

---

**HISTORY**

**9389/11**

Paper 1 Document Question

**October/November 2017**

**1 hour**

No Additional Materials are required.

---

**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.

**Section A: European Option****Liberalism and Nationalism in Germany, 1815–1871****The Support for Bismarck's Policies**

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

**Source A**

We have agreed:

1. The unity of our German fatherland, not like the Kingdom of Italy by blood and fire, but by the union of our princes and people, and by holding firm to authority and right. No decline into the dirt of a German republic. No theft of crowns and ending smaller nations.
2. No break with the past within our state. No weakening of the army. No parliamentary rule and no ministerial responsibility established by constitution. Personal rule by divine and not by constitutional right.
3. Protection and proper regard for honourable work for all property and for all classes. No favour for, nor domination by, money and wealth.

*The Programme of the Prussian Volksverein, a conservative political association, 1861.*

**Source B**

Bismarck told me that he would soon be compelled to undertake the management of the Prussian government. He then said 'my first care will be to reorganise the army, probably without the help of the Landtag. As soon as the army is in a position to inspire respect, I will seize the first opportunity to declare war on Austria, dissolve the German Diet with its liberal values, subdue the minor states which oppose us and give national unity to Germany under Prussian leadership.'

*Disraeli, a leading British politician, writing in his diary, 1862.*

**Source C**

On the raised bench in the Reichstag reserved for the Federal Councillors sits the man whom not only Prussia and Germany but the whole of Europe follows with great attention. Bismarck towers over his contemporaries. He is an aristocratic figure who combines the energy of the soldier with the intelligence and flexibility of the statesman. His ability to grasp what the people really want is remarkable.

*An article in a popular German middle-class magazine, April 1867.*

**Source D**

When the old Confederation broke up last year, and the Prussian government announced its serious determination to set German unity on firmer foundations, we had no doubt that the Liberal forces of the nation would have to co-operate. We were prepared to cooperate, but only if the Prussian government abandoned its violations of constitutional rights and acknowledged the principles of freedom and liberty so vigorously defended by the Liberal Party. We believe in a constitutional monarchy. We would consider support for the military budget under certain conditions.

*The Programme of the German National Liberal Party, 1867.*

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

- (a) Compare and contrast the political views expressed in Sources A and D. [15]
- (b) How far do Sources A to D support the view that Bismarck had widespread support for his policies? [25]

## Section B: American Option

### The Origins of the Civil War, 1846–1861

#### The Formation of the Republican Party, 1854

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

#### Source A

This new party, although christened by its advocates with the name Republican, has principles contained within its resolutions that are essentially abolitionist. It provides first that the Missouri Compromise or the Wilmot Proviso shall be restored to Kansas and Nebraska, second for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave law and third to restrict slavery by act of Congress to the States in which it already exists. Whigs and Democrats are invited to abandon their old party organisations and principles and join the abolitionists under the new name. The first thing which strikes me as remarkable is that each plank of the platform is sectional and not national. Each proposition discloses the deliberate purpose to make war upon the institutions of one half of the States of this Union in utter disregard of the constitution of the United States.

*From a speech given by Stephen Douglas, Democrat politician, to 'a banquet attended by two hundred or more gentlemen', 'Chicago Times', 12 November 1854.*

#### Source B

My dear sir,

Is it likely that the union of the last few months can be maintained? How will the probable success of the Know Nothings in the Slave States affect it in the Free States? If the Anti-Nebraska movement loses the support of the Know Nothings, who want a national party, and rather than not have one will concede largely to the slaveholding wing, can it make headway against the Democratic Party? The future has not a very satisfying look to me. The Whig Party may be set down as obsolete. The Republican Party seems to me not to last long. It is nothing but the Free Soil party with accessions. Its name is badly chosen.

*From a letter from Salmon Chase, Free Soil leader, to James Grimes, Whig politician, 13 April 1855.*

#### Source C

On 20 March 1854, a public meeting was held at Ripon, Wisconsin, the second of a series, and by a formal vote, the town committees of the Whig and Free Soil parties were formally dissolved and a new committee formed of three Whigs, one Free Soiler and one Democrat. At the meeting, Mr Bovay said the party should and would formally take the name Republican, though he advised against such a christening at that time and by such a small body of men. Mr Bovay had already opened correspondence with Horace Greeley, urging that the [New York] *Tribune* propose the name for the new anti-slavery party that might be formed but it was not until June 24 that Greeley complied with his request.

