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Cambridge International Examinations
Cambridge International General Certificate of Secondary Education

HISTORY **0470/21**

Paper 2 **May/June 2017**

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–p5]
Option B: 20th Century topic [p6–p10]

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 **10** printed pages, **2** blank pages and **1** Insert.

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Option A: 19th Century topic

HOW FAR WERE THE 1848 REVOLUTIONS BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE WEAKNESS OF THE EXISTING REGIMES?

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

Background Information

Many reasons have been suggested for the 1848 revolutions. These include long-term reasons such as the spread of nationalism, socialism and liberalism. Others have pointed to growing industrialisation which caused dreadful working and living conditions for many. The revolutions also had their triggers – bad harvests and high food prices, as well as a financial crisis leading to unemployment. However, some historians have claimed that it was the weakness and mistakes of the regimes in power that turned demonstrations into revolutions.

Was it the weakness of governments around Europe that brought about the 1848 revolutions?

SOURCE A

The severity of the trade depression served to stimulate the growing appetite for liberalism among the middle class, especially among the lower middle class. The great power of the working class, more apparent than real, as time proved, persuaded the established ruling classes to surrender power with little fight in the early months of 1848. The following months showed these two politically and socially underprivileged classes – the workers and the lower middle class – competing for power. Although certain causes were more relevant in some places than others – the financial crisis was more important in France – the widespread nature of the revolutions suggests certain common explanations. The great common factor was the town. Cities had vast concentrations of poor people, far more likely to get together than peasants in the countryside, and were also centres of political power. It was on the cities that the great social and economic developments – population growth, industrialisation, railway building – had their impact. It was to cities that the political exiles made their way. It was in cities that the liberal and national aspirations were voiced. And at this time the ruling classes failed to control these cities.

From a history book published in 1981.

SOURCE B

The simplest approach to the revolutions is to see them as a bid by the rising middle classes to take the power from which they were excluded. However, a clear majority of the middle classes lived in small towns and were not much interested in political power. They accepted the existing social hierarchy and were certainly not revolutionary. Industrialisation in cities brought dreadful conditions for the working classes. Here, surely, is the backdrop to the revolutions. However, there were relatively few factory workers on the continent in 1848 and they did not play a significant role in the outbreak of revolution. The revolutions followed growing interest in a variety of ideas all designed to alter the existing order. The outpouring of ideas like liberalism and nationalism was a vital element in causing the revolutions. Intellectual ideas helped prepare the revolutions and gave them direction. Lower class elements made the revolutions.

The suddenness of the outbreaks found most governments unprepared. The weakness of most rulers owed something to accident but something perhaps to the problems of adjusting the institution of monarchy to a changing world. Unready governments, headed by indecisive rulers doubtful about their own future, helped the conversion of street fighting into full-scale revolution. Also, the questioning about the basic social and legal order delayed the reaction of the ruling class to a revolutionary challenge.

From a history book published in 1974.

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SOURCE C

It appears that the situation in Italy is regarded in Vienna as not sufficiently urgent to justify more than the usual security precautions. People forget, however, that we are dealing not with governments or the weakness of princes or their ministers, but with a people that hate us and believe that the moment has come when it can finally throw us out and can once again enter the ranks of great nations. People forget that this nation has not yet sunk so low that it is incapable of a sudden resurgence. Italy may have declined but she also possesses great strength to rise again. Never was the feeling of the striving for national unity stronger and more universal than it is today. No statesman, no politician, can predict when and how the crisis which we face today will end.

A letter from Field Marshal Radetzky to the Austrian government in Vienna, December 1847. Radetzky was in overall charge of the Austrian troops in Italy.

SOURCE D



A British cartoon published in 1848. The name on the boat is 'L'Ancien Régime'.

SOURCE E

The unfortunate weavers – there arose such an overproduction that they could not survive. Heartless manufacturers oppressed the poor workers. This is the cause of those sad events which have recently taken place in Silesia. I believe it to be hunger, not communist ideas. As long as there was a sure and honest livelihood, none of the Silesian weavers paid any attention to communist agitation. They did not despair of their king. Despair was aroused by hunger.

An account, by Prince Felix Lichnowsky, of weavers in Silesia, Prussia. Lichnowsky was elected to the Frankfurt Parliament in 1848 where he opposed radicalism. He was beaten to death by a mob in 1848.

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SOURCE F

Today 51 men were assembled here, from Prussia, Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden, Nassau and Frankfurt, to discuss the most urgent measures for the Fatherland. They are resolved in their duty for the freedom and unity of the German nation which must be attempted by cooperation of all the German peoples with their governments.

The meeting of a national assembly elected in all German lands should come together to offer its cooperation to the Fatherland. A main task of the assembly will be common defence. This will save great sums of money, while at the same time the identity and suitable self-administration of the different states remains in existence.

From the Declaration of Heidelberg, 5 March 1848. This was produced by representatives of six German states who met at Heidelberg soon after the arrival of news of the revolution in Paris.

