Cambridge Assessment International Education

Cambridge International AS & A Level

HISTORY **9389/13**

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 Revolutions in Italy, 1848

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

Source A

The government of Naples and Sicily is in the hands of thieves and fools. It is not King Ferdinand II who is at fault, but the system he has inherited and the men who work for him. The Minister of the Interior is scandalously corrupt. Our agriculture, which needs government attention and care, is run by idiotic clerks who no one, even the King himself, seems able to replace. We have fertile land, but it is deserted or cultivated by weary and exploited peasants. There is often a bread shortage and people die of starvation. Good landowners are taxed highly. Trade is restricted by endless rules and corruption. The King gives to the poor, but there is little even he can do. He cannot end this system which has been imposed on us by others.

A pamphlet published in Naples, 1847. The author was a university professor who had been imprisoned for criticising the government of Naples.

Source B

Events in Lombardy are being provoked by the brutality of the police and the ferocity of Marshal Radetzky. Four months ago I would never have believed that hatred could spread everywhere so fast. The police are desperate and we are expecting them to confiscate all arms. The army of spies has doubled. People live in continual fear of being arrested. All hopes are now concentrated on Piedmont and Charles Albert. In Milan the people were hoping that they could turn the Austrians out by 1851; now they are thinking that it might happen next spring. Radetzky is bound to make a great mistake. We rely on Piedmont to save us. It will be impossible to prevent a fight between the Austrians and the Italians, between slavery and the cause of national independence. We are at a terrifying crossroads and it is your army and King who must pull us out of this agonising situation.

From a letter written by a Lombard politician, to a Piedmontese politician, February 1848.

Source C

News came in concerning the overthrow of Prince Metternich and the granting of a constitution to the people of Austria. Crowds assembled here and demanded the release from prison of the liberals, Manin and Tommaseo. This was granted. While there were several attacks against the foreign troops by a mob shouting ‘Long live Italy’, once the troops were withdrawn, order was quickly restored. The Emperor of Austria has promised the people of Venice a free press, some local government and the formation of their own national guard to keep order. Vienna will, of course, still appoint the Governor, and the Austrian troops remain in barracks here.

The British Consul in Venice to the British Foreign Secretary, March 1848.

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Source D

At Messina in January the people smashed the windows of the royal palace, and the Bourbon coat of arms was torn down in front of the police. Demonstrations against the rulers, and the King in particular, followed throughout the kingdom. There were no leaders but there was the common consent of the people. Crowds were shouting 'Long live Italy, the Sicilian Constitution and Pius IX!' The real rebel is not the people but King Ferdinand II who once swore to keep our constitution and then broke his word. The people of Sicily said they would not lay down their arms or suspend hostilities until Sicily, in a general assembly of Parliament, could revive and remodel its old constitution, to which its Kings had sworn and which all the Powers would recognise.

From 'The Story of Italy from 1815 to 1850' by G La Farina, published in 1861.
The author had been one of the leaders of the 1848 Revolution in Sicily.

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

(a) Compare and contrast the attitudes towards the government of Naples and Sicily in Sources A and D. [15]

(b) 'Hatred of the Austrians was the cause of the 1848 Revolutions in Italy.' How far do Sources A to D support this view? [25]

Section B: American Option

The Origins of the Civil War, 1846–1861

Reactions to the Harpers Ferry Raid, 1859

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

Source A

The insurrection at Harpers Ferry was simply no insurrection at all. Not a slave joined the reckless fanatics who sought to promote their evil policy of emancipation by blood and treason. It was a silly invasion of Virginia by eighteen men. The newspapers of the North are pretty harmonious in representing it as a very insignificant affair. For twenty-five years the Northern people have been keeping up a continual agitation in the Union concerning slavery. They have now organised a vast controlling party in the Northern states, looking to the possession of the federal government to further their purposes of emancipation. Here, then, is the great importance of this abolitionist riot at Harpers Ferry. It shows to the Southern people the destiny which awaits them in this Union. It is an ominous omen of the future.

From the 'Charleston Mercury' (South Carolina), October 1859.

Source B

Though here and there a fanatic in the North has been found to sympathise with Brown, it is a matter of satisfaction that the leading papers and men among the Black Republicans are unmistakable in their criticism of the course of Brown. They respond heartily to the prompt and fair administration of justice to him. The great mass of people, in both North and South, condemn Brown's treason. Our own opinion is that too much importance has been attached to the matter. The very fact that not a single slave joined, or attempted to join, Brown's mad expedition is evidence that they are satisfied with their condition and this should be a warning, an awful warning, to all white men contemplating such insane acts of hostility against Southern slaveholders. The slaves in the South are, as a general thing, in a better condition than the labourers of the North; they are happy and contented. No part of them is at all likely to participate, either in sentiment or deed, with any attempt of madmen to change their present condition.

