Cambridge International Examinations
Cambridge International General Certificate of Secondary Education

HISTORY **0470/22**

Paper 2 **May/June 2018**

2 hours

No Additional Materials are required.

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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–p5]
Option B: 20th Century topic [p6–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 **12** printed pages and **1** Insert.

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CAMBRIDGE
International Examinations

Option A: 19th Century topic

WAS BISMARCK RESPONSIBLE FOR THE WAR WITH AUSTRIA?

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

Background Information

The question of who should lead Germany had become important by the middle of the nineteenth century. Traditionally Austria was the leader but Prussia was fast growing in power. The rivalry between Austria and Prussia increased, particularly when William I came to the Prussian throne in 1861 and Bismarck became his chief minister in 1862.

Some historians have argued that Bismarck planned the unification of Germany from the beginning. They claimed he engineered the war with Denmark in 1864, the Austro-Prussian War in June 1866 and the later war with France, to bring about a united Germany dominated by Prussia. Did he manipulate Austria and other European countries to bring about the Austro-Prussian War and thus destroy Austrian influence in Germany?

How far was Bismarck responsible for the Austro-Prussian War?

SOURCE A

Bismarck became aware of Austria's hostility to Prussia and he formed the conclusion that a struggle between Austria and Prussia was inevitable. For that struggle he steadily prepared.

In 1863 Austria still seemed the stronger and those wanting a united Germany looked to it for leadership. In that year the position of the Danish duchies was raised by the death of the King of Denmark. This was the foreign crisis that Bismarck had been waiting for. The enormous skill with which he used this problem for his purpose of resolving the rivalry between Prussia and Austria laid the foundation for his later success against Austria.

Austria played into Bismarck's hands by joining Germany in rejecting the Diet's attempts to make Frederick of Augustenburg Duke of the duchies. Bismarck persuaded Austria that to give the Diet a free hand was to open the floodgates of German democracy. Fighting in the duchies ended in victory for Austria and Germany but Bismarck's most difficult step was yet to come. How was he to evict Austria and obtain the duchies for Prussia?

In April 1866 Italy agreed to declare war on Austria if war broke out between Prussia and Austria within three months. Bismarck now had three months in which to provoke war. Bismarck complained that Austria was encouraging the claims of the Augustenburgs in Holstein and despatched Prussian troops. When the German Diet agreed to mobilise against Prussia, Bismarck declared war on members of the Bund including Austria. In the peace that followed Austrian defeat, Austria ceased to form part of Germany. The unification of Germany had begun. All Bismarck needed to complete it was a successful war with France.

From a history book published in 1915.

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SOURCE B

Bismarck's real aim was to preserve Prussia as a great power and therefore above all to reorder Prussia's relations with Austria and with Germany. Bismarck always liked to show that he had intended to do whatever he actually did. In later life he claimed that he had always intended to fight Austria and unify Germany. In reality, Bismarck's greatness lay not in controlling events but in going with events so as to seem to control them. He had no defined plan when he became Minister-President in 1862. He followed two contradictory aims: the policy he liked of winning Austria back to the conservative alliance, and the policy which he disliked of seizing the leadership of Germany and bringing Austria to her senses by defeat.

By 1863 everybody in Germany, including those who hoped for a united Germany, but excepting the Prussian officer corps, looked to Austria for leadership. The issue that was to change this was that of Schleswig and Holstein. Austria acted foolishly by helping conquer the Duchies for Prussia. However, afterwards Bismarck offered an alliance to Austria. His offer that Austria should give up its rights in the Duchies in exchange for Prussian help in the reconquest of Lombardy was sincere. There were times in the crisis of 1865–1866 when it looked as if Austria was happy to provoke a war with Prussia. Austria's request to the German Diet to intervene in the conflict broke the Treaty of Gastein (which said that all matters to do with the Duchies should be dealt with by Austria and Prussia only) and led to the outbreak of war. Although nearly all Germany was on the Austrian side, the war lasted just three weeks and the result was that Austria withdrew from German affairs. Germany had been conquered not united.

From a history book published in 1935.

