

HISTORY

0470/23

Paper 2

October/November 2014

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–p6]

Option B: 20th Century topic [p7–p12]

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



This document consists of **12** printed pages and **1** insert.



Option A: 19th Century topic**WAS THERE A REAL CHANCE OF THE SOCIAL SYSTEM IN EUROPE BEING DESTROYED IN 1848?**

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

Background Information

The revolutions of 1848 were widespread. They affected France, Prussia and other parts of Germany, the Habsburg Empire and many parts of Italy. They also contained a wide range of different grievances, participants and aims.

For some historians the uprisings were led by downtrodden, industrialised, working-class revolutionaries who wanted to make fundamental changes to the organisation of society. However, there were also middle-class revolutionaries, many of whom were intellectuals who did not want to tear down society but did want moderate reforms such as reform of the voting system and an ending of censorship. The years before 1848 saw bad harvests, rises in food prices and enormous hardship for the poor in the country and in the towns. Many of these people just wanted enough for their families to eat.

Did the 1848 revolutions really get close to destroying the social system of the time?

SOURCE A

In absolutist Europe the rigidity of the political regimes, which had been designed to fend off all change of a liberal kind, left even the most moderate of liberals no choice other than no change or revolution. They might not be ready to revolt themselves, but unless someone did, unless there was a social revolution, they would gain nothing. The regimes of 1815 had to go sooner or later. They knew it themselves. In 1848 the first faint puff of revolution blew them away. But unless there was at least such a puff, they would not go.

The crises in European politics, between the ruling classes and the discontented bourgeoisie, coincided with a social catastrophe: the great depression which swept across the continent. Harvests failed. Entire populations starved. Food prices rose. Industrial depression increased unemployment. This disaster coincided with the crumbling of the old regimes. A peasant rising in Galicia in 1846; the election of a 'liberal' Pope in the same year. These were the first signs of the storm. Everyone knew it. Rarely has revolution been more universally predicted.

All the revolutions had something in common. They were social revolutions of the labouring poor. They frightened the moderate liberals whom they pushed into power – and even some of the more radical politicians. The revolutions were made by the working class. It was the workers who died on the barricades and fought on the streets. It was their hunger that powered the demonstrations that turned into revolutions. In southern Italy the peasants spontaneously marched out with flags and drums to partition the great estates. The Hungarian Diet abolished serfdom. There was no doubt that the 'social system' was in danger.

This danger was not present everywhere. The German middle classes were not worried by any immediate prospect of proletarian communism. The moderate opposition of the 1840s had not wanted revolution. They preferred negotiation. Pushed into revolution by the forces of the poor, they were much more worried by the danger from their left than by the old regimes. When the barricades went up in Paris, all moderate liberals were potentially conservatives.

From a book published in 1962.

SOURCE B

The articulate leaders of the revolutions were drawn from the middle classes; they included a small component of intellectuals. To understand the revolutions, we must understand the major ideas and the social position of these key groups. Yet the lower classes cannot be neglected. While the middle-class leaders often set the stage for revolution, and then seized on its rewards, the lower classes, particularly urban craftsmen, created the fact of revolution itself. They provided the muscle. Only occasionally did other groups, such as university students, risk outright physical disorder.

A combination of forces is common in major revolutionary outbreaks. The group that provides the violence is seldom ready to assume political leadership. But in 1848 the various revolutionary components were unusually distinct. The middle classes, even when backing revolution, feared attack from below.

No discussion of revolutionary causation can deal with the attacking forces alone. The 1848 outbreaks resulted from weakness in the governing elite, as well as the push from below. However, the weakness was superficial and the failure of the revolutions owes much to the resilience of the elite.

The best approach towards understanding the revolutions is to see them as a bid by the rising middle classes to take political control, from which they were excluded. The approach has much to commend it. The middle class was rising. Industrialisation had increased its number and wealth. Most professional people were not revolutionary and the revolutionaries such as Mazzini were easily put down. They were not a major factor in causing the outbreaks. The more general unhappiness of professional people did, however, play a role. Professional people flocked to the banquets in France and these provided the immediate spur to revolution. These professional people had not advocated revolution but they were not against using it. The Frankfurt Assembly, called by German nationalists, was dominated by lawyers and professors.

From a book published in 1974.

SOURCE C



A cartoon published in an English magazine in 1848.

SOURCE D

Many detachments of volunteers were formed at the first call to march on Paris. Many people did not wish to see the overthrow of all social order. They only wanted to go to the aid of society, whose very existence they judged threatened by hordes of barbarians. Many rich men were keenest in the ranks of the National Guard. They had a stronger sense of the threat posed to property.

