UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL EXAMINATIONS
International General Certificate of Secondary Education

HISTORY **0470/22**

Paper 2 **May/June 2012**

2 hours

Additional Materials: Answer Booklet/Paper

4062533604

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 then answer **all** of the questions on that topic.
Option A: 19th Century topic [p2–p7]
Option B: 20th Century topic [p8–p12]

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 **12** printed pages.

© UCLES 2012

Option A: 19th Century topic

WAS GERMANY RESPONSIBLE FOR CAUSING THE FIRST WORLD WAR?

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

Background Information

The First World War began in August 1914. Tensions between the major powers in Europe had been growing for years. Some historians have placed the main blame for causing the war with Germany. Others have argued that many other factors were just as important, if not more so.

SOURCE A

The confidence of the Germans grew as the country's industry boomed, and success went to their heads. Bismarck had been cautious: he could see that a strong Germany, at the centre of Europe, might unite its neighbours against it. But a new generation was coming up, and it was full of itself. The symbolic figure at its head was a new young emperor, Kaiser Wilhelm II, who came to the throne in 1888. His model was England. England was vastly rich and had an enormous overseas empire. Its overall position was guaranteed by an enormous navy. Why should Germany not acquire an overseas empire to match? Under Wilhelm, German power and the blundering expression of it became the European problem. The last thing that Germany needed was a problem with Great Britain, and the greatest mistake of the twentieth century was made when Germany built a navy designed to attack it.

Britain also made defensive arrangements with France and Russia. These involved colonial bargains – Egypt for Morocco with the French in 1904, and Persia with the Russians in 1907. To each of these steps, the German reaction was blundering and blustering – a demand for some slice of Morocco in 1905, encouragement of Austrian aggressiveness in the Balkans in 1909 and a gunboat sent to Morocco in 1911. This all created an air of international crisis.

The German generals were in a panic. Faced with a Franco-Russian alliance, the German war plan was obvious enough. The German army would have ample time to repeat the victory of 1870 against France. Then it would turn against Russia.

From a book published in 2007.

© UCLES 2012

SOURCE B

Contemporaries justified the alliance system by claiming that it maintained the balance of power. The two treaties of alliance which were of central importance in the July crisis of 1914 were the German-Austrian treaty and the Franco-Russian alliance. Equally important were the less formal ententes reached between England and France and England and Russia. The fact of their existence led other countries to frame their own policies in accordance with what seemed the permanent alignments with which they might be confronted in a war. Thus political and military plans were shaped by the alliance system and strengthened the divisions which the alliances had helped to produce.

The immediate motives which led governments to war in 1914 were not directly imperialist and the crisis they faced was a crisis in Europe, but earlier imperialistic policies had contributed to the frame of mind in which decisions were taken. For Russia, the lure of Constantinople and the Straits was a main motive in her Balkan policy. For Germany, vague aspirations to world control had contributed to the decision to construct a navy which was inevitably seen by Britain as a challenge. The mood in Europe in 1914 was ready to accept war, and imperialism had contributed much to the creation of the mood.

From a book published in 1984.

SOURCE C

You English are mad, mad, mad. What has come over you that you are so completely given over to suspicions quite unworthy of a great nation? What more can I do than I have done? I declared with all the emphasis at my command that my heart is set upon peace. I am a friend of England, yet your newspapers tell the people of England to refuse my hand that I offer and hint that my other hand holds a dagger.

But, you will say, what of the German navy? Surely, that is a menace to England? My answer is clear. Germany is a young and growing empire: she must have a powerful fleet to protect her many interests. Her horizons stretch far away.

Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany being interviewed in a British newspaper in October 1908.

SOURCE D

The German Emperor is like a battleship with steam up, but with no rudder, and he will run into something some day and cause a catastrophe. He has the strongest army in the world and the Germans don't like being laughed at, and are looking for somebody against whom to direct their temper and use their strength.

Sir Edward Grey replying, in November 1908, to the Kaiser's interview in Source C. Grey was the member of the British government in charge of foreign policy.

SOURCE E



A cartoon published in Britain early in 1914. It is entitled 'The Kaiser's Dream: The End of the World'. Bernhardi was a German general who wrote a best-selling book entitled 'Germany and the Next War'.

SOURCE F



An American cartoon published in September 1914. It is entitled 'The Self-Starter Worked All Right'.

© UCLES 2012

SOURCE G



A cartoon published in Britain in 1915. Underneath the cartoon were the words, 'S is a scrap – made of paper, of course'.

