



UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL EXAMINATIONS
International General Certificate of Secondary Education

HISTORY

0470/02

Paper 2

May/June 2008

2 hours

Additional Materials: Answer Booklet/Paper



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 then answer **all** of the questions on that topic.

Option A: 19th Century topic [p2–p6]

Option B: 20th Century topic [p7–p12]

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 **12** printed pages.



Option A: 19th Century topic

WAS GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY AGGRESSIVE OR DEFENSIVE?

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

Background Information

In the years leading up to the First World War Germany often expressed two concerns. The first was the fear of being encircled as the result of the Entente Cordiale of 1904 and the Triple Entente of 1907; the second was the fact that Germany was alone amongst the great powers in not having a major overseas empire – Germany wanted its ‘place in the sun’. The Moroccan Crises of 1905–6 and 1911 involved both of these issues, with Germany trying to disrupt international alliances and attempting to maintain an influence in Morocco.

In the years leading up to the First World War Germany claimed that it was merely responding to these two concerns and that it was acting defensively. However, other countries claimed that German foreign policy was aggressive and threatened peace in Europe. To support their views they pointed to extreme organisations in Germany like the Pan-German League that preached hatred of France, Britain and Russia and supported an aggressive policy of overseas expansion. Was German foreign policy as aggressive as they suggested?

SOURCE A

In the nineteenth century, England has increased its colonial empire – the largest the world has seen since the days of the Romans – further and further; the French have put down roots in North Africa and East Africa and created for themselves a new empire in the Far East; Russia has begun its mighty course of victory in Asia. The Sino-Japanese War has put things further in motion; it has led to great, momentous, far-reaching decisions, shaken old empires, and added new and serious upheaval. The English prime minister has said that the strong states were getting stronger and stronger and the weak ones weaker and weaker. We don't want to step on the toes of any foreign power, but at the same time we don't want our own feet trod on by any foreign power (*Bravo!*) and we don't intend to be pushed aside by any foreign power, not in political nor in economic terms. (*Lively applause.*) To stand dreamily to one side while other people split up the pie, we cannot and we will not do that. (*Applause.*) We cannot for the simple reason that we now have interests in all parts of the world. If the English speak of a ‘Greater Britain’; if the French speak of a ‘Nouvelle France’; if the Russians open up Asia; then we, too, have the right to a greater Germany (*Bravo! from the right, laughter from the left*), not in the sense of conquest, but indeed in the sense of peaceful extension of our trade. But we'll only be able to keep ourselves in front with power, a strong army and a strong fleet. (*Very true! from the right; objections from the left.*) In the coming century the German people will be the victors or the defeated.

Bernhard von Bülow in a speech to the Reichstag on 11 December 1899. Bülow was a member of the German government and was in charge of foreign policy. The text in italics reports the reactions of the audience.

SOURCE B

Morocco is a German concern owing to our increasing population and need of naval bases. If Germany does not make her claims, she will retire empty-handed from the partition of the world. Are the German people to get nothing? The time has come when Germany must secure Morocco.

From a German newspaper in 1904.

SOURCE C

It is an insult to the German Empire to have been overlooked in the talks between Britain and France on the future of Morocco. Germany has been treated as a third-rate power.

The reaction of the Pan-German League in 1904 to the Entente Cordiale.

SOURCE D

Before the ring of other Great Powers tightens around us, we must attempt with all our energies and with the utmost determination to break the ring. This is why the Kaiser visited Morocco.

A German Government official speaking to a friend shortly after the Kaiser's visit to Morocco in 1905.

