

Section A: European Option

Liberalism and Nationalism in Italy and Germany, 1848–1871

The Liberals in Prussia

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

Source A

The Liberals swear war to the death against the King and his standing army. They will use any means to reach that goal. They believe with deep conviction in the shortening of the period of military service so that firm and well-disciplined military training shall not be given to soldiers. I expect loyalty and self-sacrifice for the King from the officers and through them from ordinary soldiers. The officer class is criticised by the Liberals in every way so no wonder the officers are angry. The Liberals call for 'A people's army behind Parliament'. I counter with this slogan, 'A disciplined army behind the King'. No agreement is possible between these two views.

King William I in a letter to a Liberal leader during the army budget crisis, 1862.

Source B

Germany does not look to Prussia's liberalism but to its power. The other states in Germany can indulge in liberalism, but no one will expect them to undertake Prussia's role in unifying Germany. Prussia must gather her strength in readiness for the favourable moment, which has already been missed several times. Prussia's boundaries are not favourable to a healthy political life. The great decisions will not depend on speeches and majority verdicts – that was the mistake of 1848 and 1849 – but on iron and blood.

Bismarck's speech about the army budget issue, 1862.

Source C

I am certainly not a Bismarck enthusiast but he has the ability to act. I look forward to the future with pleasure. There is something invigorating, after fifty years of peace, in a day such as the victory in battle over Denmark over the Schleswig-Holstein issue. One feels as if all one's nerves have been refreshed. And what a blessing it is in the face of the schemes of the princes and the Austrian plans for reform, because the full force of real power has made itself felt. It is time that the importance of the medium-sized and small states was kept within its real limits. They will continue to say that Prussia under Bismarck is not to be trusted. They will condemn more loudly than ever what they claim is Prussia's greed for annexations and use it as an excuse for criticism. They will continue to say that the real Germany is outside Prussia and is menaced by Prussia. With God's help this will not stand in the way of what has been begun.

A leading Liberal, formerly a member the Frankfurt Parliament, writes about his reaction to Prussia's victory over Denmark, 1864.

Source D

Bismarck was not a miracle worker but his mind showed him the reality of things as they were. He realised that a united Germany could only be attained if the duel with Austria was fought out to a decisive result. This had been overlooked before he came to power. His contemporaries imagined that force was not necessary and that a general expression of faith in the new Liberal ideals must of itself lead to the unification of Germany under the leadership of Prussia. Bismarck dispersed this fog of well-meaning self-deception. Every possible obstacle was put in his way. He was opposed, hated and despised. But when he had won, then they cheered him.

*A German historian explains the difference between Bismarck and the Liberals,
published in 1930.*

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

- (a) Compare and contrast Sources A and B as evidence of the differences between the Liberals and the Prussian government. [15]
- (b) How far do Sources A to D support the view that the Liberals were a serious problem for Bismarck? [25]

Section B: American Option**The Origins of the Civil War, 1846–1861****The Raid on Harpers Ferry, 1859**

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

Source A

The recent insurrectionary movement on the part of a body of desperate men at Harpers Ferry is a novelty, at least for the older states of the Union. It is yet impossible to judge accurately the real origin and objects of the outbreak or who is implicated in it beyond the misguided men who took possession of the United States arsenal. But enough has been ascertained to arouse the suspicion that it was the premature execution of a plot that had the sympathy and, in many instances, the active support by the contribution of money, of the leading Abolitionists of the North – a class whose humanity would prompt the desolation of our states by fire and sword, the kindling of civil war and even the disruption of the Union to accomplish their irrational ideas of philanthropy.

From the New Orleans 'Picayune', 22 October 1859.

Source B

As respects the attempts of an insane old man and his handful of followers, it is easy to determine where responsibility really belongs. Their act is but a part of the legitimate fruit of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Another part of this paper includes a statement about the wrongs heaped on Old Brown by slave states, for whose benefit the Compromise was broken down, wrongs which entered his soul and made him what he is – a monomaniac who believes himself to be a God-appointed agent to set the enslaved free. Upon the heads of those who repealed that Compromise, and who sanctioned the lawless violence and bloodshed which grew out of it on the plains of Kansas, rests the blood of those who fell at Harpers Ferry. This chain of events makes up the blackest page of our national history.

From the 'Chicago Press and Tribune', 20 October 1859.

