UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL EXAMINATIONS
International General Certificate of Secondary Education

**HISTORY** **0470/21**

Paper 2 **May/June 2012**

**2 hours**

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 a soft pencil for any diagrams, graphs or rough working.
Do not use staples, paper clips, highlighters, glue or correction fluid.

This paper has two options.
Choose **one** option, and answer **all** of the questions on that topic.
**Option A: 19th Century topic** [p2–p6]
**Option B: 20th Century topic** [p7–p11]

At the end of the examination, fasten all your work securely together.
The number of marks is given in brackets [ ] at the end of each question or part question.

This document consists of **11** printed pages and **1** blank page.

DC (NS/SW) 51667/4
© UCLES 2012

UNIVERSITY of CAMBRIDGE International Examinations

**[Turn over**

## Option A: 19th Century topic

## HOW FAR WAS AUSTRIA RESPONSIBLE FOR THE OUTBREAK OF WAR IN 1914?

Study the Background Information and the sources carefully, and then answer **all** the questions.

### Background Information

On 28 June 1914 Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the heir to the Austrian throne, was assassinated in Bosnia. On 28 July Austria declared war on Serbia. By 1 August Germany and Russia were at war, and by 4 August they had been joined by Britain and France.

Some historians argue that the assassination was merely the spark that started a war that was inevitable because of the growing tensions between the great powers, the difficult situation in the Balkans and the declining power of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Others have argued that a world war was not inevitable even by July 1914. Instead, they argue that it was the reaction of countries such as Austria to the assassination that brought about a world war. It is claimed that Austria saw this as a good opportunity to deal with Serbia. Other historians have focused more on Germany's response, while others have argued that Britain must take some of the responsibility for war because it followed a weak and unclear foreign policy.

How far was Austria's reaction to the assassination responsible for the outbreak of war?

### SOURCE A

On 28 June the heir to the throne, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, was assassinated in Sarajevo, capital of Bosnia. Some young Serb terrorists had planned to murder him. They had bungled the job, throwing a bomb that missed, and one of them had gone to a cafe in a side street to sort himself out. Later the Archduke went to visit in hospital an officer wounded by the bomb. His automobile moved off, a Count Harrach standing on the running board. Its driver turned left after crossing a bridge. It was the wrong street, and the driver was told to stop and reverse. In reverse gear such automobiles sometimes stalled, and this one did so – Count Harrach on the wrong side, away from the cafe where one of the assassination team was calming his nerves. Now, slowly, his target drove up and stopped. The murderer, Gavrilo Princip, fired. He was later imprisoned and died in April 1918. Before he died he was asked if he had any regrets that his deed had caused a world war and the death of millions. He answered: if I had not done it, the Germans would have found another excuse. In this, he was right. Berlin was waiting for 'the inevitable accident'. The army had been saying for some time that it could win a European war then and there. It was, the German emperor said, 'Now or never'. War was to be provoked, and the murder of the Archduke provided a perfect occasion.

*From a history book published in 2007.*

© UCLES 2012

**SOURCE B**

Of the six conspirators, five failed to do anything. Cabrinovic was regarded as the least reliable and had only been given a bomb at the last moment. He asked a policeman: 'Which is His Majesty's car?' The policeman helpfully told him. He then threw his bomb. The bomb landed on the back of the Archduke's car, bounced off, and exploded under the next car. Princip, hearing the explosion, left his post and saw Cabrinovic being taken away. He sat down in a cafe, contemplating suicide.

The Archduke decided to visit the wounded men in hospital before going to the museum. The procession would therefore drive straight down the quay instead of turning into the old town. Count Harrach, who had lent his car to the Archduke for the day, stood on the running-board to ward off any further bombs from the river side. The drivers had not been told of the change of plan. The first two cars turned into the old town. The Archduke's driver followed them. Potiorek, the governor-general, called out: 'Stop! You are going the wrong way.' The driver stopped and began to reverse.

Princip was sitting in the cafe exactly at this corner. To his astonishment, he saw the Archduke immediately before him. He pulled out his revolver. A policeman tried to strike his hand and was kicked on the knee by a friend of Princip's who was standing close by. Princip fired twice. One shot hit the Archduke, the other hit the Archduke's wife.

