
HISTORY

9389/11

Paper 1 Document Question

May/June 2019

1 hour

No Additional Materials are required.

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.

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

The impact of the Revolutions of 1848–49 on Italy

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

Source A

It appears that the situation in Italy is regarded in Vienna as not sufficiently urgent to justify more than the usual security precautions. You are making a serious mistake. We are dealing with people who hate us. Italy has not sunk so low that it is incapable of resurgence. It possesses the strength to rise again and some there have seen how this could happen. We must punish them severely. We must show no mercy and take real care to break the rich, yet above all, praise the poorer classes and the peasantry so we can gain their support. The middle classes and above have to be punished. This way will ensure we remain secure in Italy in our lifetimes.

A report by Marshal Radetzky, the Austrian Commander in Italy, to Schwarzenberg, the Austrian Chancellor, April 1849.

Source B

I found General Hess, the local Austrian commander, very clear in his intentions and, I am sorry to say, illiberal. In his opinion there is only one method of governing Lombardy, and that is by the sword and ruling with a rod of iron. General Hess believes all classes must be crushed, especially the upper class, and all must be humbled. He aims to reject all measures of a conciliatory nature to any Italian and keep peace by inspiring terror. He thinks that by keeping 80 000 Austrian soldiers in Lombardy he will win. But the minute Austria quarrels with France, or Austria is threatened elsewhere, then I am sure that Austria will not hold on to Italy. Austria may have regained temporary control of Italy, but they have aroused great hatred with their barbarity. The policy they have adopted seems guaranteed to arouse even more anger and loathing amongst all Italians.

A report by Lord Abercromby, British Minister in Turin, to Palmerston, the British Foreign Secretary, April 1849.

Source C

For all the believers in a united Italy, the years 1848–49 were a period of great trial. What are the results?

1. There had been the dream of Gioberti, translated into action by Pius IX: an Italian Federation of Free States. That dream died with the attempted republic in Rome.
2. The glorious dream of Charles Albert, of Italy achieving independence on its own. That died with Charles Albert. Piedmont had to have an ally.
3. The Italian Republic of Mazzini is never more than a vision, and without Garibaldi, a fiasco.

Yet events of the past two years inspired those who wished for unity, and gave them a pride and a cause. The poor workers may have been neglected as always, but thinkers and idealists were given hope.

The Spanish Ambassador in Rome, reporting back to Madrid, 1850.

Source D

I, like you, believe that the life of a people lies in independence more than liberty. But, as an Italian first and foremost, I seek Italian forces for an Italian War. A popular insurrection would not be enough for the purpose. We have seen how a popular uprising can win temporary victories within the confines of its own city, but it cannot win against regular troops in open countryside. To defeat soldiers and cannon you need soldiers and cannon. You need arms. Not Mazzini chatter. Piedmont has got soldiers and cannon. I will support it and its constitution. Events have proved that Italian sentiment and a Piedmontese army can gain a free Italy, one day.

*Pallavicino writing to General Pepe, November 1851.
Both men had fought the Austrians in 1848–49.*

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

- (a) Compare and contrast the views expressed in Sources A and B on Austrian policy towards Italy after the revolutions of 1848–49. [15]
- (b) How far do Sources A to D show that the revolutions of 1848–49 in Italy damaged the cause of Italian unification? [25]

Section B: American Option**The Origins of the Civil War, 1846–1861****Attempts to avoid secession, 1860–61**

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

Source A

The most careless observer of current events cannot fail to be impressed with the fact that the country is rapidly drifting towards Disunion. What can be done to preserve the Union? We publish this morning the compromise by Senator Crittenden of Kentucky, which he suggests as amendments to the Constitution. We commend it to the careful attention of the reader. It does not yield to all the demands of the Fire-Eater, nor to those of the Abolitionist. It restores the principle of Territorial partition which was adopted in the Missouri Compromise and a line that would probably be agreed upon if there should be a division of the country into Northern and Southern Confederations. The Republican Party could accept it, for upon the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854 they announced they would demand its restoration.

From the 'Indiana State Sentinel', January 1861.

Source B

Petitions are pouring into Congress from all quarters – North, South, East and West – in favour of the Crittenden Compromise being made part of the Constitution. The Republican members are earnestly urged to give up their rash policy and adopt it. The people are for it generally. The Crittenden Amendment, so much talked of, is simply a proposed amendment to the Constitution extending the Missouri Compromise line of 36° 30' to the Pacific Ocean; the North side to be free and the South side to be slave. This, of course, can only apply to US Territories and not US States and is generally believed to be the only means by which the Union can be saved. Every Northern Democrat, including Stephen Douglas, favours it.

From the 'Spirit of Democracy' (Ohio), January 1861.

