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**HISTORY**

**9389/12**

Paper 1 Document Question

**May/June 2019**

**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

#### The impact of the Revolutions of 1848 on Germany

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

#### Source A

The events of 1848 have produced a remarkable Constitution. What the German people want from this fine Constitution, which has been decided by their representatives is:

- unity in the service of freedom
- material and social well-being
- a unity which is decided not by princes, but by the people themselves
- the conviction that the constitution does justice to the political demands of the nation
- for it to bring peace, honour and freedom.

There has been universal support for it. Underlying it all is the principle of nationality, which is dearer to many Germans now because it has been so ignored in the past, both internally and externally.

*From an article in the 'The National Zeitung', a liberal newspaper, April 1849.*

#### Source B

The first act of the revolutionary drama on the Continent of Europe has closed. The powers that were in control before the great events of 1848 are the powers that are still in control now. A great defeat has been suffered by the revolution in Germany. The revolutionaries have been gunned down and destroyed. But what of it? The revolution was the work of many, and it will not go away. It is truly the first step forwards. The aristocracy and the bourgeoisie have got frightened. They will have to make political, constitutional and economic concessions, as well as some to the nationalists. The feudal system of Germany has been badly shaken and the masses will see a way forward.

*From an article on the German Revolutions by Friedrich Engels, a socialist writer, 1851.*

#### Source C

The King of Prussia has failed us in his reaction to the events of the past years. What would Frederick the Great have done? He would have done two things. He might have allied with Austria and helped us in the destruction of our common enemies which are liberalism and nationalism, or at the risk of war he might have dictated a solution to the German people which would have been great for both Germany and Prussia. What the King has done is to set back the cause of both Prussia and Germany, possibly for ever.

*From a speech by Otto von Bismarck in the German Diet, 1851.*

**Source D**

Even if it had to fail, 1848 had been the first attempt to solve the German question. The Reich Constitution of 1849 had been a considerable advance. Its main merit consisted in casting the first bright light into the night of our political dreams and indicating the path which could lead us out of the great confusion of German fragmentation and disunity. There were defects in it as it did not really represent the views of many. While the inexperience and ineffectiveness of many of the Liberals who wrote it may have set back our cause, it must be seen as a significant move towards both one nation and liberalism.

*From a newspaper article by Hermann Baumgarten, journalist and academic, 1853.*

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

- (a) Compare and contrast the views expressed in Sources A and D of the Constitution. [15]
- (b) 'The revolutions of 1848–49 had a positive impact on the cause of German nationalism.' How far do Sources A to D support this view? [25]

## Section B: American Option

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

#### The impact of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*

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

#### Source A

This year both our great leading parties voted to suppress all agitation on the issue of slavery. In both those parties were men who knew personally facts of slavery and the internal slave trade that one would think no man could ever forget. Men united in pledging themselves to the Fugitive Slave Law, who yet would tell you in private conversation that it was an abomination. I am surprised that both the wildest abolitionists and the extremest conservatives welcomed the book's publication. The effects of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* so far have been, I think, these:

1. To soften and moderate the bitterness of feeling in extreme abolitionists.
2. To convert to abolitionist views many whom this same bitterness had repelled.
3. To inspire the free colored people with self-respect, confidence and hope.
4. To inspire universally through the country a kindlier feeling toward the negro race.

*From a letter to a British liberal politician, written by Harriet Beecher Stowe, c.1852.*

#### Source B

*Uncle Tom's Cabin* is the latest attack upon slavery. The book contains all the arguments against the institution, brought to life in scenes of great power and made attractive by highly-detailed accounts, mainly fictional, though, we are assured, not exaggerated. However, in reality, Beecher Stowe's zeal has got the better of her and she has drawn a most wild and unreal picture of slavery. The consequence is that the book, with its vast circulation, will do infinite injury. Its dramatic power will have no other effect than to excite the fanaticism of one section of the country and to arouse the indignation of the other. It will carry an inaccurate picture of slavery to those who are only too willing to think ill of it. The book will confirm the growing view in the South that we are hated and misunderstood.

*From 'Slavery in the Southern States' by an anonymous author from South Carolina, 1852.*

#### Source C

Sir – Will you allow me to make a few observations on *Uncle Tom's Cabin*? I am an abolitionist heart and soul and though I admire the authoress, still, on reading the book, I look on her as the worst enemy of a good cause. I fear the book will raise the sneers of those whom we most want to bring round to our party. If this book were really a faithful record, there would be no need to abolish slavery. The book, which might have done the world of good in other hands, will sink into the sewer of literature, and be turned to the worst of instead of the best of purposes.

