

HISTORY

9389/12

Paper 1 Document Question

May/June 2015

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

Problems facing Italian nationalism

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

Source A

Sicily and the Kingdom of Naples are now subject once more to a Bourbon sovereign. Piedmont has recovered its old dynasty and has annexed Genoa, but strong as this state now is on the side which faces France, it is exposed where it confronts the Austrian possessions. It occupies only a limited area with a small population and limited military forces. Austria now possesses the richest and most fertile regions of the peninsula and can threaten the Kingdom of Piedmont on its flank. The Pope has been given back his lands and as a result two and a half million Italians have been plunged into insignificance. The King of Naples is now relegated to the end of the peninsula and cannot contribute to the defence of Italy. There will always be blood to be shed until Italy is left alone with all foreigners excluded and the Papacy reduced in temporal power. The solution to all Italy's problems lies in the establishment of a strong state in the north of Italy.

Memorandum to Tsar Alexander of Russia by the Piedmontese Ambassador to Russia, March 1818.

Source B

Consider the six focal centres of activity which control the destiny of the 18 million inhabitants of Italy: Turin, Milan, Modena, Florence, Rome and Naples. Each city detests its neighbours and is detested in return. The rulers have no difficulty in achieving their aim of divide and rule. Modena and Turin are run by the Catholic Church. Piedmont is the most monarchical country in Europe. The rulers of Austria are backward in their approach and treat Italy as a colony to exploit. The ruler of Bologna is a Catholic Cardinal – an ignorant blessed only by a sense of humour. Florence is run by a Grand Duke indifferent to ruling and who just adores money and women. In the area ruled by the Pope the only law in force is that of the Catholic Church and they administer that with a savage repression. The Kingdom of Naples has an absurd monarchy which only manages to preserve a tiny fragment of administration which is a legacy of the good French government.

From the journal of a French writer, 1817.

Source C

Young Italy is the brotherhood of Italians who believe in a law of progress and duty. They are convinced that Italy is called to be a nation and that the failure of past attempts at unification is due not to weakness but to the poor leadership of the revolutionary parties. Young Italy stands for the republic and unity, a republic because Italy really has no basis for a monarchy, because the Italian tradition is wholly republican. If monarchy was to be the aim of the Italian revolution, all the problems of a monarchical system would be brought with it, such as concessions to foreign courts and repression of the masses. This would unquestionably destroy the revolution. The means of fulfilling the aims of Young Italy are education and insurrection.

Mazzini writing in 1831.

Source D

The settlement imposed on Italy by the Congress of Vienna was harsh and defective. It was based on no principle, nor national interest, nor popular wishes. The uprisings of 1820 and 1821 against it were easily suppressed because the upper classes were divided and the masses took only a feeble part. The result was to make all governments in Italy hostile to any idea of nationality. Attempts to change after 1830 were easily suppressed, for these movements, relying solely on republican ideas and irrational passions, were sterile. A democratic revolution has no chance of success in Italy as active power resides almost entirely with the middle and upper classes and both are deeply conservative.

Cavour writing in 1846.

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

- (a) To what extent do Sources A and B agree about the principal problems facing those who wished for a united Italy? [15]
- (b) 'The main obstacle to Italian unification was Austria.' How far do Sources A to D support this view? [25]

Section B: American Option

The Origins of the Civil War, 1846–1861

The Caning of Senator Sumner in 1856

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

Source A



A cartoon from 1856.

Source B

No meaner exhibition of Southern cowardice – generally miscalled Southern chivalry – was ever witnessed. It is not in the least a cause for wonder that a member of the House of Representatives should attack a member of the Senate because the last had uttered words which the first chose to consider distasteful. The reasons for the absence of collision between North and South, which existed a few years back, have ceased. As the South has taken the position that Slavery ought to exist, irrespective of colour, that democracy is a delusion and a lie, we must expect that Northern men in Washington, whether members or not, will be assaulted, wounded or killed so long as the North will bear it. The acts of violence during this session – including one murder – are simply overtures to the drama of which the persecutions, murders, robberies and war upon the free-state men of Kansas constitute the first act. We are either to have Liberty or Slavery.

From the 'New York Tribune', 23 May 1856.

Source C

Immediately upon the reception of the news on Saturday last, a most enthusiastic meeting was convened in the town of Newberry. The meeting voted the Hon. Preston S. Brooks a handsome gold-headed cane, which we saw yesterday on the way to Washington. We heard one of Carolina's truest and most honoured matrons send a message to him saying that 'the ladies of the South would send him hickory sticks with which to chastise Abolitionists and Red Republicans whenever he wanted them.' And, to add the crowning glory to the good work, the slaves of Columbia will present an appropriate token of their regard for him who has made the first practical issue for their preservation and protection of their rights and enjoyments as the happiest labourers on the face of the globe.

