

HISTORY

Paper 1 Document Question

9389/11

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1 hour

Additional Materials: Answer Booklet/Paper



READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

If you have been given an Answer Booklet, follow the instructions on the front cover of the Booklet.

Write your Centre number, candidate number and name on all the work you hand in.

Write in dark blue or black pen.

Do not use staples, paper clips, glue or correction fluid.

DO NOT WRITE IN ANY BARCODES.

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.

At the end of the examination, fasten all your work securely together.

The marks are given in brackets [] at the end of each part question.

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

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

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

Source A

Once a constitution has been announced in Naples, what is going to happen in Piedmont, in Tuscany, even in Rome, where the power of the government is today very limited? It is too easy to predict. In the present state of warlike excitement, a condition shared even by some reasonable persons, who can be sure that a challenge will not be issued to Austria because of the passionate feelings that do not listen to reason or to wisdom? Then we shall have war, a war of principles as terrible in its effects as those produced by religious fanaticism.

The Belgian ambassador in Rome, writing in his despatches, January 1848.

Source B

The government has been changed but this has not stopped the excitement from growing daily. People broke up the machinery of the old government but with little wisdom. They got rid of the bad but did not find the good to replace it. The rogues remained. The old incompetent substitutes did not know what to do. Everybody gossiped. They complained of everything in the streets. They had gained a new constitution by shouting so everybody thought that he could get a job by shouting. In the political clubs there was much talking about everything under the sun. Those who talked fastest and expressed the most fantastic plans were the most applauded. The press was unrestricted. It published a mixture of lies and truth. The masses said, 'What liberty is this if there is no work and we are starving? The king was previously one man and ate for one. Now we have a thousand governors and they eat for a thousand. We must look after our own interests.' The peasants invaded the countryside and divided the land that belonged to the king or to the landlords who had taken over the land and were hated because they had got rich through moneylending and greed. In the city of Naples, the mob considered attacking and looting houses. People became crazy.

Settembrini, a moderate reformer, describes the disorder in Naples, February 1848.

Source C

The most bitter and most skilful enemy of those clergy who defend the Pope is Gioberti. He is not content with getting the Jesuits expelled from every state in Italy, even from Rome, but he also seeks to enlarge his own role and to raise himself to the level of a statesman, creating the hope for a new future in Italy. Another Italian, the lawyer Mazzini, equally clever and more energetic than Gioberti, has set himself up with the same intention. He wants to put himself at the head of the united republican party. Gioberti has declared himself the head of the party of constitutional monarchy.

The Belgian ambassador describes the divisions in Rome, October 1848.

Source D

Revolutions spread through Italy in 1848 but differences between regimes sharpened separatism in the states. Gioberti summoned a congress of representatives in October to discuss a federation of Italian states but he met with no success. The monarchists were divided from republicans like Mazzini. On the other hand Manin's republicanism in Venice was that of the old Venetian city-state, not Mazzini's variety which preached republicanism as the pre-condition of national unity, and he took care to destroy the influence of Mazzini's supporters. A contemporary wrote, 'There was no unity of direction. Therefore there was no unity as Italians.'

A modern historian describes the differences between the Italian revolutionaries in 1848.

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

- (a) Compare and contrast Sources B and C as evidence of the reasons why many Italians wanted change in 1848. [15]
- (b) How far do these sources show that Italian nationalism was the reason for the revolutions in Italy in 1848? [25]

Section B: American Option**The Origins of the Civil War, 1846–1861****The Compromise of 1850**

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

Source A

The agitation on the subject of slavery now raging throughout the land presents a most extraordinary spectacle. Congress, after a protracted session of nearly ten months, succeeded in passing a system of measures which are believed to be just to all parts of the republic and ought to be satisfactory to the people. The South has not triumphed over the North nor has the North achieved a victory over the South. Neither party has made humiliating concessions to the other.

And yet we find that the agitation has reopened in the two extremes of the Union with renewed vigour and increased violence. In the South, the measures of adjustment are denounced as a disgraceful surrender of Southern rights to Northern abolitionists. In the North, the same measures are denounced with equal violence as a total abandonment of the rights of freemen in order to conciliate slave power.

From a speech by Stephen Douglas, 23 October 1850.

Source B

When the so-called compromise measures passed both houses of Congress and received the approval of the President, there was some prospect of domestic tranquillity. These measures were, unquestionably, of Southern origin and so framed as to promote and encourage Southern interests. The South gained all its points in the game of legislation and left the North, if not a victim to superior tact and finesse, at least a dupe to systematised threat and bombast.

