Cambridge Assessment

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HISTORY

Paper 2

0470/22

February/March 2021

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. Any blank pages are indicated.

Option A: Nineteenth century topic

HOW FAR WAS PRUSSIA'S DOMINANT POSITION IN GERMANY BY 1867 ACHIEVED THROUGH THE USE OF FORCE?

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

Background Information

When Bismarck became chief minister of Prussia in 1862 one of his aims was to make Prussia the leading state in Germany. Two obstacles stood in his way. First, the Austrian empire had a population almost twice the size of Prussia, and a larger army. Second, most German states did not want to be dominated by Prussia.

By 1867 Bismarck had achieved his aim, but had he always intended to do this purely by force?

SOURCE A

When Bismarck took over control of Prussian foreign policy there was no dramatic change of direction.

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he war of 1866 may appear with hindsight to have been the inevitable and planned result of Bismarck's policies, but not all the factors which led to the outbreak of hostilities were within Bismarck's control.

From a history book published in 2000.

SOURCE B

When Bismarck came to power his thoughts were primarily concerned with problems of foreign policy, where his opponent, Austria, was rather active. Hostility between Prussia and Austria was, in fact, unavoidable. Relations between Prussia and Austria were already strained and became worse after Bismarck's appointment. He rejected Austrian proposals to reform the German Confederation which would have strengthened the influence of Austria and told the Austrian government that relations between the two countries were so bad that they would end in war. The only way to avoid a war, he said, was for Austria to surrender its position in Germany and focus eastwards.

Was it Bismarck's intention from the time of the peace with Denmark in 1864 to make war against Austria? He certainly never had any concerns about a war of this kind. He might have been willing to do without the war if he could have achieved his aims by diplomatic means and was probably not determined on war from the beginning. However, he was engaged on a policy against Austria which made war unavoidable and two important aspects of his actions should be noted: first, in 1865 he rejected every opportunity by which war might be avoided; second, he worked with patience to remove

the obstacles to war. The mistake of the Austrian government was that it did not see in time that war was inevitable, and that military preparations were necessary. But they cannot be blamed for having failed to avoid a war that was in no way avoidable.

From a history book published in 1918.

SOURCE C

I shall soon have to lead the Prussian government. My first task will be to organise the Prussian army. As soon as it is in a condition to command respect, then I shall take the first opportunity to declare war on Austria, dissolve the German Confederation, bring the middle and the smaller states under Prussian control and give Germany a national union under the leadership of Prussia.

Bismarck's conversation with a British politician in London in 1862, as reported by Count Eckstadt, Saxony's ambassador in London.

SOURCE D

We both owe it to public opinion to carry out our policy completely, to assert our power and influence in Germany, and not to yield to any direct attacks from the Lesser States. The idea of Austria and Prussia together, that they should co-operate in the action against Schleswig-Holstein, must be accepted by the Confederation. The Lesser States must learn that if they attempt to subject the European policy of Austria and Prussia to the control of the majority of the Confederation, they will make the continuance of friendly relations with the Confederation impossible for these two Powers.

A letter from Bismarck to the Austrian government, 1863.

SOURCE E

In a meeting with the king and the army chiefs I declared it to be my belief that peace must be concluded on the Austrian terms. I was alone in my opinion. I set to work to commit to paper the reasons which I thought spoke for the conclusion of peace and begged the king, in the event of his not accepting my advice, to accept my resignation if the war was continued.

