Cambridge International AS & A Level

Cambridge International Examinations
Cambridge International Advanced Subsidiary and Advanced Level

HISTORY **9389/13**

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

The Failure of the Revolutions of 1848–49 in Italy

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

Source A

It is vital that the Italian states, in their composition and extension, should be based on historical tradition. Peoples who have different origins and customs should not be forced together, otherwise civil war will follow a war of independence. Finally, no state should be refused the republican form of government if it feels better suited to it than to the transitional stages of a constitutional monarchy.

D Manin to a French friend, June 1848.

Source B

After the Piedmontese defeat of August 1848, the republican party in Milan could have taken up the struggle for Italy if only it had been in existence and got itself effectively organised. Individual republicans had done nothing to indoctrinate the people and convince them of the rightness of their cause because they despaired of success. When the driving force and the overriding principle failed, the people were left leaderless. Their first and only aim, that of expelling foreigners, remained unchanged. What would emerge when the foreigners had gone was never clear. But where a regular army had failed to win, how could ordinary people expect to win? Until the social system changes and leadership can emerge from below there will be no victory. The mass of the people have to be convinced of the rightness of the cause and that a republic will be the answer to their problems. The republicans offered ideas which were not understood and little else.

Carlo Pisacane, an Italian radical politician and political thinker, writing in 1850.

Source C

In November 1850 I had a long conversation with M Buonarotti, formerly a judge and now a Councillor of State. He spoke with great bitterness of the republican faction, which by the assassination of Rossi, the Neapolitan revolt, the unjust attack on Austria and the insurrections in Genoa, Leghorn and Florence, has ruined the happiness of this generation and thrown back Italy for a century. Not only have they angered moderate and conservative opinion throughout Italy, they have ended whatever sympathy there was for Italy in the rest of Europe. Their behaviour in Rome, however well-intentioned, was disgraceful, and their association with those with extreme political views made failure inevitable. His little Duchy of Tuscany, he felt, was a specimen of Italian unity, and he said that Florence, Lucca, Siena and Pisa all hate one another now even more than they hate Austria.

The journal of an English visitor in Italy, 1851.

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Source D

This is my reply to Mazzini with his vague and radical ideas:

'Our view is that the 100,000 men in the Piedmontese army are indispensable to any war of independence. We need to persuade the King to act alongside us. We need to entice him, and not anger him, with a threat of a republican revolution. We need to appeal to the people of Italy and win their support and not just offer them vague and radical ideas. Dear friend, show yourself a real hero. Sacrifice your cherished republican views on the altar of the fatherland. Another great republican, Daniele Manin, has shown the way. It is not enough to say 'unification'. The idea is too vague. If the idea is to be understood by the masses it must be translated into something more personal and more solid.'

G Pallavicino, an Italian politician, to D Manin, September 1856.

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

(a) Compare and contrast the views in Sources B and C on the role of the republicans in the Italian revolutions of 1848–49. [15]

(b) How far do Sources A to D show that divisions between the Italian states were the reason for the failure of the revolutions of 1848–49? [25]

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Section B: American Option

The Origins of the Civil War, 1846–1861

The Impact of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*

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

Source A

Mrs S M Greeley, Washington City,

My dear madam,

Accept my thanks for a copy of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* which you were so kind to send me. I have only found time to glance at it and see that it is a work of fiction on the 'vexed' subject of slavery. Mrs F. has read some chapters and is much pleased with its style. This question of slavery may well command the pens and sympathies of the fair sex, as it does the deep and anxious reflections of every statesman in the country. It presents a problem which time only can solve. Who can penetrate the dark future and say whether this ever-disturbing subject may not tear this Union apart? Whether the war of races may not result in the extermination of the weaker, or whether by wise and brilliant counsels the bonds of the slave may not be gradually relaxed and as they drop off the black man find a home in his native Africa, I confess I cannot look without apprehension to the future but I hope for the best.

Sincerely your friend,

Millard Fillmore

From a letter from the US President, 8 April 1852.

Source B

The abolitionist fanatics know full well that the great mass of the people cannot be induced to listen to their mad ravings. They therefore expect, through cunningly written fictions, to instil treasonous ideas and keep up the agitation which has so long disturbed the peace of our fair land – hence the active exertions to broadcast over the country Mrs Stowe's work. Mrs Stowe's work does not meet with such a ready sale on account of the polished manner in which it is written, as much as it does for its abolition notions. It is this that causes their leaders to recommend *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and urge its extensive circulation.

