

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL EXAMINATIONS General Certificate of Education Advanced Subsidiary Level and Advanced Level

#### HISTORY

Paper 1 Modern European History, 1789–1939

9697/11 May/June 2013 3 hours

Additional Materials: Answer Paper

### **READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST**

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 rough working.Do not use staples, paper clips, highlighters, glue or correction fluid.



Section A Answer Question 1. Section B Answer any three questions.

At the end of the examination, fasten all your work securely together. All questions in this paper carry equal marks.

This document consists of 4 printed pages.



[Turn over

# Section A: The Origins of World War I, 1870–1914

You **must** answer Question 1.

### **BRITAIN AND WAR**

**1** Read the Sources, and then answer the question.

When answering **Question 1**, candidates are advised to pay particular attention to the interpretation and evaluation of the Sources both individually and as a group.

### Source A

The theory that Britain cannot engage in a big war means that she would cease to be an independent country. She can be brought to her knees and made to obey the orders of any major country or other countries who *can* go to war, of which there are several. If the theory is true, the general principles on which our whole foreign policy has rested would be shown to be an empty failure. The balance of power cannot be maintained by a country that cannot fight and which carries no weight. There is commercial panic at the beginning of any war in all countries. Commercial and industrial opinion is generally timid. It follows weak policies. The panic in London business circles has been deliberately influenced by Germany. The argument that Britain cannot go to war in any circumstances is not true. It would be political suicide. Germany has made unceasing efforts to persuade Britain to remain neutral if Germany were at war with France and Russia. Our duty is to support France in her hour of need. France has not sought the quarrel. It has been forced upon her.

A memorandum by a senior civil servant in the British Foreign Ministry, 31 July 1914.

# Source B

The British Cabinet has agreed unanimously that the neutrality of Belgium is a grave matter because Belgian neutrality affects feeling in Britain. (*This is nonsense. Grey, the British Foreign Minister, does not know what he is to do. I have learned that Britain has already taken war measures! While she is still negotiating!*) I asked Grey if he would give me a promise that Britain would be neutral in a war if Germany respected Belgian neutrality. Grey replied that he could not promise this. (*Then he is a false rascal!*) At present, Britain does not have the slightest intention of going to war with Germany. (*He lies. He told our Ambassador differently four days ago!*) My impression is that, if it is possible in any way, the British government wants to keep out of the war, but our statements about Belgian neutrality have made an unfavourable impression. (*My impression is that Grey is a false dog who is afraid of his own policy. He will not come out into the open against us but prefers to let himself be forced to take action by us.*)

> Report by the German Ambassador to Britain, to his government, 1 August 1914. The Kaiser's handwritten notes on the report are in italics.

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# Source C

I do not believe that we can rely on British neutrality much longer. I do not know what form British intervention will take nor when it will be. But Britain will not keep out of war if we do not get out of Belgium immediately. The applause for the speech of Grey in Parliament means that, apart from a small minority of its left wing, the British government will have behind it the overwhelming majority of Parliament in any active policy to protect France and Belgium. The news of the invasion of Belgium by German soldiers has brought about a complete reversal of British public opinion, turning against Germany. The appeal of the King of the Belgians, made in moving language, has seriously strengthened this impression.

Report to his government by the German Ambassador to Britain, 4 August 1914.

### Source D

With the utmost reluctance and with infinite regret, the British government has been compelled to put this country in a state of war with what for many years past has been a friendly country. I hope to show Parliament how strong and unceasing were the efforts of the Foreign Minister to secure for Europe an honourable and lasting peace – even when the last glimmer of hope seemed to have faded away. Parliament and Britain – and indeed History – will pay him the best tribute that any statesman can deserve: without sacrificing the honour of his country, he tried to preserve the greatest interest of all countries – universal peace.

Asquith, British Prime Minister, speaking in Parliament, 6 August 1914.

# Source E

There can be no doubt that British opinion was deeply opposed to becoming involved in a war that seemed to be caused by a minor quarrel in the Balkans. Lloyd George (the Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1914) reported on his consultations with banking and industrial leaders. He said, 'They were all appalled at the idea of our plunging into the European conflict. It would destroy the whole system of international capitalism with London as its centre. It would hit labour, wages and prices. It would inevitably produce violence and disorder when winter came.' He added that it would harm trade and manufacturing. The danger to British prosperity was so great that at least three-quarters of the British Cabinet were determined not to be involved unless Britain itself was attacked, which seemed unlikely. A powerful section of the press agreed with the German view of a localised war between Austria and Serbia. Britain was mostly concerned with the crisis in Ireland.

A modern American historian considers Britain's role in 1914, published 1969.

Now answer the following question.

'British opinion was opposed to war with Germany in 1914.' Use Sources A–E to show how far the evidence confirms this statement.

#### Section B

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You must answer three questions from this section.

- 2 Why did Robespierre and the Jacobins gain and then lose power in France?
- Why did the Industrial Revolution lead to demands for greater democracy in the nineteenth century?
  (You should refer to at least two of Britain, France and Germany in your answer.)
- 4 Explain why the unified Italy of 1861 was a monarchy and not a republic.
- How important was public opinion as a reason for European involvement in 'New Imperialism' at the end of the nineteenth century?
  (You should refer to at least two of Britain, France and Germany in your answer.)
- 6 Why was neither Nicholas II nor Kerensky able to retain power in Russia in 1917?
- 7 'The most important reason why Hitler gained power was the impact of World War I.' Assess this claim about Germany up to 1934.
- 8 Did the condition of the lower classes in Russia improve or worsen during the period from 1900 to 1939?

Copyright Acknowledgements:

Source E D F Fleming; The Origins and Legacies of World War I; George Allen and Unwin; 1969

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