An imperial power must do something when the heir to its throne is assassinated. That was obvious to everyone in Europe. The Habsburg monarchy had been losing prestige for a long time. Now it had a wonderful chance to assert itself. Serbia's real crime in Habsburg eyes was to exist. The Serbs could not be exterminated. Humiliation of Serbia was the only answer. If the Habsburg monarchy displayed its might, it would restore its prestige.

*From a history book published in 1969.*

**SOURCE C**

The Emperor authorised me to inform our gracious Majesty that we might rely on Germany's full support. Especially as far as our action against Serbia was concerned. But it was his opinion that this action must not be delayed. Russia's attitude will no doubt be hostile, but for this he had for years been prepared, and should a war between Austria-Hungary and Russia be unavoidable, we might be convinced that Germany, our old faithful ally, would stand at our side. Russia at the present time was in no way prepared for war and if we really recognised the necessity of warlike action against Serbia, the Emperor would regret if we did not make use of the present moment, which is all in our favour.

*A report by the Austrian ambassador in Berlin to Count Berchtold of a conversation he had with Kaiser Wilhelm II. Berchtold was the member of the Austrian government in charge of foreign policy. The report was written on 5 July 1914 and was marked 'Strictly Private'.*

**SOURCE D**

It was increasingly certain that the subversive activity pursued on Bosnian soil could only be checked by energetic action by Serbia; and that a new grouping of Powers is coming into being in the Balkans with the support of Russia, with the destruction of the Habsburg Monarchy as its aim. In drafting the note to Serbia it seemed to us essential, not only to put certain demands to Serbia for the preservation of our internal tranquillity; but to formulate these demands in such a way as would oblige Serbia to take up a clear position against propaganda hostile to our Monarchy. For us it was not a question of humiliating Serbia, but of bringing about a clear situation regarding Serbia's relations with the Austrian Monarchy and, in the event of our demands being refused, settling the matter by force.

*From a statement by Count Berchtold, 21 July 1914, explaining the ultimatum about to be given to the Serbian government.*

**SOURCE E**

Sir Edward Grey had me visit him just now and requested me to inform Your Excellency as follows:

The Serbian Ambassador had just transmitted to Sir Edward Grey the Serbian reply to the Austrian note. It appeared that Serbia had agreed to the Austrian demands to an extent such as he would never have believed possible. Except for one point, Serbia had actually agreed to everything that had been demanded of her. It was plain that this was due to the pressure exerted from Russia. Should Austria fail to be satisfied with this reply it would be clear that Austria was only seeking an excuse for crushing Serbia. The result would be the most frightening war.

I am convinced that if it came to war, we should no longer be able to count on British support, as every evidence of ill-will would be in Austria's actions. Everyone here is convinced that the key to the situation is to be found in Berlin.

*From a report by the German ambassador in London, 27 July 1914. He is reporting to his government about Britain's response to the Serbian reply to the Austrian ultimatum. Grey was the member of the British government in charge of foreign policy.*

**SOURCE F**

After reading over the Serbian reply I am convinced that on the whole the wishes of Austria have been agreed to. The few exceptions could be settled by negotiation. The reply contains concessions of the most humiliating kind and, as a result, every cause for war falls to the ground.

Nevertheless, the piece of paper, like its contents, can be considered as of little value so long as it is not translated into deeds. The Serbs are Orientals, therefore tricksters and masters of evasion. In order that these beautiful promises may be turned into facts I propose we say to Austria that a guarantee that promises will be carried out should be demanded. That could be secured by means of a temporary military occupation of a part of Serbia. On this basis I am ready to encourage Austria to seek peace.

*The Kaiser writing to the member of his government in charge of foreign policy, 28 July 1914.*

© UCLES 2012

**SOURCE G**

What was said or done by me will be most clearly explained and best understood by stating the considerations and convictions that were dominant in my mind throughout that week.

1. A conviction that a great European war under modern conditions would be a catastrophe. It seemed obvious to me that once it became clear we were on the edge, all the Great Powers would call a halt.
2. That Germany was so immensely strong and Austria so dependent upon German strength. It was therefore to Germany that we must address ourselves.
3. A clear view that no promise must be given, no hope even held out to France and Russia, which it was doubtful this country would fulfil.