From the 'South Carolinian', 27 May 1856.

Source D

We received yesterday a report of Rev. Mr Kirk's speech. It reads as follows: 'He pointed to the thunder cloud that hung over us. "God," said he "may avert it. Man cannot. Coaxing, compromising, letting alone are all too late. Mr. Brooks is nothing in this matter. Mr. Douglas is nothing in this matter. The doctrine that *a negro is not a man* and the doctrine that *the negro is a man* have now come to a death struggle. Neither will yield until a continent has been swept with the deluge of civil war".'

Patriotic citizens! Consider this example of all the mad resolutions which turned up yesterday. Is this wildness to be publicised as the views of the solid men of Massachusetts? Are *they* ready to cast off in a day what it cost so much precious blood to win and so much God-given intellect to preserve? Shame on the whole Beecher, Sharps rifle, fanatical brood who are engaged in the terrible work of stirring up the community to such a dreadful outcome.

From the 'Boston Post', 3 June 1856.

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

- (a) Compare and contrast the responses of the states of South Carolina and Massachusetts in Sources C and D to news of the caning of Senator Sumner in May 1856. [15]
- (b) How far do Sources A to D support the view that the caning of Senator Sumner was a disaster for the South? [25]

Section C: International Option**The Search for International Peace and Security, 1919–1945****The League of Nations and the Spanish Civil War**

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

Source A

The youth of Spain fall in thousands in the trenches of freedom as the victims of Fascist aeroplanes and the foreign war material delivered month after month, despite the non-intervention agreement, by those who base their international policy on the systematic breaking of treaties and their international undertakings. Madrid, the capital of a member of the League of Nations, has been reduced to ruins. The women and children of Madrid have been butchered in hundreds by bombing planes under the orders of rebel generals, supplied by states which have, in fact, begun a war, and which are continuing to make war, while statesmen talk of preserving peace. An international war is raging on Spanish soil. The worst thing that could happen to the League of Nations would be to contribute, by its own silence and inaction, to the spread of this war.

The Spanish Foreign Secretary addressing the League of Nations' Assembly, December 1936.

Source B

Spain is the second victim after Ethiopia of Fascist weapons. Events in Spain presented the Great Powers with a new problem. It was not a war between two countries, but a revolt against a constitutionally elected government. What attitude should the other countries adopt in these circumstances? The Great Powers chose neutrality, non-intervention, an idea which originated in Britain. The League of Nations regards the war in Spain as a civil war. As there is no article in the Covenant to determine the League's attitude in a civil war, the non-intervention agreement was not in conflict with the Covenant. But when Italy sent military planes to Spain, Spain's Foreign Secretary appealed to the League. He pointed out the great danger to peace if it should become the custom for a country to support a rebellion in another country with military forces without any declaration of war. The League demanded evidence, though this was already available. Now, non-intervention was in conflict with the Covenant. In the face of a military attack on one of its members, the League of Nations has no right to declare itself passive. But the League did nothing.

From an article entitled 'Spain – The Battlefield of Capitalism', by a Danish journalist, 1937.

Source C

Statements by TUC delegates:

If the government had agreed to the non-intervention policy in order to prevent a world war, they should ensure that the policy was made absolutely effective. The considerable delay in getting it started had worked to the prejudice of the Spanish government. Italy's policy was one of invasion. Although the Italian government had agreed to non-intervention, they were violating this all the time. As requested by the Spanish government, Britain should use its influence to examine the allegations regarding the nature and extent of Italian involvement. The presence of Italian troops in Spain was sufficient reason for applying the Covenant of the League of Nations. The British government should take strong measures to stop Franco gaining assistance from the Fascist Powers, Italy and Germany. The government should bear in mind that similar actions might take place in the future in Czechoslovakia and elsewhere.

Statement in reply by Mr. Eden, Foreign Secretary:

It was in Britain's interests to avoid becoming involved in war. Non-intervention was better than a policy of threats, for it was no use saying to a country unless it did a certain thing something would be done to it, if one was not prepared to take that action. Gaining accurate information about the extent of foreign involvement was difficult. Much of the information had proved to be unreliable. The Italian government, through its ambassador, had denied sending men to Spain. Without the non-intervention agreement, many Italians and Germans would undoubtedly have been going to Spain.

From the minutes of a meeting between the British Foreign Secretary and representatives of the British Trades Union Congress (TUC), March 1937.

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

- (a) Compare and contrast the views expressed by the Foreign Secretaries of Spain (Source A) and Britain (Source C) regarding the effectiveness of the non-intervention policy adopted by the League of Nations during the Spanish Civil War. [15]
- (b) 'In adopting a policy of non-intervention in the Spanish Civil War, the League of Nations failed to honour its Covenant commitments.' How far do Sources A to C support this view? [25]

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