

HISTORY

0470/23

Paper 2

May/June 2018

2 hours

No Additional Materials are required.

READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

An answer booklet is provided inside this question paper. You should follow the instructions on the front cover of the answer booklet. If you need additional answer paper ask the invigilator for a continuation booklet.

This paper has two options.

Choose **one** option, and then answer **all** of the questions on that topic.

Option A: 19th Century topic [p2–p6]

Option B: 20th Century topic [p8–p12]

The number of marks is given in brackets [] at the end of each question or part question.

This syllabus is approved for use in England, Wales and Northern Ireland as a Cambridge International Level 1/Level 2 Certificate.

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

Option A: 19th Century topic**WERE BISMARCK AND HIS ACHIEVEMENTS APPRECIATED AT THE TIME?**

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

Background Information

Despite being largely responsible for Prussian military victories over Denmark, Austria and France and the unification of Germany, Bismarck was not always popular inside and outside Prussia. His methods of 'iron and blood' were not admired by everybody; liberals were suspicious of him, while others saw him as intimidating and unscrupulous. Yet, one historian has judged his achievements between 1862 and 1871 as 'the greatest diplomatic and political achievement by any leader in the last two centuries'.

How far were Bismarck and his work appreciated at the time?

SOURCE A

So far the differences between Austria and Prussia have been limited to the governments. They have now spread to the field of public opinion. I am clear that Count Bismarck thinks that the time has come to mount a great Prussian action abroad. He believes that the circumstances are favourable for this. Such action has been from the beginning the aim of his political career. It would satisfy his ungoverned and unscrupulous, but daring, thirst for achievement.

After such a policy the government would more easily master the internal strife in Prussia. It is inconceivable that King William could bring about the legal acceptance of the principles represented by his government without a coup d'état. His Majesty has refused his consent to a coup d'état, which Bismarck may well have recommended. The only way of bringing about sudden change internally must thus be sought in the field of foreign policy. It is such a view that guides Bismarckian policy.

How far Bismarck will succeed in winning over His Majesty for his extreme policy is precisely the question on which the whole future depends. A forcible solution goes against the nature of the King. Yet His Majesty is easily accessible to Bismarck's influence, especially his references to supposed injuries to Prussian honour.

A report from an Austrian diplomat in Prussia to the new Austrian Foreign Minister, Count Mensdorff, February 1866.

SOURCE B

The King wants no war, but only not in the next few months, now Bismarck has twisted things so that the King has become more irritable and finally Bismarck will have ridden him so far that he will not be able to do anything but commit us to war, which will stir up Europe. Bismarck's talent to manipulate things for the King is great and worthy of admiration. As an expression of his bottomless frivolity and piratical policies some sort of Reich reform idea will be dumped on the carpet probably with proposals for a Reich parliament. With such a man everything is possible.

*A letter from Crown Prince Frederick to General von Schweinitz, April 1866.
Frederick was King William's son.*

