

Section A: European Option**Liberalism and Nationalism in Italy and Germany, 1848–1871****The failure of the 1848 Revolutions in Germany**

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

Source A

I am moved to declare solemnly that no power on earth will ever succeed in persuading me to change the natural relationship between ruler and people into a constitutional one. Never will I permit a written sheet of paper to come between our God in heaven and this land to rule us with its paragraphs and supplement the old sacred loyalty.

King Frederick William IV writing on kingship, 1848.

Source B

In spite of the unrest our economy is now booming. Manufacturing is adapting to new technologies and the joint stock company is aiding the rapid development of our railways. The great changes in the banking system of 1846 are helping capitalist growth and many of the old practices which limited growth have been abolished and a spirit of laissez-faire is in the air. Employment in many new industries is growing fast.

Newspaper article in Prussia, 1848.

Source C

With the decision of 28 March this year the constitution-making of the National Assembly was completed. This constitution was the only formula for a peaceful solution. To our deep grief events have assumed a different complexion and the hopes of the German nation seem likely to miscarry. Four German kings, including the Prussian king himself, have declined the formula of mediation between conflicting principles. On the other hand, a movement of violence has arisen against the idea of a supreme head. Both sides are considering the use of force. Finally, since 10 May a series of decisions have been taken by the new majority in the Assembly which are impossible to execute and are quite contradictory to the course pursued by the earlier majority. In this situation the National Assembly has only a choice of starting a civil war on the one hand and giving up the Reich constitution on the other.

From the declaration made by 66 National Assembly representatives, May 1849.

Source D

Thus vanished the German Parliament, and with it the first and last creation of the Revolution. Chosen under the influence of the capitalist class by a scattered rural population only just awakening from feudalism, this parliament served to bring into one body all the great popular names of 1820–1848 and then ruin them. The industrial and commercial capitalist class was defeated: political liberalism is forever impossible in Germany. We have seen how it failed by its cowardice and short-sighted wavering typical of its middle-class approach. It lost the confidence of the working class. The rural population supported the Parliament. Two-thirds of the armies of the smaller nations were ready to fight for it if only it acted resolutely and with courage. The politicians who led it were not clear sighted and were incapable of dealing with facts and supporting the Parliament.

Karl Marx, 'Revolution and Counter Revolution', written in 1851–52.

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

- (a) To what extent do Sources C and D agree on the reasons for the failure of the Frankfurt Parliament? [15]
- (b) 'The revolutions of 1848 in Germany failed because of the weakness of the liberals.' How far do Sources A to D support this view? [25]

Section B: American Option**The Origins of the Civil War, 1846–1861****Lincoln and Disunion, 1861**

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

Source A

No state, upon its own mere motion, can lawfully get out of the Union. Acts of violence against the authority of the United States are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances. I therefore consider that the Union is unbroken. I shall take care that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the states. I trust this will not be regarded as a menace but only the declared purpose of the Union that it will constitutionally defend itself. In doing this there needs be no bloodshed or violence, unless it be forced on the national authority. The power confided in me will be used to hold, occupy and possess the property and places belonging to the government and to collect duties. There will be no invasion – no using of force against or among the people anywhere.

From Abraham Lincoln's first inaugural address, 4 March 1861.

Source B

If I understand the inaugural speech aright, that purpose which seems to stand out clearly and directly is one which must lead to war against the confederate or seceding states. I must say frankly to gentlemen on the other side that I do not see how, if we adopt the principles of the inaugural, that is to be avoided.

The President declares expressly that he intends to treat those states as though they were still members of the Union, as though the acts of secession were nothing. As they claim to be independent, there can be no result except a collision. In plain, unmistakable language he declares that it is his purpose to hold, occupy and possess the forts and arsenals in those states. We know that he can hold them only by dispossessing the state authorities.

From a speech in the US Senate by Thomas Clingman, Democratic Senator for North Carolina, 6 March 1861.

Source C

I submit to the Senate that the friends of peace have much to rejoice at in the inaugural address of the President. It is a much more conservative document than I had anticipated. It is a much more pacific and conciliatory document than I had expected. After examination, I am clearly of the opinion that the administration stands pledged by the inaugural to a peaceful solution of all our difficulties, to do no act that leads to war and to change its policy just so often and whenever change is necessary to preserve the peace.