*From 'Under the Oaks', commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Republican Party, 1904.*

**Source D**

I remember just as well as if it were yesterday that evening in Ripon back in 1854 when Bovay and sixteen others met in the old school house. He was the brainiest man in the entire community and the thought of giving to the proposed new political party, which would combine the elements of all the parties opposed to the extension of slavery, the name 'Republican' had long been in his mind. He had suggested it to Horace Greeley, with whom he was on intimate terms, and who was then editor of the New York Tribune, the leading Whig organ in the country. At the meeting I suggested that we call our party 'Democratic Republican' and there were other suggestions but Bovay won out. It was largely due to his easy pen and his connections with the leading newspapers in the country that the quarrel inside the Democratic Party resulted in having the name 'Republican' formally adopted by the new party.

*From a newspaper cutting dated 1 December 1906, in the archives of the Wisconsin Historical Society.*

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

- (a) To what extent do Sources C and D agree about the process of naming the Republican Party? [15]
- (b) 'The formation of the Republican Party in 1854 posed a great threat to the party system.' 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 USA and Preparations for the Establishment of the United Nations

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

#### Source A

The period between the publication of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals and the formulation of a definitive Charter by a United Nations conference will determine whether public opinion is helpful or harmful. It is inevitable that there will be active debate, and public opinion will either take a set one way or the other, or it will get confused by the issues. It is, therefore, to our advantage to have these issues clearly understood, and the most favourable public opinions possible established on them before we enter the final negotiations for a definitive treaty. There is little time, so it is necessary to have a very intensive educational programme. Once the Charter is prepared and submitted for public and Senate approval, the issue, as far as we can influence it, must be simply 'Are you for or against this Charter?'

*Internal US State Department Memorandum  
to Edward Stettinius, Secretary of State, October 1944.*

#### Source B

**Content removed due to copyright restrictions.**

#### Source C

I have never for an instant wavered in my belief that an agreement to ensure world peace and security can be reached. A conference of all the United Nations will meet in San Francisco on 25 April, to agree a Charter, under which the peace of the world will be preserved. Under the US Constitution, this Charter has to be approved by the Senate. The American people face a stark choice over whether to join and lead a new international organisation. The Senate's decision on this issue will determine the fate of the United States – and the world – for generations to come. There can be no middle ground here. We shall have to take responsibility for world collaboration or we shall have to bear the responsibility for another world conflict. Twenty-five years ago, American fighting men looked to the statesmen of the world to finish the work of peace for which they fought and suffered. We failed them then. We cannot fail them again and expect the world again to survive. Unless you here in the halls of Congress, with the support of the American people, support the Charter, the preparations will not have lasting results.

*President Franklin D Roosevelt, addressing the US Congress, 1 March 1945.*

**Source D**

This conference to prepare the Charter of a world organisation was close to the heart of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. The last hours of his life were spent in preparation for this moment – a moment he would not live to see. We meet here at the time and at the place which he proposed to accomplish a task essential to the great purpose for which he spent his strength so lavishly – the assurance of lasting peace after victory in this war. We have lost a wise and valiant leader, but the purpose lives on. In this purpose, the USA is more resolute than ever. In this purpose to build an enduring structure of world peace, the people of the USA believe they are firmly united with all other nations, both large and small. We Americans believe that nations must work together to make secure both peace and freedom, because the vital national interests of each nation require it. No nation can afford anything less than success in this endeavour. The deepest hope and highest purpose of all mankind – enduring peace – is here committed to our hands. Let us unite with confidence and hope in our common labour.

*US Secretary of State, Edward Stettinius, opening the San Francisco Conference,  
25 April 1945.*

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

- (a) Compare and contrast the views of Source B and Source C regarding the USA's membership of the proposed new international peacekeeping organisation. [15]
- (b) 'During 1944–45, Americans supported plans to create a new international peacekeeping organisation.' How far do Sources A to D support this view? [25]

**BLANK PAGE**

---

Permission to reproduce items where third-party owned material protected by copyright is included has been sought and cleared where possible. Every reasonable effort has been made by the publisher (UCLES) to trace copyright holders, but if any items requiring clearance have unwittingly been included, the publisher will be pleased to make amends at the earliest possible opportunity.

To avoid the issue of disclosure of answer-related information to candidates, all copyright acknowledgements are reproduced online in the Cambridge International Examinations Copyright Acknowledgements Booklet. This is produced for each series of examinations and is freely available to download at [www.cie.org.uk](http://www.cie.org.uk) after the live examination series.

Cambridge International Examinations is part of the Cambridge Assessment Group. Cambridge Assessment is the brand name of University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate (UCLES), which is itself a department of the University of Cambridge.