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Cambridge International Examinations
Cambridge International General Certificate of Secondary Education

HISTORY **0470/23**

Paper 2 **October/November 2017**

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 answer **all** of the questions on that topic.
Option A: 19th Century topic [p2–p8]
Option B: 20th Century topic [p10–p15]

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.

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Option A: 19th Century topic

WAS THERE A REAL CHANCE OF WAR BREAKING OUT OVER MOROCCO?

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

Background Information

By 1900 Morocco was one of the few African countries not under the control of a European power. Théophile Delcassé, the French Foreign Minister, was keen for it to be under French control. In 1904, as part of the Entente Cordiale, Britain recognised the French position in Morocco as long as France gave up its interest in Egypt. However, Germany, worried about the expansion of French power in the Mediterranean and North Africa, began to encourage the Sultan of Morocco to stand up to the French. In March 1905, as part of this effort, the Kaiser visited Tangiers, a major city in Morocco. This visit greatly upset the French and the First Moroccan Crisis had begun. It ended at the Algeciras Conference that took place from January to April 1906.

Was it ever likely that the crisis would develop into war?

SOURCE A

Emperor William II landed at Tangiers during a cruise in March 1905 and triggered the First Moroccan Crisis. The crisis was much more than a contest for influence in a failing state; it was a contest between two different visions of the international system - a German-led continental league and a global entente between Britain, France, and Russia. Germany sought not only to snap the newly formed Anglo-French entente, but more significantly attempted to forge an alliance with Russia and to make France dependent on Germany.

In 1905, Germany sought to demonstrate to France that Russia was not a reliable ally, and that the Anglo-French entente was of limited significance in continental power politics. Morocco was to be the test case, where Germany refused to accept French pre-eminence. 'Whilst in the act of ravishing Morocco,' noted the Grand Vizier of Morocco, 'France has received a tremendous kick in the behind from the Emperor William.' Confident of British support, Delcassé refused to negotiate with Germany. The weakness of the French army and the doubts of the French Prime Minister that Britain could offer effective military support in a Franco-German war conspired against Delcassé. On 6 June he resigned, paving the way for a conference, which would meet in Algeciras in 1906 to resolve the Moroccan Crisis. The resignation of the French Foreign Minister was a stunning triumph for German diplomacy. It signalled Germany's complete dominance of continental politics. Privately, Grey was deeply concerned at the prospect of war, but Germany was not prepared to go to war over Morocco.

From a history book published in 2010. Grey was in charge of British foreign policy.

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SOURCE B

The Kaiser's visit to Tangiers represented a German challenge to France's ambitions in Morocco. Germany wanted an Open Door policy in Morocco. The Kaiser's visit was about much more than the fate of Morocco though: Germany was trying to regain the position it had enjoyed under Bismarck as the power at the centre of Europe's international affairs. Germany saw a chance as well to destroy the Entente Cordiale between Britain and France and perhaps even the alliance between France and Russia.

The British did not behave as Germany had hoped. The strong anti-German faction in the British government had no doubt that the sudden German interest in Morocco was an attempt by Germany to destroy the Entente and urged that Britain must stand firm. 'This seems,' Admiral Fisher told Lansdowne, the Foreign Secretary, 'a golden opportunity for fighting the Germans in alliance with the French.'

When Delcassé was dismissed from the French government there was consternation and shock in London. Lansdowne wondered whether the Entente Cordiale would survive; the French, he said, appeared to be on the run. In their triumph over the French, the Germans then overplayed their hand and insisted on an international conference. What is frightening in retrospect is how readily the countries involved in the crisis anticipated war. Grey, for example, told his friend Haldane that he was getting many reports that Germany intended to attack France in the spring of 1906, while the German Chancellor was expecting Britain and France to attack.

From a history book published in 2013.

SOURCE C

After overcoming the difficult technical task of landing in Tangiers, there was a ride through the gaily decorated streets amid the indescribable joy of the natives and the European population; it was a magnificent oriental pageant in fine weather. In the Embassy there was a reception of Germans, the diplomatic corps, and the Sultan's envoy.

