Cambridge Assessment International Education

Cambridge International AS & A Level

HISTORY **9389/12**

Paper 1 Document Question **May/June 2021**

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. Any blank pages are indicated.

DC (MB/SW) 202622/1
© UCLES 2021

Section A: European Option

Liberalism and Nationalism in Italy and Germany, 1815–1871

Piedmont and the Crimean War

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

Source A

I know that you would want to have exact information as to the part which Piedmont could take if it joins with us and our ally Austria against Russia. Will the rest of Italy rise in revolution against Austria, the Pope, and the King of Naples who they see as enemies? If so, how is this revolution to be mastered and suppressed? I understand from the government of Piedmont that if Austria is given new territories in the East, this will make it the barrier to Russia. Austria would then retain some territory in Italy and assist in the repression of revolution there. We then give Piedmont both Lombardy and Venice. This will calm Italy. The questions of Tuscany, Rome and Naples would slowly then be solved without harming Austria. These states would see the good sense of reforms which would disarm radicals and then Piedmont would be strong enough to crush any attempt at revolution in Italy. Unless Piedmont is given territory, it will not join us against Russia.

The British Ambassador to Piedmont writing to the British Foreign Secretary, October 1854.

Source B

The French Ambassador: 'Am I to understand that your Majesty wishes to join France in our alliance with England and contribute your contingent of troops to the Crimea?'

The King: 'Yes, that is my wish, and it will be done. It was on my orders that Cavour spoke of it and if the ministers have to be dismissed as a result, then I will dismiss them. Sending troops is the only sensible thing to do. Once our soldiers are joined with yours, I won't worry about Austria and its future in Italy. Besides, one must do something against Austria to pacify our nationalists. If we don't send our soldiers to Russia, even working alongside Austria, we shall be led by all these Italian revolutionaries into committing a major mistake of some sort in Italy. Cavour is getting too involved with his friends in Lombardy and their anti-Austrian conspiracies, but their turn will come and I want to help them too. Austria is at present too powerful in Italy and its role needs reducing.'

An account of a conversation between Victor Emmanuel II and the French Ambassador, November 1854.
This account was given in a book written by a journalist who was a strong supporter of Cavour, published in 1878.

Source C

The Piedmontese Government desires to adhere to the offensive and defensive Treaty of 10 April between the governments of France and England. At the same time, it will sign an agreement by which it undertakes to provide a contingent of 15 000 men and will be loaned the money to pay for them. In addition, the two Western Powers declare that they will, at the conclusion of the peace, take into consideration the services provided by the Piedmontese Government.

By the Treaty the Piedmontese Government:

- enters the European Concert, takes part in the negotiations
- sits on the Congress held for re-establishing peace and restoring the European balance
- requires that the condition of Italy will be taken into consideration.

Piedmont's agreement with France and Britain, 14 December 1854.

Source D

The experience of recent years has proved, in my opinion, how little Italy has benefitted from conspiracies, revolutions and disorderly uprisings. Far from helping Italy they have been a tremendous calamity and they have damaged the sympathy that other European peoples felt for Italy. We need now to prove to Europe that Italy has sufficient sense to govern itself freely and according to law, adopting the best forms of government. We need also to prove that Italy's military bravery is as great as those of its ancestors. This Treaty with France and Britain will not produce any serious economic and financial disadvantages. The military part will not offer any dangers and the political consequences should be positively happy.

Cavour's speech to the Piedmontese Parliament, 6 February 1855.

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

(a) Compare and contrast the views on Austria's future role in Italian affairs in Sources A and B. [15]

(b) 'Piedmont went to war against Russia in order to prevent revolution 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

Implementing the Fugitive Slave Act

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

Source A

We have this morning the happiness to announce the passage through Congress of another healing measure, the Fugitive Slave Bill. It is a measure which we have always thought to be constitutional. We should have been glad to see it passed as a measure which Congress owed to the Southern states, even if it had not been passed in the spirit of compromise and peace. Nonetheless, we feel respect and gratitude to those representatives of the non-slaveholding states who have given their support to it. In doing so, they doubtless gave up some sectional feelings against the Bill and ignored many sectional prejudices. Therefore, their consent, though justified by the constitution, is a concession made in the spirit of unity and patriotism. However, these feelings and prejudices prevented many Northern members from supporting the Bill.

