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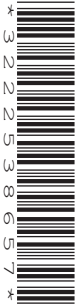
HISTORY

0470/21

Paper 2

May/June 2023

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 **16** pages. Any blank pages are indicated.

Option A: Nineteenth century topic**WHAT WAS THE MAIN MOTIVE BEHIND EUROPEAN IMPERIALISM?**

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

Background Information

Many motives have been suggested for the European imperialism of the second half of the nineteenth century. Many historians have argued that the main motive was political – to gain more colonies than other powers for national pride, prestige and security. Closely connected to this were economic motives – to gain raw materials for manufacturing products and to gain markets to sell or buy products. Other motives that have been suggested include a belief that European cultural values were superior to those of other groups, which led to a desire to convert these people to Christianity, to ‘civilise’ them, and to bring them the benefits of education and modern medicine.

What was the main motive for European imperialism?

SOURCE A

I am placing before you the arguments that justify the policy of colonial expansion. The industrialised population of Europe, and especially the people of our rich and hardworking country of France, need markets for exports. Our major industries lack markets because Germany is setting up trade barriers, and because the United States of America has become protectionist. The French policy of colonial expansion was inspired by the fact that a navy such as ours cannot do without safe harbours, defences and supply centres.

The higher races have the duty to civilise the inferior races. I maintain that European nations carry out this superior civilising duty with generosity and sincerity. In this competition of so many rivals rising up around us, a policy of withdrawal is simply the road to decline. In our time nations are great only through expansion; it is not by spreading the peaceable light of their institutions that they are great. Spreading light without expansion is to sink from the first rank to the third and fourth.

From a speech to the French Parliament by Jules Ferry, the French Prime Minister, 1884.

SOURCE B

We are forced to seek new markets because old ones are being closed to us by protectionism. A great commercial empire like ours must go forward. To allow other nations to develop new lands, and to refuse to do so ourselves, is to go backward; and this is deplorable, seeing that we have proved ourselves better at dealing with native races and developing new countries.

In Africa the most useful missions are the medical and the industrial. As the skill of the European in medicine demonstrates his superiority, he gains an influence in his teaching of the truths of Christianity. Such demonstration from a British doctor has more weight than mere preaching. The value of the industrial mission is to teach the simpler aspects of agriculture such as sinking of wells and irrigation. These make the land more productive, and this will enable the African people to purchase from the trader cloth and household goods which shall produce greater comforts in their social life.

The children should be educated by the establishment of schools. This may produce really great results – neatness, order, and discipline. The essential point in dealing with Africans is to establish a respect for the European. Upon this depends his influence. The whole influence of the European in Africa is gained by this assertion of his superiority.

From the book, The Rise of Our East African Empire, by Lord Lugard, 1893. Lugard was a British soldier and an explorer of Africa. He was Governor of both Southern and Northern Nigeria, and later became the first Governor-General of Nigeria.

SOURCE C

We have conquered for ourselves a place in the sun. It will now be my task to see that this place in the sun shall remain our undisputed possession and that our industry and agriculture develop. Our future lies upon the water. The more Germans go out upon the water in the service of the battle flag, so much the better it will be for us. Germans must learn to direct their glances upon what is distant and great. May it be my function to protect and advance commerce and trade! As head of the Empire, I therefore rejoice over every citizen who goes forth with this large outlook and seeks new points where we can drive in the nail on which to hang our armour.

From a speech by Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany, 1901. The Kaiser was speaking to an audience of military recruits.

SOURCE D



THE RHODES COLOSSUS
STRIDING FROM CAPE TOWN TO CAIRO.

A cartoon published in an English magazine, 1892. It shows Cecil Rhodes, who had just announced plans for a telegraph line from Cape Town to Cairo. A 'colossus' is a giant.

SOURCE E



An illustration published in the USA in 1902. Its title is 'From the Cape to Cairo'. Its caption read, 'Though the process be costly, the road to progress must be built.'

