Cambridge Assessment International Education

Cambridge IGCSE™

HISTORY **0470/22**

Paper 2 **May/June 2020**

2 hours

You must answer on the enclosed answer booklet.

You will need: Answer booklet (enclosed)

INSTRUCTIONS

- Answer **all** the questions on **one** option only.
  - Option A: Nineteenth century topic
  - Option B: Twentieth century topic
- Follow the instructions on the front cover of the answer booklet. If you need additional answer paper, ask the invigilator for a continuation booklet.

INFORMATION

- The total mark for this paper is 50.
- The number of marks for each question or part question is shown in brackets [ ].

This document has **12** pages. Blank pages are indicated.

DC (CJ/CB) 184717/3
© UCLES 2020

Option A: Nineteenth century topic

HOW FAR WERE THE AUSTRIANS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE EUROPE-WIDE CONFLICT IN 1914?

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

Background Information

Following the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand of Austria at the end of June 1914, Austria sent Serbia a list of demands knowing that it could not agree to all of them. On 28 July Austria declared war on Serbia. Some historians have claimed that Austria was determined to fight Serbia and went to war recklessly. They knew that it risked a wider war breaking out because Russia was likely to support Serbia. Austria had also requested the support of Germany, thus extending the range of a possible European war. The dangers were clear to everyone. On the other hand, it can be argued that Austria wanted only a local war and certainly had no intention of causing, or being involved in, a wider and larger conflict. Germany, the argument continues, was manipulating Austria for its own purposes, and was responsible for turning a local war into a Europe-wide conflict.

How far was Austria responsible for the outbreak of a Europe-wide conflict?

SOURCE A

Austria declared war on Serbia to avenge the Sarajevo murders and to put an end to the perceived greater Serbian threat. They were convinced that diplomatic and military intimidation had not worked. Three times since 1912, Vienna had come to the brink of war; this time, assured of strong German support, the Austrian leadership took the plunge.

Germany had its own reasons for supporting prompt action by Vienna. It was dependent upon the Habsburgs to make the Schlieffen Plan work, while Austria was dependent on the Germans for protection against Russia. This interdependence linked the two countries together. In plunging into war, the Austrian government ensured that it lost its own independence.

The Austrian government risked a general war to fight a local war. Battered during the Balkan Wars by Serbian expansion, Russian activism and now by the loss of Franz Ferdinand, the Habsburg leaders desperately desired to shape their future, rather than let events destroy them. The fear of domestic disintegration made war an acceptable policy option. The Habsburg decision, backed by the Germans, gave the July crisis a momentum that made peace an early casualty. Desperation, blind faith, hope, ambition and exhaustion overcame prudence, experience and caution. The Habsburg monarchy opted for a drastic military solution. The Sarajevo assassinations stimulated it to defend control of its Balkan provinces. This required war with Serbia. That war did not remain local, becoming almost instantly a general war. The results were devastating.

From a history book published in 1991.

© UCLES 2020

SOURCE B

Vienna claimed that it was going to war against Serbia to seek justice for the Sarajevo killings. However, the Austrians were really fighting to prevent their empire from disintegrating. They thought that Serbia would threaten to take over the leadership of the southern Slavs within the Habsburg Empire. So they were fighting for their empire's existence. However, it is likely that they would not have fought Serbia without Germany's blank cheque.

Austria planned the war believing that Germany would keep Russia out of the war. Instead, Germany was deliberately pulling Russia into war. Germany declared war on Russia on 1 August. It had told Austria to send most of its army to the Russian front and leave only a small force to defend against possible Serbian attack. Austria continued the operations against Serbia but was defeated. Its private war with Serbia over, it then had to join the wider conflict. In other words, Austria had to join Germany's war. From Germany's point of view, the only purpose of the Serbian conflict was that it bound Austria to remain faithful to Germany in Germany's war against Russia and France. Austria did not want to fight Russia and refused to declare war until 6 August when it was pressured into it.

From a recent history book.

SOURCE C

The Austrian ultimatum to Serbia on 23 July brought Europe to the edge of disaster, creating a situation which could have no outcome but a European war. There is no other example in history of a voluntary action undertaken with such carelessness. Relying on the support of a powerful ally, the Austrian government plunged into this attempt to improve its precarious internal situation and restore its prestige abroad. It did not consider the consequences or even the number of its potential enemies. Germany might have stopped the insane decision with one word. Instead, it openly encouraged Austria's policy. This was more than enough to frustrate all the efforts of Russia and the other powers of the Triple Entente to avoid war.

From the memoirs of Sergei Sazonov, published in 1928. Sazonov was the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

SOURCE D

More and more hatred has been heaped upon me and my country with an increasingly unconcealed desire to use violence to tear apart our Austro-Hungarian territories. Criminal forces have reached over the border to lead the young astray and incite them to acts of sheer foolishness and high treason. These secret conspiracies, implemented and driven by Serbia, have formed a clearly visible trail of blood established by a number of assassination attempts. These unbearable forces must be stopped and an end must be put to Serbia's incessant provocation. My government has in vain made one last attempt to achieve this goal by peaceful means and to issue fair warning to Serbia in order to persuade it to change its course. Serbia has rejected the moderate and fair demands of my government. So I must proceed by force of arms to make the pledges essential in ensuring the internal peace and the lasting external peace of my country.

