Cambridge Assessment International Education

Cambridge International AS & A Level

HISTORY **9389/11**

Paper 1 Document Question **May/June 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.

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Section A: European Option

Liberalism and Nationalism in Italy and Germany, 1815–1871

The Impact of the Vienna Settlement on Italy

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

Source A

Austria is composed of various different states and has no sense of national unity. If it is given the rule over Italy then it will bring nothing but misery to Italy and problems for itself. If Austria will just allow itself to keep possession of Lombardy, and allow that kingdom its own local government, then it might prevent further problems. However Austria seems determined to rule or influence much of Italy and restrain all advancement or progress in civilisation in all Italian states. This plan will ruin Austria's finances and lead to further wars. Austria's only motivation is self-interest and a desire to avoid any new ideas of liberty and nationalism, stirred up by France, moving into its territories.

A letter from Count Ernst of Münster to the British Prince Regent, 1815.
Münster was a personal friend of the Prince Regent and was present at the Vienna negotiations.

Source B

Leaving aside any ideas of rights or generosity, and considering only the interests of the other peoples of Europe, is the present state of Italy favourable or not to peace and prosperity? In all fairness it must be said that, at the Congress of Vienna, consideration of general interests may have led the Allied Sovereigns to consent to the present partition of Italy. The pressing need at the time was to bring peace to Europe. There had been many years of terrible war. If the partition of Italy was necessary to bring an end to this war, I, as an Italian, would have consented to it at that price. But will the present state of Italy help to maintain peace in either Italy itself or in the rest of Europe? No. The Austrians and the French will be back.

The Piedmontese Ambassador to Russia, writing to the Tsar, March 1818.

Source C

At present I cannot see any immediate peril to the system imposed by the Congress in any part of Italy, provided that our master in Vienna agrees to send substantial forces into Italy, at least two more armies. The government of our adorable monarch is paternal, just and generous, and has brought to his Italian subjects many advantages such as equality before the law and no arbitrary government behaviour. All these advantages have not been sufficient to compensate for the simple fact that they have insulted Italian self-esteem. Italians have lost sight of the many advantages that our rule has given them. They want their own system of government and not one imposed on them by Austrians. They loathe it. There is a further risk that the current structure of Italy will enable the plague of revolution to spread from Piedmont into Lombardy and Venetia, and then into the Papal States. Our position in Italy is guaranteed by physical force alone; moral force we lack entirely.

Memorandum by the Governor of Lombardy to Prince Metternich, July 1820.

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Source D

The settlement imposed on Italy by the Congress of Vienna was as arbitrary as it was ineffective. It was based on no principle, not even that of legitimacy, as may be seen in the treatment given to Genoa and Venice. Certainly it was not based on national interests or popular will. Disregarding not only geographical circumstances but general interests and private interests created by twenty years of revolution, that great Congress acted solely by justifying the rights of the strongest. This created a political structure devoid of any moral basis. These acts could only bear bitter fruit. Try as hard as they could, even our better rulers could not prevent great dissatisfaction arising from that dreadful Treaty. Those radicals who desired real change exploited the passions aroused by Napoleon and the French Revolution. They found support from those who saw the major errors caused by Vienna. Hence the unfortunate risings of 1820 and 1821.

Cavour, in an article in a French magazine, May 1846.

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

(a) Compare and contrast the views expressed in Sources A and C about Austria's attitude towards Italy. [15]

(b) 'The Vienna Settlement was harmful to Italy.' How far do Sources A to D support this view? [25]

Section B: American Option

The Origins of the Civil War, 1846–1861

The Election Campaign of 1860

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

Source A

The military organisation of the sectional Republicans in their Wide-Awake clubs is a significant feature. One of them here in New York City is taking the shape of an artillery corps, while we read that Auburn, the home city of Senator Seward, is arming. This is eminently right and proper. The election of Abraham Lincoln would mean war on the South and the Wide-Awakes, therefore, are preparing, in the event of his success, for the irrepressible conflict. Part of the plan, according to Sumner, is to 'drive the slaveholders like poisoned rats into their holes' and to do that artillery companies will be necessary. A speaker at the Syracuse Convention agreed. He called on the Republicans to rally for a grand fight and to remember that they could kill more men standing solidly in file than when they were divided and scattered.

From the 'New York Express', September 1860.