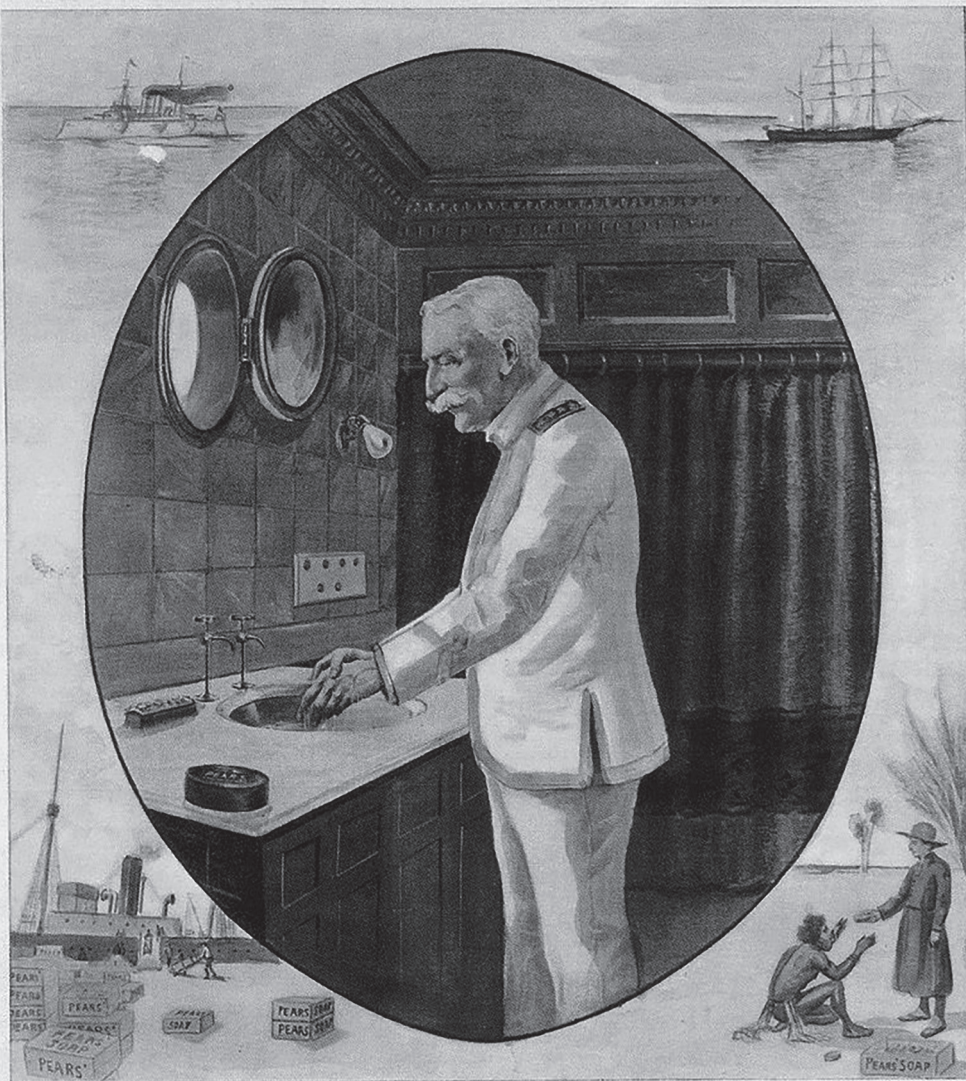
SOURCE F

They mentioned the causes of the uprising, and one of the older men said, 'How should it be otherwise? They were ranchmen and landowners, and we were there to make them landless working men; and they rose up in revolt. This is their struggle for independence.' 'But the cruelty?' said someone else, and the first speaker replied: 'Do you suppose that if the German people should rise in revolt against foreign oppressors it would take place without cruelty?'

They discussed what the Germans really wanted here. 'The missionaries say, "You are our dear brothers in the Lord and we want to bring you Faith, Love and Hope." And the soldiers, farmers and traders say, "We want to take your cattle and your land away from you and make you slaves without rights." Those two things do not go together. It is a crazy project. Either it is right to colonise and deprive them of their rights and make them slaves, or it is right to Christianise and live up to brotherly love. One must clearly desire the one and despise the other; one must wish to rule or to love.'

A soldier in the German colony of South West Africa describes a conversation between experienced German soldiers who had been in the colony for over ten years. He was a soldier in the German forces trying to put down a rebellion by the Herero and Nama peoples. The German reaction to the rebellion has been described as genocide.

SOURCE G



The first step towards lightening

The White Man's Burden

is through teaching the virtues of cleanliness.

Pears' Soap

is a potent factor in brightening the dark corners of the earth as civilization advances, while amongst the cultured of all nations it holds the highest place—it is the ideal toilet soap.

A British advertisement for soap, 1890s.

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 views in these two sources? Explain your answer using details of the sources. [7]

2 Study Source C.

Why did the Kaiser make this speech at that time? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

3 Study Sources D and E.

Would these two artists have agreed about European imperialism? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

4 Study Source F.

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

5 Study Source G.

How useful is this source to a historian studying imperialism? 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 main reason for European imperialism was to spread civilisation? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

Option B: Twentieth century topic**WAS APPEASEMENT AN ERROR?**

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

Background Information

Throughout most of the 1930s Britain and France made concessions to Germany to avoid war. Successive British governments believed that Britain would not be successful in a war with Germany. Many people in Britain believed that Germany had been treated unfairly in the Treaty of Versailles. When the German army marched into the Rhineland on 7 March 1936 they thought the Germans were merely walking into 'their own backyard', and when Chamberlain, Daladier, Hitler and Mussolini signed the Munich Agreement on 30 September 1938 there was rejoicing throughout Britain. However, there were some politicians such as Churchill who began questioning the policy of appeasement as early as 1936.