From 'The Pennsylvanian', 11 June 1852.

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Source C

The gravest fault of the book has, however, to be mentioned. Its object is to abolish slavery. Its effect will be to render slavery more difficult than ever of abolishment. Its popularity constitutes its greatest difficulty. It will keep ill-blood at boiling point and irritate instead of pacifying those whose proceedings Mrs Stowe is anxious to influence on behalf of humanity. If the people of the United States are to remove the disgrace of slavery that attaches to them for forging chains for others which they will not tolerate on their own limbs, the work of emancipation must be a movement not forced upon slave-owners but voluntarily undertaken. The writer of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and similar well-disposed authors have yet to learn that to excite the passions of their readers in favour of well-meaning schemes is the very worst mode of getting rid of a difficulty which is part and parcel of the whole social organisation of a large proportion of the states and cannot be forcibly removed without instant anarchy.

From 'The Times', a British newspaper, 18 September 1852.

Source D

A woman, inspired by Christian genius, has come onto the world stage and with marvellous power sweeps the chords of the popular heart. Now melting to tears and now inspiring to rage, her work everywhere touches the heart and makes the Slave-Hunter more hateful. In a brief period nearly 100 000 copies of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* have already been circulated. But this extraordinary and sudden success – surpassing all other instances in the records of literature – cannot be regarded merely as the triumph of genius. Higher far than that, it is the testimony of the people, by an unprecedented act, against the Fugitive Slave Bill.

From a speech by Charles Sumner in the US Senate against the Fugitive Slave Bill, 26 August 1852.

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

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

(b) How far do Sources A to D support the assertion that the publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* did little to help the abolitionist cause? [25]

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Section C: International Option

The Search for International Peace and Security, 1919–1945

The USA's Rejection of the Paris Peace Settlement and the League of Nations

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

Source A

If the USA does not join the League, other countries may do the same. Small states cannot trust the League unless they know that its members are pledged definitely to support them. Britain can give no such pledge without an assurance that the other great states, especially its great commercial rival across the Atlantic, would do their part. Britain cannot take part in a war on behalf of the League without diverting its shipping and commerce from their normal channels and, with the USA outside the League, Americans would use the situation to seize trade opportunities which Britain was forced to give up. An economic boycott by the League without the USA is certain to mean that Americans will endeavour to trade with the boycotted country. As for the limitation of armaments, the USA is now so rich that no other power could keep pace with it in a competitive struggle for armaments. Britain should consider withdrawing from the League at the earliest opportunity unless all the other civilised countries join.

Memorandum by the British Government's legal adviser, 1919.

Source B

Hopes were high when the League of Nations' Covenant was framed. Since then experience has taught mankind not to hope too quickly for great results. We have seen one of the great nations – indeed, the chief exponent of the idea – finding it impossible in practice to accept the League. I place no blame on the USA; they have looked into the question very closely and have come to the conclusion that the difficulties are too great and the obligations too many for them to assume. Some of us have assumed those obligations in good-will and in the hope that somehow or other the difficulties will adjust themselves as we go on. I do not think we should be disillusioned. The League represents an ideal which is still only in its early stages; a dream of a distant future. Meanwhile, do not let us forget that this ideal, this dream, is already a reality for more than a quarter of mankind.

From a speech by a British politician, 1920.

Source C

In spite of the failure of the USA to ratify the compact, the League of Nations is alive and is a going concern. Its machinery is being completed and its influence is spreading. All the countries that were neutral during the war have joined. Every country in South America, except Ecuador, is now a member of the League. It is probable that Germany and Austria will be admitted as soon as their internal conditions permit and, if ever a stable government is adopted in Russia, that country too will undoubtedly be invited to join. Meanwhile, the League is rapidly assuming its duties. A visitor to the League's headquarters is struck not only by the variety of work that is being undertaken but also by its relevance to matters of vital concern – political, economic, health, education and disarmament.

From an article in an American magazine, 1920.

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Source D



Cartoon from an American newspaper, c. 1920.

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

(a) Compare and contrast Sources A and B as evidence of British reactions to the USA's unwillingness to join the League of Nations. [15]

(b) 'The USA's rejection of the Paris peace settlement completely undermined the League of Nations' prospects of success.' How far do Sources A to D support this view? [25]

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