The Kaiser said that his visit meant that he wanted free trade for Germany and complete equality of rights with other countries. His Majesty said that he would like to negotiate directly with the Sultan, the free ruler of an independent country, as an equal; that his Majesty would be able to make his just claims valid, and that he expected that these claims would also be recognised by France.

On the whole, the brief visit of His Majesty came off splendidly without any unfortunate event, and apparently made a great impression upon Moroccans. His Majesty was highly satisfied with the visit, especially with the confidential message of the Sultan that he would initiate no reforms without a previous understanding with the German Government. According to the custom of the country, our ships were richly loaded with gifts consisting of natural products of the land.

An account by a German diplomat of the Kaiser's visit to Morocco in 1905. The diplomat was reporting to the German government.

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SOURCE D



A British cartoon published in 1905. The caption to this cartoon read 'The Morocco Crisis: Let men see - whom shall I call on next?'

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SOURCE E

Cambon, the French Ambassador, spoke of the importance of arriving at an agreement as to the action which would be taken by France and Great Britain if the discussions ended in a rupture between France and Germany. Cambon said he did not believe that the German Emperor desired war, but that His Majesty was pursuing a very dangerous policy. He had succeeded in inciting public opinion and military opinion in Germany, and there was a risk that matters might be brought to a point in which a peaceful outcome would be difficult.

I could only state that if France were to be attacked by Germany, public opinion in England would be strongly in favour of France. I said that, as far as a definite promise went, I was not in a position to pledge the country to any more than neutrality. Cambon said that a promise of neutrality did not satisfy him.

A letter from Sir Edward Grey to the British ambassador in France, January 1906.

SOURCE F

It was certain that if Germany forced a quarrel on France over Morocco, the pro-French feeling in Britain would be very strong, so strong probably as to justify a British Government in intervening on the side of France or even to insist on its doing so. My own opinion was that if Germany forced war on France we ought to go to the help of France. We would be isolated and discredited if we stood aside.

From Sir Edward Grey's memoirs, published in 1925.

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SOURCE G



A German cartoon published in February 1906. The caption to the cartoon read 'At the Moroccan Conference: enthusiasm for smoking the peace pipe does not exclude the danger of a general explosion.' Pulver means gunpowder.

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SOURCE H



A British cartoon entitled 'Shots of Joy', published in April 1906. The caption to the cartoon read 'The Algeciras Conference has practically been concluded to the mutual satisfaction of the two rival powers whose differences at one time threatened to end in something worse than a diplomatic duel.'

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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.

How useful is this source as evidence about the Kaiser's visit? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [7]

3 Study Source D.

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

[8]

4 Study Sources E and F.

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

5 Study Sources G and H.

How similar were the views of the two cartoonists? 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 the Moroccan Crisis made war likely? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

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Option B: 20th Century topic

WAS SOVIET INTERVENTION IN HUNGARY JUSTIFIED?

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

Background Information

On 23 and 24 October 1956 there were armed clashes between protestors and the authorities throughout Hungary. On 24 October the protestors achieved one of their demands when Imre Nagy was appointed as Prime Minister. On the same day, however, Russian troops were deployed in Budapest to stop the protests. Despite this, the protests continued and the Soviets appeared to compromise on 28 October by agreeing to pull Russian troops out of Budapest.

Nagy's government started to introduce reforms and announced that Hungary would leave the Warsaw Pact. Perhaps thinking that the world was distracted by the growing crisis over the Suez Canal, Russia moved tanks and troops back into Budapest. Despite fierce resistance by the Hungarians, the uprising was soon defeated.

Was the Soviet Union justified in intervening?

SOURCE A



A Dutch cartoon published in November 1956. The caption read 'Peace and order are restored'.

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SOURCE B

To the Foreign Ministry and Party Central Committee:

The counter-revolutionary rebellion in the Hungarian capital became increasingly serious last night; the wild rattle of gunfire did not cease the whole night. Insofar as the situation can be judged, it is possible that certain sections of the Hungarian People's Army can no longer be trusted. Since yesterday night the Soviet army and the Hungarian State Security units have been putting down the rebellion.

