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**HISTORY**

**9389/13**

Paper 1 Document Question

**May/June 2018**

**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.

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

## Section A: European Option

### Liberalism and Nationalism in Italy and Germany, 1815–1871

#### Prussia assumes the leadership of Germany

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

#### Source A

As a German patriot I am primarily interested in the unity of Germany whichever way it comes. I made several attempts after 1848 to persuade Austria to put itself at the head of Germany, but it has met no approval at all. It is an idea too great for Austria and they wish to look after themselves. They are more interested in suppressing nationalism than in encouraging it, and they detest any sign of liberal ideas. I come yet again to the belief that unification can only come about through Prussia.

*From a letter written by Ernst II, the liberal Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, 1858.*

#### Source B

Prussia recommends itself as the greatest predominantly German state; the Protestant centre of religious enlightenment, yet where Catholics enjoy equal rights. It is the founder of the Zollverein and the pioneer of lowering tariffs. It has a young but not hopeless constitutional life. It has a history of leadership in Germany and it has become interwoven more and more with the rest of Germany while Austria grows more apart. Austria remains a deeply conservative nation opposed to any change and wishes to ignore the many great forces and ideas that are spreading throughout Europe at present. It sees the growth of German unity as a threat and not as something to be welcomed.

*From a letter by Ludwig Simon, a radical German politician in exile in Switzerland, 1861.*

#### Source C

The reason for the growth of Prussian power is simple. It is no longer primarily an agrarian country. The growth of railways centres on Prussia. There is ample credit available, and the new company structure is flourishing. Laissez-faire is growing and the dominance of the state is declining. Textiles now employ over half a million in the North alone, but it is the expansion of the coal, iron and steel industries that is so critical to Prussia's future. The Ruhr will soon become the industrial heartland of Europe and rival Britain.

*From a report to the French Foreign Office by the French Consul in Leipzig, 1862.*

**Source D**

Germany needs Prussia as its most militarily capable state, with the ability to deploy the whole strength of its people to take the lead in any struggle against the enemies of Germany, such as France in the West, Russia in the East and Denmark in the North. Prussia has seen its militarism develop so well. Despite our dislike of Bismarck, Prussia and its army are vital for Germany's national existence and future.

*From a speech by Franz Schulze-Delitzsch, a critic of Bismarck, in the Prussian Parliament, 1863.*

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

- (a) To what extent do Sources A and B agree about Austria's attitude to German unity? [15]
- (b) 'It was Prussia's economic strength that enabled her to lead the struggle for German unification.' How far do Sources A to D support this view? [25]

## Section B: American Option

### The Origins of the Civil War, 1846–1861

#### Northern Reactions to the Harpers Ferry Raid, 1859–60

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

#### Source A

Of course, I was not astonished to hear that an attempt had been made to free the slaves in Virginia, nor should I be astonished if another ‘insurrection’ or rebellion took place, or a third or a fourth. Such things are to be expected for they do not depend merely on the will of men like Capt. Brown and his associates. Such ‘insurrections’ will continue as long as slavery lasts and will increase, both in frequency and in power, as the people become more intelligent and moral. Virginia may hang John Brown, but she cannot hang the human race. A few years ago it did not seem difficult first to check slavery and then to end it without any bloodshed. I think this cannot be done now, nor ever in the future.

*From a letter by Theodore Parker, a leading abolitionist, to a fellow abolitionist, November 1859.*

#### Source B

To me the terror manifest through the South at the bare idea of a slave uprising is not ridiculous, as it seems to be to most of our northern journals and some of our people. I deeply sympathise with it and unhesitatingly condemn John Brown for his reckless disregard for human life. His one-sided efforts to secure a real or imagined good to the slave ignore the cost to humanity and to civilisation. It seems to me that many people of intellect and discretion in our community are allowing their instincts and passions to guide them in this great crisis. Slavery is the growth of more than two centuries. It cannot be destroyed in a day, nor in a longer time, without producing a moral shock that would be, perhaps, a still greater evil.

*From a letter from Anne Botta, writing from New York, December 1859.*

#### Source C

Sir, what were the causes which produced the Harpers Ferry outrage? I have no hesitation in expressing my firm conviction that the Harpers Ferry crime was the natural, logical, inevitable result of the doctrines and teachings of the Republican Party, as explained and enforced in their platform and especially in the speeches of their leaders. I am not making this statement for partisan effect. I desire to call the attention of the Republican Party to reconsider the doctrines that they are in the habit of enforcing. The great principle that underlines the Republican Party is violent, irreconcilable, eternal warfare with the institutions of American slavery. The Party’s vitality consists in appeals to northern passion, northern prejudice, northern ambition against southern states, southern institutions and southern people.

