



# Cambridge International AS & A Level

**HISTORY**

**9389/13**

Paper 1 Document Question

**October/November 2020**

**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. Blank pages are indicated.

## Section A: European Option

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

#### The Revolutions of 1848 in Germany

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

#### Source A

What we want is the consolidation and elaboration of a German state. The German, too, has at last become a 'state person', one who wants to live in a properly defined national state. We are embarking on a national revolution. We want progress from a national point of view. We have long had a feeling of unity and a feeling of 'Germanness', but we do not have power or a proper political structure. While other nations have developed, we have been left behind with an old-fashioned system of government which was imposed on us at Vienna by the English, the Russians, and above all, by the Austrian Metternich. It has to change.

*Editorial from the 'National-Zeitung', a leading liberal newspaper, published in Berlin, March 1848.*

#### Source B

A long period of deepest humiliation weighs on Germany. Arbitrary rule, riches and honours go to those in power and their supporters. Germany has more than once been brought to the brink of disaster. It has lost some of its best provinces. The misery of the people has become intolerable. In Upper Silesia it has taken on the proportion of a famine. Security of property and of the person, education and freedom for all, are the goals for which the German people strive.

*A statement submitted to the German Pre-Parliament in March 1848 by Gustav von Struve, a revolutionary from Baden.*

#### Source C

- 1 For manufacturers or masters:
  - The state ministry is to make its task to find ways and means for the increased export of our manufactures into markets which so far have been closed to our country.
  - Free importation of all raw products belonging to industry.
- 2 For small masters or artisans:
  - Formation of corporations to which each independent worker has access and through which all common trade affairs are directed and arranged.
  - The work awarded by government to them should mainly be given to smaller masters.
- 3 For the workers:
  - The fixing of the minimum working wage and of the hours of work.
  - Trade Unions legalised for the maintenance of wages.
  - Exemption from taxation for the poor.
  - Free education for all.
  - Free movement for all.
  - Greater eligibility for election to parliament.
  - State care for all the helpless people and therefore for disabled workers.

*A petition from a committee of workers in Berlin, submitted to the assemblies of Frankfurt and Berlin, July 1848.*

**Source D**

In February 1847 the King called together all the eight Provincial Diets to Berlin, forming them into one United Diet. The Diet was to vote loans and more taxes to the King, but beyond that it had no rights. It was to be merely consultative. It was to meet whenever it pleased the King and could only discuss what the government wanted. Its members were not satisfied with this role and wished to discuss the many economic and constitutional issues which had been raised in the Provincial Diets. The relations between the Diet and the government soon became hostile. They refused to vote money for the King and the King dismissed them with a reprimand. The King had good reason to be worried as the Liberal League, made up of the middle classes and some of the lower nobility, were now clearly wanting more political power and were likely to ally with the lower orders who had many different grievances.

*An account of the German Revolutions, written by Karl Marx, published in the 'New York Daily Tribune', June 1851.*

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

- (a) Compare and contrast Sources B and D as evidence about the causes of the Revolutions of 1848. [15]
- (b) 'The main aims of the German revolutionaries of 1848 were political in nature.' How far do Sources A to D support this view? [25]

**Section B: American Option****The Origins of the Civil War, 1846–1861****Popular Sovereignty and the Kansas–Nebraska Bill**

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

**Source A**

I believe that the peace, harmony and permanence of the Union require us to leave the people, under the Constitution, to do as they see proper in their own internal affairs. I desire to see this principle recognised as a rule of action for all times to come. The Kansas–Nebraska Bill will destroy all sectional parties and sectional agitations. Withdraw the slavery question from Congress, commit it to the judgement of those immediately interested in its consequences, and there is nothing left out of which sectional parties can be organised. To our Southern friends, I wish to say that now is the time to rally round this great principle. If they do not, they allow the doctrine of Congressional interference to prevail. To our Northern friends, I desire to say that they must stop the slander uttered against the South, that they desire to legislate slavery into the Territories.