Counter-revolutionary forces have fully exploited the crowds' extremely narrow-minded national sentiments, and are at present actively inciting bourgeois restoration. The central paper of the Hungarian trade unions reported in its special edition that Nagy yesterday expressed his full acceptance of the reactionary political demands submitted. A new government led by Nagy is being formed today at noon. In effect, it is possible that loyal communists will be removed from the government.

The Hungarian authorities have not made any form of contact with our embassy, and have not provided any kind of information. Under the circumstances of the whole-day curfew, and in the midst of weapon fire and falling bombs, it is not possible to maintain contact between embassies. This is why we rely primarily on Hungarian radio, and on accounts from our students, for information.

A telegram from the Chinese embassy in Hungary to the Chinese government, 26 October 1956.

SOURCE C

Look at the hell that Rákosi made of Hungary and you will see an indictment, not of Communism, but of Stalinism. Hypocrisy without limit; slogans devoid of life or meaning; national pride outraged; poverty for all but a tiny handful of leaders who lived in luxury, special schools for their children, special well-stocked shops for their wives. And to protect the power and privileges of this Communist aristocracy, the secret police - and behind them the ultimate sanction, the tanks of the Soviet Army.

Here in one small, tormented country was Stalinism, complete in every detail: the abandonment of humanism, the attachment of primary importance not to living, breathing, suffering, hoping human beings but to machines, targets, statistics, tractors, steel mills, plan fulfilment figures and, of course, tanks.

The Hungarian Stalinists made a mistake in invoking a non-existent clause of the Warsaw Treaty and calling in Soviet troops. This first Soviet intervention gave the people's movement exactly the impetus needed to make it united, violent and nation-wide. It seems probable that Soviet troops were already in action three or four hours before the appeal. Nagy became Prime Minister precisely twenty-four hours too late.

With Nagy in office it would still have been possible to avert the ultimate tragedy if the people's two demands had been met immediately - if the Soviet troops had withdrawn without delay, and if the security police had been disbanded. But Nagy was not a free agent during the first few days of his premiership. It was known in Budapest that his first broadcast was made - metaphorically, if not literally - with a tommy gun in his back.

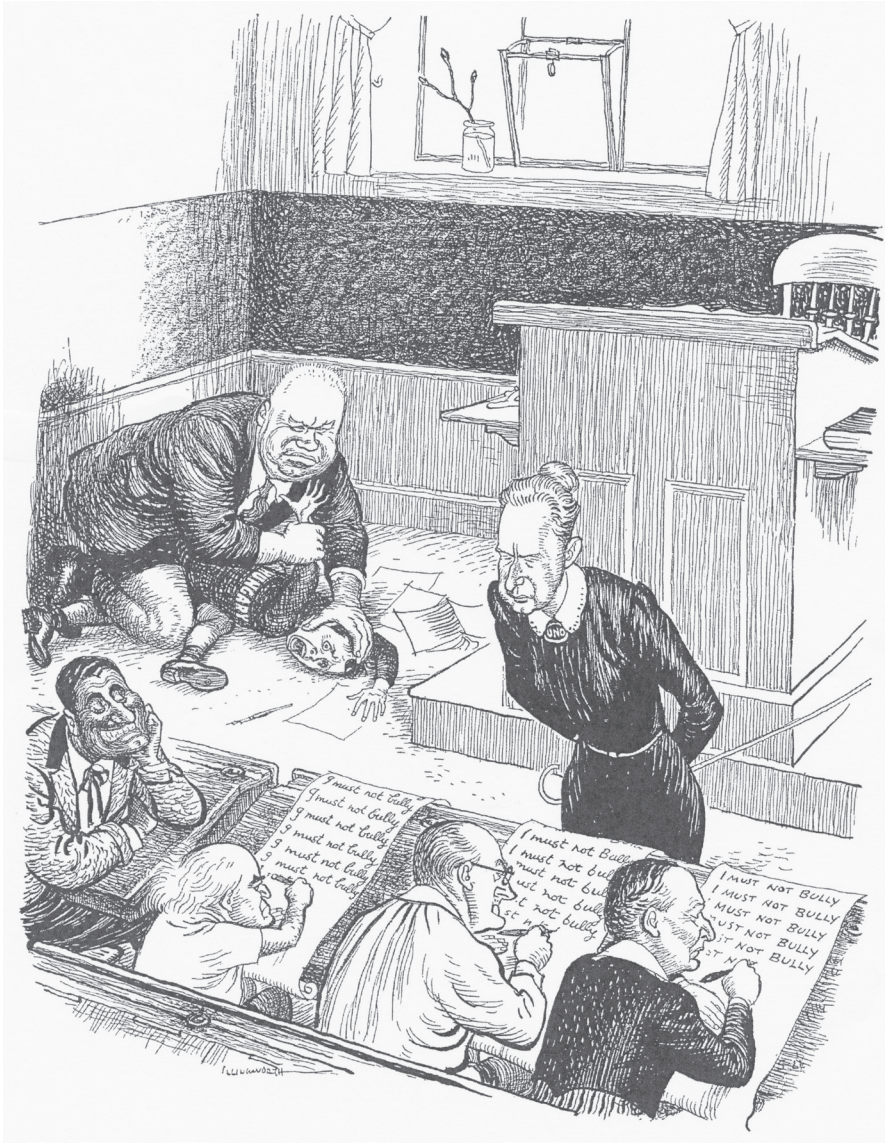
From a book published in 1956. It was written by a journalist working in Hungary at the time for a British communist newspaper.