SOURCE G

To my dear Berliners

It rests with you now, my citizens of my beloved capital, to prevent even greater chaos. Your king and most loyal friend pleads with you to recognise your unhappy error. Return to the path of peace and clear away those barricades and I give you my royal oath that every street will be cleared of troops. Military occupation will be restricted to those buildings where it is necessary, and even this will only be for a short period. Citizens, forget what has happened, just as in my heart I too will forget it for the sake of the great future which will dawn for Prussia, and through Prussia for all Germany.

From the proclamation issued by Frederick William IV of Prussia, 19 March 1848. Copies were printed and put up on trees in the city centre.

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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 of the sources. [8]

2 Study Source C.

Why did Radetzky send this letter in December 1847? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

3 Study Source D.

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

4 Study Sources E and F.

Would the weavers in Source E have been pleased with Source F? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [7]

5 Study Source G.

Are you surprised by this source? 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 1848 revolutions were brought about by the weakness of the existing regimes? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

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Option B: 20th Century topic

WAS THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES WELCOMED?

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

Background Information

By the end of June 1919 the three main architects of the Treaty of Versailles, Clemenceau, Lloyd George and Wilson, had left Paris. They all had mixed feelings about the Treaty. Clemenceau, under enormous pressure from the French public, had wanted Germany to be punished harshly and weakened so that it could never start a war again. Wilson wanted a settlement based on his 'Fourteen Points', including a League of Nations that would prevent future war. Lloyd George outwardly went along with the demands in Britain for Germany to be treated harshly. Privately, however, he was beginning to think that Germany had been punished too harshly. Each now had to face the public in his own country. Meanwhile, Germany had expected the Treaty to be based on Wilson's 'Fourteen Points' and had its own strong views.

How much satisfaction was there with the Treaty of Versailles?

SOURCE A

The Treaty of Versailles was indeed a victor's peace, designed to punish and constrain the Germans and to vindicate the Allied sacrifices. This was what President Wilson meant when he claimed that, though this was a harsh treaty, it was a just one. But it was also meant to create a post-war world that the defeated as well as the victor nations could accept. The establishment of the League of Nations, whatever the reservations of the victor powers, held out the promise of a more just international regime. The principle of self-determination, never clearly defined, was not universally applied. Wilson hoped that some of the difficulties could be settled within the framework of the League of Nations. Clemenceau managed to achieve much from his fellow peacemakers to compensate for France's wartime sacrifices and its uniquely exposed position. The drastic cuts in Germany's military power and its territorial and financial losses gave France a considerable measure of protection. Much in the Versailles Treaty was left undecided and would depend on the manner of its enforcement. Clemenceau was right when he claimed that it was 'not even a beginning, but the beginning of a beginning'.

From a history book published in 2005.

SOURCE B

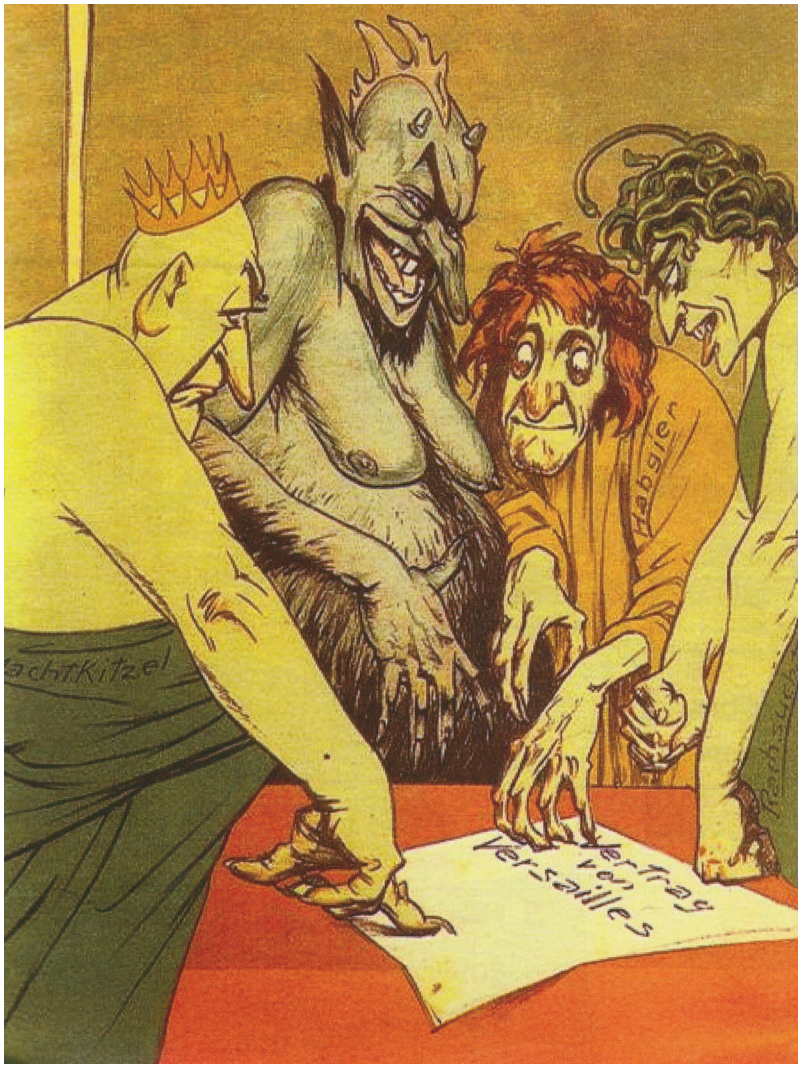
Clemenceau was under attack from powerful forces in France, who accused him of having been outwitted by the cunning English. Lloyd George knew that he was heading into a storm of criticism for his failure to obtain the huge reparation payments from the Germans which he had promised the British public. But he had also come to fear that the treaty was too harsh. Wilson had come to Paris hoping to remake the world according to liberal and democratic principles, but he had found the task so dominated by claims, hatreds, fears and greeds that he was forced to settle for a compromise that satisfied no one. Hopefully, his League of Nations would eventually resolve some of the difficulties – but this was only a hope.