*From a speech in the US Senate by Stephen Douglas, January 1860.*

**Source D**

I would address a few comments to the southern people. You claim that we stir up insurrection among your slaves. What is your proof? Harpers Ferry! John Brown!! John Brown was no Republican and you have failed to implicate a single Republican in his Harpers Ferry enterprise. Some of you admit that no Republican designedly aided or encouraged the Harpers Ferry affair but still insist that our doctrines and declarations lead to such results. We do not believe it. We know we hold to no doctrines and make no declarations which were not held to and made by our founding fathers. Slave insurrections are no more common now than they were before the Republican Party was organised. In the present state of things in the United States I do not think a general slave insurrection is possible.

*From a speech by Abraham Lincoln to a public meeting in New York, February 1860.*

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

- (a) Compare and contrast the opinions of the raid on Harpers Ferry expressed in Sources A and B. [15]
- (b) How far do Sources A to D support the view that the North welcomed the idea of anti-slavery insurrections? [25]

## Section C: International Option

### The Search for International Peace and Security, 1919–1945

#### Abyssinia, Britain and the League of Nations, 1935

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

#### Source A

It is essential to avoid any conflict with Italy that might make the European situation more threatening. The destruction of the League of Nations and the Stresa Front, which would be the likely consequence of a major war over developments in Abyssinia, should be avoided at all costs. This is partly because Italy would be more inclined to throw herself into the arms of Germany, and partly because a conflict over Abyssinia would destroy once and for all the system of collective security on which British public opinion places so much importance. The Abyssinian government should be encouraged to cede territory to Italy.

*Confidential memorandum from Robert Vansittart (Permanent Under-Secretary at the British Foreign Office), to Samuel Hoare (British Foreign Secretary), 19 June 1935.*

#### Source B

The League of Nations is not, and never can be, an effective instrument for world peace. If Britain's aim over the Abyssinian affair is to support the League, then it is guilty of ignoring policy precedent because Britain did not intervene by force on behalf of China when Japan seized Manchuria. The League cannot be the effective conscience and policeman of the world. Whatever happens about Abyssinia, there is bound to be a further setback for the League. However, we should continue to affirm and re-affirm the principles which the League represents. Its role should be seen as a world forum which can be used for the assertion of moral principles in the international sphere.

*Confidential memorandum from Warren Fisher (Head of the British Civil Service) to Stanley Baldwin (British Prime Minister), 25 July 1935.*

#### Source C

Diplomats from Britain, France and Italy are negotiating in Paris to try to prevent a war. The whole object of the League of Nations was to prevent wars. We set up at enormous expense an elaborate organisation, representing almost all the nations of the world, for that purpose. Yet the current negotiations ignore the very body which has been set up to substitute conciliation for bloodshed. Mussolini said, 'If the League of Nations is brought in, I do not appear.' Once this was accepted, the League was wiped out as an authority on peace and war. Abyssinia, the very country whose integrity and independence have been challenged, has been ruled out from a conference that is discussing its very existence as an independent state. The negotiations are not discussing how to prevent Mussolini from destroying a friendly power which is a member of the League. They are discussing what measure of economic, strategic and political control can be given to Italy without war—how they can deliver Abyssinia on the cheap to Italy.

*Letter to a British newspaper by David Lloyd George (British Prime Minister, 1916–22), 14 August 1935.*

**Source D**

The Abyssinian issue provided a unique opportunity to finally dissolve the ties that bound us to the decaying corpse of the League of Nations. If we [Britain] had unhesitatingly imposed every economic sanction ourselves, by a blockade prevented others from assisting Italy, closed the Suez Canal to Italian shipping and, at the same time, mobilised the fleet, we would have rendered it quite impossible for Italy to continue the war unless she had been prepared to use force against Britain. All the smaller powers that were members of the League were pledged to aid us. It would have been the end of Mussolini and the end of fascism, a triumph for the League of Nations and a warning to the Nazis. If there had been a great leader in a high position in Britain at that time, he might have rallied the country to support such a policy. If Britain had led, the smaller nations would have followed. It is a curious fact that the British, who fight with the most glorious courage and the toughest tenacity, have such a horror of war that they will never support a policy which entails the slightest risk of it.

*From the memoirs of Duff Cooper (British Secretary for War, 1935–37), 1953.*

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

- (a) Compare and contrast the views of Vansittart (Source A) and Lloyd George (Source C) regarding how Britain should respond to the Abyssinian crisis. [15]
- (b) How far do Sources A to D show that, by 1935, British politicians and government officials no longer supported the League of Nations? [25]

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