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SOURCE D



A cartoon published in Britain, 28 November 1956. Khrushchev is shown with Hungary on the floor. The figures seated at the desks represent, from the left, President Nasser of Egypt and the governments of Israel, Britain and France. The woman represents the United Nations.

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SOURCE E

Dear Comrades, Beloved Friends, Working People of Hungary! Of course we want a socialist democracy and not a bourgeois democracy. In accord with our Party and our convictions, our working class and people are jealously guarding the achievements of our people's democracy, and they will not permit anyone to touch them. Today the chief aim of the enemies of our people is to shake the faith of the working class in its party, in the Hungarian Workers' Party. They are endeavouring to loosen the close friendly relations between our nation and other countries building socialism. They are trying to loosen the ties between our party and the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

They slander the Soviet Union. They assert that we trade with the Soviet Union on an unequal footing, that our relations with the Soviet Union are not based on equality, and allege that our independence has to be defended, not against the imperialists, but against the Soviet Union. All this is a lie which does not contain a grain of truth. The truth is that the Soviet Union liberated our people from the yoke of fascism and German imperialism.

From a speech on 24 October 1956 by Ernő Gerő, head of the Hungarian Communist Party until 25 October 1956.

SOURCE F

Hungarian workers, soldiers, peasants and intellectuals. The National Government, in full agreement with the Hungarian Workers' Party, has decided to take a step vital for the future of the whole nation. In the interest of further democratisation of the country's life, the Government abolishes the one-party system and places the country's Government on the basis of democratic cooperation between coalition parties.

We wish to inform the people of Hungary that we are going to request the Government of the Soviet Union to withdraw Soviet troops completely from the entire territory of the Hungarian Republic.

On behalf of the National Government I wish to declare that it recognises all democratic local authorities which were formed by the revolution; we will rely on them and we ask for their full support. Hungarian brothers, patriotic citizens of Hungary! Safeguard the achievements of the revolution! We have to re-establish order first of all! No blood should be shed in our country! Prevent all further disturbances! Assure the safety of life and property with all your might! Hungarian brothers, workers and peasants: Rally behind the government in this fateful hour! Long live free, democratic and independent Hungary.

