Cambridge International AS & A Level

Cambridge International Examinations
Cambridge International Advanced Subsidiary and Advanced Level

HISTORY **9389/12**

Paper 1 Document Question **October/November 2016**

1 hour

No Additional Materials are required.

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READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

An answer booklet is provided inside this question paper. You should follow the instructions on the front cover of the answer booklet. If you need additional answer paper ask the invigilator for a continuation booklet.

This paper contains **three** sections:
Section A: European Option
Section B: American Option
Section C: International Option

Answer **both** parts of the question from **one** section only.

The marks are given in brackets [ ] at the end of each part question.

This document consists of **7** printed pages, **1** blank page and **1** Insert.

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Section A: European Option

Liberalism and Nationalism in Italy and Germany, 1815–1871

Garibaldi's Sicilian Expedition

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

Source A

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I have reason to believe that the King, who has a weakness for Garibaldi, is secretly looking to remove me from the direction of affairs and will replace me. In Genoa the Mazzinian agitation is regaining strength and rallying around Garibaldi and his popularity is spreading across Italy. There is the desire to force the government to come to the aid of Sicily and arms and munitions are being prepared. I suspect the King of imprudently favouring these projects as he is not aware of the dangerous path it might lead down. I have given orders for a close watch to be kept and to stop, if that is at all possible, these desperate endeavours as they may well anger those in power in Italy and abroad, whose support or at least neutrality, is vital to us.

Cavour to the Piedmontese Ambassador in Paris, April 1860.

Source B

Tell His Majesty not to be angry with me for I am truly his friend for life. If I had told him of my plans for going to Sicily he would have put a stop to them; and hence, regretfully, I preferred to keep silent. I opposed this uprising in Sicily, but when these fine Italians took action on their own I had to help them. Assure His Majesty that, whatever happens, the honour of Italy will not suffer.

Garibaldi to an aide to King Victor Emmanuel, May 1860.

Source C

I regret Garibaldi's expedition as much as the French Foreign Minister does and I am doing, and will go on doing, everything possible to prevent it. I considered trying to stop him initially, but I did not prevent Garibaldi from carrying out his project because it would have needed force and there was none available. Also, the government was in no state to face up to the enormous unpopularity which would have resulted from arresting Garibaldi and we have to be accountable. Another consideration was that elections were imminent and I needed the support of all shades of the moderate Liberal party if we are to foil the opposition and get the French treaty passed. While I wish for unity as much as Garibaldi does, I do not think his methods will advance our cause. I did everything I could to persuade Garibaldi not to go on this mad escapade. I could never have dreamt he was mad enough to land. I gave orders for his ships to be stopped wherever they were, except near Sicily where the King there has no need of our help.

Cavour to the Piedmontese Ambassador in Paris, May 1860.

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Source D

As to the expedition to Sicily led by Garibaldi, Cavour said exactly these words: 'Begin at the South to come up again by the North. When it is a question of undertakings of this kind, however bold they may be, Count Cavour will be totally supportive.' These were his precise words. He said this naturally referring to all those means by which government, without compromising itself, could help the expedition. He promised to help it, provided the responsibility of the government was completely concealed. He had to appear publicly to oppose it for fear of angering conservative opinion in Italy and abroad. While he viewed Garibaldi at times as a force he could not control and one with a radical past, he was aware that he was possibly the only means to the end they both desired.

G Sirtori, an Italian politician who supported unification, in the Italian Parliament, June 1863.

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

(a) Compare and contrast Sources C and D as evidence of Cavour's attitude towards Garibaldi's Sicilian expedition. [15]

(b) 'Italians supported Garibaldi's Sicilian expedition.' To what extent do Sources A to D support this view? [25]

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Section B: American Option

The Origins of the Civil War, 1846–1861

Uncle Tom's Cabin and the Slavery Question

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

Source A

Uncle Tom's Cabin was published in 1852. Those were very dark hours in the great struggle for freedom. Who can ever forget the bitterness caused by the defection of Daniel Webster and his Seventh of March speech; by the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, which made whole areas of the free states a hunting ground for the slaveholders? But just at the moment when darkness was the deepest and all the great powers in the Church and the State had decreed that there should be no more said concerning American slavery, the voice of a woman broke the silence and American slavery became the one subject of discussion throughout the world. It had a circulation unprecedented in the history of literature. In eight weeks its sales had reached 100 000 copies in the United States, while in England a million copies were sold within a year.

From an article about the publication of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin', 1872.

Source B

Just published for sale: *Aunt Phillis' Cabin* or *Southern Life As It Is* by Mrs Mary H Eastman. This volume will present a picture of Southern life taken at different points of view from the one occupied by the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. The writer, being a native of the South, is familiar with the many varied aspects assumed by domestic servitude in that region. Pledged to no party, and free from the pressure of any extraneous influences, she has written her book with a view to its truthfulness; and the public at the North as well as the South will find in *Aunt Phillis' Cabin* not the distorted picture of an interested painter, but the faithful transcript of a photographer. The author does not come before the public as the apologist of slavery, but rather with the desire to represent it as it is. In doing so she will show its beneficial features in strong contrast with the painful scenes so elaborately set forth in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

From an advertisement in the Richmond 'Daily Dispatch' (Virginia), August 1852.

