

HISTORY

0470/23

Paper 2

October/November 2015

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

Option A: 19th Century topic [p2–p7]

Option B: 20th Century topic [p8–p14]

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

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

This document consists of **14** printed pages, **2** blank pages and **1** insert.

Option A: 19th Century topic**WAS GERMAN UNIFICATION ACHIEVED BY FORCE OR BY DIPLOMACY?**

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

Background Information

German unification has often been seen as the result of Bismarck's clever diplomacy. It is claimed he outmanoeuvred country after country, pulling off one masterstroke after another. Other historians have seen Bismarck as a lover of war and as someone who achieved what he wanted on the battlefield and through the deaths of thousands of soldiers. Bismarck's memoirs, written in the 1890s, give the picture of a master planner who plotted German unification from 1862 and achieved it through a clever use of both diplomacy and war.

Which was more important in bringing about the unification of Germany: diplomacy or war?

SOURCE A

Three wars, 1864, 1866 and 1870–71, played a vital part in the unification of Germany. One of Bismarck's first acts after coming to power in 1862 was to increase taxes to pay for an enlarged, re-equipped and reorganised Prussian army. This made Bismarck confident that by 1866 Prussia would be strong enough to challenge Austria. He set the diplomatic stage for that challenge, as well as trying out his new army, by his skilful manipulation of the dispute between Germany and Denmark.

The settlement of the issue over the Duchies allowed Bismarck to pick a quarrel with Austria whenever he chose. There is no doubt that Bismarck, backed by Moltke in charge of the Prussian army, wanted and planned for war against Austria. Bismarck regarded war with Austria as indispensable. The Duchies were only a pretext for war. The war achieved what he wanted. The excellent organisation of the Prussian army and the new needle gun, with which it was equipped, combined perfectly to serve diplomatic and political aims. The Austro-Prussian War was a landmark.

After the defeat of Austria, Bismarck was busy with his next set of diplomatic manoeuvres. He signed treaties, leaving France without allies. The dispute over the Hohenzollern candidature for the Spanish throne was again merely a pretext for a war that was crucial to Bismarck's ambitions for a united Germany.

The Prussian army moved smoothly into action towards Paris. By 2 September 1870 France seemed to have been completely defeated but a republic was proclaimed in Paris and the new government refused to make peace and fought on until January. War had achieved Bismarck's ambitions.

From a history book published in 1957.

SOURCE B

Bismarck's skill lay in his manoeuvring for the position from which he might effect the transference of power in Germany from Vienna to Berlin. In the joint occupation of the Duchies he had an excellent position in which to pick a quarrel with Austria. The Treaty of Gastein, by dividing the Duchies between Austria and Prussia, gave the impression that Austria was Bismarck's accomplice in destroying the cause of Frederick of Augustenburg. Bismarck completed his plans with an agreement from France to stay neutral in the events of an Austro-Prussian war and a secret military alliance with Italy. He was able to draw Austria into what Prussia could claim was a defensive war because Prussia could mobilise more quickly and so Austria had to take the apparently aggressive step of mobilising before Prussia.

Bismarck's future was then in the hands of the Prussian generals. At Sadowa the Austrians suffered a staggering defeat. Yet this victory was not complete. It was Bismarck's statesmanship that ensured that Sadowa alone should be the decisive battle. All he wanted from Austria was freedom of action for Prussia in north Germany. He said, 'We need Austria's strength in future for ourselves' and concluded a quick peace where Austria had no territorial losses.

Bismarck's diplomatic successes after 1866 were even greater. He quietly fostered the Hohenzollern candidature so that he could use the issue to provoke a war with France, after which France would be unable to prevent the incorporation of the south German states within Germany. Bismarck's editing and publishing of the Ems Telegram worked public opinion in France and Germany up to fever pitch, culminating in a French declaration of war on 19 July 1870. Bismarck's diplomacy meant that France, like Bismarck's earlier opponents, must fight this war without allies. His diplomacy was aided by the immediate success of the Prussian army. The Prussian armies swept into France and surrender came on 1 September. Early in the war, fear of a French invasion had caused the south German states to turn to Prussia and popular opinion swung round in favour of their inclusion within the victorious German Confederation. What Bismarck's diplomacy had achieved was astounding. He ranks among the greatest heroes of German history.

From a history book published in 1964.

SOURCE C

Germany does not look to Prussia's liberalism, but to its power. Bavaria, Württemberg and Baden can indulge in liberalism, but no one will expect them to undertake Prussia's role. Prussia must build and preserve her strength for the advantageous moment, which has already come and gone many times. The great questions of the day will not be settled by speeches and majority decisions – that was the great mistake of 1848 and 1849 – but by blood and iron.