SOURCE E

31 March, 1905

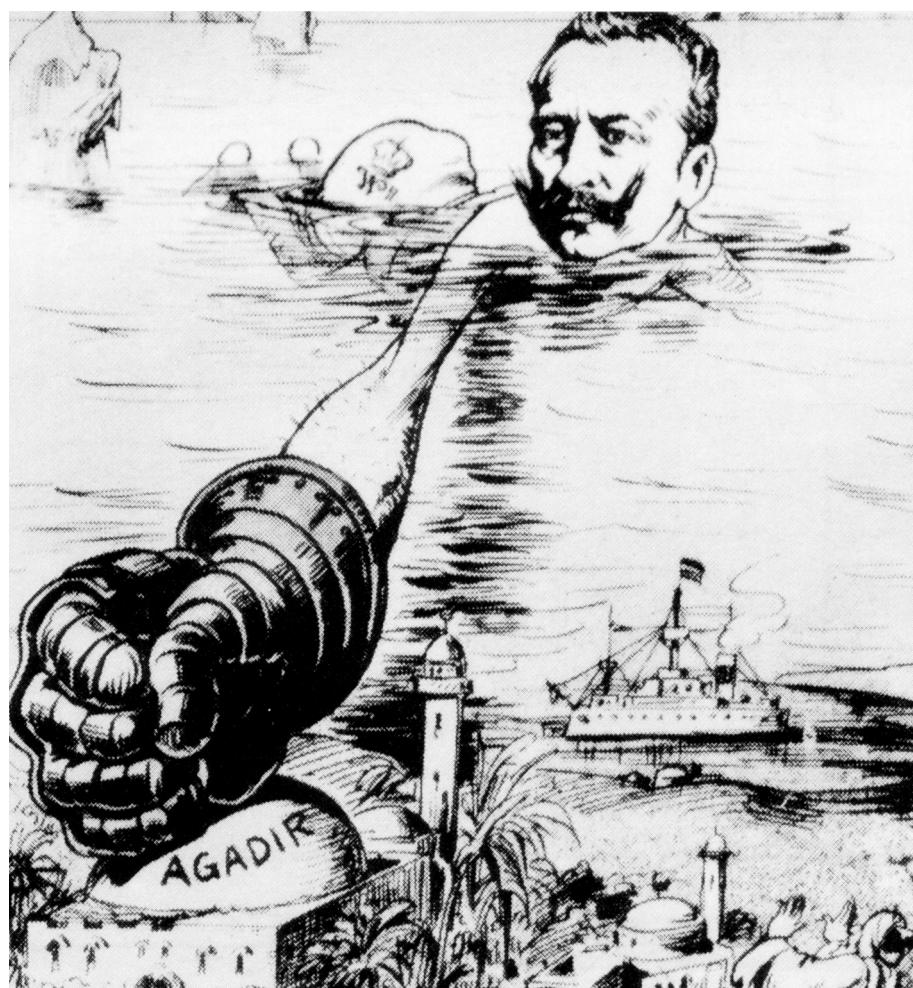
There was a grand reception for His Majesty by Moroccan officials and the German colony. Then a ride through the gaily decorated streets amid the indescribable joy of the natives and the European population. In the Embassy there was a reception of Germans, the diplomatic corps, and the Sultan's envoy.

In conversing with the French agent in Morocco, the Kaiser said that his visit meant that His Majesty wanted free trade for Germany and complete equality of rights with other countries. His Majesty said that he would like to work directly with the Sultan, the free ruler of an independent country, as an equal; that he himself would be able to make his just claims valid, and that he expected that these claims would also be recognized by France. The French agent became pale. He was about to respond, but was abruptly dismissed. He withdrew with his head down.

His Majesty remarked that he looked upon the Sultan as the ruler of a free and independent empire subject to no foreign control; that he expected Germany to have advantages equal to those of other countries in trade and commerce; and that he himself would always negotiate directly with the Sultan.

On the whole the brief visit of His Majesty came off splendidly without any unfortunate event. His Majesty was highly satisfied with the visit, especially with the confidential message of the Sultan, brought to His Majesty, that he would introduce no reforms without a previous understanding with the German Government.

From a report by a German official to the German Foreign Office describing Kaiser Wilhelm's visit to Morocco in March 1905.

SOURCE F

A cartoon about the Second Moroccan Crisis, published in 1911.

SOURCE G

A cartoon about the Second Moroccan Crisis published in August 1911. The figure representing Germany is saying 'Oh No! It's rock. I thought it was going to be paper.'