SOURCE H

Dear Sir

Will you permit me to convey my individual gratitude for the lead which you are giving to England during the present European crisis? The idea of England and France fighting with Russia against the civilisation and industry of Germany, on the wrong side of a quarrel starting in the actions of a nation that breeds assassins and backs them, is horrible. And yet it is supported by leading newspapers. Has the imagination of the English people ceased to exist? Is their conscience dead? Are they mad?

A letter published in an English newspaper that was against Britain going to war, 1 August 1914.

SOURCE I

During the eight years that preceded war, the Prime Minister devoted a ridiculously small percentage of the Cabinet's time to a consideration of foreign affairs. Secrecy ruled out three-fourths of the Cabinet from the chance of making any genuine contribution to the important questions then coming to a climax on the continent of Europe. For instance, nothing was said about our military commitments. There was an air of silence about every reference to our relations with France, Russia and Germany.

We were not qualified to express any opinion on so important a matter, because we did not know any more about the essential facts than those which an ordinary newspaper reader could gather. I remember the owner of an important newspaper telling us that all the information we got was carefully censored. He might have gone on further and said that much of the information essential for forming a sound opinion was deliberately kept from us.

Lloyd George in his War Memoirs published in 1933. In the years before the war he was Chancellor of the Exchequer in the British government. The Cabinet consisted of the senior ministers of the British government who were supposed to make the important decisions.

© 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. [7]

2 Study Sources C and D.

Does Source C make Source D surprising? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

3 Study Source E.

Why was this source published in 1914? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

4 Study Sources F and G.

How similar are these two cartoons? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

5 Study Sources H and I.

How would the author of Source H have reacted to Source I? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [7]

6 Study **all** the sources.

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

© UCLES 2012

Option B: 20th Century topic

WHY DID THE LEAGUE FAIL IN ABYSSINIA?

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

Background Information

Ever since the Abyssinians defeated them in 1896, the Italians had ambitions of returning to Abyssinia to gain revenge. Britain and France were keen to stop Italy joining forces with Germany and in April 1935 an agreement was reached between the three countries at Stresa. Mussolini thought he had been given a free hand to attack Abyssinia.

The Italian attack on Abyssinia began on 3 October 1935. Abyssinia was a member of the League of Nations and asked for help. Britain and France were leading members of the League. However, they were faced with a problem. They did not want to annoy Italy, but they had a duty to support the League. The League did condemn Italy's actions and agreed to impose a limited trade ban. However, it did little else, and Abyssinia was defeated. In July 1936 the League ended all sanctions against Italy.

The League had failed. Was this the fault of Britain or France or other members of the League?

SOURCE A

The world generally recognised that the League was facing a major test and, by the end of August, several nations – Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Romania, Sweden and Yugoslavia – had pledged their support for cooperative action. When the Assembly met on 11 September 1935, it heard the British Foreign Secretary promise his nation's acceptance of the obligations of League membership, 'particularly for steady and collective resistance to all acts of unprovoked aggression'. This had an enormous effect on the undecided states, but there was still uncertainty concerning France. The French Prime Minister asked the British ambassador in Paris whether the English people would be as prepared to support sanctions in a future European crisis as they were in the African case. Laval was deeply worried that sanctions would lead to a war with Italy. He would not support a naval blockade and preferred to see Great Britain and France restrict themselves to moral condemnation and a ban on military supplies. The British government was worried that they might have to face Italy alone.

Laval's determination to avoid war led to a peace plan, supported by Hoare, that was a surrender to Mussolini's wishes. In response, the outraged people in France and England forced Laval and Hoare to resign.

From a book about the League of Nations published in 1996. Laval was in charge of foreign affairs for France and Hoare was in charge of foreign affairs for Britain.

© UCLES 2012

SOURCE B

The British government was desperate to avoid a crisis either by offering Mussolini territorial compensation elsewhere or by helping to negotiate an arrangement which would give Italy effective control of Abyssinia. The scale and brutality of the Italian invasion confronted both the British and the French governments with a considerable difficulty. They both feared the consequences of alienating Italy. Britain's refusal to join France in promising support for the states in central and eastern Europe increased the importance for the French of good relations with Italy.

In December Laval and Hoare produced a plan placing two-thirds of Abyssinia under Italian control. It was leaked to the press and an explosion of rage amongst the British public forced Hoare's resignation.

