

Cambridge International AS & A Level

HISTORY

9389/11

Paper 1 Document Question

October/November 2020

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. Blank pages are indicated.

Section A: European Option

Liberalism and Nationalism in Italy and Germany, 1815–1871

France and Italy go to War Against Austria

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

Source A

There is no doubt that Napoleon's ideas shift from one extreme to another, and the most contradictory decisions follow each other in his mind. In my last talk with him I found him agreeable but he showed some distrust and annoyance with Austria. The Orsini trial seems to show Napoleon not only as the master of Italy's fate, but also a supporter of Italian liberty. Here, in Paris, there is the continuous activity of the Italian nationalists trying to drag Napoleon to the point where he will intervene in Italian affairs. They are trying to convince him that his intervention will be strongly supported by all in Italy. This, too, has upset his thinking. It has flattered his ego and reminds him of the time when he was a conspirator in central Italy.

From the diary of Count Hübner, the Austrian Ambassador in Paris, April 1858.

Source B

Last month, Signor Conneau, the Emperor's doctor, came to Florence and through a common friend expressed a desire to see me. It then became clear that the Emperor Napoleon knew my writings. During the subsequent discussions, Conneau made it quite explicit that the Emperor still intended to liberate Italy, just as he had attempted to in 1831, and that on the first favourable opportunity the Emperor would put his ideas into practice. The liberation of Italy was an urgent necessity for the Emperor. In this way he would establish himself firmly in France and in Europe. It will help him become the master of the Eastern Question and controller of the Mediterranean. He is hoping to unite the Latin race against the Germanic race and form three separate states in Italy. As to whether his ideas will gain much support here in Italy remains to be seen, particularly on the issue of the separate states.

A Tuscan politician, writing to Cavour, July 1858.

Source C

Your Majesty now considers that we should delay the date fixed for the outbreak of war. Mazzini may retain a few followers among the dregs of society, thanks to the socialist ideas he has adopted, but he has lost all support from the enlightened and the middle classes of Italy. After the Congress of Paris we were able to persuade the great national party to put its hopes increasingly in Piedmont, upheld and encouraged by France.

However, the Austrian Governor of Lombardy is attempting to win over the masses and the educated classes to abandon the national cause. His efforts so far have been ineffectual. The aristocracy, the wealthy, the lower-middle classes and the common people have stood against the anti-national power and will support our joint enterprise. It is therefore in our highest interest that our struggle against Austria should begin before he starts to gain support and there is opposition to war. My King begs your Majesty to weigh up with your great wisdom these political and military considerations and he hopes that we can agree to start hostilities against Austria at least by July 1859.

A letter from Cavour to Napoleon III, September 1858.

Source D

Any war in which Italians should fight in the name of independence, and not from that of liberty, would lead to tremendous delusions and the mere substitution of new masters for old. Any war in which the Italians delude themselves with the idea of achieving independence with the help of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte would be foolish and a crime. It would be foolish because he cannot establish by force of arms in Italy the liberty he has drowned in blood in France. It would be a crime because to make an alliance with such a despot is to deny the principles which justify and make sacred the Italian cause. He has no other reason for entering Italy, but the acquisition of a piece of territory as a price of his aid.

Mazzini's public declaration, London, February 1859.

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

- (a) Compare and contrast the views given in Sources A and B on Napoleon's motives for entering a war against Austria in Italy. [15]
- (b) 'There was full support amongst Italians for a joint French-Piedmontese attack on Austria.' How far do Sources A to D support this view? [25]

Section B: American Option**The Origins of the Civil War, 1846–1861****The Passage of the Kansas–Nebraska Act, 1854**

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

Source A

Slavery has again triumphed – as when, for the last half century, has it not? The Kansas–Nebraska Bill has passed! So far as Congress has the power, it has extended slavery over the whole of that vast Territory. It was not hastily done, but coolly and deliberately, in the face of unprecedented protests from the people of the North and a heroic resistance from the minority in Congress. The Act has been passed for the benefit of one hundred thousand slaveholders. And it has passed with the confident expectation that it will be agreed by the people of the country, North and South. We fear this is right. Will the people submit to their despotic masters? Will you, the falsely-called freemen – the gagged, insulted, robbed men of the North – accept this surrender?

From the 'Anti-slavery Bugle' New Lisbon (Ohio), May 1854.

Source B

We believe that a few weeks, or months at most, will satisfactorily show that the predictions made by the enemies of the Kansas–Nebraska Bill of a renewal of a terrible sectional strife were sheer falsehoods. A few leaders, like Horace Greeley, may, in their mad ravings, seek to set the country in turmoil. However, the masses of people everywhere are motivated by a sound and healthy conservatism. With the Compromise of 1850, the power for evil of these fanatical disturbers of the public peace was broken. Their growling now is just the last groan of a dying monster. We have not believed that, practically, the South will gain from the passage of the Kansas–Nebraska Bill. There is no likelihood of these Territories being created into slave states.

From the 'Memphis Eagle and Enquirer' (Tennessee), a Whig supporting newspaper, May 1854.

Source C

A meeting of true and honest Democrats of Platte County, numbering some five hundred persons, assembled on Friday evening. They resolved that:

As citizens of Missouri, deeply interested in the organisation of the Territory of Kansas–Nebraska on our borders, we tender our heartfelt thanks to all those who, despite the threats of fanaticism and the efforts of faction, stood firm by principle. By the passage of the Kansas–Nebraska Bill, they have enabled us to protect our property from the criminal 'do-goodery' of the abolitionists. We congratulate our country on the passage of this Bill. The question of slavery is finally settled, without any compromise of principle, on such terms as will for all future time exclude that subject from Congress.