From a speech in the US Senate by Stephen Douglas, Democratic Senator for Illinois, 4 March 1861.

Source D

For the comfort of secessionists who have denounced Lincoln for the ‘declaration of war’ which they contend is contained in his inaugural speech, we copy the following extract from the National Anti-Slavery Standard of 9 March. This fanatical paper is as bitter against Lincoln for *not* declaring war as the secessionists are abusive of him for a pretence that he has declared war. The two extremes are acting together in favour of disunion.

‘The [inaugural] speech was made with the face turned towards the South and with both knees bowed down before the idol it worships. Lincoln should have plainly set forth the encroachments of slavery upon the rights of the North and shown how they had culminated in the disruption of the Union. He should have proclaimed his intention of stopping the encroachments and restoring the Union by the full exercise of all his constitutional power. Then he would have taken a position which even his enemies would have admired.’

From the Fayetteville (North Carolina) ‘Observer’, 14 March 1861.

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

- (a) Compare and contrast Sources A and B on the likelihood of secession leading to war. [15]
- (b) How far do Sources A to D support the view that President Lincoln’s inaugural address was bound to lead to war? [25]

Section C: International Option

The Search for International Peace and Security, 1919–1945

The League of Nations and Abyssinia

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

Source A

When in 1915 Italy exposed itself to the risks of war, many promises were made. But after the victory, Italy received but a few crumbs. We have been patient for thirteen years. With Abyssinia we have been patient for forty years! It is time to say enough! In the League of Nations there is talk of sanctions rather than recognition of our rights. I refuse to believe that the real people of France can support sanctions against Italy. Similarly, I refuse to believe that the real people of Great Britain are prepared to risk hurling Europe along the road to catastrophe for the sake of defending an African country universally branded as being without the slightest shadow of civilization. We shall face economic sanctions with discipline and our spirit of sacrifice. Against military sanctions we shall reply with military measures. To acts of war we shall reply with acts of war.

From a speech by Benito Mussolini, 2 October 1935.

Source B

To enable members of the League of Nations to carry out their obligations under Article 16 of the Covenant, the following measures should be taken immediately:

1. Members of the League of Nations will prohibit the exportation, re-exportation or transit to Italy of arms, munitions and implements of war.
2. Members of the League of Nations will take such steps as may be necessary to ensure that arms, munitions and implements of war exported to countries other than Italy will not be re-exported directly or indirectly to Italy.

Measures announced by the League of Nations in response to Italy's invasion of Abyssinia, 18 October 1935.

Source C

The problem before you is not merely about Italian aggression against Abyssinia. It is about collective security. It is about the very existence of the League of Nations. It is about the confidence that each state is to place in international treaties. It is about the value of promises made to small states that their independence shall be respected and ensured. Does the League have value only when the Great Powers have a personal, direct and immediate interest involved? The League's Covenant can have no value if the will to honour it is lacking. I ask the League, which has given the Abyssinian people a promise to help them in their resistance to the aggressor, what is it willing to do for Abyssinia? And to the Great Powers, who have promised the guarantee of collective security to small states on whom weighs the threat that they may one day suffer the fate of Abyssinia, I ask what measures do you intend to take?

From a speech to the League of Nations by Haile Selassie, Emperor of Abyssinia, June 1936.

Source D

Ever since they have had a League of Nations, the Great Powers have done nothing but save peace at the cost of justice. Peace is preserved by allowing one mighty robber after another to attack and conquer a weaker country, by allowing one modern well-equipped war power after another to attack a defenceless population with tanks, machine guns and poison gas, allowing the robber to make off unchallenged with his booty. To preserve peace, the League allowed Mussolini to invade Abyssinia. Britain and France wanted the matter disposed of as quickly as possible. Far more important than the prestige of the League of Nations, not to mention the right of a weaker state to exist, was for the two Great Powers to secure the presence of Mussolini at the next Locarno meeting. And the way has been opened through the League of Nations itself for the attack of the stronger upon the weaker.

From an article entitled 'Spain – The Battlefield of Capitalism', by a Danish journalist, 1937.

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

- (a) Compare and contrast the views expressed by Benito Mussolini (Source A) and Haile Selassie (Source C) regarding the League of Nations' response to Italy's invasion of Abyssinia. [15]
- (b) 'The League of Nations did nothing against Italy's invasion of Abyssinia.' How far do Sources A to D support this view? [25]

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