From the 'Arkansas Gazette', November 1859.

Source C

The 'peculiar institution' has made obvious its harmful influence upon the 'rights of man'. It has inflicted the death penalty upon John Brown for his conscientious observance of the law of brotherhood, as inspired by Jesus Christ, and the law of freedom, as taught by Thomas Jefferson:

Resolved, We have become convinced that the irrepressible conflict is upon us and it will never end until either freedom or slavery is crushed. In such a contest, and under such dire necessity, we say, without fear and without reproach, let freedom stand even if the Union is dissolved!

Resolved, That John Brown, who in his life was a thorn in the side of the oppressor, has, in his death, become to the slave power more terrible than an army.

From Resolutions passed by an interracial meeting in Cleveland (Ohio), December 1859.

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Source D

Did John Brown fail? He certainly did fail to get out of Harpers Ferry before being beaten down by US soldiers. He did fail to save his own life and to lead a liberating army into Virginia. The true question is: did John Brown lose his life in vain? And to this I answer a thousand times, No! He did at least begin the war that ended slavery. If we look over the dates, places and men for which this honour is claimed, we shall find that not Carolina but Virginia, not Fort Sumter but Harpers Ferry, not Colonel Anderson but John Brown began the war that ended American slavery. Until this blow was struck, the irrepressible conflict was one of words, votes and compromises. When John Brown stretched forth his arm, the sky was cleared. The time for compromises was gone.

From a speech by Frederick Douglass at Harpers Ferry, May 1881.

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

(a) Compare and contrast Sources A and B as evidence of Southern responses to the Harpers Ferry raid. [15]

(b) How far do Sources A to D support the view that the Harpers Ferry raid was the true start of the Civil War between North and South? [25]

Section C: International Option

The Search for International Peace and Security, 1919–1945

The League and the Disarmament Conference

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

Source A

Our proposal of a programme of complete disarmament is a great deal simpler than the schemes which have so far been used as a basis for the work of the Preparatory Commission. I confess that, on acquainting myself with the findings of this Commission, I was shocked at the complexity and confusion of the questions surrounding disarmament. Complete agreement has only been achieved about trivial points. Most of the suggestions evoked disagreements which have so far failed to be reconciled, either by the Commission or by private negotiations between the governments concerned. Even when these are addressed, the Commission will still only be at the start of its real difficulties. It will still have to agree to the satisfaction of all as to what constitutes security for each country, taking into account the extent and importance of its international obligations, before the level of its armaments can be established.

From a speech by Litvinov, representative of the USSR to the Disarmament Conference Preparatory Commission, November 1927.

Source B

I understand the situation of my colleagues of the USSR, who are newcomers here. They have come to take part in work which is in the middle of its development. They can reasonably be tempted to think that the complexities of our problems are excuses for never bringing the work to a successful conclusion. The USSR can be assured that we have all come here in the same mood, to disarm as fully as possible. We perceived the difficulties of disarmament and were compelled to solve them one by one. Instead of this long stretch of work, the USSR proposes something very vast and very simple; indeed, too simple – complete disarmament. For centuries mankind has desired this and war has not been avoided. The value of the League of Nations is that it has started on a totally different basis. It has linked the problem of disarmament to the problem of security, and it has matched the reduction of armaments to the minimum compatible with national security.

From a speech by Paul-Boncour, representative of France, in response to Litvinov's comments at the Disarmament Conference Preparatory Commission, November 1927.

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Source C

The amount of time that has been wasted at Geneva in discussing questions such as the reduction of the size of aeroplanes and the prohibition of bombing has reduced me to despair. What is the point of reducing the size of aeroplanes? So long as we are working at this form of warfare, every scientific man in the country would immediately turn to making a high-explosive bomb the size of a small nut and as powerful as a bomb of big dimensions, and our fate may be just as bad. The difficulty is this: will any form of prohibition, whether by treaty or agreement not to bomb, be effective in war? Quite frankly, I doubt it. If a man has a potential weapon and has his back to the wall and is going to be killed, he will use that weapon whatever it is and whatever undertaking he has given about it.

From a speech to Parliament by a senior member of the British government, November 1932.

Source D

A cartoon published in an American newspaper, 1934.

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

(a) Compare and contrast Sources A and B as evidence about the Preparatory Commission. [15]

(b) How far do Sources A to D support the assertion that no one at the Disarmament Conference wanted to give up their weapons? [25]

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