From a speech Bismarck made to a committee of the Prussian Parliament ten days after coming to power in 1862.

SOURCE D



THE PIG-HEADED GHOUL,

(Dedicated with every feeling of disgust to that enlightened Monarch, King W^L*^M OF Pz*^A.)*

A cartoon published in Britain at the time of the Schleswig-Holstein War. A 'ghoul' is a monster who eats human flesh. The servant is saying 'Please Your Majesty: LUNCH just Arrived From Dybbol.' The siege of Dybbol commenced in April 1864 during the war.

SOURCE E



An American cartoon, August 1866.

SOURCE F

Never, probably, has a war been caused so shamelessly as the one that Bismarck is currently trying to start against Austria. My innermost feelings are revolted by this violation of every moral principle. I am no friend of Austria and I am devoted to the idea of Prussian influence in north Germany, even though I have little sympathy for the present political situation in Prussia. But I would rather cut off my hand than use it in such a disgusting operation as Prussian policy is now launching against Austria. Austria is supposed to be mobilising against Prussia! Any child knows that the opposite is the case. Everyone agrees on the crying injustice that is being done to Austria and yet we have no choice. We must come down on the side of the unjust cause, because we cannot tolerate the possibility of Austria gaining the upper hand in Germany. The free development of Germany would be incompatible with Austrian supremacy. Nobody here is comfortable with the idea that the war will have the result we desire – the dominance of Prussia.

A letter from a Prussian liberal and nationalist to a friend, May 1866.

SOURCE G

When the King heard that the Hohenzollern candidature was being further discussed he said that it was 'very extraordinary that this sort of thing was going on without his authorisation'. He wanted to be informed 'of everything before any action is taken'.

From a report by Thile to Bismarck, 19 June 1870. Thile's report was about King William's reaction to Bismarck's letter recommending support for the Hohenzollern candidature for the Spanish Crown. Thile was an important official in the Foreign Ministry.

SOURCE H

That beats everything! So his Majesty wants the affair treated with official royal interference? The whole affair is only possible if it remains the limited concern of the Hohenzollern princes. It must not turn into a Prussian concern, the King must be able to say without lying: 'I know nothing about it.'

Bismarck's comments when he received Thile's report (Source G), June 1870.

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 did Bismarck make this speech at that time? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [7]

3 Study Sources D and E.

How far would these two cartoonists have agreed with each other? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

4 Study Source F.

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

5 Study Sources G and H.

Why did Bismarck react as he did in Source H? 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 German unification was brought about by diplomacy? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

Option B: 20th Century topic**WAS THE MARSHALL PLAN DESIGNED TO BENEFIT THE USA?**

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

Background Information

Europe was in a desperate state after the Second World War. The economies of European countries were shattered, there were severe food shortages and little money for rebuilding and recovery. The USA emerged from the war in a much better state and in 1947 George Marshall, Secretary of State in the US government, devised a plan to give massive financial aid to the governments of Europe. It was offered to countries on both sides of the Iron Curtain. The Soviet Union rejected the offer and persuaded most countries to the east of the Iron Curtain to do the same. In January 1949 the Soviets provided an alternative for the Eastern Bloc called COMECON (the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance).

Politicians at the time, and historians since, have disagreed about the motives behind the US offer. Some have claimed that it was a genuine attempt to help Europe at a desperate time, while others have argued that although it benefited Europe, it was designed primarily for the benefit of America.

Was the Marshall Plan designed mainly for the benefit of Europe, or the USA?

SOURCE A

In his speech, on 5 June 1947, proposing the plan to bear his name, Marshall had declared, 'Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos.' Churchill was convinced that the plan was 'the most unselfish act in history' – the United States was offering to finance, from its ample resources, the reconstruction of the war-racked continent of Europe. Truman, who knew rather more about it, had a different view. For him the plan had a political purpose – 'to lift Europe from the shadow of enslavement by Russian Communism'.

It seems clear that there was no intention of giving help to the Communist part of Europe, or to the Soviet Union. Kennan, who was in charge of planning the aid, made it very difficult for the Russians to accept American help. He required them to open the markets of Eastern Europe to American businessmen. If the Soviets had agreed they would have weakened their hold over an area vital to their own security. It is clear that the American government did not want Russian participation in the Marshall Plan and gave them little choice but to refuse it.