SOURCE C

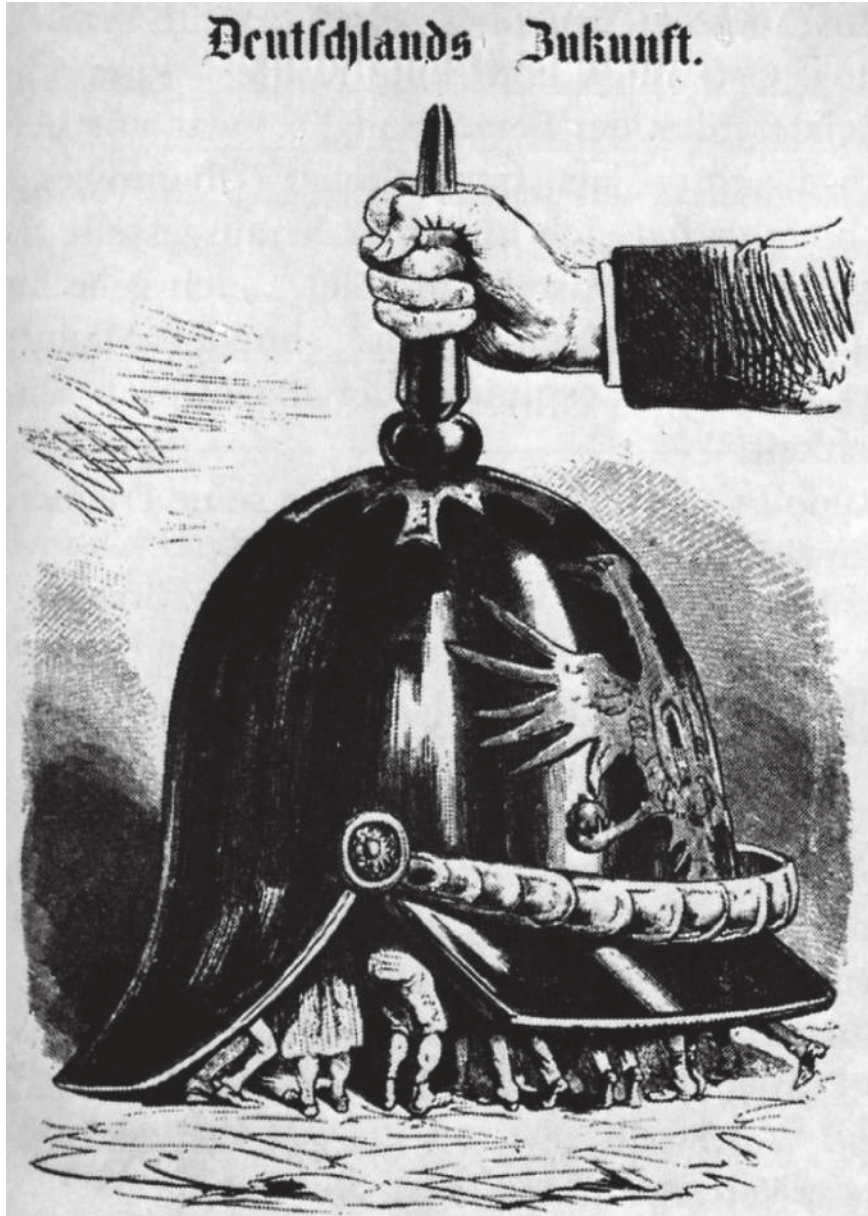
For years I have wished for a German Cavour or Garibaldi. And overnight he has appeared in the person of the much-abused Bismarck. I bow before the genius of Bismarck, who has achieved a masterpiece of political planning and action. How marvellously the man spun all the threads of the great web. How precisely he knew how to use his king, Napoleon, his army, the government, Austria and its forces. I leave it to my stubborn colleagues from Swabia and Bavaria to abuse him. For years they have yelled for German unity, and when someone achieves the impossible by transferring German unity from a book of student songs into reality, they shout 'crucify him'.

A letter by a German liberal to a fellow liberal, 19 August 1866.

SOURCE D

A British cartoon published in 1870. The cartoon's caption was 'Here is Bismarck with his big broom, scolding and sweeping up all the stubborn Germans. Let's go! Go or die! Faster than that, or the French will eat your sauerkraut!' Sauerkraut was a favourite German meal.

SOURCE E



An Austrian cartoon, entitled 'Germany's Future', published in 1870. The caption was 'Will it fit under one hat? I believe it is more likely to come under a Prussian spiked helmet.'

SOURCE F

We suddenly find ourselves in the middle of a very serious situation. This is Bismarck's fault. He has treated this matter lightly like so many others. First, I cannot mix myself in it at all. I hold firm to my original and correct view. I have never directly or officially dealt with anyone about it, nor have I bound myself to anything. I can refer the French Government only to the Hohenzollern Princes and shall exercise no influence over them. The world will readily believe that I have no wish to wage yet another great war and that I have not brought about this serious development. If, however, war is forced upon me, I shall wage it with firm confidence in my distinguished army.

William I in conversation with a diplomat at the Prussian embassy in Paris, 8 July 1870.

SOURCE G

With today's opening of the first German Reichstag after the re-establishment of a German Empire, the first public activity of the Empire begins. The brilliant position now occupied by Prussia has been achieved through an unexpectedly rapid sequence of events during the past six years. The work to which I called you ten years ago falls within this time. How you have justified the confidence with which I then summoned you, lies open to the world. It is to your advice, caution, your unending activity that Prussia and Germany owe this world-historical occurrence.

Although the reward for such deeds is felt within you I am nevertheless urged and bound to express to you publicly and permanently the thanks of the Fatherland and mine. I elevate you therefore, to the rank of a Prussian Prince.

A letter from William I to Bismarck, March 1871.

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 Source A.

What impressions does this source give of Bismarck? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [7]

2 Study Source B.

Why did the Crown Prince send this letter in April 1866? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

3 Study Sources C and D.

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

4 Study Source E.

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

5 Study Sources F and G.

How far does Source G make Source F 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 Bismarck and his achievements were admired? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

Option B: 20th Century topic**WAS THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS SEEN IN A POSITIVE WAY FROM THE START?**

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

Background Information

The dreadful experience of the First World War led to several ideas for a league of nations that would protect peace in the future. Perhaps the leading supporter of such an organisation was President Wilson, who suggested it in a speech in January 1918.