*From a report by the magistrate in Angers, a city in western France, 5 July 1848.
This was presented as evidence to the Commission of Inquiry that was held after
the June Days.*

SOURCE E

Along the road came a crowd of wretchedly thin and haggard people in their thousands. Several hundred women met us not far from the village. They were dressed in tattered clothes, the very picture of poverty. All of them shouted 'Long live the constitution', 'Long live Italy', but they all demanded bread and land.

*An account by a government official, May 1848. He went to investigate the great
land occupation during the revolution in the mountains of Sila in the Kingdom of
the Two Sicilies.*

SOURCE F

Days of Terror in Paris

They no longer seemed to be human beings but monsters, who took pleasure in the martyrdom of the solid citizens they challenged and who left no horror undone. The people struck their blows with brutal anger, they became intoxicated before they went off to commit murder. Such a revolutionary struggle has not previously existed; this one has been the frightful result of the most extreme moral decline of the masses.

From an article published in a leading, moderate, liberal German newspaper, 5 July 1848.

SOURCE G

The strength of the rebellion lay, no doubt, in the poverty of many of the insurgents. But agitators exploited this suffering, which was, alas, only too real, and the most important factor of all about the plots is found in their subversive theories and in wild and reckless ambition. The rebellion was not spontaneous. It was not simply a sudden reaction to hunger. It was so well organised. It had its own regulations, its leaders and its meeting places. It had links with all forces for disorder and it operated with astonishing efficiency.

From the report of the Government Commission of Inquiry that was held in July 1848 after the June Days.

SOURCE H



A cartoon published in Germany in 1848 entitled 'Parliament of the future'.

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.

What was the cartoonist's message? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [7]

3 Study Sources D and E.

Does Source E make you surprised by Source D? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [7]

4 Study Sources F and G.

Which of these two sources do you trust more? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

5 Study Source H

Why was this source published in Germany in 1848? 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 revolutions of 1848 were a real threat to the social system? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

Option B: 20th Century topic**HOW FAR WAS THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SECOND WORLD WAR?**

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

Background Information

Some historians have regarded the Treaty of Versailles as a failure. They have made direct connections between its weaknesses and the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939. Some argue that the Treaty was too harsh on Germany and created a desire for revenge. Others have claimed that the Treaty should have weakened Germany further to ensure it could never threaten peace again.

However, there is another view that the peacemakers at Versailles did their best in very difficult circumstances and that they achieved much. It is argued that to make a direct connection between the Treaty and the outbreak of war in 1939 is far too simplistic.

Did the Treaty of Versailles cause the Second World War?

SOURCE A

Some of the problems that had faced the peacemakers at the Peace Conference had been shelved. The Allied victory had not been decisive enough and Germany remained too strong. Nationalism was still gathering momentum but the demand for nation-states, based on a single nationality, was not possible in the world of 1919. It was not possible to put all the Germans into Germany. The peacemakers felt they had done their best, but they had no illusions that they had solved the world's problems.

It became commonplace to blame everything that went wrong in the 1920s and 1930s on the peacemakers and the settlements they made in Paris in 1919. 'The final crime', declared one magazine in 2000, was 'the Treaty of Versailles, whose harsh terms would ensure a second war'. Pointing the finger and shrugging helplessly are effective ways of avoiding responsibility. They ignore the actions of everyone – political leaders, diplomats, soldiers, ordinary voters – for twenty years between 1919 and 1939.

Hitler did not wage war because of the Treaty of Versailles, although he found its existence was very useful for his propaganda. Even if Germany had been left with its old borders, even if it had been allowed whatever military forces it wanted, even if it had been allowed to join with Austria, he still would have wanted more: the destruction of Poland, control of Czechoslovakia, above all the conquest of the Soviet Union. He would have demanded room for the German people to expand and the destruction of their enemies, whether Jews or Bolsheviks. There was nothing in the Treaty of Versailles about that.

The peacemakers of 1919 made mistakes but they tried to build a new, and better, world. They could not control the future. That was up to their successors.

From a history book published in 2001.

SOURCE B

Versailles came as a stunning blow to German pride. The treaty was simply presented for Germany to 'sign or not to sign' – in German eyes a Diktat. Versailles deprived Germany of well over 10 per cent of its population, territory and economic resources. The German army was disbanded and disarmed. Germany was saddled with liability to pay reparations and with responsibility for the war. Not surprisingly, Versailles provoked strong resentment and hostility in Germany. This was among the first and most lasting of its consequences.