*From a letter published in 'The Liberator' (Boston), October 1852.*

**Source D**

Instead of feeling disheartened by the almost universal effort to silence the anti-slavery movement, we see, in this attempt clear evidence of the soundness of our philosophy. One sign of the times we would especially mention: never were so many able anti-slavery publications issued from the press in one year. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* has shone a light upon the evils of slavery and awakened sympathy for the slave in the hearts of those who previously did not care. Other able works on slavery have followed in rapid succession. Sympathy is diminishing for the oppressor and increasing for his victim. We now summon our sisters and friends, American and British, to come to the aid of our next anti-slavery festival.

*From a fund-raising appeal by 27 women meeting as the Ladies Anti-Slavery Sewing Society, Rochester, New York, 1852.*

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

- (a) Compare and contrast the responses of Sources B and C to the publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. [15]
- (b) How far do Sources A to D support the assertion that *Uncle Tom's Cabin* advanced the abolitionist cause? [25]

## Section C: International Option

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

#### The League of Nations' sanctions against Italy, 1935–36

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

#### Source A

A great change has taken place. The League of Nations was powerless and dead, but now it is alive and active. Here are fifty sovereign states sitting down together to plan hostile economic sanctions against a great power, prohibiting the export of arms to Italy, taking concerted measures to destroy Italian credit and financial strength. It has been argued that economic sanctions will not really embarrass Mussolini and he knows this or else he would have bowed to them. That all depends on the length of time they are maintained. Do not let us under-value the extreme importance of the long, slow pressures which are being applied. Where will Mussolini be this time next year? He may be far into Abyssinia, but all the time Italy, opposed by practically the whole world, will be bleeding at every pore, her gold reserves melting away, her prices rising, her credit gone. The League of Nations has passed from shadow into substance, from theory into practice, from rhetoric into reality.

*Winston Churchill, addressing the British Parliament, October 1935.*

#### Source B

The League of Nations has not only failed to prevent war between Abyssinia and Italy, but is unable to stop it now that it has begun. The British government, determined to revive the prestige of the League, is now establishing sanctions, transforming Italy from one of our best friends into a determined enemy. Every country now fears the prospect of war breaking out. British government ministers seem to look upon the League as a semi-divine instrument which is infallible, and think that, if it were to disappear, it would be an irreparable misfortune. I do not follow this argument at all. At the present moment, the League clearly does not work. I hope that the application of sanctions will stop, because I do not believe they will have any real effect and, in the long run, do more harm to the people who inflict them than to the people who are suffering from them.

*A British diplomat and Conservative politician addressing the British Parliament, December 1935.*

#### Source C

Considerable pessimism still remains here regarding the possible cost of the Abyssinian campaign. This feeling is aggravated by increasing economic difficulties. The operation of sanctions has greatly contributed to this. For example, instead of seven steamers a month from here to South America, the service now consists of only two. No increased sales to other countries have compensated for the loss of markets in the countries applying sanctions. On the contrary, there has been a reduction in shipments to the USA. Although the official attitude seems to be that the effect of sanctions is negligible, it is noteworthy that economic inconveniences are generally attributed to their operation, even in cases of the increased price of goods of purely domestic origin. There is very considerable uneasiness with regard to any possible extension of the sanctions. As a result of sanctions, great difficulty seems to have been experienced financing supplies of necessary commodities from abroad. These hardships have led to outbreaks of discontent.

*Report to the British Ambassador in Rome by a British diplomat in Naples, Southern Italy, February 1936.*

**Source D**

We have met here to end a course of action which was designed to fulfil our obligations as members of the League to guarantee the independence of our fellow members but which was not carried to its conclusion. The moment came to reconsider this measure when the resistance of the valiant Ethiopian troops was broken. It appeared that by economic sanctions alone it would be impossible to drive the Italian army out of Ethiopia.

I maintain that the League of Nations has such powerful weapons that every aggression can be broken. The experience of this conflict does not contradict this assertion. It is a fact that from the beginning there was a striving to confine the action taken to the barest minimum. Economic sanctions were limited in their scope and were not applied by all members of the League. Given these restrictions, sanctions could only have been effective through a more prolonged application.

*From a speech by Soviet Foreign Minister Litvinov, to the League of Nations at a meeting to discuss ending sanctions against Italy, July 1936.*

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

- (a) Compare and contrast Sources A and B as evidence of British politicians' opinions about the League of Nations. [15]
- (b) How far do Sources A to D support the view that economic sanctions against Italy never had a chance of succeeding? [25]

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