Britain and France had gained the worst of all worlds. They had alienated Italy and failed to deter future aggressors by using the League as an effective institution for enforcing collective security.

From a book published in 1994.

SOURCE C



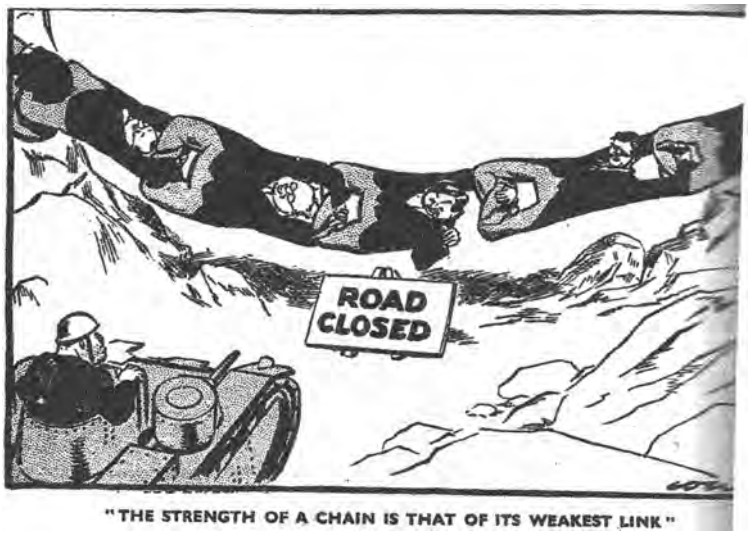
A British cartoon published in May 1935. The three figures on the right are Hitler and two of his leading ministers.

SOURCE D



A British cartoon published in August 1935. The two men are Laval and Baldwin (Prime Minister of Britain).

SOURCE E



A British cartoon published in October 1935. The figure in the middle of the chain is Laval.

© UCLES 2012

SOURCE F

There is a danger of an Anglo-Italian war being brought about by the French, not only by their lack of cooperation but also by their disloyalty and treachery in its dirtiest and blackest form.

Written by a senior official working for the British government, September 1935.

SOURCE G

Laval had privately hinted that Mussolini might one day move into Abyssinia. In January 1935, when they met in Rome, they talked about a possible war against Germany; at the same time Laval made an uncertain verbal agreement to leave Italy some kind of free hand in Africa. In all probability he did not explicitly agree to an Italian invasion. After this meeting Mussolini acted as though he had the backing of one major power and could safely begin an aggressive war.

From a history book published in 1976.

SOURCE H

I feared we might lead Abyssinia on to think that the League could do more than it can do, that in the end we should find a terrible moment of disillusionment in which it might be that Abyssinia would be destroyed altogether as an independent state. An oil embargo will open a new chapter requiring real and effective action for collective defence. We alone have taken these military precautions. There is the British fleet in Egypt, in Malta and Aden. Not a ship, not a machine, not a man has been moved by any other member state.

Hoare speaking to the British House of Commons on 19 December 1935, a few days after news of the Hoare-Laval plan had been leaked to the press. Hoare resigned from the British government on 18 December 1935.

© UCLES 2012

[Turn over

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. [7]

2 Study Source C.

Why was this source published in May 1935? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

3 Study Sources D and E.

How similar are the messages of these two cartoons? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

4 Study Sources F and G.

Are you surprised by Source F? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [7]

5 Study Source H.

Do you trust what Hoare says in this source? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

6 Study **all** the sources.

How far do these sources provide convincing evidence that France alone was responsible for the League's failure over Abyssinia? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

Copyright Acknowledgements:

Option A Source A	© Norman Stone; *World War One: A Short History*; Penguin; 2008.
Option A Source B	© James Joll; *The Origins of the First World War*; Longman; 1984.
Option A Sources E, F & G	© Mark Bryant; *World War I in Cartoons*; Grub Street Publications; 2009.
Option A Source H	© Guardian News and Media Ltd.
Option A Source I	© Lloyd George; *War Memoirs of Lloyd George*; Odhams Press; 1933–8.
Option B Sources A & F	© George Gill; *The League of Nations*; Avery Publishing Group; 1996.
Option B Source B	© David Williamson; *War and Peace: International Relations 1914–45*; Hodder & Stoughton; 1994.
Option B Sources C, D & E	© The British Cartoon Archive, University of Kent.
Option B Source G	© Denis Mack Smith; *Mussolini's Roman Empire*; Longman; 1976.

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.