The League of Nations came into existence on 10 January 1920 after lengthy negotiations at the Paris Peace Conference. There was much opposition to the League in the USA but in other places hopes were higher. As the League attempted to deal with the first international disputes after the First World War, people began to reach conclusions about the League.

Was the League seen in a positive way in its early years?

SOURCE A

A British cartoon published in 1919.

SOURCE B

The independence of the United States is precious not just to ourselves but to the world. Is there any country today which can compare with it in peace and in freedom? In agreeing to a League and taking on these obligations in a desire for the good of mankind we would be dealing with nations every one of which has its own individual interest to serve. I am thinking of what is best for the world, for if the United States fails, the best hopes of mankind fail with it.

I have only ever had one allegiance. I have only loved one flag and I cannot share that devotion with the mongrel banner invented for a league. Internationalism, illustrated by the Communists, is to me repulsive.

The United States is the world's best hope, but if you chain it in the interests and quarrels of other nations, if you tangle it in the intrigues of Europe, you will destroy its power for good and endanger its very existence. Leave the United States to march freely through the centuries to come as in the years that have gone. Strong, generous, and confident, the United States has nobly served mankind.

We are told that we shall 'break the heart of the world' if we do not take this League just as it stands. I feel that the hearts of the vast majority of mankind would beat on strongly and steadily if the League were to perish altogether. Ideals have been thrust upon us as an argument for the League. Are ideals confined to this deformed experiment, tainted, as it is, with political deals?

From a speech given by Henry Cabot Lodge in Washington D.C. on 12 August 1919. Lodge was a Republican member of the US Senate.

SOURCE C

As I have crossed our country I have seen that men have been busy creating an absolutely false impression of the League of Nations. In order to check the falsehoods that have clustered around this great subject, I want to tell you a few very simple things about the League.

Unless we get the united purpose and power of the great Governments of the world behind this settlement, it will fall down like a house of cards. There is only one power to put behind the liberation of mankind, and that is the power of mankind. It is the power of the united moral forces of the world, and in the Covenant of the League of Nations the moral forces of the world are mobilised.

They enter into a solemn promise to one another that they will never use their power against one another for aggression and if they do that, war will be in the far background.

What of our pledges to the men that lie dead in France? We said that they went over there to see to it that there never was such a war again. Again and again, my fellow citizens, mothers who lost their sons in France have come to me and, taking my hand, have shed tears and said, 'God bless you, Mr. President!' Why, my fellow citizens, should they ask God to bless me? They believe that wrapped up with the liberty of the world is the protection of that liberty by the joint powers of all civilised people.

There seem to me to stand between us and the rejection of the League, the ranks of those soldiers, not only those who came home, but those who are ghosts on the fields of France.

One of President Wilson's last speeches in the USA, September 1919.

SOURCE D

The great weapon we rely on is public opinion, and if we are wrong about that then the whole thing is wrong. When questions come before the Council, they will be discussed, and when it appears clear that one side is right and the other is wrong, you will get the whole weight of public opinion behind the one side and you will find that the nation that is in the wrong will not persist in the course which has been publicly and overwhelmingly condemned.

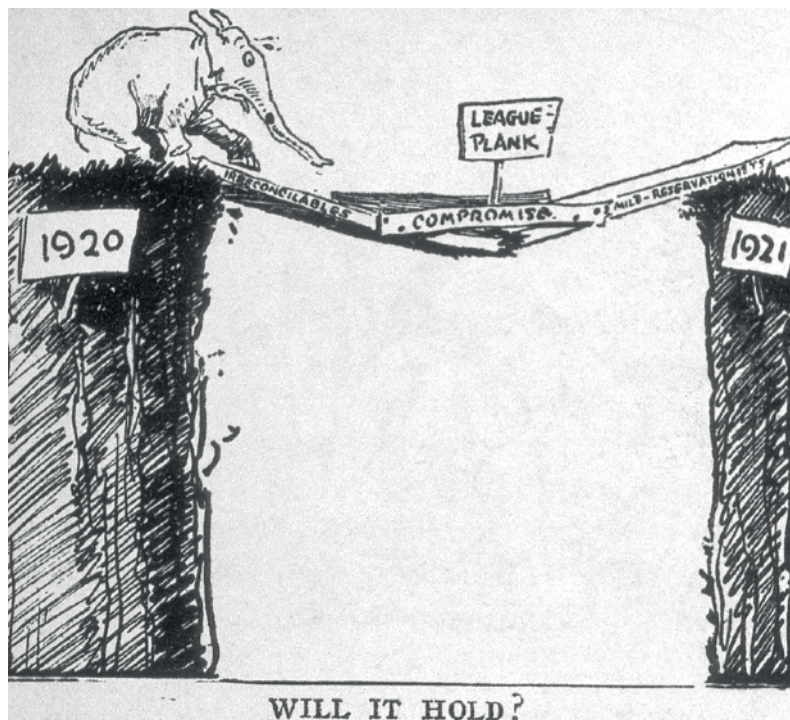
Lord Robert Cecil speaking to the British House of Commons, July 1919. Cecil was a member of Lloyd George's government.