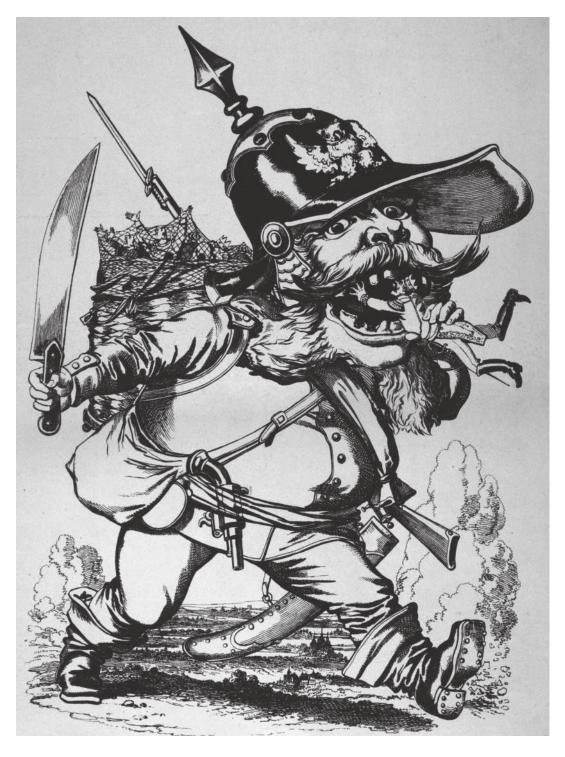
We had to avoid wounding Austria too severely. We had to avoid leaving behind in Austria any unnecessary bitterness or desire for revenge. We ought to keep the possibility of becoming friends again. If Austria were severely injured, it would become the ally of France and of every other opponent of ours.

A description of events in 1866, from Bismarck's memoirs which were published in 1898.

SOURCE F

The only justification the Prussian government gives for the seizure of our kingdom, is that which it claims to find in the right of conquest. But there has never been a war between us and the King of Prussia. We protest in the presence of the world against our incorporation into Prussia.

We pray for the support of all powers who have recognised our independence. The justification given by Prussia would menace the existence of all monarchies. Let all those who may be interested be warned. SOURCE G



A French cartoon of King William I and the princes of northern Germany, 1867.

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 mean that Bismarck was lying in Source D? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

3 Study Source E.

Do you find Source E surprising? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [7]

4 Study Source F.

Why did the King of Hanover issue this declaration at that time? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

5 Study Source G.

What is the message of the cartoonist? 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 Bismarck always intended to achieve Prussian dominance over Germany purely by force? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

Option B: Twentieth century topic

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HOW FAR WAS THE SOVIET UNION RESPONSIBLE FOR THE WORSENING OF RELATIONS WITH THE USA AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR?

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

Background Information

Despite being allies against Nazi Germany, relations between the USA and the USSR began to deteriorate before the Second World War ended. The differences in ideology between the two countries probably made this inevitable. The Americans were also concerned by increasing Soviet control over Eastern Europe, while the Soviets feared the US atom bomb. Disagreements over Germany, Churchill's claim about an 'Iron Curtain' descending across Europe and the Truman Doctrine of 1947 deepened the divisions between the two sides.

Was the USA or the USSR responsible for these worsening relations?

SOURCE A

The United States and the Soviet Union stepped into the vacuum left in Europe by the decline of the European great powers.

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The Iron Curtain that divided Europe gave the Soviet Union security and condemned eastern Europe to decades of Soviet domination.

From a history book published in 2015.

SOURCE B

Even if America had accepted the principle of spheres of interest, the contest could only have been delayed rather than indefinitely postponed. The Soviet Union wanted more than security. It was ideologically committed to renew the struggle against 'Western Imperialism'. Within a year of the end of the war the Soviet Union accused its former allies of fascist and imperialist aggression. On the other hand, many people in the West felt that the police states established in eastern Europe did not represent the liberated Europe they had fought for. For Stalin, the Cold War had begun the moment the Second World War ended. However, it took Truman longer to realise what was happening.

On 12 March 1947, President Truman issued his own declaration of Cold War. Presenting the Truman Doctrine to Congress, he used the American fear of Communism to convince Americans they must embark upon a Cold War foreign policy. Three months later the United States announced the Marshall Plan. The Soviets rejected it, thus demonstrating the division of Europe. It became what the Americans

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had wanted it to be, a revival of the economies of Western Europe under American guidance and a move in the policy of containment. Despite the Cold War being forced on the West, it produced European unity and lasting American involvement in European affairs – developments highly undesirable from the Soviet point of view.

From a recent history book.

SOURCE C

Basic features of the Soviet view of the world:

The USSR still lives in antagonistic 'capitalist encirclement' with which in the long run there can be no permanent peaceful coexistence. As stated by Stalin in 1927 to a delegation of American workers, 'In the course of further development of international revolution there will emerge two centres of world significance: a socialist centre, drawing to itself the countries which tend toward socialism, and a capitalist centre. Battle between these two centres for command of the world economy will decide the fate of capitalism and communism in the entire world.'