From a declaration to his people by Emperor Franz Joseph of Austria-Hungary, 28 July 1914.

© UCLES 2020

SOURCE E



An Austrian cartoon published shortly after the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand. The words say 'Serbia must die!' 'Osterr' means Austria.

SOURCE F



A cartoon published in Britain, 1 August 1914.

© UCLES 2020

SOURCE G

If it ever came to war between Austria and Russia, Austria could rest assured of Germany's loyalty and support. Russia is far from being prepared for war at present, and will think twice before taking up arms. If the Austrians were really convinced of the necessity of military action against Serbia, he would regret their letting the present favourable moment pass.

A report by the Austrian ambassador to Germany of what Kaiser Wilhelm said to him at their meeting on 6 July 1914.

SOURCE H

Travelled out with the Chancellor yesterday. In the evening, on the veranda, a long discussion. I was shocked, because I did not know the situation to be so bad. Russia's power is growing fast. Austria is becoming weaker. The situation is unstoppable.

The Chancellor speaks of difficult decisions. Our old dilemma with every Austrian action in the Balkans. They say that we are always urging them to take action but then we just abandon them. Then they go to the western powers, and we lose our last mediocre ally. This time it is worse than 1912. A campaign against the Serbs can lead to world war. The Chancellor expects a war, and it will result in an upheaval of everything. The future belongs to Russia, it grows and grows, and it weighs heavier and heavier on us.

From the diary of Kurt Riezler, 7 July 1914. Riezler was the chief advisor of the German Chancellor, Bethmann Hollweg.

© UCLES 2020

[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 sources agree? Explain your answer using details of the sources. [7]

2 Study Source C.

How useful is this source as evidence of developments in Europe at the end of July 1914? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [7]

3 Study Source D.

Why did Emperor Franz Joseph make this declaration at that time? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

4 Study Sources E and F.

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

5 Study Sources G and H.

How far does Source G make Source H surprising? 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 Austria was to blame for the outbreak of Europe-wide hostilities in August 1914? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

© UCLES 2020

BLANK PAGE

Option B: Twentieth century topic

HOW FAR WAS THE TENSION BETWEEN THE USA AND THE USSR AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR CAUSED BY IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES?

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

Background Information

Clearly, there were fundamental ideological differences between the USA and the USSR. The USA was a liberal democracy and capitalist. The USSR was communist. Both countries believed that the opposing beliefs and ideas threatened their very existence. However, it can be argued that the tension between the USA and the USSR was simply about power – each wanted more influence, power and territory and wanted to be the dominant force in the world.

How far was the tension between the USA and the USSR about ideology?

SOURCE A

Starting in the 1970s, the study of the Cold War began to move beyond the simple application of blame and responsibility. Scholars started to view the conflict as a result of a complex interaction between all the parties involved. Historians explained it as a process in which the imbalance of military and economic power, and numerous other factors, contributed to the East–West tension.

In the 1990s there was a shift in the emphasis of the study of the Cold War: if scholars had previously relied heavily on massive amounts of American evidence, they now rushed to use the newly-available former Soviet materials. These revealed the general point that ideology and perceptions mattered inside the Soviet bloc. While ideology had been viewed by many as simply a convenient mask of 'real interests', it was, in fact, a 'fundamental interest'. This made the Cold War a unique confrontation: ideas, values, and belief systems were at the heart of the struggle.

This is not to say that political, economic, or military assessments of the Cold War are irrelevant. Quite the contrary. Without taking into account the interests of the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe or the real economic power of the United States and its nuclear weapons, it is impossible to understand the Cold War. At the same time, if one ignores the existence of a deep-seated ideological conflict, one can hardly understand why, for example, the Soviet determination to protect its political interests in Eastern Europe would have mattered as much as it did to the United States.

From a history book published in 2003.