SOURCE C

Germany is clearly too small for both Prussia and Austria. As long as an honourable arrangement concerning the influence of each in Germany cannot be concluded and carried out, we will both plough the same disputed acre, and Austria will remain the only state to whom we can permanently lose, or from whom we can permanently gain. In the not too distant future, we shall have to fight for our existence against Austria. It is not within our power to avoid that, since the course of events in Germany has no other solution.

A letter from Bismarck to a leading military adviser of the Prussian King, 1856. At the time Bismarck was the Prussian representative at the German Diet.

SOURCE D

A true German policy is only possible when Austria and Prussia are united and take the lead. We consider combination, such as the joint action in waging war which is our immediate political purpose, as the foundation of an enduring unity. If Prussia and Austria are not united, politically Germany does not exist. If we hesitate, the collapse of Germany will be brought about by a few unarmed small states whose whole significance consists in the misdirected courage of their Parliaments and newspapers.

A letter from Bismarck to the Prussian Ambassador in Austria, August 1864.

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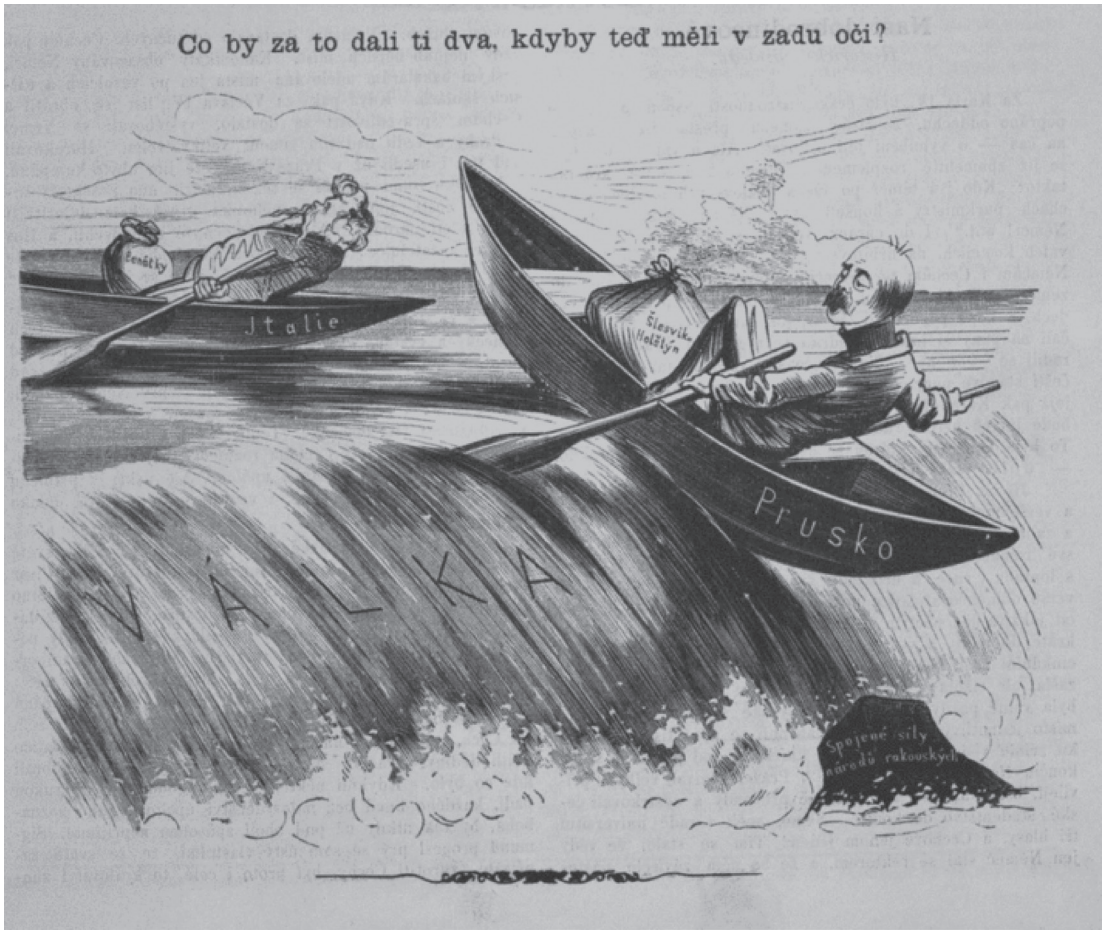
SOURCE E

Bismarck: The attitude of the Austrian government has an increasing tendency to let the small states look upon Austria as a protection against Prussia. The more influence this has on Austria's policy, the nearer we are brought to the old problems in which Austria and Prussia were involved for more than ten years, to the injury of both. We shall only succeed if we keep to a common policy.