*From a speech by Stephen Douglas to the US Senate about the Kansas–Nebraska Bill, March 1854.*

**Source B**

Several Southern papers, which were warmly for the Kansas–Nebraska Bill, are now denouncing it as unfit to pass. They think that the amendment establishing squatter sovereignty by permitting the Territorial legislature to prohibit slavery without even submitting the prohibitory law to Congress for approval makes the Bill an empty and miserable mockery to the South. The Bill involves principles that the South has always condemned. Shall the South be so unfaithful as to turn its back upon its cherished doctrines at the bidding of two such Northerners as Franklin Pierce and Stephen Douglas? Will the Southern members of Congress really support this Bill? Will they really want to hear Douglas and his Northern supporters congratulate the country on the triumph of squatter sovereignty?

*From the 'Louisville Journal' (Kentucky), March 1854.*

**Source C**

Of the deepest importance to the country are the proceedings in the two houses of Congress yesterday on the Kansas–Nebraska question. In the House, finally, at eleven o'clock, the Bill passed by the very satisfactory vote of 109 to 100. The following is an analysis of the vote on the passage of the Bill:

<b>House of Representatives' Vote on the Kansas–Nebraska Bill : May 1854</b>		
	For the Bill	Against the Bill
Democrats from slave states	53	4
Democrats from free states	43	46
Whigs from slave states	13	5
Whigs from free states	–	41
Free Soilers	–	4
Total	109	100

*From the 'New York Herald', May 1854.*

**Source D**

The Kansas–Nebraska Bill is presented as a great Union-saving measure. Well, I too go for saving the Union. Much as I hate slavery, I would consent to the extension of it rather than see the Union dissolved. But when I go to Union-saving, I must believe that the methods I use are appropriate to the end. To my mind, Kansas–Nebraska is an aggravation of the only thing which ever endangers the Union. Whether slavery is or is not established in Kansas–Nebraska, we will have thrown away the spirit of compromise. And what shall we have instead? Already a few in the North defy all constitutional restraints, resist the Fugitive Slave law and even menace slavery where it exists. Already a few in the South claim the constitutional right to take and hold slaves in the Free States.

*From a speech by Abraham Lincoln in Peoria, Illinois, October 1854.*

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

- (a) Compare and contrast the opinions expressed in Sources A and D about the Kansas–Nebraska Bill. [15]
- (b) How far do Sources A to D show that the passage of the Kansas–Nebraska Bill divided the United States along sectional lines? [25]

**Section C: International Option****The Search for Peace and International Security, 1919–1945****The League and Disarmament**

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

**Source A**

The first thing to do is that the members of the League should arrive at an understanding between themselves regarding armaments. If the League is to do its work for the world, it will only be because the members of the League trust it themselves, and because there are no rivalries and jealousies between them in the matter of armaments. Unless this is achieved, the League of Nations will be a sham and mockery. Once the leading members of the League have made it clear that they have reached an understanding, its authority will be ensured. It will then be able to ensure, as an essential condition of peace, that not only Germany, but all the smaller states of Europe, undertake to abolish their armaments and abolish conscription.

