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UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL EXAMINATIONS
International General Certificate of Secondary Education

HISTORY **0470/02**

Paper 2 **October/November 2009**

2 hours

Additional Materials: Answer Booklet/Paper

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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 answer **all** of the questions on that topic.
Option A: 19th Century topic [p2–p6]
Option B: 20th Century topic [p7–p11]

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 **11** printed pages and **1** blank page.

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Option A: 19th Century topic

WHO WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR BRITAIN'S INVOLVEMENT IN WORLD WAR I?

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

Background Information

Although by the end of July 1914 Germany and Russia were close to war, there has been disagreement about who was to blame for Britain and France becoming involved. Some people at the time, and some historians since, have argued that Germany wanted to avoid fighting Britain and France as it did not want to fight a war of two fronts. They claim that Britain's failure to make its position clear left Germany with no choice but to attack France through Belgium. They also claim that Britain had no need to declare war on Germany once Belgium had been invaded. Others have argued that Germany had long planned to attack France through Belgium and that only Germany can be blamed for the outbreak of war between Britain and Germany.

SOURCE A

The violation of Belgian neutrality by Germany on 4 August provided a convenient justification for those in the British government who had already reluctantly decided that intervention was inevitable. They could now claim to have supported war for reasons of morality and law. Britain's entry into the war had little to do with Belgium. If Germany had not violated Belgian neutrality, Britain would have intervened in any case, believing that this was essential to preserve the balance of power and prevent German domination of Europe. On 6 August it was agreed to send the expeditionary force to France. Within a week the five great powers were at war.

Some have argued that war might have been averted if Britain had made it clear early in the crisis that she would assist Russia and France in the event of a general European war. This seems doubtful. The German military took little account of Britain's ability to contribute substantially to the fighting – their plans hinged on a quick knock-out blow of France, and they assumed this could be achieved before Britain could do much about it.

From a history book published in 2003.

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SOURCE B

It became the mission of successive German governments to prove to the world that the 'war guilt clause' in the Treaty of Versailles was unjustified. The Weimar years witnessed a concerted effort by successive governments to whitewash German policy in and before 1914. The Germans turned the historical question of the responsibility for the outbreak of war into a political issue. According to von Jagow, who had been in charge of German foreign policy in 1914, the responsibility for the war lay with the Slavs, as well as with Britain for failing to contain them, and with France which had wanted revenge for the war of 1870-71.

Former Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg found it necessary to defend himself after the war. According to his memoirs Britain had to some extent been responsible for the outbreak of war, because Britain's leaders had not made their intentions of supporting France and Belgium clear from early in the crisis. Bethmann-Hollweg claimed that Britain had not gone to war because of Germany's violation of Belgian neutrality, but because it felt morally bound to France and wanted to defend its ally.

Despite such public claims, however, in private these men sometimes admitted that their own actions had been at the root of the origins of the conflict.

From a history book published in 2002.

SOURCE C



A cartoon published in Britain on 12 August 1914. The cartoon is entitled 'Bravo, Belgium!' The boy guarding the gate represents Belgium.

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SOURCE D

Had Grey warned Germany in time of the point at which Britain would declare war the issue would have been different. I know it is said that he was hampered by the divisions in the government but there was no difference of opinion in the British government over the invasion of Belgium. He could at any stage have secured the agreement of his colleagues on that point. In the name of a united people he could have told the German government that if they put into operation their plan of marching through Belgium, they would face the active hostility of the British Empire. And he could have uttered this warning in sufficient time to leave the German military authorities without any excuse for not changing their plans.

From the 'War Memoirs' of Lloyd George, published in 1924. Lloyd George was a member of the British government in 1914 and far more reluctant than Grey to go to war. Grey was also a member of the British government and was in charge of foreign policy.

SOURCE E

There is no evidence to prove that a threatening attitude on our part would have turned Germany and Austria from the path on which they had entered. On the contrary, the evidence is all the other way. Bethmann-Hollweg has himself ridiculed the idea that Germany made a miscalculation in counting on British neutrality. 'This', he writes, 'runs counter to the facts.'

From 'The Genesis of War' by Herbert Asquith, published in 1923. He was the British Prime Minister in 1914.

SOURCE F

Turning to his Chief of Staff the Kaiser said, 'We must provisionally halt the march towards the West.' Moltke's colour, never good, changed for the worse. At this late hour the timetable of mobilisation could not be altered. In a matter of hours an army of 4 000 000 well-trained soldiers would be launched on a supreme plan: to reach Paris in 40 days! He could hardly speak for emotion: 'That we can't do! The whole army would be thrown into confusion. We should lose any chance of victory.'