Source C

Hot-headed abolitionists, in various disguises and various ways, in the North and in the South, are more active than ever in sowing the seeds of slave rebellion and insurrectionary conspiracies. The Harpers Ferry raid is suggestive of a dozen other abolition outbreaks of the same kind all along the Northern line of slave states at any moment without warning. And if Northern philanthropists and Puritanical preachers of the gospel are found, with the orators and organs of the Republican party, glorifying Old Brown as a saint and a martyr, is not the danger very much increased of a repetition of this bloody Harpers Ferry foray? Above all, with such interpreters of Mr Seward's 'irrepressible conflict' as Old Brown, is it not abundantly manifest that this terrible abolition crusade against the South has been pushed to the last extremities of forbearance?

From the 'New York Herald', 4 December 1859.

Source D

It has been discovered that the following is a portion of the plans of the abolitionists, made for the state of Kansas by Brown and others and which he attempted to carry out:

1. To make war upon the property of the slaveholders – not for its destruction but to convert it to the use of the slaves. If it cannot be thus converted, then we advise its destruction. Teach the slaves to burn their master's buildings, to kill their cattle and horses and let crops perish. Make slavery unprofitable in this way, if it can be done in no other.
2. To make slaveholders objects of derision and contempt, by flogging them whenever they shall be guilty of flogging their slaves.
3. To risk no general insurrection until we of the North go to your assistance or you are sure of success without our aid.

From Felix de Fontaine, 'History of American Abolitionism', 1861.

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

- (a) To what extent do Sources A and B agree on who or what was responsible for causing John Brown to lead the attack on Harpers Ferry? [15]
- (b) How far do Sources A to D support the assertion that people in the North supported the raid on Harpers Ferry? [25]

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

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

Source A

The idea of a League of Nations is dangerous to Britain because it will create a sense of security which is wholly fictitious. It will only result in failure and the longer that failure is postponed the more certain it is that this country will have been lulled to sleep. It will put a very strong lever into the hands of the well-meaning idealists, the anti-war and disarmament people. They are to be found in almost every government and devalue expenditure on armaments. In the course of time, it will almost certainly result in this country being caught at a disadvantage in terms of its military preparations. Germany, or perhaps Russia, would secretly prepare for war. The other powers will be too frightened, too unconcerned or too self-centred even to give their opinion much less to exert any form of pressure, military or economic, on Germany.

Maurice Hankey, British Cabinet Secretary, May 1916.

Source B

For Britain, the effective way to prevent war is to create the strongest possible combination of forces against any disturber of the peace through a system of general conferences to stimulate cooperation between nations. A conference cannot force a resolution, but it can facilitate conciliation and compromise, if only by affording time for discussion and scope for resourceful diplomacy. The more it can be made a rule that, before appealing to the sword, nations should bring their quarrels before a conference in which all are heard and none are coerced, the better will be the prospects of rival claims being peacefully adjusted: the stronger will grow the feeling that any nation embarking on war without previously pleading its cause before a League of Nations commits an offence against the community of states for which the penalty may be a general combination against the offender.

Sir Eyre Crowe, British Foreign Office Minister, October 1916.

Source C

The success of the League of Nations depends upon the sincerity of all the signatories. If one country, whilst being a party to the League of Nations, still goes on increasing its armaments, how can this nation demonstrate its sincerity except at a risk which no statesman can possibly take? It would be idle to have waged such a great war if the only conclusion of it was that not merely did we renew the competition in armaments which created the conflict, but did it with renewed vigour and energy. I sincerely hope that the nations who subscribed to this Covenant of the League will not merely use it as a boast to be able to say, 'See the exalted ideals to which we have attached our signatures', but that they will demonstrate that they mean it by making all the necessary sacrifices in order to make that Covenant a reality and demonstrate that they are in earnest when they say that they mean this Covenant to put an end to the horrors of war for ever.

Lloyd George, British Prime Minister, July 1919.

Source D



The rabbit is saying –

'My offensive equipment being practically nil, it remains for me to fascinate him with the power of my eye.'

Cartoon entitled 'Moral Persuasion', from a British magazine, 1920.

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

- (a) Compare and contrast the views expressed by Hankey (Source A) and Crowe (Source B) about the issue of whether Britain should support the proposed League of Nations. [15]
- (b) How far do Sources A to D support the view that Britain joined the League of Nations despite having doubts about its prospects of success in preserving international peace. [25]

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