



# Cambridge International AS & A Level

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**HISTORY**

**9389/13**

Paper 1 Document Question

**May/June 2021**

**1 hour**

You must answer on the enclosed answer booklet.

You will need: Answer booklet (enclosed)

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## 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 [ ].

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This document has **8** pages. Any blank pages are indicated.

**Section A: European Option****Liberalism and Nationalism in Italy and Germany, 1815–1871****The Problem of Italian Unification**

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

**Source A**

For us in Sicily, annexation means order and justice. We shall lose none of our rights in doing so, as we shall be joining not Piedmont, but Italy. To insist on any special conditions for us would imply that we do not want Italian unity. It would signify a wish to separate from the kingdom of Victor Emmanuel, or fall again under the Bourbons, or to turn republican or to remain in our present state of uncertainty. In any case, we may be sure that regional liberty cannot be denied us. An Italian Parliament will have to provide for it as all Italy will be represented. Moreover, we should trust the word of Victor Emmanuel.

*From a Sicilian newspaper, October 1860.*

**Source B**

The laws of the Two Sicilies are very good and compare well with those of all civilised nations. They are the best in all of Italy. These Napoleonic codes are already in force in Southern Italy, yet you want Naples to submit unconditionally and immediately, with all her eyes shut, to a new Kingdom who has yet no settled laws, whose finances are rocking, where there is serious disorder and violence, and whose administrative organisation seems to be a mystery even to the members of the cabinet themselves.

*A speech by Giuseppe Ferrari to the Italian Parliament, 8 October 1860.*

**Source C**

Gentlemen, I have said and I repeat that Rome, and only Rome, must be the capital of Italy. But there the difficulties begin. We must go to Rome, but on two conditions. Firstly, we must go in partnership with France. Second, we must not allow the incorporation of this city into the rest of Italy to be seen by the large mass of Catholics as evidence of the servitude of the Church. We must go to Rome without undermining the true independence of the Pope. We must go to Rome without extending civil authority over the spiritual authority of the Pope. We believe in the independence of the Pope. His dignity and the independence of the Church can be safeguarded through the separation of the two powers applied to the relationship between the civil and religious society.

*Cavour in the Chamber of Deputies of the first Italian Parliament, 25 March 1861.*

**Source D**

By geographical position, as well as by its traditions, Rome is the natural centre of Italy. It would be hard to think of a strongly established Kingdom of Italy without Rome as its capital. The papal government is so weak that it will always be dependent on foreign armies. At the moment Rome is under French protection. Within Rome plots against us are being hatched and organised acts of violence and terror are spreading in the South. While the spiritual power of the Papacy is accepted, the governing power of the Popes is against both the spirit of the Christian religion and the needs of civil society. Priests and civil government are radically incompatible. The populations of the Papal States suffer from this and hate a system of government which condemns them to idleness and a lack of economic and intellectual progress. As long as this lasts, the Romans will be caught in a terrible vicious circle between mass rebellion and foreign occupation. Italy cannot accept a situation which is such a permanent threat to peace.

*Ricasoli, Prime Minister of Italy, writing to the Italian Ambassador to Berlin, 15 July 1861.*

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

- (a) Compare and contrast the attitudes towards papal authority shown in Sources C and D. [15]
- (b) 'Regionalism was the main problem facing those desiring Italian unity.' How far do Sources A to D support this view? [25]

**Section B: American Option****The Origins of the Civil War, 1846–1861****The Presidential Election, 1860**

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

**Source A**

I am of the opinion that it would be unwise for the Southern states to secede, if Lincoln were to be elected. I believe that in the Union we would still have left to us the means of constitutional resistance to aggressions against the equal rights of the people of the Southern states. We would still have a majority in the US Senate opposed to the abolitionists. Without the consent of that body no law could be passed. We have also the US Supreme Court, whose opinions are favourable to the equality, both of persons and of property. We also have a majority of the United States opposed to the faction of which Lincoln is the head.

*From a published letter from a Breckinridge supporter, Kentucky, October 1860.*

**Source B**

Every Southern voice which reaches us, whether from press, politicians or the people, is ringing with discontent and a spirit of resistance to oppression in view of the probable success of the Republican party at the Presidential election. However we may deplore the lengths to which their speakers go in spreading divisive principles, it is impossible to ignore the fact that the public declarations of Mr Lincoln and Mr Seward are intended to spread alarm throughout the South. This justifies the South adopting a defensive position. The South is neither so blind or stupid that it cannot comprehend all this. It is not in the South where this danger can be averted. It lies with the conservative men of the North and Middle states to put down this desperate faction. It is the duty of every man who loves peace and the Union to resist the election of Lincoln.