© UCLES 2020

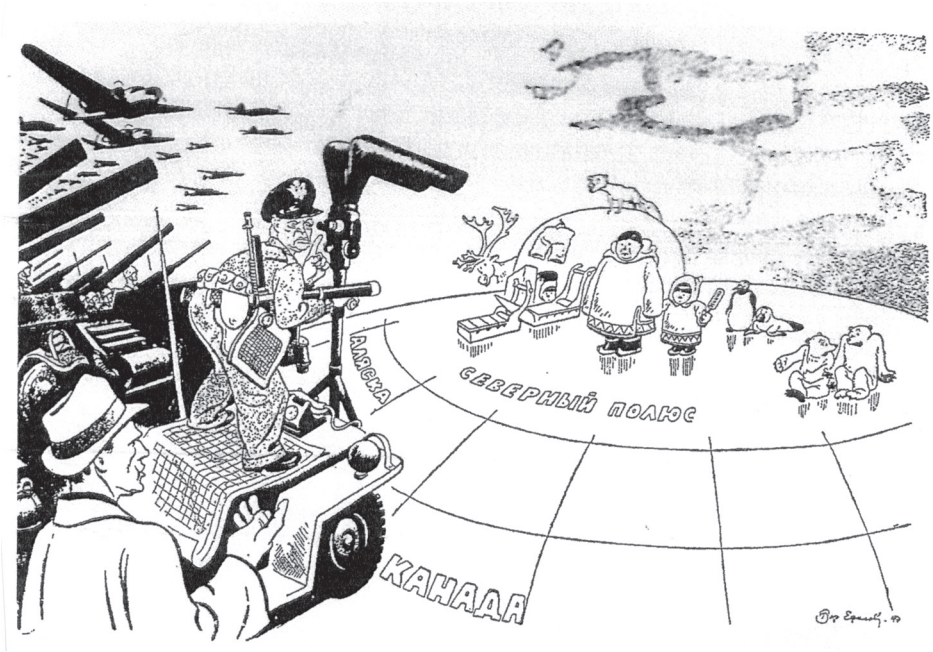
SOURCE B

The prime cause of the conflict opening up between the Russians and the Americans was the ideology of the Soviet leaders, and their inability to make permanent arrangements with the leaders of capitalist states. This was stated by Litvinov in June 1946. When asked what would happen if the West were to concede to Russia all its aims in foreign policy, he replied, 'It would lead to the West being faced, in a more or less short time, with the next series of demands.' The second cause was the Soviet desire for security against another German invasion, which could be obtained only by lack of independence of its neighbours. This security would prevent Poland being used as 'a corridor' for another German attack; it ensured that the same country could be used as a Russian corridor to the West.

Did the policies of the United States play any part? It seems unlikely that these policies did any more than confirm Stalin in his suspicions. When American statesmen realised that the Russians could not accept their vision of an open world, they moved towards supposing that the Russians were bent on immediate world conquest. Stalin's probing could easily seem like the first steps of a revolutionary drive to the military conquest of the world; and it might have become that, had it not been resisted.

From a history book published in Britain in 1986.

SOURCE C



A cartoon published in the Soviet Union in 1947. A member of the American public is asking General Eisenhower why there was so much American military activity in the area. Eisenhower replies, 'Can't you see the enormous concentration of enemy forces right here?'

SOURCE D

The USSR sees itself living in a threatening 'capitalist encirclement' with which there can be no peaceful coexistence. From this it has concluded that everything must be done to advance the relative strength of the USSR. Its effort, and those of Russia's friends abroad, must be directed at deepening the differences between capitalistic powers.

Marxism justifies the USSR's fear of the outside world and the dictatorship with which it rules. This is why Soviet purposes are nearly always expressed in Marxist terms and is why no one should underestimate the importance of Marxist ideas in Soviet affairs.

It believes that there can be no agreement with the USA if Soviet power is to be secure. Measured against the Western world, the Soviets are still by far the weaker force. Their success will depend on the degree of firmness the Western world can muster. We must put forward to other nations a positive picture of the sort of world we would like to see.

A telegram from George Kennan to the American government, 22 February 1946. This is often known as 'the Long Telegram'. Kennan was an official in the US embassy in Moscow.

SOURCE E

The foreign policy of the United States, which reflects the imperialist tendencies of American capitalism, is characterised by a striving for world domination. The real meaning of the many statements by President Truman is that the United States has the right to lead the world. All the forces of American diplomacy, the Army, Navy and Air Force, industry and science, are being used to support this policy. Broad plans for expansion have been developed to be implemented through a system of military bases, an arms race and the creation of newer and newer types of weapons.

A telegram from Nikolai Novikov to the Soviet government, 27 September 1946. Novikov was Soviet Ambassador to the USA.

SOURCE F

Europe's requirements for the next three or four years of foreign food and other essential products – mainly from America – are so much greater than its ability to pay that it must have additional help, or face economic, social and political deterioration. The United States should do whatever it can to assist in the return of normal economic health in the world, without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace. Our policy is not directed against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos. Its purpose should be the revival of a working economy in the world so as to allow the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist.

From a speech by George Marshall, June 1947. Marshall was a leading member of the US government.

© UCLES 2020

SOURCE G



A cartoon published in the Soviet Union in 1949. The word on the ladder is 'NATO'.

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 cartoon published in the Soviet Union at this time? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

3 Study Source D.

How useful is this source as evidence about the causes of the Cold War? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [7]

4 Study Sources E and F.

How far does Source E make Source F surprising? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

5 Study Source G.

What is the cartoonist's message? 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 the tension between the USA and the USSR was caused by ideological differences? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

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.

To avoid the issue of disclosure of answer-related information to candidates, all copyright acknowledgements are reproduced online in the Cambridge Assessment International Education Copyright Acknowledgements Booklet. This is produced for each series of examinations and is freely available to download at www.cambridgeinternational.org after the live examination series.

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

© UCLES 2020