Source C

Knowing that an overwhelming majority of our citizens, in the recent election, declared against even Congressional protection of slavery in the US Territories, the Democrats now resort to a trick for the purpose of securing an endorsement of the slave-code policy by *Constitutional* amendment – tenfold worse than was asked of the Democrats at their party convention last year. The name of the scheme is the 'Crittenden Compromise'. It is neither Mr Crittenden's nor a compromise. True, it was introduced by Mr Crittenden but it was concocted by Mr Breckinridge and his Disunion supporters for the express purpose of preventing any adjustment. It is not a compromise for it concedes nothing but demands more than the South ever asked before in regard to the US Territories. It is a gross deception of the people to call it a compromise. Its acceptance would involve a shameful surrender. This is a plain statement of the real facts, as will be obvious to any intelligent person carefully reading this bogus compromise.

From the 'Cincinnati Gazette' (Ohio), February 1861.

Source D

We do not believe that the Republicans have the remotest idea of granting the South even the Crittenden Compromise, which the South would not now accept. There is not a Black Republican in Congress, nor a Republican paper in the North, that is willing to give the South even the Crittenden Compromise line of 36° 30'. Is it not then useless to 'watch and wait and hope'? The Republicans want to keep the Border States in the Union until Old Abe is inaugurated and then! – What then? Shall we labour under a delusion? What is the standing army in Washington DC for? Citizens of North Carolina, can you not think? Ought not the whole South be united? The sooner the so-called Peace Conference comes to an end, the better, for it deludes some people with HOPES which will NEVER BE FULFILLED.

From 'The North-Carolinian', February 1861.

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

- (a) How far do Sources B and C agree on the purpose of the Crittenden Compromise? [15]
- (b) 'The Crittenden Compromise showed that, by 1861, the North and the South could not remain united.' How far do Sources A to D support this assertion? [25]

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

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

Source A

The UN Charter agreed at San Francisco does not establish an effective international authority. No world authority consisting of separate sovereign states will keep the peace, unless they are prepared to submit unconditionally to its decisions and to place their armed forces unreservedly at its disposal. The League of Nations expected sovereign states to sit down together and ignore the struggle for existence which had created them. It was like asking a lot of tigers to tea with a priest. There was not a chance of success. First they consumed the priest, and then they started consuming each other. The League failed to erect a single world authority, with the power necessary to impose peace upon humanity. There is a desperate need for an international police force, but the UN Charter fails to erect a single world authority with the power necessary to impose peace upon humanity.

A Conservative Party MP addressing the British Parliament, August 1945.

Source B

Many regarded the League of Nations' Covenant as the first step towards world government. The League failed because we lost the vision necessary to follow up that first step. The Second World War was the penalty. We now have a second chance, but the UN Charter is only the Covenant writ large. It is a very poor and timid affair. There are some improvements, but there is not much added to the Covenant. There are, however, two very great and beneficial differences. Firstly, the Charter has been ratified by the US Senate, a body once described as the graveyard of all the fallen hopes of world peace. Secondly, one of the founder members of the UN is the USSR.

A Labour Party MP addressing the British Parliament, August 1945.

Source C

One of the reasons why the League of Nations failed was that the USA, which brought it into existence, neglected it. During its life, there was never a time when all of the large and powerful nations were members. Another reason for its failure was that it became too much like a huge government department rather than the mouthpiece of various nations. The League's Secretariat became a huge organisation which issued many reports, which very few people read and which made little contribution to world peace. Another failure of the League was the large number of member states which had very little power. With the exception of Britain, and perhaps France, none of the other members could do anything. They were largely dependent on Britain, believing that it could give them the protection they desired against aggressors. Once Italy had got away with its attack on Abyssinia, that was the end of any power which the League could exercise in world affairs.

An Australian politician addressing the Australian Senate, September 1945.

Source D

Was the League out of touch with reality, striving after unobtainable objectives? No, on the contrary. The League succeeded in maintaining peace for a number of years. It succeeded as long as governments, and particularly the governments of the Great Powers, supported it and as long as there was the possibility that their force would be put to the service of its decisions. In the years following the peace treaties, the League settled various grave disputes, all of which might have led to war without the League. Deterioration set in on the day when the principles of the Covenant, which offered the only possible basis of peace, were given up as a sacrifice to the myth of appeasement. The League's powerlessness to protect states from aggression then became evident. I hope that the realisation of these errors, and the determination to repair them which finds expression in the UN Charter, will preserve us from similar mistakes in the future.

A senior French representative addressing the final meeting of the League of Nations' Assembly, April 1946.

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

- (a) Compare and contrast the views expressed in Sources A and B regarding the UN Charter. [15]
- (b) 'The League of Nations was certain to fail from the start.' How far do Sources A to D support this view? [25]

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