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**HISTORY**

**9389/12**

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

#### Mazzini and Italian Unification

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

#### Source A

It was the Assembly in Rome which prevented Mazzini from becoming a dictator with real power to achieve what he desired and needed to attain victory. Some in Rome strongly disliked the domestic policies he set up before his fall. Mazzini did achieve much for his great cause during his brief 'rule' in Rome. It was not his fault that the Roman Republic failed. Too few saw its potential and many conservative landlords feared what it might bring. However, his cause gained international attention. He did not show too much hostility to the Roman Catholic religion and he made it clear that a desire for national unity was not anti-Catholic. He highlighted the failings of the Pope as a ruler. The French assault on Rome was a major feature in the collapse of the Republic, but he argued that it was an unprovoked attack by a foreign power, which encouraged a strong 'Italian' feeling amongst many Italians.

*From the diary of Margaret Fuller, an American supporter of Mazzini, written whilst she was in Rome, 1848–49.*

#### Source B

Once the army from Piedmont had failed to bring about any change in 1848, the Republicans stood no chance. Where a regular army had failed, how could the ordinary people led by dreamers like Mazzini succeed? The struggles in Venice and Rome were not inspired by any great unifying ideal. Mazzini and his followers in Rome desired both major social change and radical republicanism, but others thought they could save Italy by respecting old institutions and they marched to war under the banner of privilege and Catholicism. Venice chose to isolate itself, and all Mazzini and his supporters in the end could do was to try and save Italian honour.

*Adapted from 'The Memoirs of Carlo Pisacane', 1851.  
Pisacane fought in Rome alongside Mazzini.*

#### Source C

I have sent instructions that you find, without delay, an agent who believes he can catch Mazzini. If successful the agent would receive a great reward. We wish to free Piedmont, Italy and Europe of this infamous conspirator who has become a major murderer. Mazzini needs to be condemned to death and hanged. With his conspiracies and revolutionary ideas he will destroy unification. His ideas of assassinating Napoleon will lose us our major ally.

*Cavour to the Piedmontese Minister in Paris, July 1857.*

**Source D**

While Mazzini had seen little of life, he achieved much. After exile and prison he was to see the results of his ideas and see the triumph of right over might—the success of those armed with principles over those armed with muskets. His views on humanity were to the last, broad, high and ever hopeful. He had a great influence over all those who met him, men became better by contact with his vision and ideals. His enormous faith in the destiny of Italy covered up the huge problems which had to be overcome. His belief in ‘Italy united, free and independent’ inspired all.

*From the ‘Autobiography of Garibaldi’, published in 1889.*

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

- (a) Compare and contrast the views in Sources A and B on Mazzini and the Roman Republic. [15]
- (b) ‘Mazzini played a vital part in advancing the cause of Italian unity.’ How far do Sources A to D support this view? [25]

## Section B: American Option

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

#### President Fillmore and the Compromise of 1850

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

#### Source A

Before the remains of the late respected President Taylor are consigned to the dust, the different cliques of politicians throughout the country are running here and there. Thurlow Weed, the head of the Seward abolition clique, whose demise is just at hand, is drumming up support either to rule or ruin the new administration under President Fillmore. What is the difference between President Taylor's platform in relation to the slavery question and that which is brought forward by Mr Clay and other Whig leaders in Congress? The effect of the former will be to keep open the slavery question for an indefinite time, to encourage disunionists to follow up the work of disorganising the federacy, and even to provoke a civil war. Mr Clay's compromise is based on justice and equity to all parts of the country. If Mr Fillmore has the firmness to resist the ultra-abolition clique in this state, which has been set in motion by Seward and Thurlow Weed, he will entitle himself to the applause of every section of this great and mighty Union.

*From the 'New York Herald', 13 July 1850.*

#### Source B

The Cabinet, appointed by President Taylor, have tendered their resignations and the question of accepting them is still undecided. The town is full of rumours and discontent. The Whigs who have weathered so far through the storm insist that Mr Fillmore is still a Whig and is bound to adhere to the policy of his much-missed predecessor. Slavery Whigs and Democrats demand a change to the Cabinet and a surrender to the Compromise proposed by Senator Clay. Both parties see Fillmore, advise him and are listened to with respect but they receive no answers, no satisfaction. All are alarmed, all are equally dissatisfied. Thus, fate has at last led the man of hesitation and double opinions to the crisis, where single-mindedness is indispensable.

*From a letter written by William Seward, US Senator for New York, 12 July 1850.*

#### Source C

All seem aware of the conservative position which Mr Fillmore has, until now, occupied in New York. He has never been known to yield to the fanatical spirit of the North. Between him and the great leader of the Abolitionists – Senator Seward of New York – a most deadly feud is said to exist. The great anxiety seems to be in regard to Fillmore's moral firmness. It has been questioned whether he can withstand the outward pressure of his own section. Should Mr Fillmore carry out a just and liberal policy towards the South he will become the most popular civilian the Republic has ever known. He holds the Union in the palm of his hand and it is entirely within his power, either to preserve it or to dash it to atoms.

