



Cambridge International AS & A Level

HISTORY

9389/11

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.

Section A: European Option**Liberalism and Nationalism in Italy and Germany, 1815–1871****Plans for Reform in Italy**

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

Source A

There cannot be freedom without commerce. But there cannot be great industry and vast commerce without freedom. This is a truth repeated and confirmed by examples so many times in every century. This is very true if one travels from Constantinople to London. Industry and commerce increase as does the freedom of those nations. Thus in Turkey they do not exist, and under the Austrian monarchy industry, commerce and freedom are weak. Commerce is essentially republican, or at least constitutional. It requires law and this can be obtained only where arbitrary government is excluded. Commerce requires educated people who are more inclined to defend its rights. This existed in the past in Florence and Genoa, but no longer.

*From a book by a young Italian patriot, published in 1827.
He was involved in a rebellion in Milan in 1820, and had to flee to England.*

Source B

Considering that public opinion demands an immediate ending of our subjection to the Papacy and its arbitrary rule:

Considering that, in the absence of other more legal authority, we are empowered by the urgency of the moment and the consent of our fellow citizens to be their only representatives, we must proclaim the clear wishes of the people:

WE THEREFORE DECLARE-

Article 1: The political control of the Pope over this city and province is legally at an end for ever. However, the spiritual power of the Pope will remain and there will be no attack on churches or priests.

Article 2: A general assembly of the people is summoned to choose deputies who will form our new government free from papal interference.

Article 3: When other nearby cities have joined us, a legal national representation will then come into existence.

Proclamation by the Provisional Government of Bologna, February 1831.

Source C

Italy has within itself all the conditions of her national and political Risorgimento, without any need for internal upheavals or foreign invasions. Italian union cannot be obtained by revolutions. The principal hope for Italian union is the Pope who can unify Italy by means of a confederation of all its princes. A federal government under the Pope would be natural for Italy. The security and prosperity of Italy cannot be achieved otherwise. Two provinces ought to cooperate to foster the opinion which favours Italian unity: Rome and Piedmont. Italian unity would be of great advantage to the Catholic religion and bring utmost glory to the Papacy.

*From the writings of Vincenzo Gioberti, 1843.
At the time Gioberti was in exile because of his support for political reform in Italy.*

Source D

After the revolution in France in 1830 and the failed revolutions in Modena and Bologna in 1831, some Tuscan liberals formed themselves into a new brotherhood known as Young Italy. Its first sign of life was a letter to Charles Albert of Piedmont calling on him to destroy the memory of his faithlessness of 1821 and take over the task of forming an independent and united Italy. On finding the royal ear deaf to this invitation, they raised the standard of republicanism. Young Italy set itself two goals: to carry on spreading its ideas and then to create a military force sufficient to overthrow all the oppressive governments in Italy once the signal for battle was given. Then a provisional revolutionary government for Italy would be established.

*From the writings of Giuseppe Montanelli, an Italian statesman and supporter of reform, 1853.
At this time Montanelli was in exile in France.*

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

- (a) Compare and contrast the views on the Papacy in Sources B and C. [15]
- (b) 'The early supporters of reform in Italy were republicans.' How far do Sources A to D support this view? [25]

Section B: American Option

The Origins of the Civil War, 1846–1861

The Dred Scott Judgement, 1857

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

Source A

The 347525 slaveholders in the republic accomplished, the day before yesterday, a great success. They converted the Supreme Court of the United States into a propagandist of human slavery. This conspiracy is nearly completed. The legislation of the republic is in the hands of these slaveholders. The US Senate assures it to them. The executive power of the government is theirs. Buchanan took the oath of loyalty to them on the steps of the Capitol last Wednesday. The Supreme Court has just given in to their demands and dared to declare that, under the Constitution, human slavery is not a local thing but pursues its victims wherever they go, even to free soil territory. Beneath Courts, Congresses and Presidents is the great PEOPLE. Until they approve the Supreme Court's decision, this conspiracy is wholly incomplete.

From the 'Albany (New York) Evening Journal', March 1857.

Source B

The United States Supreme Court consists of nine judges. The following five made the decision in the Dred Scott case on Friday:

- Taney of Maryland
- Campbell of Alabama
- Catron of Tennessee
- Wayne of Georgia
- Daniel of Virginia.

They boldly state the new opinions of their Section, that slavery is a national institution and that all prohibition of it in the territories, either by Congress or the people, is unconstitutional.

Two judges dodge the general slavery issue but come to the same conclusion about Dred Scott, that he and his family are slaves. They are:

- Nelson of New York
- Grier of Pennsylvania.

These men are northern Democrats.