Rechberg: A sincere and loyal recognition of Austria's oneness with Germany is one of those essential conditions without which Austria cannot feel at home in the Prussian alliance. Austria must persist in its claim to join the Zollverein because Austria is a German power, and cannot allow a German institution to be closed to her.

An exchange of letters between Bismarck and Count von Rechberg on 8 and 17 September 1865. Rechberg was the Austrian Foreign Minister.

SOURCE F



An Austrian cartoon published in May 1866. The words at the top say 'What would these two give for having eyes in their backs?' The boat on the right represents Prussia carrying Schleswig-Holstein. The other boat represents Italy carrying Venice. 'Valka' means 'War'. The stone in the bottom right represents 'the united forces of Austrian nations'.

SOURCE G

To My People!

At this instant Prussia's army is advancing to a decisive conflict. The country is in danger. Austria and a great part of Germany are armed against us. Some years ago I extended to the Emperor of Austria the hand of friendship. This I hoped would bring that co-operation which should lead to the domestic welfare of Germany and the increase of its prestige among nations. But this hope has been disappointed. Austria will not forget that its princes once ruled over Germany. In the more youthful but powerfully developing Prussia she refuses to see a natural ally, but sees only a hostile rival. Prussia – so Austria reasons – must be opposed on every occasion. Prussia shall be weakened, destroyed, dishonoured. With Prussia no treaties are to be observed; the confederated princes have been roused against Prussia. But who can rob us of a single foot of Prussian soil if king and people are united?

A public proclamation issued by William I on 18 June 1866.

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. [8]

2 Study Sources C and D.

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

3 Study Source E.

How useful is this exchange of letters to historians studying the Austro-Prussian War? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [6]

4 Study Source F.

What is the cartoonist's message? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

5 Study Source G.

Why did King William issue this proclamation in June 1866? 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 was responsible for the Austro-Prussian War? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

Option B: 20th Century topic

WHY DID THE LEAGUE FAIL OVER MANCHURIA?

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

Background Information

Manchuria was a lawless part of China where Japan had certain rights and interests. It was permitted, for example, to guard its railway which ran into Manchuria. By 1931 Japan was suffering badly from the depression and Manchuria seemed to promise a source of food and raw materials, and land for the surplus Japanese population.

In September 1931, following an incident along the railway line, Japan invaded a small part of Manchuria. China appealed to the League of Nations but it was slow to act and by March 1932 Japan had taken over the whole of Manchuria and named it Manchukuo. The League's Lytton Report, published in October 1932, stated that the Japanese invasion was not justified. However, it was too late. Japan rejected the report, left the League and kept Manchuria.

Who was mainly responsible for the failure of the League over Manchuria? Was it the Great Powers such as Britain, France, the USA and the USSR? Was it Japan? Or was the League itself to blame?

SOURCE A

The League of Nations was intensely Eurocentric in its concerns, and for most of its predominantly European membership Manchuria was very far away indeed. Of the three major outside powers involved in the China-Japan dispute, only Britain was a member of the League and the United States and Soviet Union both viewed the Geneva system with suspicion. The Dutch and the French were sympathetic towards the Japanese. The Dutch found a stable Japan a far more attractive prospect than a nationalist and revolutionary China. The French, too, kept a low profile in Geneva. They saw Japan as a source of stability in the region.

Because none of the permanent members of the Council favoured intervention in what was a remote dispute which the League was ill-prepared to handle, the great-power delegates used their influence to restrict the scope of the League's involvement and to avoid the application of sanctions. It would be the smaller nations at Geneva which would make the defence of China a test of the League's prestige and authority.

It was Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union, and not the League, that would determine the international response to the Japanese assault on Manchuria. Though they did not work together, their policies were basically the same. None of them thought it to be in its national interest to challenge Japan. The British government even believed that Japan had a strong case in Manchuria.

From a history book published in 2007.

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SOURCE B

It is sometimes said that what happened in Manchuria was thousands of miles away so Europe did not concern itself overmuch. This is not supported by records from the time. At Geneva there was immediate recognition that this was a test of the League's authority.

