenant without using arms and merely equipped with noble words which you hurled against the German invaders. However, to stop them you needed force, and it was, at last, forthcoming. I beg you to look at the situation again. Without some military backing in some force, and always ready to act, our League and our Covenant will be stored away not as a solemn treaty, but simply as a rather showy piece of literature.

Leon Bourgeois speaking to President Wilson during the peace talks in Paris, February 1919. Bourgeois was a French representative at the peace talks.

Source B



A British cartoon published in 1919.

Source C

The League is overshadowed by the Council which maintains for its exclusive consideration the more important political problems. It is dominated by national selfishness. Under this influence the League has missed golden opportunities for establishing itself as a powerful factor in the world's affairs. Its indirect weapons – delay, discussion, public opinion, sanctions and arbitration – are admirable weapons for meeting crises in a world at peace rather than to rescue a world in chaos. The procedures that could have averted the tragedy of 1914 have a limited application to the world upheaval of 1920.

However, the League of Nations as a whole has its roots in a popular support far deeper and firmer than shifting governments. To the peasant in France it represents the symbol of a new hope. To the worker, the League's labour office is the promise of a better fortune. The League stands for disarmament, for peace, and international justice.

Raymond Fosdick, an American politician and supporter of Wilson, writing in an American magazine, 1920.

Source D

President Wilson proposed to solve a mass of European problems. To set his machine to work, Wilson needed an engine, and this engine he claimed to have found in a 'League of Nations'. This was nothing more than a Parliament of all nations to which all disagreements, all diplomatic intrigues, were to come and multiply, intensify, and perhaps even be made less severe.

There was no need for a super-Parliament whose only occupation when action was needed would be super-talking. It must be said that the reality has entirely fulfilled my expectations and the members of the League can do nothing but discuss, when they ought to decide and impose their decision. Whether we wish it or not, it is not this International Parliament, with no real power, that will determine the peace of the future.

From Clemenceau's memoirs written just before he died in 1929.

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

- (a) Compare and contrast Sources A and C as evidence of opinions about the League of Nations. [15]
- (b) How far do Sources A to D agree that the League of Nations had a good chance of success? [25]

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