SOURCE H

If a situation were to be forced upon us in which peace could only be preserved by the surrender of the great position Britain has won by centuries of heroism and achievement, by allowing herself to be treated, where her interests were vitally affected, as if she were of no importance, then I say strongly that peace at that price would be a humiliation intolerable for a great country like ours to endure.

Lloyd George, a member of the British Government, making a public speech in reaction to Germany sending the 'Panther' to Morocco, July 1911.

SOURCE I

Now we know where our enemy stands. Like a flash of lightning in the night, these events have shown the German people where the enemy is. The German people now knows its enemy when it seeks its place in the sun, when it seeks the place allotted to it by destiny. When the time comes we are prepared for sacrifices, both of blood and of resources.

From a speech by Heydebrand, the Conservative leader, in the Reichstag. He was responding to Lloyd George's speech.

SOURCE J

I am thoroughly fed up with this wretched Morocco affair. If once again we crawl out of this affair with our tail between our legs, if we cannot pluck up the courage to take a tough line which we are prepared to enforce with the sword, then I despair of the future of the German empire. Then I shall resign.

Helmuth von Moltke, head of the German army, writing to his wife during the Second Moroccan Crisis.

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 own knowledge of the topic to help you interpret and evaluate the sources.

- 1 Study Source A.

How useful is this source as evidence of German attitudes at the end of the nineteenth century? Explain your answer using the source and your knowledge. [7]

- 2 Study Sources, B, C and D.

How far do these sources agree about German intervention in Morocco? Explain your answer using the sources and your knowledge. [6]

- 3 Study Source E.

How reliable is this source about the Kaiser's visit to Morocco? Explain your answer using the source and your knowledge. [8]

- 4 Study Sources F and G.

Both of these cartoons are about the Second Moroccan Crisis. Which one is British and which is German? Explain your answer using the sources and your knowledge. [9]

- 5 Study Sources H, I and J.

Are you surprised by the reactions in Sources I and J? Explain your answer using the sources and your knowledge. [8]

- 6 Study **all** the sources.

Some historians have claimed that German foreign policy in the early twentieth century was aggressive, while others have claimed it was merely defending German interests. Which of these two views is better supported by these sources? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

Option B: 20th Century topic

DID EVERYONE FAIL TO UNDERSTAND THAT HITLER WAS A SERIOUS THREAT?

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

Background Information

Soon after Hitler came to power he started to build up Germany's armed forces. In 1935 he introduced conscription to the army. Both measures broke the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. The Treaty had also de-militarised the Rhineland, but in 1936 Hitler sent in his troops. He did this shortly after Russia and France reached an agreement to protect each other if they were attacked. Hitler claimed that Germany was under threat and should be able to defend itself.

The fact that no country opposed the re-militarisation of the Rhineland gave Hitler confidence to go further. The Anschluss with Austria and the invasion of Czechoslovakia followed. Did no one see that Hitler was a serious threat?

SOURCE A

Well now, you may take it from me that the news from Germany is the very best news that we have had since the war. Ever since 1918 we, like all the other powers, have been behaving just as badly as we possibly could. Well now, when Germany was defeated, they went and sat on Germany's head and they kept sitting on Germany's head although it was quite clear to any sensible person, that they couldn't go on like that forever. Then there came a very intelligent gentleman named Adolf Hitler and he, knowing perfectly well that the powers would not fight, snapped his fingers at the Treaty of Versailles. Just exactly as we would if we had been in the same position. There can be no peace in the world until there is peace between England, France, Germany, Russia and the United States and all the big powers of the West. Now take that home and think about it and don't be frightened any more about the Germans.

From a newsreel shown in cinemas all over Britain in 1935. It is commenting on Hitler's rearmament of Germany.