The idea of being involved in war about a Balkan quarrel was repugnant. If France were involved, it would not be in any quarrel in which we owed her good-will. It would be because she, as Russia's ally, had the misfortune to be involved in a Russian quarrel.

*From the memoirs of Sir Edward Grey, published in 1925.*
*He is writing about his reactions to the July Crisis.*

**SOURCE H**

Just for a word – 'neutrality', a word which in war-time had so often been disregarded – just for a scrap of paper, Great Britain was going to make war on a friendly nation who wanted nothing better than to be friends with her. What Britain had done was unthinkable; it was like striking a man down from behind whilst he was fighting for his life against two attackers. Britain must be held responsible for the terrible events that might happen.

*Bethmann Hollweg, the German Chancellor, to the British Ambassador in Berlin, 1914.*

**SOURCE I**




*A British cartoon published in 1914. Austria is saying 'That settles it! Now I shall be under the painful necessity of punishing you.'*

Now answer **all** the following questions. You may use any of the sources to help you answer the questions, in addition to those sources which you are told to use. In answering the questions you should use your knowledge of the topic to help you interpret and evaluate the sources.

**1** Study Sources A and B.

How similar are the accounts in these two sources? Explain your answer using details of the sources. [7]

**2** Study Sources C and D.

How far does Source C explain why Berchtold issued the statement in Source D? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

**3** Study Sources E and F.

Does Source E make you surprised by Source F? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

**4** Study Sources G and H.

Does Source H prove that Grey was lying in Source G? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

**5** Study Source I.

What is the message of this source? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [7]

**6** Study **all** the sources.

How far do these sources provide convincing evidence that Austria was responsible for the start of the First World War? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

© UCLES 2012

## Option B: 20th Century topic

## CAN THE LEAGUE'S RESPONSE TO THE JAPANESE INVASION OF MANCHURIA BE DEFENDED?

Study the Background Information and the sources carefully, and then answer **all** the questions.

### Background Information

In September 1931, using the Mukden Incident as an excuse, Japan invaded Manchuria. The League of Nations has often been criticised for the way it reacted to the invasion. Some historians have argued that the weak response of the League was its first important failure, and that this was the first step on the road to the Second World War. Others have argued that the League's response was a sensible one and that it was not in a position to do much more than it did.

Can the League's response to Japan be defended or not?

### SOURCE A

On the night of 18 September, there was an explosion on the South Manchurian Railway just outside the city of Mukden. The Japanese claimed that this was sabotage by the Chinese, who subsequently opened fire on Japanese railway guards. The Chinese denied this, claiming that all their soldiers in the area were in barracks at the time. The incident gave the Japanese army an excuse to begin the takeover of Manchuria.

How would the League of Nations react? At first, the occupation of Manchuria looked like an obvious case of aggression by Japan. However, the Japanese had long-standing economic rights there. Most nations were inclined to regard Manchuria as a Japanese sphere of interest, and were not keen to get involved. In addition, the Japanese had successfully caused confusion about what had really happened at the Mukden Incident, and insisted they were just defending themselves. However, when China appealed for the League's help, the League could not ignore what was happening. The League instructed Japanese forces to withdraw, but it was ignored. In truth, there was little that the League could do. For most League members, events in East Asia seemed very distant. China's internal turmoil was known, and many League members secretly sympathised with Japan's attempts to impose order on the region.

The League decided to set up a Commission of Inquiry under Lord Lytton. His report condemned Japanese actions. The members of the League accepted Lytton's conclusions. The Japanese ignored the report and left the League. The League had been exposed as powerless to deal with Japan. However, because these events took place in East Asia and not in Europe, they were not too damaging to the League's authority.

*From a history book published in 1999.*

© UCLES 2012

**SOURCE B**

Alleging Chinese responsibility for an explosion that destroyed a section of track on the South Manchurian Railway, Japanese troops attacked Chinese forces and began a major offensive that would eventually sweep through Manchuria.

