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**HISTORY**

**9389/12**

Paper 1 Document Question

**May/June 2017**

**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 problems facing German Nationalists before 1850

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

#### Source A

My proposals are the following:

- All German courts shall agree on disciplinary measures in order to maintain the public peace and maintain the German Confederation.
- Germany shall consist of sovereign states which are separate in their administrations and rulers.
- The Confederation can be harmed or broken by rebellious ideas spreading from one state to another.
- All German governments have come to the conclusion that the press today serves as a party which undermines all existing governments and is spreading a spirit of nationalism across all Germany.
- The Confederation has a right to call on its members to repress the press and radical ideas, and if one refuses, then the Confederation has a right to force it to do so.

*Metternich, the Austrian Chancellor, making proposals to the German Confederation, June 1819.*

#### Source B

Germany, great prosperous mighty Germany, should be in the front rank of European states. But, plundered by traitorous families of aristocrats she has been erased from the list of great states and scorned by foreign peoples. German power has been turned upside down by the suppression of freedom of all peoples. While we need to maintain peace, order and necessary authority, there will be no hope for the freedom and liberation of Germany because of the incompatible principles of people's sovereignty and the divine right of monarchy which will always cause friction and start wars. There is no hope for Germany until the people's sovereignty triumphs within a legal framework. We must elect men who will lead us in the great work of German reform and guide us towards a federated and republican Europe.

*From a speech by Johann Wirth, a Prussian radical, at the Hambach National Festival, 1832.*

#### Source C

In order to compete effectively we need to develop our industries. Our nation, owing to the misfortunes of history, is falling behind others in industry, commerce and navigation and we must strengthen our own individual power. Germany must abolish her internal tariffs, adopt a uniform policy towards foreigners and have a national commercial policy. We need free trade and we need to create a manufacturing power of our own. We must get rid of those barriers to intercommunication and all those many different rules and regulations in the states of Germany.

*From a speech by Friedrich List, a German-American economist, on the creation of the Zollverein, 1834.*

**Source D**

Gentlemen, the message you have come to give me has deeply moved me. The German National Assembly has counted on me for everything which is required for the establishment of the unity and strength of Germany. But I should not justify the confidence that you have given me and I should not be upholding the cause of German unity if I violated the sacred rights of other states and broke the promises I have given to them by not gaining the assent of the crowned heads, princes and free states of Germany. Such a step would have such serious results for them and the people they rule over.

*Frederick William IV's reply to a deputation from the Frankfurt Parliament offering him the Crown of Germany, 1849.*

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

- (a) Compare and contrast Sources A and B as evidence of attitudes towards liberal ideas. [15]
- (b) How far do Sources A to D support the view that Austria was the principal obstacle to German Unification before 1850? [25]

## Section B: American Option

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

#### Henry Clay and the Missouri Compromise, 1820

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

#### Source A

I beg to be allowed to correct a great error, not merely in the Senate but throughout the country, in respect of my role in the Missouri Compromise. I was everywhere considered the author of the line of 36° 30' which was established on the occasion of the admission of Missouri into the Union. The proposition of the line of 36° 30' did not originate in the House of Representatives, it originated in the Senate. Those who cast their recollections back – and I am sure the honourable Senator from Missouri [Mr Benton] more correctly perhaps than anybody else – must bring to recollection the fact that at the first Congress when the proposition was made to admit Missouri, the bill failed by a disagreement between the two Houses. At the next session the bill was renewed. The proposition of 36° 30' was finally agreed to. I have no doubt that I voted, in common with my southern friends, for the adoption of 36° 30'.

*From a speech in the US Senate by Henry Clay, Whig Senator for Kentucky, 6 February 1850.  
Henry Clay was the Speaker (i.e. the leader) of the House of Representatives in 1820.*

#### Source B

In 1818 or 1819, Missouri showed signs of a wish to come into the Union with slavery. This was resisted by northern members of Congress and thus began the first slavery agitation of the nation. This controversy lasted several months and became very angry and exciting. The House of Representatives voted steadily for the prohibition of slavery in Missouri and the Senate voting as steadily against it. Threats of breaking up the Union were made. The ablest of the public men of the day became alarmed. At length a compromise was made, in which, like all compromises, both sides yielded something. It was a law passed on sixth day of March 1820, stating that Missouri might come into the Union *with* slavery but in all remaining parts of the territory purchased from France, which lies north of 36° 30', slavery should never be permitted.