Was the policy of appeasement the correct one at the time?

SOURCE A

To see Neville Chamberlain as merely an example of cowardice ignores other factors. Did he, in September 1938, have any choice but to act as he did? We easily forget what a difficult problem the rise of Hitler posed for other European states in the 1930s. How were they to deal with a man controlling Europe's most militarised and warlike nation, who was determined to dominate the whole continent? Hitler was only stopped by history's most destructive war, which may have cost 25 million lives in Russia alone. But who would choose such a solution? Memories were only too fresh of the First World War of 1914–18 in which a whole generation was slaughtered. Furthermore, there was a terror of a new weapon: the bomber aircraft. In 1938, the Committee of Imperial Defence told Chamberlain that a German bomber offensive launched against Britain would result in half a million civilian deaths within the first three weeks. The armed forces felt Britain was not ready for conflict. The general public were terrified of war, and as desperate to avoid it as Chamberlain was. When he returned after Munich waving the piece of paper bearing Hitler's signature, he was regarded as a national hero. Nearly all the newspapers in Britain welcomed the Munich Agreement. Only a few voices, such as that of Winston Churchill, denounced appeasement.

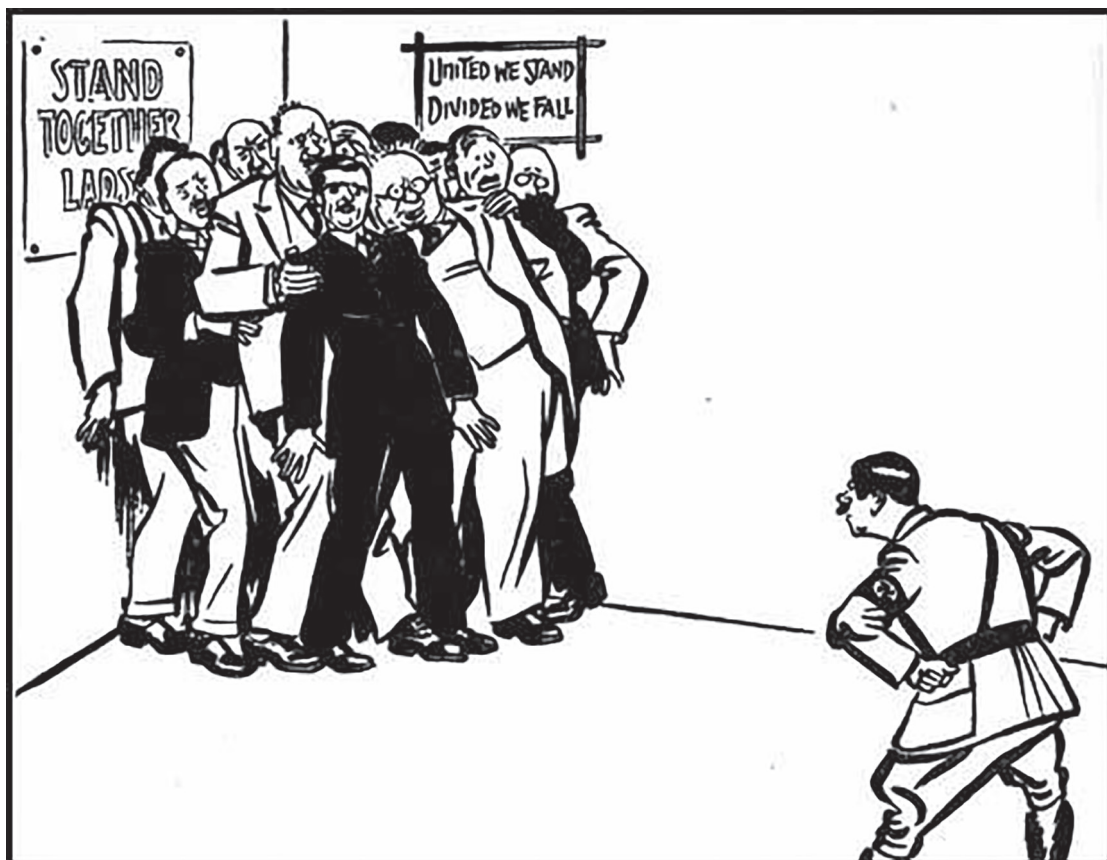
From a recent newspaper article.