There is little doubt that the plan was anti-Soviet – to consolidate Western Europe as a counter-weight to Russian power. It was also a move to stimulate the US economy and to consolidate American influence in Western Europe. Its main aim was to prevent a depression in the US by using dollars to prevent a collapse in Europe. Such a collapse would have left Europe open to Stalin. The Plan kept the post-war economies of Western Europe within the capitalist world. Every transaction was arranged to provide profits for US banks, finance corporations and industries. European nations ended up dependent on the United States. Most Americans agreed with James Byrnes, a leading member of the American government, when he said that the problem was not to make the world safe for democracy, but to make it safe for the United States.

From a history book published in 1974.

SOURCE B

Marshall's Plan for a European Recovery Programme, made famous in his speech on 5 June 1947, was dramatic and unique. Bevin, a member of the British government, described the speech as one of the greatest in history. Marshall's proposals were a clean break with past practice. Europeans were left to decide whether to take the aid and how to use it. The offer was made to all European countries without distinction. The sums involved were enormous. By 1952 the US had spent \$13 billion dollars and it was much more than a disaster fund, it was a programme for recovery and growth.

Stalin was suspicious of American motives and rejected the Plan. This was a major blunder. The sensible action would have been to co-operate, thus returning the ball to the American court. Stalin then added a second blunder by seeking to use the Western communist parties to sabotage the programme: thus making them more extreme and less attractive to voters. Why Stalin reacted so strongly to the Marshall Plan is not clear. He had probably pinned his hopes for Communist expansion on an economic collapse of Western Europe.

The Marshall Plan benefited the USA by restoring her major trading partner, rather than by reducing Europe to dependence. But there was more to it than that. The Soviet Union was waiting for a Europe in collapse to fall into Stalin's hands. But for America, Europe's vulnerability was a problem, not an opportunity. Economic collapse in Western Europe would lead to the spread of Communist power. The interests of America were tightly tied up with those of Europe.

The real benefits of the Marshall Plan were psychological. It helped the Europeans feel better about themselves. This would not have been possible if the Plan had been a blueprint for the 'Americanisation' of Europe. By allowing European governments to pursue policies that had emerged from domestic compromises and experiences, and by avoiding a one size-fits-all approach, the US actually had to forget some of its hopes. Overall, it initiated a new and hopeful era in European history.

From a history book published in 1994.

SOURCE C



A cartoon published in Eastern Europe in 1947. The figure on the cow is a member of the American government. He is watched by members of the British and French governments.

SOURCE D

President Truman has announced the following principles of American foreign policy: the United States will everywhere support, with weapons and money, reactionaries and fascists who are hateful to their own people but who are ready to place their country under American control. Two countries suitable for this were found at once: Greece and Turkey. The Americans do not want to directly propose that European countries become American colonies and so they have produced the Marshall Plan. It has soon become evident that this was simply a cunning way of subjecting all Europe to American capital.

From a Soviet Communist Party newspaper for young people, 1947.

SOURCE E

The Marshall Plan will go down in history as one of America's greatest contributions to the peace of the world. I think the world now realises that without the Marshall Plan it would have been difficult for Western Europe to remain free from the tyranny of Communism. Russia was surprised by the Marshall Plan. Moscow soon realised that when the Marshall Plan began to function the opportunity to communise Western Europe would be lost.

From Truman's Memoirs, published in 1955.

SOURCE F



A cartoon published in Britain, June 1947. Marshall is speaking to Truman, who is held down by his opponents.

SOURCE G



A cartoon published in the USA, January 1949.

SOURCE H

The so-called Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan are particularly glaring examples of the manner in which the principles of the United Nations are violated and of the way in which the organisation is ignored. This is clearly proved by the measures taken by the United States Government with regard to Greece and Turkey. This policy conflicts sharply with the principles expressed by the General Assembly in its resolution of 11 December 1946, which declares that relief supplies to other countries 'should at no time be used as a political weapon'. It is becoming more and more evident to everyone that the implementation of the Marshall Plan will mean placing European countries under the economic and political control of the United States.

It is now clear that the Marshall Plan is merely a variant of the Truman Doctrine. In bringing forward this plan, the United States Government makes the European countries in need of help renounce their right to dispose of their economic resources and to plan their national economy in their own way. Moreover, this plan is an attempt to split Europe into two camps and to complete the formation of a bloc of several European countries hostile to the interests of the democratic countries of Eastern Europe and most particularly to the interests of the Soviet Union.

*Vyshinsky, a member of the Soviet government, speaking at the United Nations,
18 September 1947.*

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.

How useful is this source as evidence about the Marshall Plan? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

3 Study Sources D and E.

How far does Source D make Source E surprising? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

4 Study Sources F and G.

How similar are these two cartoons? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

5 Study Source H.

Why did Vyshinsky make this speech at that time? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [7]

6 Study **all** the sources.

How far do these sources provide convincing evidence that the Marshall Plan was designed to benefit the US? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

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