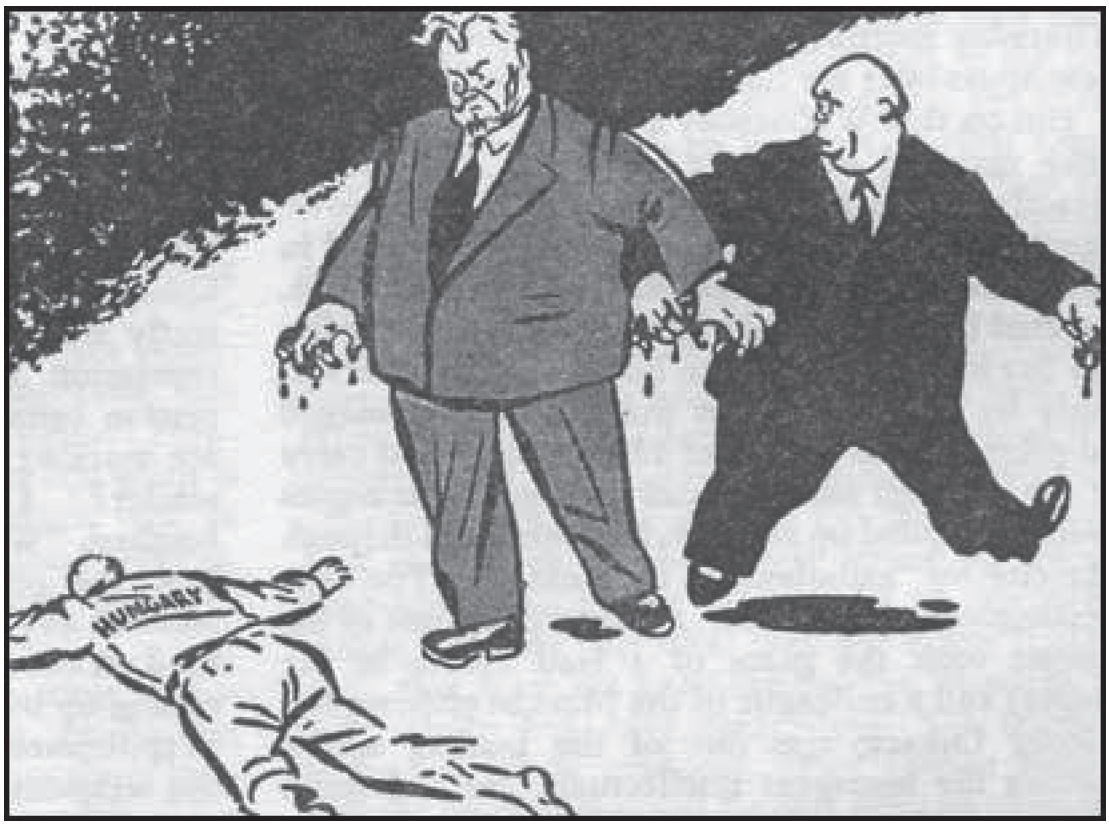
From a radio broadcast by Imre Nagy, 30 October 1956.

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SOURCE G



A cartoon published in an Indian newspaper, November 1956. Khrushchev is saying to a colleague, 'Let's go wash our hands in the Canal.'

SOURCE H

In 1956 a bloody struggle broke out in Budapest. Imre Nagy used lies and threats to trick the people into mutiny and civil war. He shoved prominent citizens in front of microphones and forced them to support his leadership. Communist Party members were being hunted down in the streets. People were being murdered, strung up from lamp posts.

Imre Nagy issued a demand that we pull all Soviet troops out of Hungary. According to our obligations under the Warsaw Treaty, we could only pull out troops if asked to by a legal government. We certainly had no intention of doing what the leader of a putsch told us to do. Nagy no longer spoke for the Hungarian Communist Party. We quickly saw that the uprising and the Nagy government were without support from the workers and the peasants. We discussed the mutiny with other Socialist countries and came to the conclusion that it would be inexcusable for us to stay neutral and not help the working class of Hungary in its struggle against counter-revolution.

From Khrushchev's memoirs, published in 1971.

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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 Source A.

What impressions does this source give of events in Hungary in November 1956? Explain your answer using details of the source. [7]

2 Study Sources B and C.

Does Source B make Source C unreliable? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [7]

3 Study Source D.

Why was this cartoon published at this time? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

4 Study Sources E and F.

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

5 Study Source G.

What is the cartoonist's message? 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 Soviet Union's armed intervention in Hungary was justified? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

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