From the 'National Intelligencer' (Washington DC), September 1850.

Source B

The vote in the House of Representatives on the Fugitive Slave Bill presents an alarming view of the state of feeling in the North. It is amazing that 75 out of the 106 Representatives from the non-slaveholding states should assert their determination to deny the South a constitutional right. What sort of Union is this? If the desire to preserve the Union had been as strong among the free states as it has been among the slave states, then the Fugitive Slave Bill would have passed the House unanimously. The fact there were so many votes against it is conclusive evidence that the Union principle and feeling is rotten to the core. This vote shows that the Union is already dissolved so far as friendly feeling is concerned.

From the 'Wilmington Commercial' (North Carolina), September 1850.

Source C

Despite feeling astonished, horrified and indignant about that crowning act of American shame, the Fugitive Slave Bill, we have not despaired. It may be regarded as short-term victory for slavery, but a long-term defeat for slave power. It is becoming fearfully certain that, for the mere prospect of doubtful advantage in law, the South must pay a great and ruinous price. The cost to the South is the creation of agitation and hatred of slavery here in the North. The strongest support which that hateful institution has enjoyed these many years consists in the apathy and indifference with which the North has regarded it. With the Fugitive Slave Bill, slaveholders have provided a sure method to dispel that indifference.

From the 'Old Colony Reporter' (Massachusetts), November 1850.

© UCLES 2021

Source D

The *Washington [DC] Union*, in reporting on the Fugitive Slave Bill, which has just become law, says, 'It is decidedly liberal in its spirit, for the benefit of the South – efficient in its provisions and well designed to carry out the guarantees of the Constitution. The essence of the Bill is to be found in the fifth section. The marshal is compelled, under a penalty of $1 000, to undertake his duty in arresting the fugitive and, further, to pay the value of the slave if he allows him to escape from his custody. The adoption of such a Bill is most gratifying evidence of the liberal disposition of the North to carry out the guarantees of the Constitution. We welcome such a spirit with great pleasure and hope it will remove some of the prejudices which extremists have towards the North.'

From the 'Athens Post' (Tennessee), September 1850.

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

(a) Compare and contrast attitudes in Sources A and B towards the role of the North in passing the 1850 Fugitive Slave Bill. [15]

(b) 'There was little chance of the 1850 Fugitive Slave Bill being a success.' How far do Sources A to D support this view? [25]