When trouble erupted at Mukden there was a sense of shock due to the fact that in the previous decade Japan had been a conscientious and often valuable member of the League. At first there was no assumption in the League of Japanese guilt. The Council was ready to give Japan time to sort things out and for the Japanese to deal directly with the Chinese. The Americans dragged their feet and made no secret of their view that the Council should stand aside while the two powers in dispute tried to come to an agreement between themselves. Britain's line was one of conciliation and an avoidance of threats. It regarded Japan as a longstanding friend who was supporting capitalism in the Far East and believed that Japan had real grievances against China. The French were also anxious to avoid sanctions against Japan.

The statesmen at Geneva knew that the League was on trial, and that, after Manchuria, the world's expectations of the League, and particularly those of the smaller powers, had been dangerously reduced. What mattered for the future of the League was that Japan had committed blatant aggression and the League had failed to do anything.

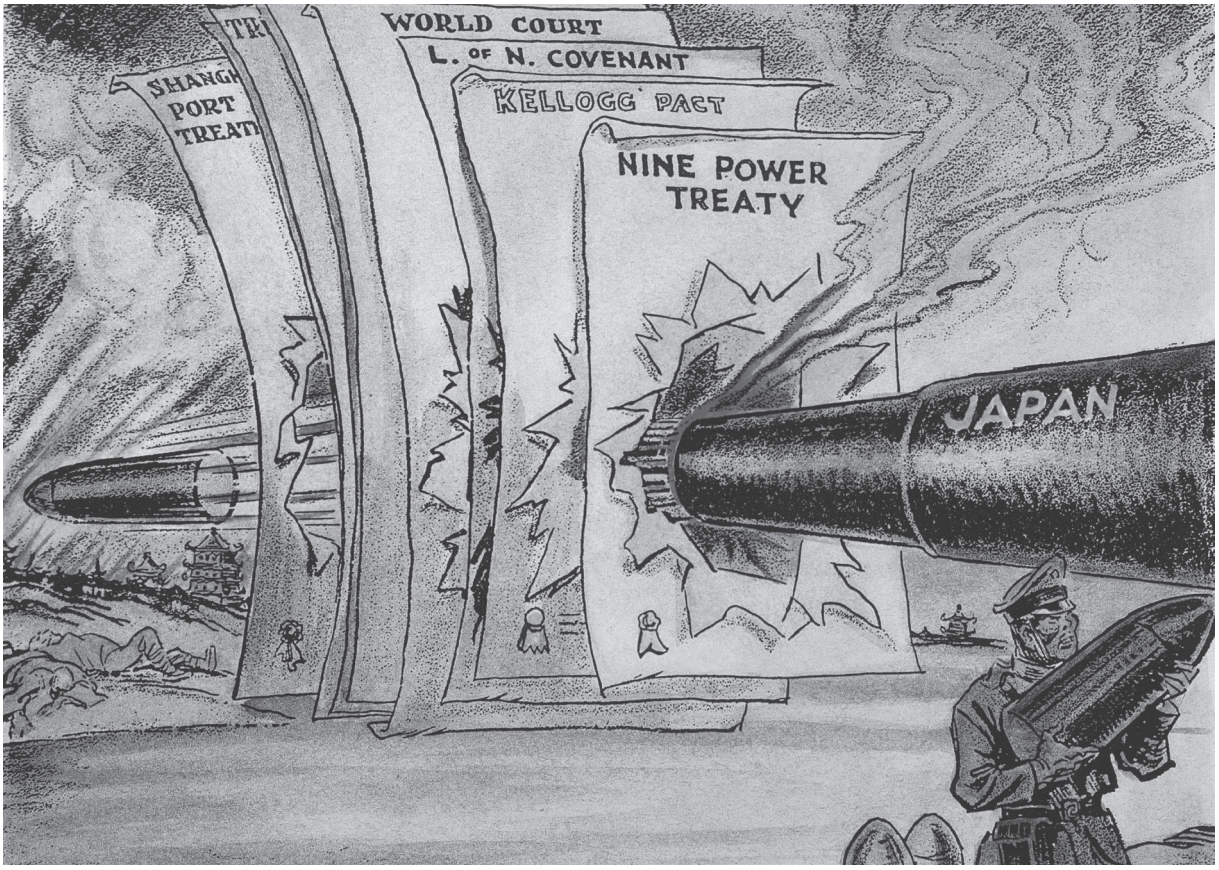
From a history book published in 1973.

