

HISTORY

9389/13

Paper 1 Document Question

October/November 2014

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.

You may use an HB pencil for any diagrams or graphs.

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

Cavour and France

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

Source A

After the disaster of the 1848 Revolution, two courses were open to us. We could, bowing to adverse fate, renounce all the aspirations which had guided King Charles Albert during the last years of his reign, seal ourselves up within our frontiers, think only of the material and moral interests of Piedmont. On the other hand, we could, while accepting all the hardships imposed by accomplished facts, keep alive the faith that inspired the great actions of King Charles Albert, and, while declaring our firm intention to respect treaties, maintain in the political sphere the enterprise of unification which was defeated in the military sphere. In recent years, therefore, we have tried to do away with the last hindrances to our country, and we have lost no occasion to act as the spokesman and defender of the other peoples of Italy. That was our task in the course of the Congress of Paris after the Crimean War. Our hopes were not disappointed in regard to the credit that Piedmont would acquire. It was an outstanding fact that the cause of Italy was for the first time supported by an Italian power.

Cavour's speech to the Piedmont Parliament, 1858.

Source B

The Emperor began by saying that he had decided to support Piedmont in a war against Austria, provided the war could be justified in the eyes of French public opinion. The Emperor also said: 'I must treat the Pope carefully so as not to stir up French Catholics against me.' Then we discussed the objective of war. The Emperor readily agreed that it was necessary to drive the Austrians out of Italy once and for all. After we had settled the fate of Italy, the Emperor asked whether your Majesty would give up Savoy and Nice to France. But he merely remarked that this was a less important question which we could discuss later.

Cavour's report to Victor Emmanuel of the meeting at Plombières with Napoleon III of France, 24 July 1858.

Source C

Hopes that France is disposed to assist the Italian cause have been growing. Now, the predictions have been heard that French troops will attack Austria on one side, while the little army of Victor Emmanuel will revenge an unforgotten reverse on a detested foe, and co-operate in the liberation of Lombardy. We are convinced that the interview at Plombières has caused great satisfaction in Piedmont. There is a certain warlike tone in the news today from the capital Turin.

A British journalist, working in Paris, reports his understanding of what was agreed at the meeting at Plombières, 2 August 1858.

Source D

His Majesty, Francis Joseph II, the Emperor of Austria, and Napoleon III, the Emperor of the French, have agreed to the following:

The two Sovereigns encourage the formation of an Italian Confederation. The President of the Confederation will be the Pope.

The Austrian Emperor will surrender his rights over Lombardy to France. France will then hand over Lombardy to Victor Emmanuel II, the King of Piedmont. Venice will be part of the Italian Confederation but will continue to be ruled by Austria. The Italian states of Tuscany and Modena will remain under their existing rulers.

The Emperors of Austria and France will request the Pope to introduce reforms in the states that he governs in Italy.

The terms of the Treaty of Villafranca, 1859.

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

- (a) Compare and contrast Sources B and D as evidence of the value of the French alliance to Piedmont. [15]
- (b) How far do Sources A to D show that Cavour's policies were successful? [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

How can the Union be saved? There is but one way and that is by adopting such measures as will satisfy the states belonging to the Southern section that they can remain within the Union consistently with their honour and safety. The South asks for justice, simple justice and less she ought not to take. But can this be done? Yes, easily; not by the weaker party. The North has only to will it to accomplish it: to do justice by conceding the South an equal right in the acquired territory; to do her duty by causing the stipulations relative to fugitive slaves to be faithfully fulfilled; to provide for an insertion of a provision in the constitution, by an amendment, which will restore to the South the power she possessed before the equilibrium between the sections was destroyed by the action of this government. There will be no difficulty in devising such a provision.

From a speech by John Calhoun, Senator for South Carolina, to the US Senate, 4 March 1850.

Source B

Mr Calhoun has spoken! And what did he say? We cannot give the speech entire in our columns, and would not if we could, but we will give a few samples by which the reader can judge the lot. Mr C says that the South ‘has no concessions or surrender to make. She has already surrendered so much that she has little left to surrender.’ We cannot take this seriously. He concludes by saying that if California is admitted into the Union under the constitution chosen by its own citizens, the South will regard it as a final decision of the test question and ominously adds that they would be ‘infatuated not to act accordingly’. But we ought to ask pardon of our readers for devoting so much space to such a speech. We regard it as merely the last gasp of a dying monster.

From ‘The North Star’, 15 March 1850.