From a history book published in 1968.

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SOURCE C



A German cartoon published in 1919. Two of the figures are labelled 'Greed' and 'Revenge'.

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SOURCE D

June 29, 1919. I am leaving Paris, with conflicting emotions. There is much to approve and much to regret. It is easy to say what should have been done, but more difficult to have found a way of doing it. How splendid it would have been had we blazed a better trail! However, it is to be doubted whether this could have been done. It may be that Wilson might have had the power and influence if he had remained in Washington and kept clear of the Conference. When he stepped from his lofty pedestal and wrangled with representatives of other states upon equal terms, he became an ordinary man.

To those who are saying that the Treaty is bad and that it will involve Europe in difficulties in its enforcement, I feel like agreeing. But I would also say that empires cannot be shattered and new states raised without disturbance. To create new boundaries is always to create new troubles. While I should have preferred a different peace, I doubt whether it could have been made. We have had to deal with a situation full of difficulties and one which could be met only by an idealistic spirit which was too much to expect of men come together at such a time. And yet I wish we had taken the other road, even if it were less smooth than the one we took. We would at least have gone in the right direction.

From Colonel House's diary. House was Wilson's chief advisor during the negotiations in Paris until March 1919, when they disagreed. After returning to the US they never spoke to each other again.

SOURCE E

The treaty is a very severe settlement with Germany, but there is not anything in it that Germany did not earn and it cannot bear. But the treaty is not merely a settlement with Germany; it is a readjustment of those injustices that underlie the structure of world society. It is a people's treaty that achieves the liberation of men who never could have liberated themselves. Not one foot of territory is demanded by the conquerors. The men who sat around that table in Paris knew that the time had come when the people were going to live under governments that they chose. That is the fundamental principle of this great settlement.

At the front of this great treaty is the League of Nations. Its membership is going to include all the great fighting nations of the world, as well as the weak ones. And what do they unite for? They enter into a solemn promise that they will never use their power against one another for aggression.

My friends, I went to a cemetery for the burial of the American dead near Paris. I wish some men in public life who are now opposing the settlement for which these men died could visit the cemetery. I wish that the thought that comes out of those graves could penetrate their minds. I wish that they could feel the moral obligation that rests upon us not to go back on those boys. The liberation of the world depends on this decision.

From a speech President Wilson made on 25 September 1919.
This was typical of the many speeches Wilson made across America at this time.

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SOURCE F



A British cartoon published in July 1920. It shows the first meeting between Allied leaders and Germany since the signing of the Treaty of Versailles.

SOURCE G

The French newspaper 'Le Temps' criticises recent remarks by General Smuts that the Germans have changed and that the terms of the Treaty should be made less harsh on Germany. It says that the General is mistaken and that the Germans have not changed.

'Le Temps' lays stress on the great advantages for France of the Treaty, such as the re-annexation of Alsace-Lorraine. It also criticises its imperfections from a French point of view: its failure to destroy the unity of Germany, the lack of guarantees needed for the continued safety of nations and the insufficiency of the measures to ensure the full reparation of war losses.

From a British government report about the reaction to the Treaty in French newspapers, July 1919. General Smuts was a South African politician. He had been a member of the British Imperial War Cabinet and was present at the peace negotiations.

SOURCE H

We have restored where restoration was just, we have organised reparations where damage and injury have been inflicted, and we have established guarantees against the repetition of these crimes and horrors from which the world is just emerging. We have disarmed; we have punished. We have demonstrated that you cannot trample on national rights and liberties without punishment.

Lloyd George in a speech to the British Parliament, 21 July 1919.

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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 of the sources. [7]

2 Study Source C.

Why was this source published in Germany in 1919? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

3 Study Sources D and E.

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

4 Study Source F.

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

5 Study Sources G and H.

Do you trust what Lloyd George says in Source H about the Treaty of Versailles? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [7]

6 Study **all** the sources.

How far do these sources provide convincing evidence that people were satisfied with the Treaty of Versailles? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

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