The British government was reluctant to challenge Japan, especially in Manchuria, where British economic interests were minimal. British, French and other Western governments expressed their understanding of Japan's 'punishment' of the unstable Chinese. League action was postponed until the submission of the Lytton Commission report, which was given to the Assembly in September 1932. The long document acknowledged Chinese failures in the administration of Manchuria but denied that they justified the Japanese occupation.

Observers considered the Manchurian crisis to be the League's first great defeat. The failure of the League to act in either the economic or military sphere was worrying. The Covenant powers, especially Great Britain and France, proved weak and hesitant when put to the test. The consequences to the League were lost commitment and confidence even before it had to face the greater challenges that would soon be provided by Germany and Italy.

*From a history book published in 1996.*

**SOURCE C**

This is a time of unprecedented seriousness for the entire Chinese nation. The Japanese army has invaded our territory. The challenge thrown to us is also a challenge to all nations. The League of Nations was established to prevent war and bring collective action into play to stop aggression. We have immediately asked the League to obtain as a first step the immediate withdrawal of the invaders. The Council of the League is dealing with the matter at Geneva.

*Chiang Kai-shek speaking to the Chinese people in September 1931.*
*Chiang was the leader of the Chinese government.*

**SOURCE D**




*A British cartoon published in January 1933.*

**SOURCE E**

With Russia and America out of the League, sanctions are a mistake. If you enforce an economic boycott, you will have war declared by Japan and she will seize Singapore and Hong Kong and we cannot, as we are placed, stop her. You will get nothing out of the USA but words, big words, but only words.

*A senior government minister writing to another member of the British government in 1931.*

**SOURCE F**

Our best policy lies in the direction of taking positive steps to secure rights and privileges in Manchuria and Mongolia to use this region as a base and penetrate the rest of China. Having China's entire resources at our disposal, we shall proceed to conquer India, Central Asia and even Europe. Final success belongs to the country having raw materials; the full growth of national strength belongs to the country having extensive territory.

*From a Chinese newspaper in 1931. The newspaper claimed this was from a Japanese government document.*

**SOURCE G**

I know this sounds all wrong, perhaps immoral, when Japan is flouting the League of Nations, but:

(1) Japan was greatly provoked.

(2) Japan must before long expand somewhere – for goodness' sake let, or rather encourage, Japan to do so there instead of Australia.

(3) Japan's control of Manchuria means a real block against Communist aggression.

*A letter from a lecturer at Cambridge University, to his friend John Simon, the British government minister in charge of foreign affairs, 1933.*