SOURCE B

In 1946 Winston Churchill wrote, 'There was never a war in all history easier to prevent by timely action than the Second World War. It could have been prevented without the firing of a single shot, but no one would listen.' Munich's great lesson was to move early and decisively. World War Two could have been avoided had the democracies been prepared to stop Hitler's remilitarisation of the Rhineland in 1936 or to fight for Czechoslovakia in 1938. Chamberlain's memories of the First World War led him to want to avoid another war and to his weak failure to stand up to Hitler's threats to freedom. He did nothing, and with each act of appeasement Hitler's appetite grew. Although at the time of Munich Churchill expressed serious concern, most people in Britain supported Chamberlain. But it was not long before the British public were showing increasing signs of hostility toward Germany and frustration with Chamberlain's failure to act.

Although Britain was not ready to fight a major war at the time, neither was Germany. When asked at his trial after the war whether German forces could have defeated an alliance of Britain, France and Czechoslovakia, the head of the German Army replied, 'It was out of the question.' It is clear that if Britain had acted much earlier in the 1930s, a war would not have been necessary.

From a recent history book.

SOURCE C

From a British cartoon published on 12 March 1936. Hitler is saying to European leaders, 'How much will you give me not to kick you for, say, twenty-five years?'

SOURCE D

The great defect in our foreign policy has been that we have never said that we were prepared to fight. Everything has pointed to the fact that Germany was preparing for war at the end of September. The way in which it could be prevented was by Britain making a firm stand and stating that it would be in that war.

I had urged after the invasion of Austria that Britain should make a firm declaration of its foreign policy but I was told that the people of this country are not prepared to fight for Czechoslovakia. I tried to explain that it was not for Czechoslovakia that we would have been fighting, but in order that one Great Power should not be allowed to dominate Europe by brutal force. The Prime Minister has believed in addressing Hitler through the language of sweet reasonableness. I have believed that he was more open to the language of the armed fist. The agreement at Munich about the transfer of Czechoslovak territory meant that it was to be invaded. I had thought that, after accepting the humiliation of partition, it should have been spared the horror of invasion. But the German Government, having got their man down, were not to be deprived of the pleasure of kicking him.

From a speech in the British Parliament by Duff Cooper, 3 October 1938. In this speech Cooper explains why he was resigning from Chamberlain's government.

SOURCE E

Last Wednesday we were all under the shadow of a great menace. War seemed to be staring us in the face. Only a few days later, we all meet in thankfulness that the prayers of millions have been answered, and a cloud of anxiety has been lifted from our hearts. All the elements were present for the outbreak of a conflict which might have caused a catastrophe. It was essential that this difficult transfer of Czechoslovak territory might be carried out in order to achieve peace. The real triumph is that representatives of four Great Powers have found it possible to agree how to carry out a difficult operation by discussion instead of by force, and thereby they have averted a catastrophe.

My main purpose has been to work for peace in Europe. The path which leads to appeasement is long and full of obstacles. The question of Czechoslovakia is perhaps the most dangerous. Now that we have got past it, I feel that it may be possible to make further progress along the road to sanity. Under the new system of guarantees, the new Czechoslovakia will find a greater security than it has ever enjoyed in the past. I do feel that Parliament ought to recognise the contribution of Herr Hitler in consenting to discuss with the representatives of other Powers those things which he had declared he had already decided.

From a speech in the British Parliament by Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, 3 October 1938. Chamberlain gave this speech a few minutes after Duff Cooper had finished his speech.

SOURCE F

The Daily Express declares that Britain will not be involved in a European war this year, or next year either

PEACE

AGREEMENT SIGNED AT 12.30 a.m. TODAY

FRONTIER GUARANTEED

Under the terms of the agreement Hitler will march his troops into Czechoslovakia, but not as far as he stated in the demands he sent to Czechoslovakia last weekend. Britain and France undertake to guarantee the new frontiers of Czechoslovakia.

People of Britain, your children are safe. Your husbands and your sons will not march to war. Peace is a victory for all mankind. If we must have a victor let us choose Chamberlain, for his conquests are mighty and enduring – millions of happy homes and hearts relieved of their burden.

From the front page of a British newspaper, 30 September 1938.

SOURCE G



A British cartoon, 25 September 1938.

SOURCE H



A cartoon published in an American newspaper, 7 October 1938.

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 on 12 March 1936? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

3 Study Sources D and E.

Does Source E mean that Duff Cooper need not have resigned? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

4 Study Source F.

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

5 Study Sources G and H.

How far would these two cartoonists have agreed? 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 appeasement was an error? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

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