It was reasonable to expect that the South would be satisfied with the concessions and advantages of the compromise measures. The result is far different; they quarrel with their own men and their own propositions. They imagine a danger and they proceed to act with emergency. They will admit no discussion – they will concede nothing – but swagger on as they have done since the formation of our union. They have their way and are not content! If the similar fanaticism were encouraged in this section by argument and plaudit, we would never hear the end of Southern declamation and wordy resistance.

From the 'Lewisburg Chronicle', Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, 30 October 1850.

Source C

By the Compromise of 1850, the South, in some particulars, sacrificed its essential interests. It gave away the magnificent empire of California. It recognised the principle of Squatter Sovereignty. Above all, it consented to the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia. What indemnity did the South receive for these important concessions? The Fugitive Slave Law and nothing more. The act was drawn with care and ability and is wanting in no provision essential to its satisfactory operation. In view of the adversary's strength, it was something to gain even so inadequate a compensation for all our sacrifices. Considering the extremity of our distress, the enactment of the Fugitive Slave Law was in some sort a triumph for the South.

From the 'Charleston Mercury', 25 May 1857.

Source D

Out of Congress the abolitionists were aroused almost to a pitch of frenzy by the passage of the Compromise measures and the Fugitive Slave Law. Addresses were immediately issued by thousands, which freely circulated in all Northern States, counselling resistance to the law under every circumstance. Conventions were held of whites and negroes, in which death was proclaimed to every slaveholder who attempted to carry out the infamous enactment. The tide of runaway slaves from the South, which had been flowing for so many years, swelled into a flood. Where one slave formerly made a successful escape, scores made good their flight now. New England became the goal of the fugitives and here they found friends without number, who furnished them with the means for extending their journey to the Canadian provinces.

From Felix de Fontaine, 'History of American Abolitionism', 1861.

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

- (a) To what extent do Sources B and C agree about the role of the South in the making of the 1850 Compromise? [15]
- (b) How far do these sources support the assertion that the 1850 Compromise was favourable to the North? [25]

Section C: International Option

The Search for International Peace and Security, 1919–1945

The League of Nations and the Italian Invasion of Abyssinia

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

Source A



A cartoon from a British newspaper, February 1935. It shows Mussolini with the British and French Foreign Ministers who are looking at a 'Map of the Western Front'.

Source B

There is no sign of any weakening in overwhelming support for the Covenant, nor any sign that members of the League would be unwilling to shoulder their obligations should the situation demand it. The only nation which has shown a marked lack of enthusiasm for effective action against Italy is France. The French are concerned about Germany and cannot bring themselves to take any step which could weaken a united front against the German peril. Britain's view that the failure of the League to act firmly against Italy at this time would fatally weaken it in any future crisis does not appeal with equal force to the French. French support of the League does not rest on a conception of international law. They regard it mainly as an instrument of French policy, to be used when it is convenient to France. Their aim is not to antagonise Italy while keeping the League alive for another crisis when it may be of value to them.

Telegram to the British government from the British Minister for League of Nations' Affairs in Geneva, September 1935.

Source C

Mr Baldwin assured us that Britain held faithfully to all its pledges with regard to the League. However, he said that taking action against Italy raised extremely difficult questions. He explained the great gravity of the European situation, including the danger that Mussolini might make a 'mad dog' attack on the British fleet. Though this would, in the long run, lead to the defeat of Italy, the war might last a long time and produce both losses and serious diplomatic complications. He added that Britain could not rely on effective support from any other member of the League. With the exception of Britain (and its own preparations had fallen far into arrears) none of the members of the League seemed in a position to take decisive action against Italy. As for France, the whole French nation had a horror of war and could hardly be mobilised by any provocation short of actual invasion.

Report of a League of Nations' delegation following a meeting with Stanley Baldwin, the British Prime Minister, December 1935.

Source D

In the case of Manchuria, the League did nothing but utter verbal protests against Japan's action in attacking China. Manchuria was far off. Abyssinia, and still more Italy, was nearer. In that case, economic sanctions were decided on, but they were weak sanctions. We refused to impose the only two sanctions which would have been effective – the cutting off of oil supplies and the closing of the Suez Canal. We did enough to irritate and embarrass Italy, but not enough to prevent her from accomplishing her conquest. The League's powerlessness to protect states which were the victims of aggression became so evident that, when Germany took Czechoslovakia and Poland, there was no appeal to the League even by the victims themselves. If I draw this sombre picture, it is not to engage in vain recriminations over the past. I do not forget that certain French governments had their share in these backslidings.

From a speech by the French delegate at the last meeting of the League of Nations, April 1946.

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

- (a) Compare and contrast Sources B and C as evidence about Britain's attitude towards the Italian invasion of Abyssinia. [15]
- (b) How far do Sources A–D support the view that France was responsible for the League of Nations' failure to take effective action in response to Italy's invasion of Abyssinia? [25]

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