SOURCE E

Lord Riddell: America has been guilty of a great betrayal. In Paris it started the talk of universal peace and a League of Nations. Now it is the only great nation which has not joined the League.

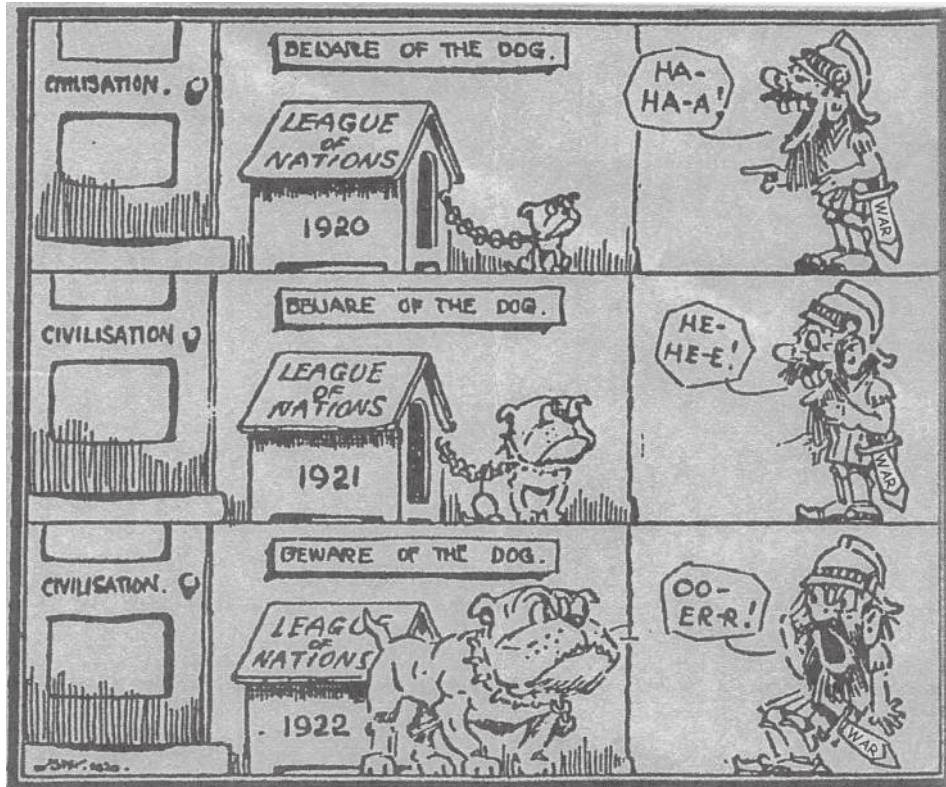
Lloyd George: The League of Nations is, I regret to say, deceptive and dangerous. They cannot even protect a little nation like Armenia. They do nothing but pass useless resolutions.

A conversation between Lord Riddell, a newspaper owner, and British Prime Minister Lloyd George, December 1920, as reported in Riddell's diary.

SOURCE F

A British cartoon published in June 1920 about attitudes in the US towards the League. The words on the plank read (left to right) 'IRRECONCILABLES. COMPROMISE. MILD-RESERVATIONISTS'.

SOURCE G



A British cartoon published in a newspaper, June 1920.

SOURCE H

President Wilson proposed to solve a mass of European problems. To set his machine to work Wilson needed a motor, and this motor he claimed to have found in a 'League of Nations'; which was nothing more than a Parliament of all nations to which all disagreements, all diplomatic intrigues, were to come and multiply, intensify, and perhaps even be made less severe.

There was no need for a super-Parliament whose only occupation when action was needed would be super-talking. It must be said that the reality has entirely fulfilled my expectations and the members of the League can do nothing but discuss, when they ought to decide and impose their decision. Whether we wish it or not, it is not this International Parliament, with no real power, that will determine the peace of the future.

From Clemenceau's memoirs, written just before he died in 1929. They were published in 1930.

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 Source A.

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

2 Study Sources B and C.

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

3 Study Sources D and E.

Does Source D prove that Riddell and Lloyd George (Source E) were wrong about the League of Nations? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [7]

4 Study Sources F and G.

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

5 Study Source H.

Why did Clemenceau write this at that time? 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 League of Nations was seen positively from the start? 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 International Examinations Copyright Acknowledgements Booklet. This is produced for each series of examinations and is freely available to download at www.cie.org.uk after the live examination series.

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.