SOURCE B

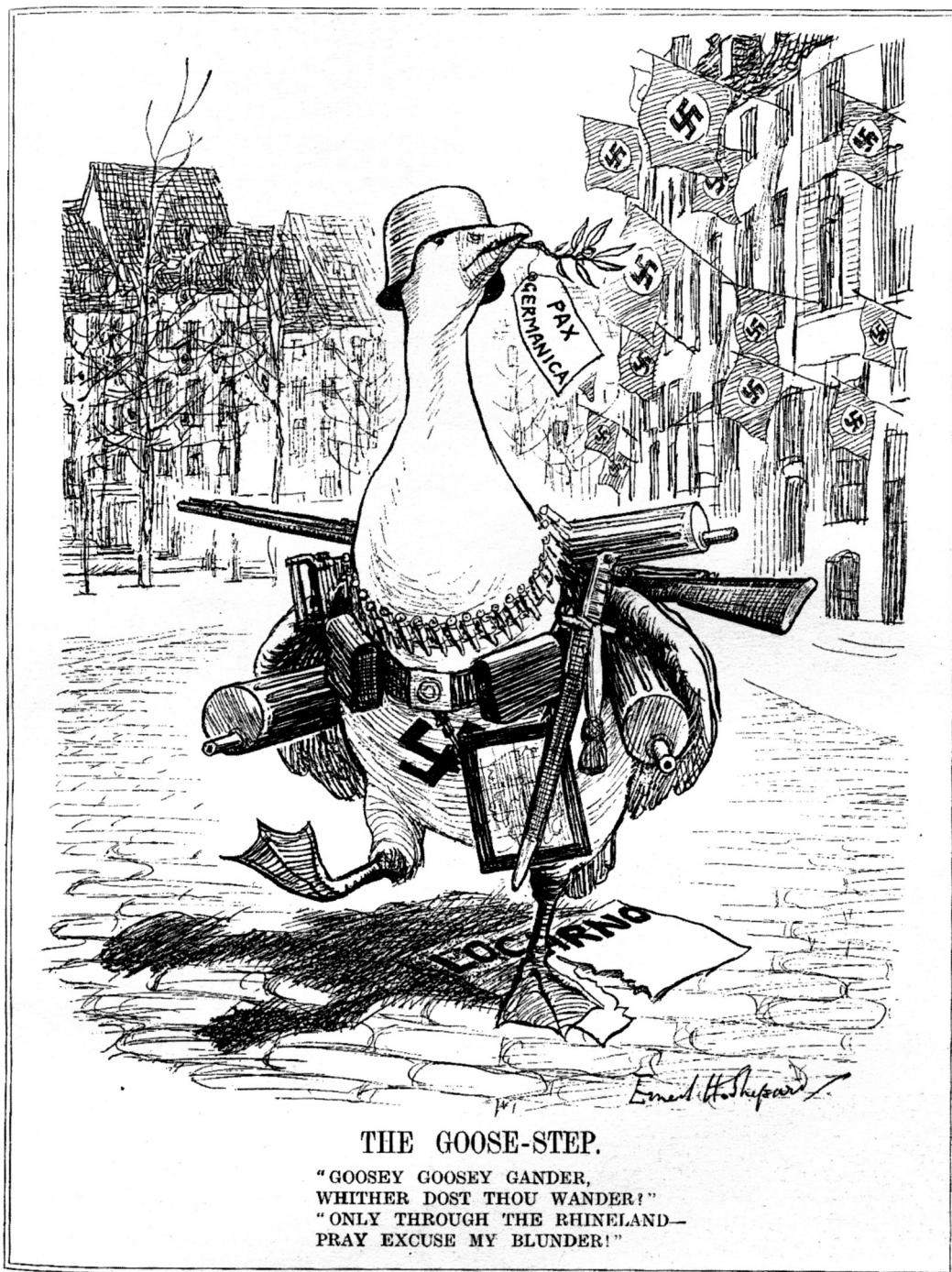
When I think of those four terrible years, and I think of the 7 million young men who were cut off in their prime, the 13 million who were maimed and mutilated, the misery and suffering of the mothers and the fathers, and the sons and daughters, of those who were killed, then I have to say again what I have said before, and what I say now, not only to you, but to all the world – in war, whichever side may call itself victor, there are no winners, but all are losers. It is those thoughts which have made me feel that it is my first duty to strain every nerve to avoid a repetition of the Great World War in Europe.