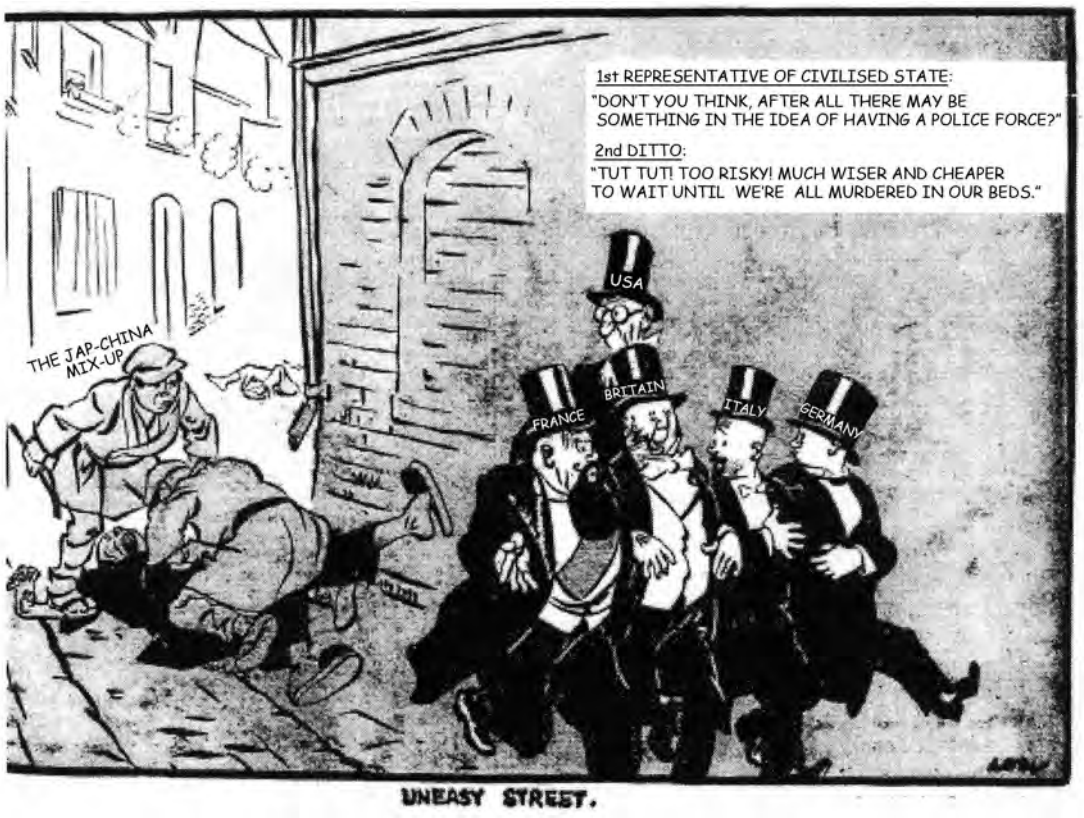
© UCLES 2012

**SOURCE H**



*A cartoon published in Germany in January 1933. The League (on the left) is saying 'Naughty Japan! You should warn me next time you want to start a little war.'*

**SOURCE I**




*A British cartoon published in January 1933.*

© UCLES 2012

Now answer **all** the following questions. You may use any of the sources to help you answer the questions, in addition to those sources which you are told to use. In answering the questions you should use your knowledge of the topic to help you interpret and evaluate the sources.

**1** Study Sources A and B.

How far do these two sources agree? Explain your answer using details of the sources. [8]

**2** Study Sources C and D.

How would Chiang Kai-shek have reacted to Source D? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [7]

**3** Study Source E.

Are you surprised by this source? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [7]

**4** Study Sources F and G.

Does Source F prove that Source G is wrong? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

**5** Study Sources H and I.

How far do these two sources have the same message? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

**6** Study **all** the sources.

How far do these sources provide convincing evidence that the League's response to Japan can be defended? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

© UCLES 2012

**BLANK PAGE**

*Copyright Acknowledgements:*

| | |
|---|---|
| Option A Source A | © Norman Stone; *World War One: A Short History*; Penguin; 2008. |
| Option A Source B | © A J P Taylor; *War by Timetable*; MacDonald; 1969. |
| Option A Source C | © Gordon Martel; *Origins of the First World War*; Longman; 2003. |
| Option A Sources D, E, F & G | © John Lowe & Robert Pearce; *Rivalry and Accord: International Relations 1870-1914*; Hodder Murray; 2001. |
| Option A Source H | © J A Harkness; *Cooperation and Conflict*; Hodder & Stoughton; 1991. |
| Option A Source I | © Mark Bryant; *World War I in Cartoons*; Grub Street Publishing; 2009. |
| Option B Source A | © N Kelly & G Lacey; *Modern World History*; Heinemann; 1999. |
| Option B Source B | © George Gill; *The League of Nations*; Avery Publishing Group; 1996. |
| Option B Source C | © S R Gibbons & P Morican; *The League of Nations and UNO*; Longman; 1986. |
| Option B Sources D & I | © The British Cartoon Archive, University of Kent. |
| Option B Source F | © Ron Brooks; *The Modern World*; University Tutorial Press; 1985. |
| Option B Source G | © http://www.johndclare.net/league_of_nations6.htm |
| Option B Source H | © Tony Lancaster & Derek Peaple; *The Modern World*; Causeway Press; 1996. |

Permission to reproduce items where third-party owned material protected by copyright is included has been sought and cleared where possible. Every reasonable effort has been made by the publisher (UCLES) to trace copyright holders, but if any items requiring clearance have unwittingly been included, the publisher will be pleased to make amends at the earliest possible opportunity.

University of Cambridge International Examinations is part of the Cambridge Assessment Group. Cambridge Assessment is the brand name of University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate (UCLES), which is itself a department of the University of Cambridge.