Source C

Most of our Southern slaves are happy and kindly cared for; and for those who are not, there is hope for the better. I have no wish to uphold slavery. Neither do I deny the evils of slavery any more than I would deny the evils of the factory system in England and in our own country. I only assert the necessity of the existence of slavery at present in our Southern states and that, as a general thing, the slaves are comfortable and contented and their owners humane and kind. Mrs Stowe's 'living dramatic reality' is nothing more than an interesting falsehood; nor should the genius that pervades her pages be offered as an equivalent for truth.

From the concluding remarks of 'Aunt Phillis' Cabin', Mary Eastman, 1852.

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Source D

This book depicts with graphic force Negro life in the United States. That it does this with as much truth as vigour will be seen by a perusal of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. But this truthfulness has been called into question. It has been said that *Uncle Tom's Cabin* misrepresents slavery and slaveholders and that its influence must be harmful in tightening more closely the chains of the poor slave. Henry Clay, the modern disciple of Compromise, has frequently lashed audiences into a storm by his eloquence and Daniel Webster, who was heaven-born but slavery-bound, has frequently spoken ponderous words to a listening Senate. But their voices sent no electric currents through the great arteries of public opinion like *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. It will be seen that this gentle woman will do more to uproot slavery than conventions and associations and premature legislative action.

From the preface to 'Uncle Tom's Companions: Truth Stranger than Fiction', by a British journalist,1852.

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

(a) To what extent do Sources C and D agree about *Uncle Tom's Cabin*? [15]

(b) How far do Sources A to D support the assertion that *Uncle Tom's Cabin* did little to change American attitudes towards slavery? [25]

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Section C: International Option

The Search for International Peace and Security, 1919–1945

Early Support for the Establishment of a League of Nations

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

Source A

We must discard the idea of an international government which is in the minds of some people. The League must operate by consent. The idea of an international government will not be accepted by any existing state. But while we avoid international government at one end, we must equally be careful to avoid the mere debating society at the other end. We want a League which can make decisions, a League which will be practical and effective. A scheme which brings independent states of the world together and requires that their decisions must be unanimous means that there never will be any decisions issuing from the League, that nobody will take it seriously, that it will soon be dead and buried. The League will face a dilemma – if its votes have to be unanimous, the League will be unworkable and if they are decided by a majority, the Great Powers will not enter it.

From 'The League of Nations: A Practical Suggestion', by the South African politician Jan Smuts, 1918.

Source B

The British Government Minister, Lord Robert Cecil, tonight gave American journalists Britain's views about the proposed League of Nations. He defined the League as 'an association of nations providing safeguards for peace and the securing of better international cooperation'. He said that there should be an agreement among nations by which each nation binds itself to see that all warlike disputes are presented to the League for consideration, and to the use of force to accomplish this if necessary. He asserted that an international army and navy was not feasible at this time. Nations, he said, are not ready to surrender their sovereignty to a League of Nations to such an extent that they would be willing to allow it to dictate whether they should employ their forces in the settling of a dispute. He said he believed, however, that each nation should bind itself to use all means, even force, to compel the dispute to be brought before the League.

Report in the New York Times, January 1919.

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Source C

If the League is to impose peace, it must be known that it possesses the means of bringing this about. This would be impossible unless a central organisation is built up which would be ready to act at once against a warlike power. A permanent body should be created to plan and prepare the League's military and naval programme, so that obligations imposed on member states by the Covenant can be enforced with immediate effect in any urgent situation. Such a provision is absolutely necessary to ensure prompt and effective action on the part of the League, not only for the safety of nations exposed to risks, but also for the defence of the League itself.

Statement by the French delegation to the Commission charged with drafting the League of Nations' Covenant, February 1919.

Source D

The League's success depends on three conditions. First, member states must have a common understanding of the principles of international order and general agreement on the laws which give them effectiveness. Second, each one of these laws must have received the free and unqualified consent of each state; any sanctions proclaimed by the League must be similarly agreed, so that no nation can claim to have been forced into participating in a collective action without its consent. Finally, there should be a tribunal of unquestionable impartiality to define for each individual case the findings of international law and to rule on their application. If these three conditions are met, then the League of Nations will be able to function, on the one hand, with a flexibility which will allow its members to feel secure and at ease within its authority and, on the other hand, with the kind of moral force that will preclude the members from even thinking of evading its decisions.

From a speech by the French politician Leon Bourgeois, 1922.

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

(a) Compare and contrast the views of Britain (Source B) and France (Source C) regarding how the League of Nations should deal with warlike countries. [15]

(b) 'There was little prospect of the League succeeding.' How far do Sources A to D support this view? [25]

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