*From the 'New York Herald', October 1860.*

**Source C**

It is asked, if Lincoln be elected president, what should the South do? Speaking for myself, and for myself alone, I am free to say that the success of Mr Lincoln would justify the Southern states in withdrawing from the Union. I think the Southern states should meet in conference, in order to devise a way of avoiding the disunion of which everyone disapproves. I feel that the South is awakening to the magnitude of the dangers that surround it. Our people, by an overwhelming majority, composed of Whigs and Democrats, will show that, if we cannot win the presidential victory, that we can at least present to the enemy an unbroken and united defiance.

*From a published letter from the Governor of Louisiana, November 1860.*

**Source D**

The presidential election of 1860 involved three main groups. Its most remarkable feature was that, in advance of the election, a group of leading men of the South had angrily announced that, in the event of the failure to elect their candidate, John Breckinridge, they would proceed to take the slaveholding South out of the Union. In no event whatever would they submit to the rule of Abraham Lincoln. These threats probably cost Republican candidates many votes. A second group thought that this was an empty threat. The third group was tired of the South's rule-or-ruin intimidation. It came as an insult and a challenge. Had southern men thought about the most effective means to provoke the solid opposition of the North against slavery, they could not have hit on any better way to do this.

*An extract from 'The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass', written by Frederick Douglass, published in 1887.*

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

- (a) To what extent do Sources B and D agree about Northern views on the election campaign? [15]
- (b) 'The 1860 presidential election united the South in favour of secession.' 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 achievements of the League of Nations**

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

**Source A**

The policy of collective security has been tried and it has failed to prevent war. There is no reason why we should abandon the idea of the League and give up the ideals for which it stands. But surely we must admit that we have tried to impose upon the League a task which is beyond its power to fulfill. It is time for the members to decide to limit the functions of the League so that they match its real powers. But if the League were to be limited in that way, it must be accepted that it could no longer be relied upon by itself to secure the peace of the world. Is it not apparent that the policy of sanctions involves a risk of war? Is it not apparent that the risk must increase in proportion to the effectiveness of the sanctions?

*From a speech by Neville Chamberlain, a leading member of the British government, June 1936.*

**Source B**

The delegates played the game of power politics without any regard for the good of the world. The League was mainly under the influence of Britain and France, with the British government opposing any form of collective security. It did good work in the non-political field, but this does not justify the existence of the League which was founded to preserve peace, not to deal with public health or the opium trade. For its failure, the governments that compose it, and in particular those of the Great Powers, are responsible.

The League would have worked better had it been organised differently. The application of sanctions would have been more effective. Finally, the fact that the League's decisions had to be unanimous was a great hindrance to the efficient working of the League, indeed it has often paralysed it. Many of the decisions of the League have, therefore, been unsatisfactory compromises.

*From a book entitled 'The Geneva Racket, 1920–1939' written by a British anti-fascist journalist, published in 1941.*

**Source C**

Have our efforts for those twenty years been thrown away? The work of the League is imprinted on the social, economic and humanitarian life of the world and above all a great advance was made in the international organisation of peace. For the first time an organisation was constructed to abolish war. It strove for an improved civilisation, better international cooperation and protection of the helpless.

The League failed to preserve peace, the main reason for its existence. That does not mean that the work of twenty years counts for nothing. All the main ideas I have described remain. There is now a new organisation, the United Nations. Its Charter is an improvement because it recognises more clearly than the Covenant did that peace must be enforced. However, the League's failure was not due to weaknesses in the Covenant. It failed because member states did not accept the obligation to use the provisions of the Covenant.

*From a speech by Lord Cecil, one of the architects of the League, speaking at the last meeting of the Assembly, April 1946.*

**Source D**

It is not the League which has failed. It is not its principles which have been found wanting. It is the nations which have neglected it. It is the governments which have abandoned it. The League leaves behind it lasting works. Some fully succeeded and the new organisation will merely have to carry them on. This applies in public health and social questions. The United Nations will be able to use the League's achievements. The international armed force is the great innovation and is the most definite gain of the Charter. In the essential task of maintaining peace the League succeeded during a number of years. However, in the case of Italy we were too slow to impose sanctions, and we stopped short of the only two which would have been effective – the cutting off of oil supplies and the closing of the Suez Canal.

*From a speech by a French delegate at the last meeting of the Assembly, April 1946.*

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

- (a) To what extent do Sources B and D agree about the weaknesses of the League of Nations? [15]
- (b) 'The League of Nations achieved little.' How far do Sources A to D support this view? [25]

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