SOURCE C

The League of Nations should be upheld. The Cabinet recognised, however, that the sanctions provided for in Article 16 of the League's Covenant were not suitable and could not in practice be applied in the present case. In the interests of the League itself, therefore, every effort must be made to avoid the Chinese appeal being shifted from a summoning of the Council to a request for sanctions or military action. If necessary, it must be impressed on the Chinese delegate that he must assist the League and not throw the responsibility on the other members of the Council.

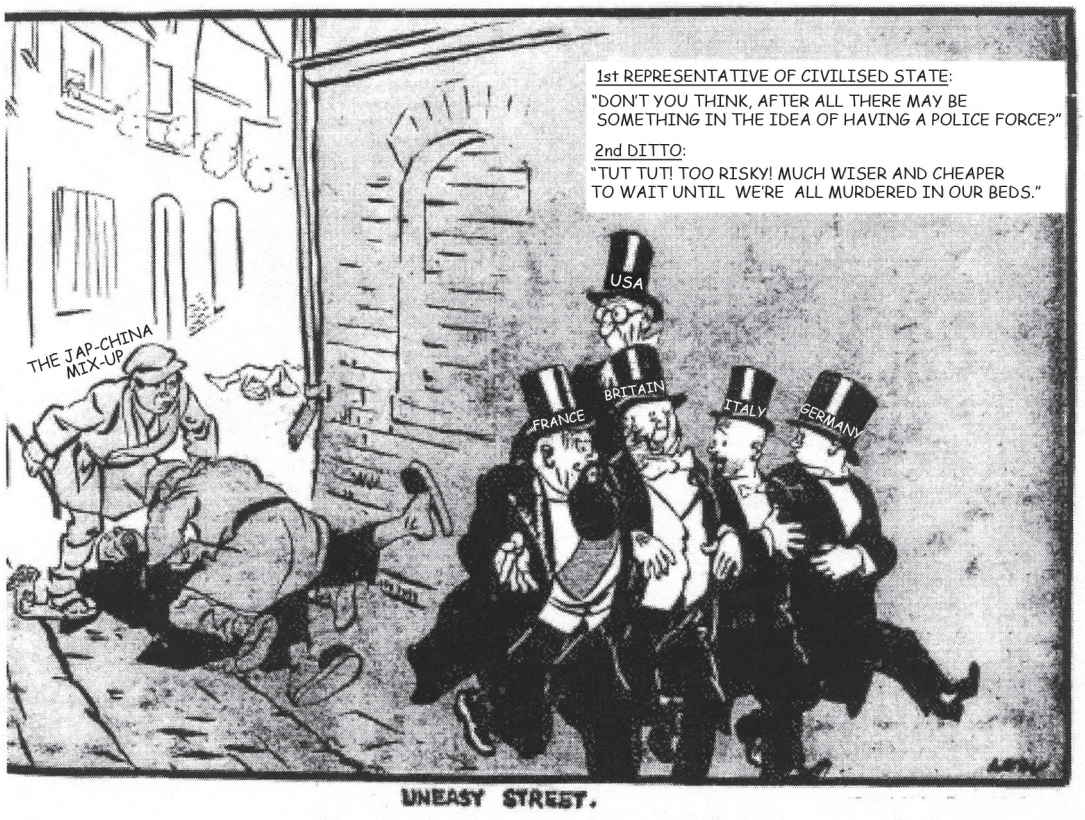
The official minutes of a meeting of the British government, November 1931.