Neville Chamberlain, British Prime Minister, speaking to members of his own party in 1938.

SOURCE C

Up to now we have succeeded in leaving the enemy in the dark concerning Germany's real goals. They could have suppressed us but they let us through the danger zone. In 1933 a French prime minister ought to have said (and if I had been the French prime minister I would have said it): 'The new Reich Chancellor is the man who wrote Mein Kampf, which says this and that. This man cannot be tolerated. Either he disappears or we march!' But they didn't do it. They left us alone and let us slip through the danger zone. And when we were done, and well armed, better than they, then they started the war!

Goebbels talking to German journalists in April 1940. Goebbels was a member of Hitler's government, responsible for propaganda.

SOURCE D

A cartoon published in Britain in 1936.

SOURCE E

The forty-eight hours after the march into the Rhineland were the most nerve-racking in my life. If the French had then marched into the Rhineland, we would have had to withdraw with our tails between our legs, for the military resources at our disposal would have been wholly inadequate for even a moderate resistance.

What would have happened in March 1936 if anyone other than myself had been in charge of Germany! Anyone else would have lost his nerve. I had to lie. We were saved by my unshakeable obstinacy and my remarkable daring. I threatened, unless the situation ceased in twenty-four hours, to send in six extra divisions into the Rhineland. In fact, I only had four brigades.

Hitler talking to his interpreter after the Rhineland crisis of March 1936.

SOURCE F

Berlin. 8 March 1936.

Hitler has got away with it! France is not marching. Instead it is appealing to the League! No wonder the faces of Hitler and Goering and Blomberg and Fritsch [top German commanders] were all smiles this noon. Oh, the stupidity of the French! I learned today on absolute authority that the German troops had strict orders to beat a hasty retreat if the French army opposed them in any way. They were not prepared or equipped to fight a regular army. Apparently Fritsch and most of the generals opposed the move.

An extract from the diary of an American journalist working in Berlin.

SOURCE G

The greatest danger and the one which threatens to destroy Europe is not facing the facts with respect to Germany and Italy. The facts with respect to Germany are known but they have not been consistently faced. In some countries there has been an effort through control of the press to keep the facts from the people and Europe is now hampered in facing facts through an unprepared public opinion.

The fundamental fact is that the regime in Germany is based on a program of ruthless force. This program has for its aim to use the force of its 67 million people for the extension of German political and economic control over South-Eastern Europe – thus putting it in a position to dominate Europe completely. From this position Germany will be able to dictate its policies to the rest of the world. Fantastic as this may seem, it has been and is the programme of Hitler's Germany.

A report from the United States' ambassador in Austria to his government, March 1936.

SOURCE H

A Soviet cartoon published in 1936. It shows the western countries with Hitler.

SOURCE I

An American cartoon published in March 1936.

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 own 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 the sources.

[7]

2 Study Sources B and C.

How far does Source C make Chamberlain's attitude in Source B surprising? Explain your answer using the sources and your knowledge.

[7]

3 Study Source D.

Why did the cartoonist draw this cartoon? Explain your answer using the source and your knowledge.

[7]

4 Study Sources E, F and G.

How far do Sources E and F prove that Source G was wrong? Explain your answer using the sources and your knowledge.

[9]

5 Study Sources H and I.

How similar are the views of these two cartoonists about the international situation in 1936? Explain your answer using the sources and your knowledge.

[8]

6 Study **all** the sources.

How far do these sources support the view that no one understood how dangerous Hitler was to international peace and stability? Use the sources to explain your answer.

[12]

Copyright Acknowledgements:

Option A Source F	© Harry Mills; <i>The Road to Sarajevo</i> ; Macmillan Publishers; 1996.
Option A Source G	© Reproduced with the permission of Punch, Ltd. www.punch.co.uk
Option B Source D	© The Estate of E.H. Shepard.
Option B Source H	© David King Collection.
Option B Source I	© Reproduced with the permission of Punch, Ltd. www.punch.co.uk

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.

University of 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.