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.

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.
Section A: European Option

Liberalism and Nationalism in Italy and Germany, 1848–1871

Support for the unification of Italy

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

When answering the question, you are advised to pay particular attention to the interpretation and evaluation of the sources, both individually and as a group.

Source A

After the failure of the revolutions in 1848–49 two courses were open to us. We could give up all the hopes which had guided King Charles Albert and think only of the interests of Piedmont. On the other hand, we could, while accepting all the hardships, keep alive the faith that inspired the great actions of Charles Albert, and keep alive the hopes which were defeated in the revolutions. In recent years, therefore, we have acted as the spokesman and defender of the other peoples of Italy. This policy found one such opportunity by our intervention in the Crimean War. Our hopes were not disappointed because Piedmont gained credit. 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

Napoleon III of France started by saying that he had decided to support Piedmont with all his forces in a war against Austria, provided that the war was undertaken for a non-revolutionary cause, which could be justified in the eyes of diplomacy and still more of public opinion in France and Europe.

Report by Cavour of a meeting with Napoleon III of France, 1858.

Source C

Italy is free, and nearly entirely united. The opinion of civilised nations is favourable to us. The just and liberal principles now dominant in European countries are favourable to us. Italy herself, too, will become a guarantee of order and peace, and will once more be an effective instrument of universal civilisation. These facts have inspired the nation with great confidence in its own destinies. I take pleasure in expressing to the first Parliament of Italy the joy I feel in my heart as king and soldier.

Speech by Victor Emmanuel I as King of Italy, 1861.
Source D

It is unnecessary to recall the sacred character of the possessions of the Church and the rights of the Pope to his power in Italy, – incontestable rights, recognised at all times and by all governments. On the contrary, the Pope makes the fullest and most formal protest against such a development.

Victor Emmanuel is a Catholic king but he forgets every religious principle, and despises every right of the Church, tramples upon every Church law and insults the head of the Catholic Church. He has now taken to himself the title of King of Italy; with which title he demonstrates his immoral ambition and insults the authority of the Papacy. The Pope has already solemnly protested as he saw successive attacks made upon his sovereignty. He must now make a fresh protest against the assumption of a title which tries to justify the iniquity of so many deeds. Therefore the Pope will never be able to recognise the title of King of Italy, claimed by the king of Piedmont, since it is opposed to justice and to the sacred property of the Church.

_Papal protest against Italian unification, 1861._

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

(a) To what extent do Sources C and D agree about the extent of support for the unification in Italy? [15]

(b) ‘Unification was more a success for Piedmont’s ambitions than for Italian nationalism.’ How far do these sources support this judgement? [25]
Read the sources and then answer both parts of the question.

When answering the question, you are advised to pay particular attention to the interpretation and evaluation of the sources, both individually and as a group.

**Source A**

This platform was endorsed by Republicans at the meeting in Freeport on 27 August 1858. Let every man who refuses to endorse Abolitionism read this platform and then decide whether he can vote for the Republican ticket.

*Resolved*, That the continued and increasing aggression of Slavery in our country are destructive of the dearest rights of a free people and that such aggressors cannot be successfully resisted without the *united* political action of all good men.

*Resolved*, That we accept this issue, forced on us by Slave Power, and in defence of freedom will be known as Republicans, pledged to the accompaniment of the following purposes: To the repeal and entire abrogation of the Fugitive Slave law; to restrict slavery to those states where it exists; to prohibit the admission of any more slave states into the Union; to exclude slavery from all the territories over which the federal government has jurisdiction.


**Source B**

*Republican Party poster for presidential campaign, 1860.*
Source C

Aside from the position which the Republican party occupies on the great issue of the day – the extension or non-extension of slavery in the Territories – there is another good and sufficient reason why Lincoln should be elected. It is the unparalleled corruption and profligacy which have been proven [imposed] upon the democracy. No such deep-dyed corruption in high places has ever been known as that which has been brought to light by the investigating committees of the 36th Congress. President and officers of the Cabinet, Members of Congress and attachés [officials] have all participated in the general plunder, bribery and corruption.