Source C

Three bills will be presented. The first embraces the California question and the Texas boundary question. The second bill amends the Fugitive Slave Law of 1793, giving effect to the provisions of the constitution and securing their rights to the Southern people. The third bill will extend the law of Maryland, as it existed five years ago, over the District of Columbia, by which the introduction of slaves for the purpose of traffic and sale is prohibited. The plan is bold and simple. It will receive the authority of Mr Clay’s great mind. He deserves the praise of the country for the bold and conservative stand he has taken for the constitution and the rights of the states. A correspondent on the *Baltimore Sun* says that it will receive the support of two-thirds of the South. If so, the slavery question will be permanently settled.

From ‘The Democratic Banner’, Pike County, Missouri, 13 May 1850.

Source D

Sir, the agitations which alarm us are not signs of evils to come but of ineffective efforts of the Republic for relief from mischiefs past. There is a way, and one way only, to put them at rest. While we leave slavery to the care of the states where it exists, let us inflexibly direct the policy of the federal government to circumscribe its limits and favour its ultimate extinction. Let those who have this misfortune entailed upon them, instead of contriving to maintain an equilibrium that never had existed, consider carefully how at some time, by all means of their own and with our aid, without sudden change or violent action, they may bring about the emancipation of labour and its restoration to its just dignity and power in the State.

From a speech by William Seward, Senator for New York, to the US Senate, 2 July 1850.

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

- (a) To what extent do Sources A and D agree on how the USA should address the issue of slavery? [15]
- (b) How far do Sources A to D support the assertion that the 1850 Compromise helped only to further divide the USA? [25]

Section C: International Option**The Search for International Peace and Security, 1919–1945****The Replacement of the League of Nations by the United Nations**

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

Source A

In the future peace-loving nations may once more find themselves caught off their guard by aggression unless, of course, they work out special measures right now which can prevent it. The only way to achieve this is to establish a special organisation made up of representatives of the peace-loving nations for the defence of peace and safeguarding of security. This must not be a repetition of the sad memory of the League of Nations, which had neither the right nor the means to prevent aggression. It will be a new, special, fully authorised international organisation having at its command everything necessary to defend peace and prevent new aggression.

From a speech made by Stalin at a Party meeting in Moscow, November 1944.

Source B

The work of the League is unmistakably printed on the social, economic and humanitarian life of the world. A great advance was made in the international organisation of peace. For the first time an organisation was constructed not to protect the national interests of this or that country, but to abolish war. It represented some fifty peace-loving nations striving for better international co-operation, a larger redress of grievances and the protection of the helpless and oppressed. Truly this was a splendid programme. But, as we know, the League failed in the essential condition of its existence – the preservation of peace. So it has been decided to bury it and start afresh. There is a new organisation founded on a Charter and not on a Covenant. The Charter is certainly an improvement. It recognises more clearly than did the Covenant that, in the last resort, peace must be enforced, and gives the five Great Powers special rights and responsibilities in this respect.

Sean Lester, Secretary-General, speaking at the final meeting of the League of Nations' Assembly, April 1946.

Source C

Let us not conceal from ourselves the inferiority complex which weighs upon the new Organisation. Those of us who were at the early UN meetings did not find there the enthusiasm and faith which animated our work in the great days of the League. The setback experienced by the League undermines faith in the destinies of the new Organisation. Public opinion, especially in countries like my own which have been downtrodden during four years of brutal occupation, is indifferent or distrustful. My hope is that the realisation of the League's errors and the determination to repair them which finds expression in the UN Charter will preserve us from similar mistakes in the future. The League leaves behind it lasting works. Some succeeded and the new Organisation will merely have to carry them on. Other activities did not succeed. But the materials are there and the new Organisation will be able to use them for the tasks which it will inevitably have to undertake.

Joseph Paul-Boncour (French representative), speaking at the final meeting of the League of Nations' Assembly, April 1946.

Source D

We have spoken as though this meeting were the end. An end of what? By our resolution one written constitution will be no more; one set of institutions will cease; but already a new constitution, new institutions for the same end have taken their place. A new Assembly has met and it has already dealt successfully with most difficult and dangerous post-war international disputes. In every field of the League's action the work has started once again, and in every case the work has started where the League left off, but with a new drive and a new impulsion, a new resolve to use the experience and to avoid the errors of the past. It is because the League existed that the United Nations exists, and that the UN starts with a far brighter prospect than anyone could have hoped for a quarter of a century ago. Our work is not ended. It has only just begun.

Philip Noel-Baker (British representative) speaking at 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 by Paul-Boncour (Source C) and Noel-Baker (Source D) about the UN's prospects of succeeding where the League of Nations had failed. [15]
- (b) 'Simply the League of Nations under a different name.' How far do Sources A to D support this interpretation of the establishment of the United Nations? [25]

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