*From the 'Athens Post' (Tennessee), 26 July 1850.*

**Source D**

The country had every appearance of being on the eve of revolution when President Taylor died. The language and spirit of the representatives of the North and South were quite as violent and defiant as they were in 1860. Vice-President Fillmore had been, through his public life, distinguished for nothing more than his earnest opposition to slavery. The Whig Party, therefore, was startled by trustworthy information that, in assuming the presidency, he would back down from the high position which President Taylor, a Southern man and a slaveholder, had taken. Fillmore had decided to approve a series of pro-slavery or compromise measures (including a stringent Fugitive Slave Law) repugnant to the principles of the Whig Party. Against these measures I took strong ground, denouncing the new President. This of course divided the Whig Party.

*From the 'Autobiography of Thurlow Weed', a New York journalist and Whig supporter, edited by his daughter, 1884.*

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

- (a) To what extent do Sources A and B agree in their assessment of the situation facing Fillmore when he became President? [15]
- (b) How far do Sources A to D support the assertion that, in supporting the 1850 Compromise, President Fillmore would unite the country? [25]

## Section C: International Option

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

#### The League of Nations and the crisis in Manchuria, 1931–33

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

#### Source A

Japan has consistently ignored treaties and insisted on having special rights in China, especially in Manchuria. Showing contempt for world opinion, Japan has carried military action into the heart of China. Japanese forces have killed large numbers of unarmed and peaceable Chinese men, women and children. They have imprisoned, maltreated and executed many more. Japan has rejected every avenue to peace, leaving China no alternative but to adopt measures for self-defence. China has endured humiliation in the hope that the League of Nations might halt Japan's reckless course. Despite the League's failure, China maintains its faith in world justice, but it cannot passively submit to Japan's invasion of China's territory and slaughter of its people. Since September 1931, the sky has been red with the glare of burning cities and villages. The tramp of Japan's armies and the thunder of its guns have been heard throughout Manchuria and elsewhere in China.

*Statement to the League of Nations by the Chinese Government, February 1932.*

#### Source B

Japan seeks in Manchuria only our treaty rights and the safety of our people. We wanted from China only the right to trade, according to the existing treaties, free from unwarranted interference. Chinese propaganda has been used to shape world opinion against Japan. Japan has acted in self-defence against a Chinese government which aims to terminate our interests and treaties in Manchuria. Japan will do all in its power to cooperate with the League of Nations to promote international peace and security. It is the fundamental policy of Japan to consolidate peace in the Far East and to contribute to the maintenance of peace throughout the world. Voices have been raised in some quarters criticising the effectiveness of the League. But the fact that the Manchurian affair has not led to open war between China and Japan is undoubtedly due to actions of the League.

*Statement to the League of Nations by the Japanese Government, November 1932.*

#### Source C

Japan will oppose any attempt at international control of Manchuria. This does not mean that we defy you; merely that Manchuria belongs to us by right. Manchuria is a matter of life and death for Japan, and no compromise is possible. Japan has been and will always be the mainstay of peace in the Far East. Japan has been a member of the League since its establishment. We have been proud to be members, but find it impossible to accept a report which cannot lead to peace. Japan feels it has now reached the limit of its endeavours to cooperate with the League with regard to Sino-Japanese differences.

*Yosuke Matsuoka, Japanese Delegate, informing the League of Nations Assembly of Japan's decision to withdraw from the League, 24 February 1933.*

**Source D**

Throughout the efforts of the League of Nations regarding the dispute between China and Japan, certain objectives have been kept in mind – to halt hostilities, to obtain the fullest possible information, to conciliate between China and Japan and to crystallise world opinion. Each of the League's resolutions on the issue represents success in achieving measures of agreement. The League sought to find the basis for an agreement between China and Japan. Japan's military occupation of Chinese territory made this difficult, but encouragement was given to the initiation of negotiations between the parties. The League has drawn up a formal report, containing the facts of the dispute and recommendations which are just and proper. It was adopted unanimously except for the negative vote of Japan. The League's involvement in the Manchurian crisis followed internationally-set principles.

*From 'The Verdict of the League: China and Japan in Manchuria', written by an advisor to the League of Nations on international law, March 1933.*

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

- (a) Compare and contrast the views of Sources A and B regarding the causes of the crisis in Manchuria. [15]
- (b) 'In the period from September 1931 to February 1933, the League of Nations took effective action over the crisis in Manchuria.' How far do Sources A to D support this view? [25]

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