Source B

The Wide-Awake torchlight procession this evening will be one of the most striking sights ever seen in this city. Delegations are coming from all the neighbouring towns and cities and it is probable that at least 25 000 will parade in our streets tonight. Each man carries a torch and the effect of this immense procession, thus illuminated, will be highly brilliant and effective. The speed with which the Wide-Awake organisation has been completed is very remarkable. It had its origin in Connecticut some two years ago and has since extended to every section of the Northern states. Its members are young men of character and energy, earnest in their Republican convictions and enthusiastic for fighting the election. The South has been taught to regard them as a military force, raised and trained for aggression on Southern rights. Nothing could be more absurd. Their purposes are thoroughly peaceful and political. But it cannot be denied that, in case of emergency, they would form the core of an admirable fighting force for any service that might be required of them.

From 'The New York Times', October 1860.

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Source C

A picture from 'Harper's Weekly', the most widely-read journal of the time, published in New York, October 1860. It shows the grand procession of Wide-Awakes in New York on the evening of 3 October 1860.

Source D

The Black Republicans last night had a torchlight procession and a mass meeting in Front Street Theatre. Under a strong police guard, the Wide-Awakes proceeded to the theatre. Once there, they were met by a large crowd who attacked them with brickbats, stones and other missiles. The police went to the rescue of the Republicans and a number of police officers were struck with bricks and stones. The Wide-Awakes then entered the theatre. The gallery of the theatre had filled up with citizens. They rushed downstairs and met the Wide-Awakes with the police between the two parties. Everyone stood and hooted and bellowed but did not come to blows. The scene outside was tremendous. Several thousand people had gathered and the excitement was tense beyond description. One after another of the Wide-Awakes claimed protection of the police and were escorted home until all were gone.

From the 'Daily Exchange' Baltimore (Maryland), November 1860.

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

(a) Compare and contrast Sources B and D as evidence about the level of support for the Wide-Awakes. [15]

(b) How far do Sources A to D support the view that the Wide-Awakes were a military force? [25]

Section C: International Option

The Search for International Peace and Security, 1919–1945

Was France to blame for the failure of the Disarmament Conference?

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

Source A

It suits us that Germany should rearm quickly to offset France. We must try to build up ourselves so that we can look Germany in the eye whenever the need arises. If the right of rearmament is withheld, then there is no reason why Germany and other countries should stay in the League. In that case it will end with a bang. We have foreseen this; the League of Nations is only an Anglo-French club set up to maintain Anglo-French dominance. If tomorrow our economic situation has changed for the better and enables us to withstand Anglo-French economic reprisals, it is possible that Fascist Italy will walk out of Geneva. We cannot make this gesture yet, for we are unable to resist the reprisals of the wealthy few who control the greater part of the world's economic situation. The day this danger no longer exists, the moment will have come for Italy to say to Geneva, 'We have had enough of your pacifist democracy, and your imperialism, hiding behind your plans for peace!' Perhaps the day is closer than we think!

From an address by Mussolini to a meeting of the Fascist Grand Council, April 1932.

Source B

The French propose that there should be certain armaments, bombing aeroplanes of the larger type, at the service of the League of Nations. The largest type of aeroplane should be physically handed over to the League, and an intermediate type should be solemnly declared to be at the service of the League, though remaining in the physical possession and control of the states which built them. The idea behind this plan, not limited to aeroplanes, is that the League of Nations should have a force at its disposal for the purposes of enforcing the true rules of international conduct. The second proposal is for a protocol, binding those who sign it, to come to the assistance of the victims of aggression in a very definite way. I mention these things because when the discussions at Geneva are resumed, these two proposals present very grave and very controversial issues.

The British Foreign Secretary, explaining to Parliament the French proposals put forward at the Disarmament Conference, May 1932.

Source C

After five years of preparation and six months of work, the labours of the Disarmament Conference have come to an end, having accomplished nothing. All the capitalist countries presented declarations camouflaged in pacifist phrases which defended their own specific programmes of rearmament. The most characteristic was the programme of French imperialism. France refused to agree to any limitation on armaments and proposed instead to place the most powerful instruments of warfare into the hands of a special army controlled by the League of Nations. The proposal did not aim at the limitation of armaments, but rather the legalisation by the League of Nations of all instruments of war. Only the Soviet Union presented a clear and exact programme of disarmament, pointing out that disarmament alone will safeguard the people of the world from the unheard-of calamities of modern warfare. But this proposal was rejected by all the capitalist countries.

From an article in a Soviet newspaper, July 1932.

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Source D

A cartoon showing the Prime Minister of France, published on the front cover of a British magazine, July 1934.

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

(a) Compare and contrast Sources B and C as evidence about the French proposals to the Disarmament Conference in May 1932. [15]

(b) How far do Sources A to D support the idea that France was to blame for the failure of the Disarmament Conference? [25]

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