From the 'Platte Argus' (Missouri), June 1854.

Source D

The freemen of Vermont assembled, in response to spontaneous calls from various parts of the state and embracing all political parties, to consider the present crisis concerning the passage of the Kansas–Nebraska Act.

They resolved that the repeal of the Missouri Compromise contained in the recent Act of Congress for the creation of Kansas and Nebraska Territories, admitting slavery into a region till then sealed against it by law, is destructive of all confidence in the integrity, good faith and honour of the national and state governments favouring such repeal.

They also resolved that, as there were now no great measures of legislation or policy dividing political parties except that of slavery, as Whigs, Free Soilers and Democrats they should freely relinquish former party associations and form a new party. The aim of this party would be to secure the blessings of liberty for themselves and posterity. They recommended to the friends of freedom in other states to join this party and be known as *Republicans*.

From the 'Burlington Free Press' (Vermont), July 1854.

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

- (a) Compare and contrast Sources C and D as responses to the passage of the Kansas–Nebraska Act. [15]
- (b) 'The passage of the Kansas–Nebraska Act divided the country over the question of slavery.' 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 in the 1920s**

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

Source A

In the recent history of the League nothing has been more admirable than the joint effort to come to the aid of Austria, not only because it was of value to other nations that Austria should not be allowed to fall into chaos, but because they thought it was the duty of the League to do its best to rescue a nation which was in serious trouble. There have been many other things in which the members of the League have worked together. The opium question, the release of prisoners of war, helping refugees, and many other activities have made it possible for a spirit of international friendship to exist. No one who has attended the Assemblies at Geneva can fail to recognise that an atmosphere has been created in which international disputes lose their bitterness, and their solutions become possible without disaster or humiliation to either of the contestants. The League can work. It has proved that public opinion and international cooperation are weapons against war, and that peace can be secured by their means.

From a book by Robert Cecil, published in August 1923.

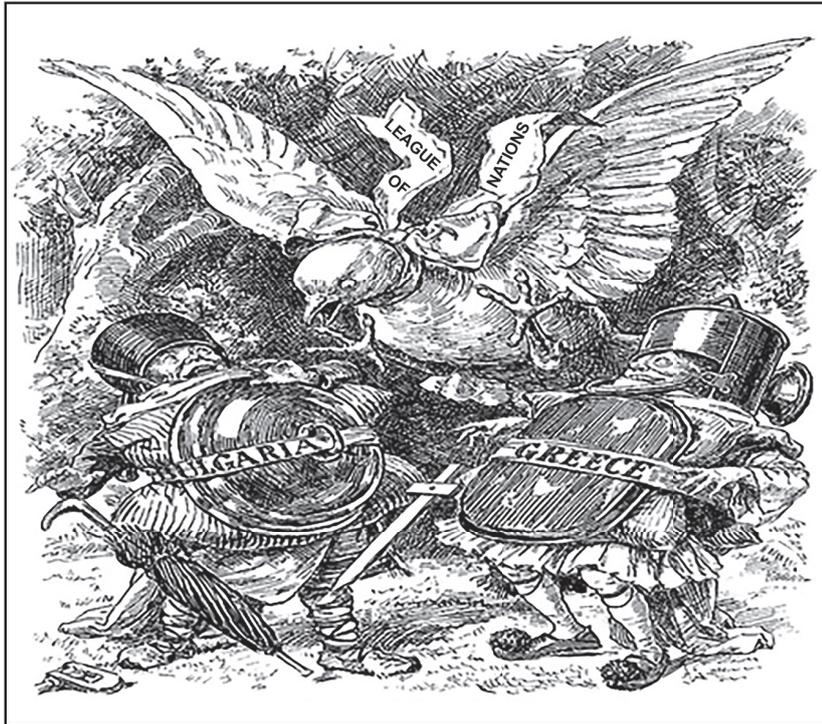
He was a British politician and toured the United States in 1923 promoting the work of the League.

Source B

The avoidance of its responsibility by the League of Nations in the Corfu crisis was commented upon yesterday, when the Council of the League of Nations met in public in Geneva. It discussed its reply to the findings of the Ambassadors' Conference on the dispute between Greece and Italy. It was left to Sweden to voice the anxiety which had reigned in League circles during this critical period. Sweden expressed regret that the Council had not addressed the challenge made by Mussolini on the question of the competency of the League and explained its position in plain language. Amongst those who looked to the League as an important guarantee for their security, this passive attitude on the part of the Council had caused profound anxiety.

From an article in a British newspaper, September 1923.

Source C



A British cartoon published in November 1925. A poem was published below the cartoon which read, 'Just then came down a monstrous dove whose force was purely moral, which turned the heroes' hearts to love and made them drop their quarrel.'

Source D

For more than six years now, it has been my task, on behalf of the League of Nations, to investigate and as far as possible to alleviate the terrible effects of war. During all these years I have had to deal with hundreds of thousands of prisoners of war, with famine, with frightened refugees, the little helpless children left alone because of war.

Let me suggest the course which I believe can lead us forward. It is, then, the duty of all members to unite in the task of abolishing war, to participate positively in this work, not to wait passively but to act. Governments must stake everything upon the policy of the League of Nations without thinking about any lines of retreat. They must work in every way and at every opportunity to build up the power and strength of the League. If they do so, and if their peoples support them in the same spirit, then the evil monster of war will be defeated, and our future secured.

From a speech by Nobel Peace Prize winner Fridtjof Nansen, High Commissioner for Refugees in the League of Nations, December 1926.

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

(a) Compare and contrast Sources A and D as evidence about attitudes towards the League of Nations. [15]

(b) How far do Sources A to D agree that the League of Nations was a success in the 1920s? [25]

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