There remain two judges who have manfully upheld the faith of the nation, the practice of the past, and the universal sentiment of the North:

- McLean of Ohio
- Curtis of Massachusetts.

These gentlemen were old Whigs and conservatives.

From the 'Columbus (Ohio) State Journal', March 1857.

Source C

The decision of the Supreme Court in the famous Dred Scott case is an event of great political importance. The whole issue of slavery has been argued by the best lawyers. The judges of the Supreme Court are appointed for life and are therefore beyond the influence of party. They have no reason to bias and corrupt their decisions. While expecting general acceptance of the decision of the Supreme Court, it would be too much to expect that it will escape attack from embittered partisans. They will doubtless attack the Court but it will further weaken their cause amongst intelligent men, who will never accept their criticism of an honest and intelligent judiciary. Coming after the result of the late election and the inauguration of a new President, it is the latest in a series of triumphs to which such sensible men will always refer with pleasure and pride.

From the 'Cincinnati (Ohio) Daily Enquirer', March 1857.

Source D

There are some in Washington DC who take great comfort from this notable Dred Scott judgement. The judgement is talked of as the new cornerstone of slave expansion. It must stand or fall by its own strength and rightness, but the Washington politicians who believe that it settles anything must be afflicted with very severe short-sightedness. While judges are debating the theoretical expansion of slavery north and west, free labour is making a very significant step into the heart of the strongest strongholds of slavery. Free carpenters, blacksmiths and farmers with hoe, spade and plough, are invading Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland and Virginia and quietly pushing the slaves further south. It will take a good many Supreme Courts to reverse a law of nature such as we here see.

From the 'New York Herald', March 1857.

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

- (a) Compare and contrast the views given in Sources A and C about the US Supreme Court. [15]
- (b) How far do Sources A to D agree with the view that the Dred Scott judgement was accepted? [25]

Section C: International Option**The Search for International Peace and Security, 1919–1945****Membership of the League of Nations**

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

Source A

Italy sees the League as an obstacle to the vital necessities of its own future expansion. The League's purpose is maintaining the present territorial borders while Italy is suffocated in its narrow and poor country. Italy is an object of hostility to countries who want to prevent its expansion. It is only natural that Britain and France should seek to defend the League, standing as they do at the height of their power. It is equally natural that Italy regards the League as an instrument for its own repression. However, Italy should remain in the League and take every opportunity of hastening its destruction. It must make a compromise with the League in order to destroy the idea it represents.

From an article in an Italian fascist newspaper, October 1923.

Source B

We declined to take part in the conference at Geneva to regulate the international trade in arms because the League is a coalition of the victorious Powers who wish to impose their will on other states. We do not always boycott the League. There have been cases when we have agreed to enter into negotiations with the League for humanitarian purposes. But in this case, what the League had in mind was to strengthen the control of the imperialist states over the weaker states and the oppressed peoples. Our refusal to agree to arms regulations was used as an excuse for a new and extremely furious campaign against us. Geneva is beginning to demand the transformation of the League into some kind of universal alliance against the Soviet Union.

A member of the Soviet government speaking to the Third Soviet Congress, May 1925.

Source C

Our anxiety on behalf of Germans abroad is an argument for our joining the League. In Geneva, we shall speak on behalf of Germanic civilisation as a whole. The objection that we shall be outvoted in the League proceeds from false assumptions. The decisions of the League have to be taken unanimously. All the questions that lie so close to German hearts, as for instance War Guilt, are matters for the League, and a skilful speaker may make them very difficult for Britain and France. Indeed, France is not very enthusiastic at the idea of Germany's entering the League, while Britain is anxious for it in order to counteract France's predominant influence in the League.

Gustav Stresemann, a leading member of the German government, writing to the former German Crown Prince, September 1925.

Source D

It is a source of regret to the Japanese government that Lytton's draft report on Manchuria has been adopted by the Assembly. Japan has been a member of the League since its start. Our delegates participated in the drafting of the Covenant. We have been proud to be members, associated with the leading nations of the world in one of the grandest purposes in which humanity could unite. It has always been our wish to cooperate with fellow members of the League to achieve the great aims held in common by humanity.

Japan and other members of the League hold different views on how to achieve peace in the Far East, and the Japanese government has now reached the limit of its efforts to cooperate with the League over Sino–Japanese differences. The Japanese government will persist in its desire to contribute to human welfare and will continue to cooperate in the work dedicated to world peace.

From a speech to the Assembly of the League by Yosuke Matsuoka, head of Japan's delegation to the League of Nations, February 1933.

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

- (a) Compare and contrast the views expressed in Sources A and D about the League of Nations. [15]
- (b) How far do Sources A to D show that being a member of the League was beneficial? [25]

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