*From a public speech by Lincoln, 16 October 1854.*

#### Source C

The admission of the state of Missouri was the exciting and agitating question of the session of 1820–21. The question of restriction of slavery had been 'compromised' the session before by agreeing to admit the state without restriction and abolishing it in all the remainder of the Louisiana territory. This Compromise was the work of the South, sustained by the united voices of Mr Monroe's cabinet, the united voices of the southern senators and the majority of southern representatives. Mr Clay has often been complimented as the author of the 'Compromise' of 1820, in spite of his repeated declaration to the contrary, arguing that the measure had come from the Senate. However, he is the undisputed author of the final settlement of the Missouri controversy in the actual admission of the state in 1821.

*From 'Thirty Years' View' by Thomas Hart Benton, US Senator for Missouri (1821–51), 1854.*

**Source D**

Henry Clay took a leading part, from time to time, in the great 'Missouri Compromise' debate. Indeed to him more than any man has been ascribed the passage of that memorable measure – one of the landmarks of American history – which limited slavery to the latitude of 36° 30'. It was the first great controversy which threatened to bring about the establishment of geographical parties, parties divided by a slavery and anti-slavery line. It implied the dissolution of the Union or an attempt to dissolve it by civil war. It is a most striking fact in our subsequent political history that the Compromise, which was strongly opposed by the great majority of northern people, came to be counted as one of the safeguards of the Free States against the unlimited extension of slavery.

*From 'Memoir of Henry Clay' by Robert Winthrop, Whig politician, 1880.*

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

- (a) To what extent do Sources A and C agree about the role of Henry Clay in achieving Congressional approval for the Missouri Compromise? [15]
- (b) 'The passage of the Missouri Compromise in 1820 highlighted the dominance of the South over US politics.' How far do Sources A to D support this view? [25]

**Section C: International Option****The Search for International Security, 1919–1945****The origins of the United Nations**

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

**Source A**

The League of Nations today is not the League conceived by Woodrow Wilson. Too often through these years its major function has been not the overwhelming purpose of world peace, but rather a mere meeting place for the political discussions of strictly European national difficulties. In these, the United States should have no part. The League has not developed along the course contemplated by its founder, nor have the principal members shown any willingness to avoid the huge sums spent on armaments. American participation in the League would not serve the highest purpose of the prevention of war and settlement of international difficulties in accordance with fundamental American ideals. Therefore, I do not favour American participation.

*From a presidential election campaign speech by F. D. Roosevelt, 1932.*

**Source B**

The Dumbarton Oaks discussions between delegates of the USA, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and China on plans for an international organisation for the maintenance of peace and security have been completed. My first impression is one of extreme satisfaction that so much could have been accomplished on so difficult a subject in so short a time. The projected international organisation has for its primary purpose the maintenance of international peace and the creation of conditions that make for peace. We now know the need for such an organisation of all the peace-loving nations and the spirit of unity which will be required to maintain it. We are determined first to defeat the enemy and then so organise the peace-loving nations that they may, through unity of desire, unity of will and unity of strength, be in a position to assure that no other would-be aggressor shall even get started. The task of planning the great design of security and peace has been well begun. It now remains for the nations to complete the structure in a spirit of constructive purpose and mutual confidence.

*President F. D. Roosevelt, addressing Congress in October 1944.*

**Source C**

The proposals for a United Nations published after the conference at Dumbarton Oaks have been welcomed in Britain. It is unfortunate that the title of 'The League of Nations' should have acquired in the United States, and to some extent also in Great Britain, such controversial associations as to necessitate calling the same thing by a different name. It is even more regrettable that the name now proposed should suggest such arrogant implications as 'The United Nations'. It is to be hoped that some less provocative title will eventually be devised. President Wilson's scheme was based upon a conception of human nature which assumed that reason would overcome force. Although some will be disappointed that there is still to be no standing army, the Dumbarton Oaks proposals are more realistic. Drafted as they were by men who for twenty years have watched the old League functioning, they are based, as the 1919 plan could never have been based, upon practical experience of international affairs. Instead of assuming a world of universal reason and peacefulness, they understand a world in which conflicting passions, prejudices and selfishness will have to be directed and controlled.

*From an article in a British magazine, October 1944.*

## Source D



The man in the cartoon is labelled 'PEACE NEW STYLE'. He is wearing a rifle across his chest. In his left hand he is holding a book with the phrases 'how to grow oaks' and 'dig for security' written on it. In his right hand he is holding an acorn, which is the seed of an oak tree. The woman in the cartoon is labelled 'PEACE OLD STYLE'.

Cartoon from a British newspaper, October 1944.

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

- (a) Compare and contrast Sources A and B as evidence of F. D. Roosevelt's opinions about international peacekeeping organisations. [15]
- (b) 'The same thing with a different name.' How far do Sources A to D support this comparison between the League of Nations and the Dumbarton Oaks proposals for a United Nations Organisation? [25]

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