But a change is demanded. The great mass of the people are honest and they will have a clearing out of the political leeches and corrupt officials at the federal capital. And no better man can be found to place in the White House than Abraham Lincoln. He is honest. Everybody knows he is honest. He is pledged by the Republican platform to a rigid economy and accountability of government and he is just the man to inaugurate the reform which is so much needed at this time. Elect Lincoln and the people are sure to have an honest administration. Elect another Democrat and who can doubt that the system of bribery and corruption will be continued for another four years.

From ‘Why Honest Abe should be elected’, published by the Young Men’s Republican Union of New York, July 1860.

Source D

If anyone doubts the necessity for Southern union in the event the Black Republicans succeed in the November polls, let him read the following sketch of the address of D. Wilmot (of Wilmot Proviso notoriety) on taking the chair as presiding officer in the Chicago Convention:

Mr Wilmot addressed the Convention, briefly returning thanks for the high, undeserved honour. It was unnecessary for him to remind the Convention of the high duty devolved upon them. A great sectional interest had for years dominated with a high hand over the affairs of the country. It lent all its energy to the extension and naturalisation of slavery. It is the mission of the Republican party to oppose this policy and to restore to the government the policy of our Revolutionary fathers; to resist the dogma that slavery exists wherever the constitution extends.

From the ‘Jackson Semi-Weekly Mississippian’, 22 May 1860.

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

(a) To what extent do Sources A and B agree on the issues on which the Republican Party fought as a national party in the period 1858–1860? [15]

(b) ‘The Republican party was first and foremost an anti-slavery party.’ How far do these sources support this assertion? [25]
Read the sources and then answer both parts of the question.

When answering the question, you are advised to pay particular attention to the interpretation and evaluation of the sources, both individually and as a group.

Source A

The independence of the USA is not only precious to ourselves but to the world. I have always loved one flag and I cannot share that devotion with a mongrel banner created for a League. Internationalism is to me repulsive. The USA is the world’s best hope, but if you fetter her in the interests and quarrels of other nations and the intrigues of Europe, you will destroy her power and endanger her very existence. We would not have our country’s vigour exhausted or her moral force abated by everlasting meddling and muddling in every quarrel which afflicts the world. Our ideal is to make her stronger; in that way alone can she be of the greatest service to the world’s peace and to the welfare of mankind.

From a speech by US Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, August 1919.

Source B

The great nations of the world promise that they will never use their power against one another for aggression. They consent to submit every difference between them to the judgement of mankind. War will be pushed out of that foreground of terror in which it has kept the world for generation after generation. No policy of the League can be adopted without a unanimous vote. We can use our vote to make impossible drawing the USA into any enterprise that she does not care to be drawn into. What of our pledges to the men that lie dead in France? We said that they went over there not to prove the prowess of America or her readiness for another war, but to see to it that there never was such a war again. Unless you get the united power of the great Governments of the world behind this settlement, it will fall down like a house of cards.

From a speech by US President Woodrow Wilson, September 1919.

Source C

We have entangled ourselves with European concerns. We are dabbling and meddling in their affairs. We have surrendered the great policy of ‘no entangling alliances’ upon which the strength of this Republic has been founded. How shall we keep from meddling in the affairs of Europe or keep Europe from meddling in the affairs of America? It is in conflict with the right of our people to govern themselves, free from all restraint, legal or moral, of foreign powers. America must, both for the happiness of her own people and for the moral guidance and greater contentment of the world, be permitted to live her own life. We are told that the treaty means peace. Even so, I would not pay the price. Would you purchase peace at the cost of our independence? But the treaty does not mean peace. If we are to judge the future by the past, it means war.

From a speech by Senator William E Borah, November 1919.
A cartoon from the British magazine ‘Punch’, December 1919.

Source D

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

(a) Compare and contrast the views of President Wilson (Source B) and Senator Borah (Source C) on the issue of whether the USA should join the League of Nations. [15]

(b) How far do the sources support the view that prospects of future world peace would be seriously threatened by the USA’s refusal to join the League of Nations? [25]