Bethmann-Hollweg and Jagow were told to draft a reply to London. The Kaiser wrote out a telegram to King George V: 'If Britain guarantees the neutrality of France I will abandon all action against her.'

In the early hours of the morning the Kaiser was awakened. He read the telegram that was brought to him in which King George in London explained that Lichnowsky had got things wrong. Britain would guarantee the French neutrality only if Germany were neutral towards Russia as well as France.

The Kaiser called Moltke to the palace. 'Now you can do as you wish. March into Luxembourg.' Moltke's agony was over.

An extract from a history book published in 1964. It describes what happened on 1 August when the Kaiser was told of a telegram from Lichnowsky (the German ambassador in London) reporting that the British government had promised France would remain neutral. Bethmann-Hollweg was Chancellor in the German government. Jagow was in charge of German foreign policy.

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SOURCE G

Just for a word – 'neutrality', a word which in war-time had so often been ignored – just for a scrap of paper, Great Britain was going to make war on a kindred nation who desired nothing better than to be friends with her. What Britain had done was unthinkable; it was like striking a man down from behind whilst he was fighting for his life against two assailants. Britain must be held responsible for the terrible events that might happen.

Bethmann-Hollweg speaking to the British Ambassador in Berlin in July 1914.

SOURCE H



INJURED INNOCENCE

THE GERMAN MONSTER: 'HEAVEN KNOWS THAT I HAD TO DO THIS IN SELF-DEFENCE; IT WAS FORCED UPON ME.'
(According to the Imperial Chancellor's latest Utterance Germany is the deeply-wronged victim of British militarism).

A cartoon published in Britain in May 1916.

SOURCE I

Can you tell me, old chap, whether we are going to be in this war? If so, are we going to put an army on the Continent, and if we are, who is going to command it?

From the diary of Lord Riddell, a important British newspaper owner. This is his account of what Sir John French said to him over the telephone on 2 August 1914, just after news of the German invasion of Luxembourg. Sir John French was one of Britain's most senior generals. He became Commander-in-Chief of the British Expeditionary Force in August 1914.

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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 from the sources and your knowledge. [7]

2 Study Source C.

Why do you think this cartoon was published in August 1914? Explain your answer using details from the source and your knowledge. [7]

3 Study Sources D, E and F.

Do Sources E and F prove that prove that Lloyd George (Source D) was wrong? Explain your answer using details from the sources and your knowledge. [8]

4 Study Sources G and H.

Which of these two sources do you think is the more reliable? Explain your answer using details from the sources and your knowledge. [8]

5 Study Source I.

Are you surprised by this source? Explain your answer using details from the source and your knowledge. [8]

6 Study **all** the sources.

Do these sources provide convincing evidence that Germany was responsible for Britain's involvement in World War I? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

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Option B: 20th Century topic

HOW IMPORTANT WAS SOLIDARITY?

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

Background Information

During the late 1970s the Polish economy went into recession and people's standard of living began to decline. The Communist government reacted by putting up the price of food. Small independent trade unions began to appear and in 1980 strikes broke out all over the country. The most important of these trade unions was 'Solidarity' in the Gdansk shipyards. Its leader was Lech Walesa.

Solidarity led the opposition to the Communist government and demanded political and religious freedom. At first, in 1980, General Jaruzelski, the prime minister, held talks with Solidarity and agreed to some of their demands. However, during this period there was constant fear of a Soviet invasion and Warsaw Pact troops began to mobilise on Poland's borders. In 1981 Jaruzelski introduced martial law and put Walesa and thousands of members of Solidarity in prison. This turned Walesa into a national hero and Jaruzelski had to release him in 1982 but his freedom was still restricted and he was practically under 'house arrest'. Over the next seven years Jaruzelski gradually lost control of the country and in 1989 he had to agree to free elections which Solidarity won. In 1990 Walesa became president of Poland.

Some historians have doubted whether Solidarity was all that important and have claimed that the actions of the Soviet Union are far more important in explaining developments in Poland in the 1980s.

SOURCE A

- Official trade unions should be disbanded in favour of freely elected, independent unions
- The right to strike should be guaranteed
- The 'commercial shops' should be closed and meat prices be restored to their former subsidised levels
- A general wage rise should be paid in Gdansk
- Pensions and family allowances should be increased
- Three sacked shipyard workers should be reinstated
- A monument should be set up to remember workers killed in the 1970 riots

Some of the demands of Solidarity in August 1980.

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SOURCE B

The activities of the trade unions in Poland have not fulfilled the hopes and expectations of the workers. It has been found necessary to recognise new, self-governing, trade unions.