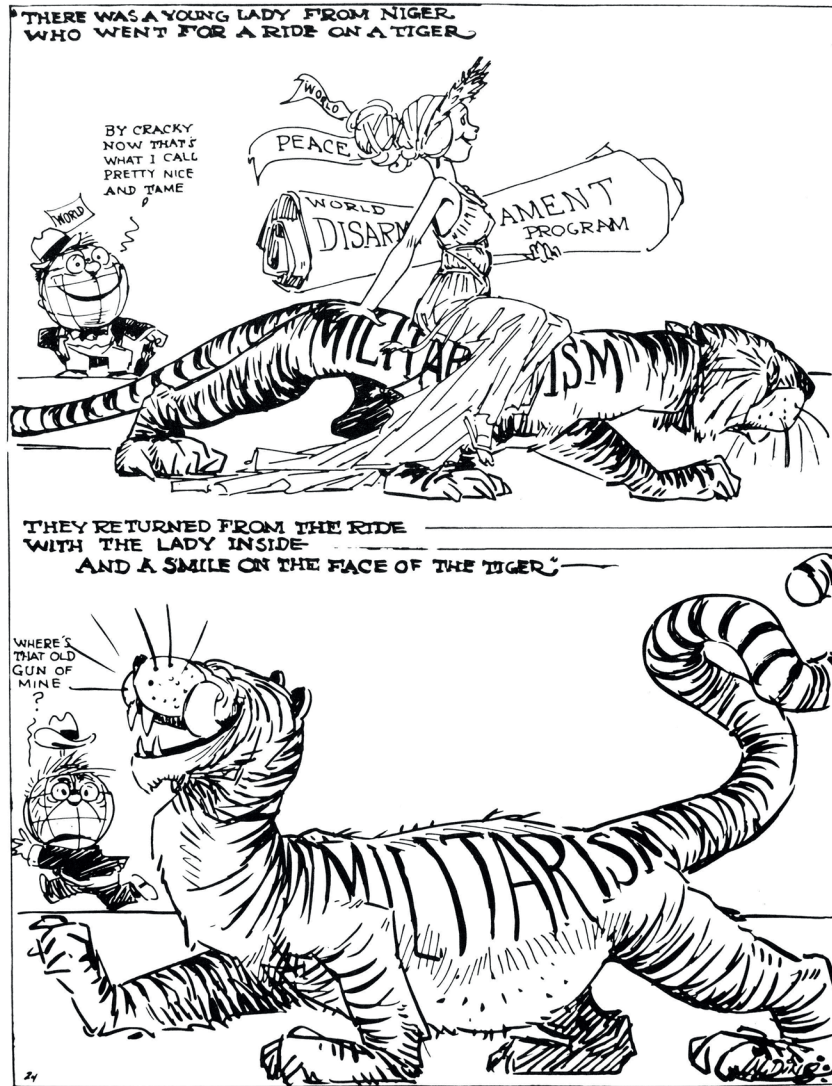
*From a memorandum written by British Prime Minister Lloyd George during the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, published in 1922.*

**Source B**

I wish I could persuade you to take a serious interest in general disarmament. It is surely clear that, so long as the Navy can say that our safety is threatened by a foreign power unless we build additional ships, no British government is strong enough to resist. What is true about our forces is equally true about the French and other armies. No doubt a point of financial pressure might be reached in which a government would be compelled to overrule its military advisers. If this happened there could be drastic reductions which would place that country in a dangerous position. That is why, from a purely economic point of view, I preach general disarmament as the only way out. I do not underrate the enormous difficulties of the operation, though I am confident that we could put it through. I wish you could come to the League Assembly some time and see the enormous potential we have there for carrying out any international policy provided it is a reasonable and right one. Do please think about this.

*A letter from Robert Cecil to Winston Churchill, July 1925. Cecil and Churchill were members of the British government. Cecil was in charge of British involvement in the League.*

Source C



A cartoon published in America in 1926.

**Source D**

The British Prime Minister has declared that the road of gradual disarmament is the surest way of guaranteeing peace forever more. Of course, if all the countries disarmed, it would constitute a serious guarantee of peace. However, in Europe today there is only one major country which is seriously disarmed; Germany. But this was accomplished by crushing Germany in a war.

It is not hard to show that the problem of 'gradual disarmament', if examined closely, assumes the aspect of a tragic farce. The question of disarmament has been replaced by the question of reducing armaments. And finally, the latter problem has been reduced to establishing naval parity between the United States and Britain. Today this 'achievement' is being acclaimed in advance as the greatest guarantee of peace. Common sense indicates the opposite. If two of the strongest naval powers argue so furiously over a few thousand tons, this only goes to show that each of them is simply competing, through diplomacy, for the most advantageous position in the coming military conflict.

*From an article written by Leon Trotsky, published in an American magazine, 1929.  
Trotsky was a former member of the Communist government of the Soviet Union.*

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

- (a) Compare and contrast Sources B and D as evidence of opinions about disarmament. [15]
- (b) 'The League's aim to disarm was unrealistic.' How far do Sources A to D agree with this view? [25]

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