Despite these terms, however, Germany's position was potentially improved. Germany remained the dominant power in a Europe exhausted and diminished by war. Germany emerged from Versailles strategically advantaged. Gone were the 1914 barriers to German expansionism in the east and south: the empires of Russia and Austria-Hungary. Instead Germany was fringed by the new, untried states: Poland, Czechoslovakia and Austria. Relative to Germany they were small, or like Poland disunited, with dissident minorities, including Germans. The allies' adoption of national self-determination at Versailles thus created a European power-vacuum conducive to German expansionism. The application of the principle at the expense of Germans rekindled a sense of racial pride in Germany. The gathering of all Germans within an expanded 'Greater Germany' became both a popular national aspiration and a feasible political goal in the Europe of nation-states created by Versailles.

Undermining the Versailles Settlement from the start was the failure to solve the continuing threat posed by Germany's natural predominance in Europe. The victors sought to construct a new Europe based on German goodwill and joint allied readiness to maintain the peace. Neither precondition was met. One feature only of the Versailles Settlement kept Germany under control: allied military occupation of the Rhineland. However, in stipulating a maximum term of 15 years, Versailles provided for its own undoing. The last allied troops left the Rhineland in 1930. As soon as Germany was strong enough to challenge what remained of Versailles, the one element capable of preventing it – the Allied presence in the Rhineland – was removed.

From a history book published in 1994.

SOURCE C



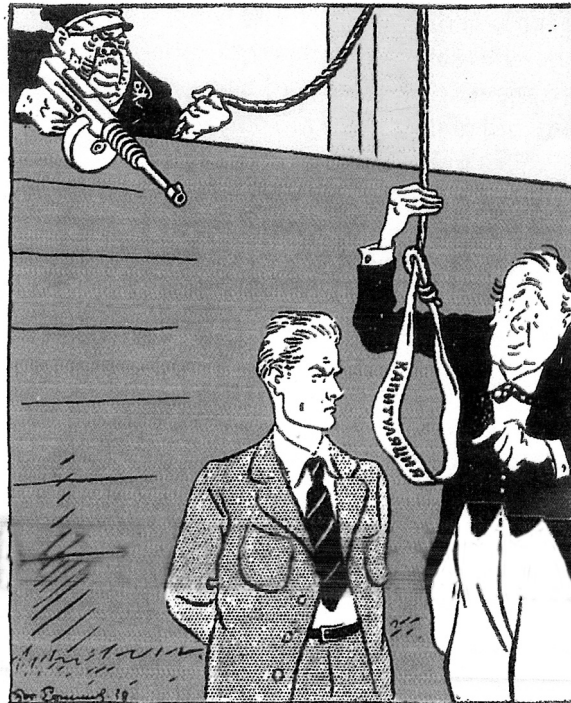
A cartoon published in a British newspaper, May 1919. 'The Tiger' refers to Clemenceau.

SOURCE D



A cartoon, entitled 'Cause Precedes Effect', published in a British newspaper, 1935. It shows a parade of world statesmen led by the Versailles peacemakers.

SOURCE E



A cartoon published in the Soviet Union, 1938. The Englishman is telling the Czech to put his head into the noose rather than being shot by the German. The words on the noose mean 'Accept defeat'.

SOURCE F

What injustice have we done to any country when we agree with the desire of the overwhelming majority of the Austrian people to be Germans? These people are Germans. I assure you that, 15 days ago, I had no idea what was going to happen today or that Austria was to become a German land. I did this because I was deceived by Herr Schuschnigg, and deception is something I will not tolerate. When I shake hands and give my word on something, then I keep it.

Hitler in an interview with a British journalist, 12 March 1938.

SOURCE G

I cannot conceive any greater cause of war than that the German people be surrounded by a number of small states clamouring for reunion with their native land. We shall have to fight another war again in 25 years time.

Written by Lloyd George at the time of the peace talks in 1919.

SOURCE H

A cartoon, entitled 'Stepping Stones to Glory', published in a British newspaper, July 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 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 Sources C and D.

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

3 Study Source E.

What is the message of this cartoon? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

4 Study Source F.

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

5 Study Sources G and H.

How far would Lloyd George have agreed with the cartoonist of Source H? 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 the Second World War was caused by the Treaty of Versailles? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

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Option B Source A	© Margaret Macmillan; <i>Peacemakers</i> ; John Murray; 2001.
Option B Source B	© ed. P. Catterall & R. Vinen; <i>Europe 1914 – 1945</i> ; Heinemann; 1994.
Option B Source C	© www.johndclare.net/peace_treaties ; 9 April 2013.
Option B Source D	© David Low; <i>Cause Precedes Effect</i> ; Evening Standard; 20 March 1935; Ref: DL0939; www.cartoons.ac.uk .
Option B Source E	© T. Rea & J. Wright; <i>International Relations 1919 – 1939</i> ; Oxford University Press; 1997.
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