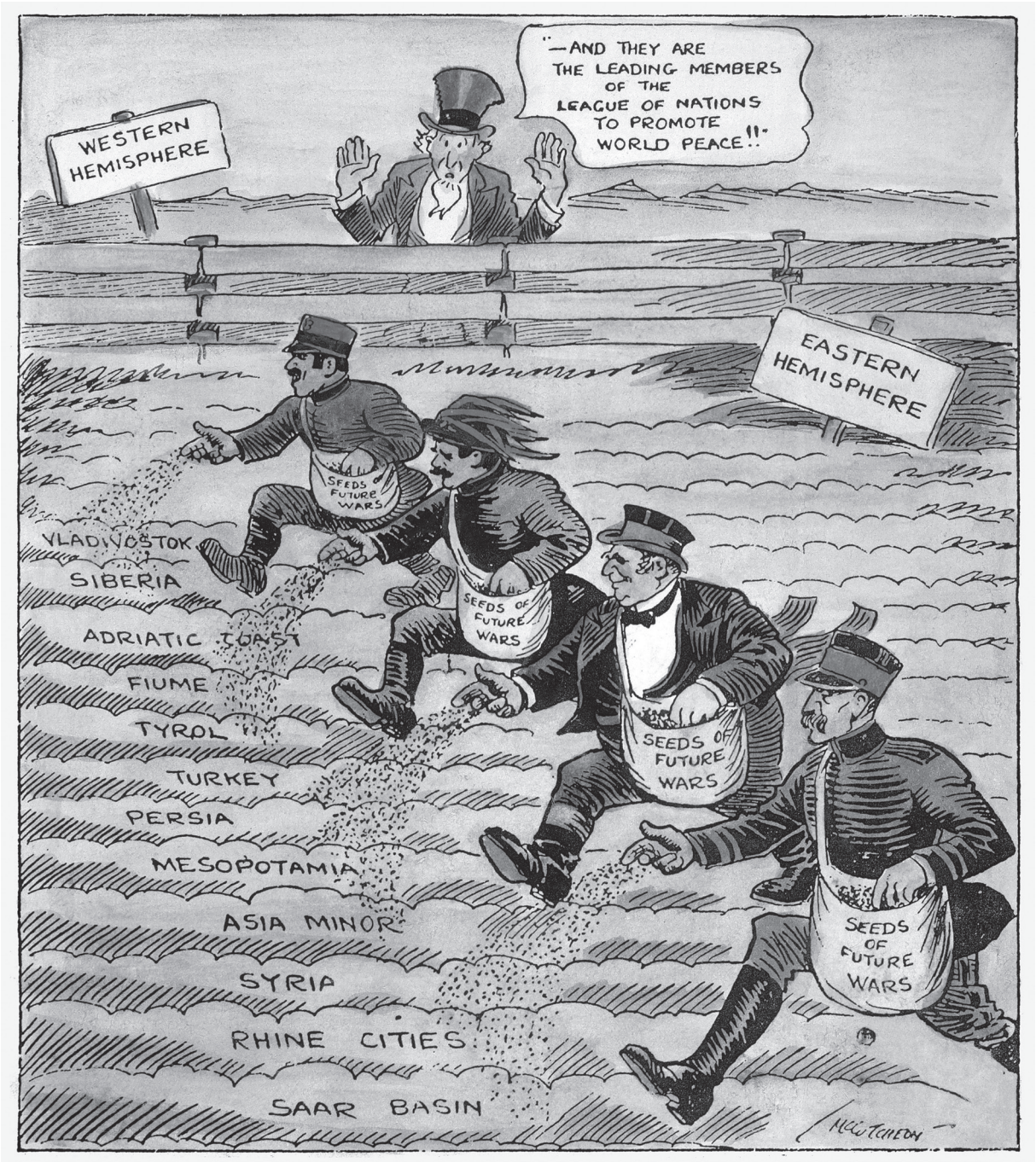
Section C: International Option

The Search for International Peace and Security, 1919–1945

The Early Years of the League

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

Source A



An American cartoon published in 1920.

Source B

I need hardly point out that we lack the means of control that would make the decisions of the League effective. We all want our actions to be effective, we do not want anybody to be able to make fun of us. We desire the security which is due under the Covenant if it is loyally observed. I have to say that at the present moment we do not feel that the securities are adequate.

We can only feel secure when the German Republic is established on a stable foundation, and when it is filled with the ideas of justice, dignity and liberty, which are the ideals of the League. Meanwhile, France is obliged to maintain its military strength in order to avoid the resumption of war. It does not want to have lost a million and a half lives for nothing.

From a speech to the League Assembly by a French delegate, 1921.

Source C

The one serious defect in the Covenant is the element of compulsory obligation, the attempt to promote peace by compelling members to take sanctions. This criticism of the Covenant does not imply any lack of support of the League of Nations. It is by far the most effective and hopeful instrument for the prevention of war and the promotion of international understanding that the world has seen. The main weakness of League procedures is the problem of securing delay. If adequate delay can be secured after notification of a dispute likely to lead to war, the greatest menace to peace will have been removed. If the League can secure delay and refer the matter to a commission of inquiry, it will succeed in its main purpose. The best way of achieving this is to leave the full responsibility for decisions about their action to each individual member.

From an article from a British journal, 1924.

Source D

The League succeeded as long as governments, and particularly governments of the Great Powers, put their faith in it and supported it, and as long as the possibility could always be perceived in the background that their force would be put at the service of its decisions. In the period following the peace treaties the League settled various serious disputes: Memel, the Aaland Islands, Upper Silesia and the dispute between Greece and Bulgaria – all of them involving areas which might have become battlefields if the League had not settled the disputes in their initial stages. It is, indeed, the very success which it achieved in causing the disputes to be minimised that makes us forget all that it accomplished.

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 C agree about how the League should work? [15]

(b) How far do Sources A to D support the view that, from the beginning, the League was unlikely to succeed? [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 Assessment International Education Copyright Acknowledgements Booklet. This is produced for each series of examinations and is freely available to download at www.cambridgeinternational.org after the live examination series.

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

© UCLES 2021