What deductions do they lead to about Soviet policy?

Everything must be done to advance the relative strength of USSR as a factor in international society. No opportunity must be missed to reduce the strength and influence of capitalist powers. Soviet efforts, and those of Russia's friends abroad, must be directed toward deepening and exploiting differences and conflicts between capitalist powers. If these eventually deepen into an 'imperialist' war, this war must be turned into revolutionary upheavals within the various capitalist countries. Where individual governments stand in the path of Soviet purposes, pressure will be brought for their removal.

From George Kennan's 'Long Telegram', 22 February 1946. Kennan was an American diplomat based in Moscow. He wrote this analysis of Soviet foreign policy for the American government.

SOURCE D

US foreign policy has been characterised in the post-war period by a desire for world domination. This is the real meaning of repeated statements by President Truman that the US has a right to world leadership. All the forces of American diplomacy, the Army, Navy, and Air Force, industry, and science have been placed at the service of this policy.

The enormous relative importance of the USSR in European affairs, the independence of its foreign policy, and the economic and political aid which it gives neighbouring countries, is leading to a growth in the influence of the Soviet Union in these countries and a continuing strengthening in them of democratic trends. Such a situation in eastern Europe cannot fail to be viewed by the American imperialists as an obstacle in the path of an expansionist American foreign policy.

It ought to be fully realised that American preparations for a future war are being conducted with the idea of war against the Soviet Union, which in the eyes of American imperialists is the chief obstacle in the American path to world domination.

A telegram to the Soviet leadership from the Soviet Ambassador in the USA, 27 September 1946.

SOURCE E

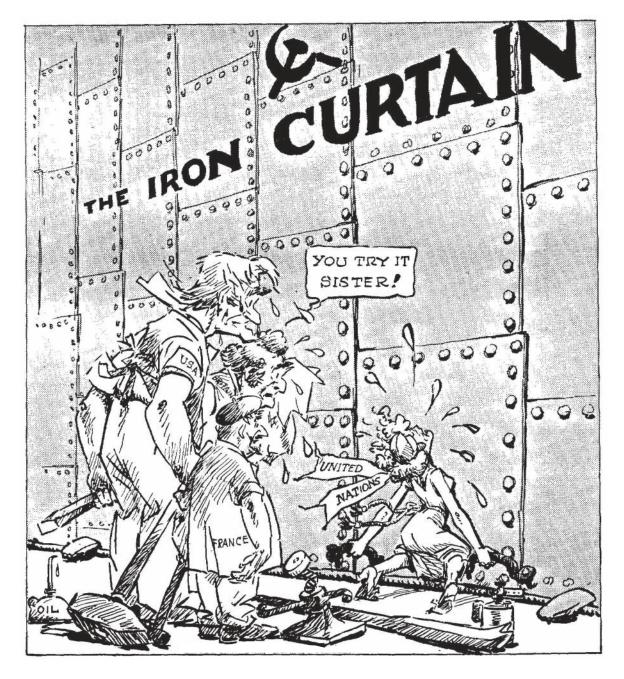


A cartoon published in the Soviet Union in 1946. The words on the flags held by Churchill read, 'An Iron Curtain is over Europe' and 'Anglo-Saxons must rule the World'. The figures behind Churchill are Hitler and Goebbels.

SOURCE F

Whatever excuses are used to justify American claims to domination in Greece, they cannot be justified by a defence of the freedom and independence of the Greek people. American arguments for giving assistance to Turkey are based upon a threat to the integrity of Turkish territory, though nothing threatens Turkish integrity. It is all a smokescreen for an American plan of expansion. Justifications that the USA is called upon to 'save' Greece and Turkey from expansion by the so-called 'totalitarian' states are not new. Hitler also referred to the Communists when he wanted to open the road to conquests.

The leading article in the Soviet newspaper 'Izvestia', 17 March 1947.



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A cartoon published in the USA, 1947. The figures on the left represent the USA, Britain and France.

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.

How far does Source C prove that Source D was wrong? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

3 Study Source E.

Do you find this source surprising? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [7]

4 Study Source F.

Why was this source published in March 1947? Explain your answer using details of the source 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 Soviet Union was responsible for the worsening of relations with the West? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

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