The government undertakes to revise the censorship laws and to permit the broadcasting of Catholic Church services on Sundays.

There will be wage increases for lower-paid workers and increased provision in housing and pensions. The question of meat sales from commercial shops is to be examined.

Extracts from the agreement issued jointly by the Polish government and Solidarity in August 1980.

SOURCE C

Our demands are intended neither to threaten the foundations of the socialist regime in our country, nor its position in international relations, and we would not support anyone who wanted to exploit the present circumstances to that end; on the contrary we would oppose them.

From a strike information bulletin published by Solidarity in August 1980.

SOURCE D

At first the Soviets gave us an ultimatum: either bring the situation under control or we will cut off supplies of oil, gas and other raw materials. I was summoned three times to the Soviet Union. On the last occasion, in September 1981, I was shown army manoeuvres all along the Polish border. The Soviet army leader, Marshal Ustinov, informed me that what was happening in Poland was intolerable. We had to convince our allies that we would not undermine the Warsaw Pact or allow the state to be undermined. The introduction of martial law allowed us to avoid military intervention.

General Jaruzelski speaking in 1995 in an interview with a Western author.

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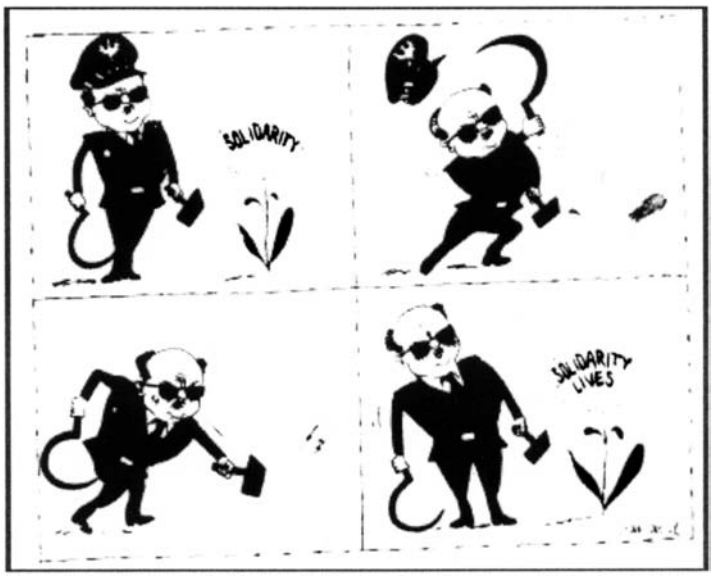
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SOURCE E



A cartoon published in an English newspaper in December 1980.
The Russian soldier is saying 'Excuse me sir - is this lady bothering you?'.

SOURCE F



A cartoon published in an English newspaper in October 1982.
The figure in the cartoon is General Jaruzelski.

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SOURCE G



A cartoon published in an English newspaper in November 1982.

SOURCE H

The time is ripe for abandoning views on foreign policy which are influenced by an imperial standpoint. Neither the Soviet Union nor the USA is able to force its will on others. It is possible to suppress, compel, bribe or blast, but only for a certain period. From the point of view of long-term politics, no-one will be able to subordinate others. That is why only one thing remains – to respect one another and everybody. All of us must realise this.

Gorbachev speaking in 1987.

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SOURCE I

'My life's work has been accomplished', Mr Gorbachev said last Thursday. Not quite. He did not set out to abolish the Soviet Union, nor the Communist Party. These events happened in spite of his resistance and because, in the long run, the entire Soviet system was heading for disaster. Mr Gorbachev's career is proof not of the impact that one man can make on history, but of how powerful historical forces sweep aside the efforts of one man to resist them.

From an English newspaper published in 1991, shortly before Gorbachev resigned.

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 does Source B show that the strikers were successful in obtaining their demands? Explain your answer using details of the sources. [6]

2 Study Sources C and D.

How far does Source C make Source D surprising? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [9]

3 Study Source E.

What is the message of this cartoon? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

4 Study Sources F and G.

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

5 Study Sources H and I.

Which of these two sources is more useful to a historian studying the significance of Gorbachev? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [7]

6 Study **all** the sources.

Do these sources provide convincing evidence that Solidarity was the main factor influencing events in Poland in the 1980s? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

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Source D 19th C Option	© David Lloyd George; *War Memoirs of David Lloyd George, Vol 1*; Odhams Press; 1938.
Source E 19th C Option	© J Harkness, H McMillan, D Moore; *Cooperation and Conflict: International Relations* ; Hodder & Stoughton; 1991.
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