SOURCE D



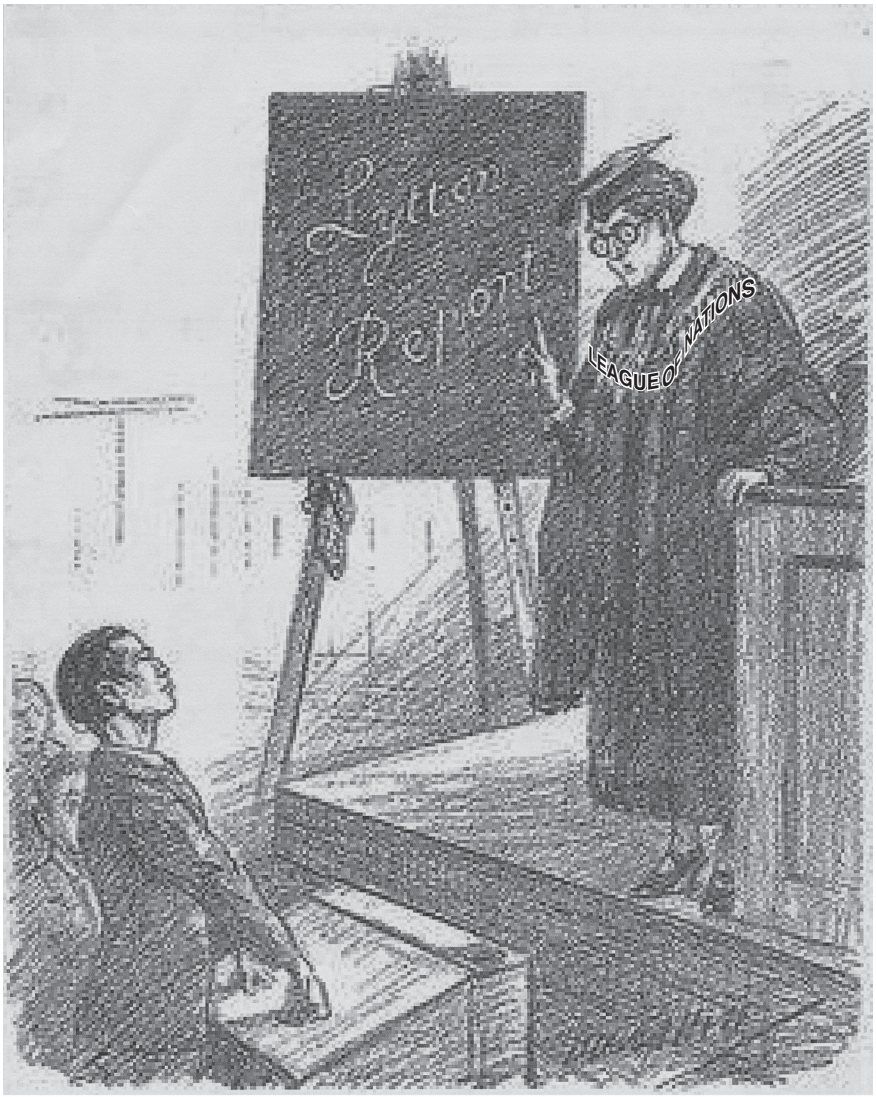
An American cartoon published in 1931. The Nine-Power Treaty of 1922 recognised the territorial integrity of China.

SOURCE E



A British cartoon published in January 1933. The figures dressed in suits represent France, the USA, Britain, Italy and Germany.

SOURCE F



THE ULTIMATUM.

Japan. "IF YOU GO ON SAYING I'M NAUGHTY, I SHALL LEAVE THE CLASS."

A British cartoon published in December 1932.

SOURCE G

The Japanese Government believes that the national policy of Japan is identical with the mission of the League of Nations, which is to achieve international peace and security. It has always been with pleasure that this country has for thirteen years been an enthusiastic member of its Council.

The League should have acquired a complete grasp of the actual conditions in China. It is not an organised state and its internal conditions and external relations are extremely confused and complex. However, the majority of the members of the League have failed to grasp these realities. The Lytton Report contained gross errors in asserting that the action of Japan did not fall into the just limits of self-defence. By refusing to acknowledge the actual circumstances that led to the formation of Manchukuo, the League cuts away the ground for stabilising the situation in Manchuria and China. The Japanese Government hereby gives notice of the intentions of Japan to withdraw from the League of Nations.

A telegram from the Japanese government to the Secretary General of the League of Nations, March 1933.

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.

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

3 Study Sources D and E.

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

4 Study Source F.

What is the message of this cartoon? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [7]

5 Study Source G.

Why did the Japanese government send this telegram in March 1933? 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 Great Powers (other than Japan) were mainly responsible for the failure of the League over Manchuria? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

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