

HISTORY

0470/22

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–p7]

Option B: 20th Century topic [p8–p13]

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

This document consists of **13** printed pages, **3** blank pages and **1** insert.

Option A: 19th Century topic**WHAT WAS THE ATTITUDE OF FREDERICK WILLIAM TOWARDS THE DEMANDS OF THE REFORMERS IN 1848–49?**

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

Background Information

Frederick William, King of Prussia, was a strange mixture. He believed in the divine right of kings but had a romantic idea of his position and of his relationship with his people. When revolution broke out in Prussia in March 1848 he seemed to be unsure of what to do and his reactions were inconsistent. For example, he called a national assembly but later dissolved it. Because of his actions, his attitudes towards liberal reforms and unifying Germany are unclear.

The people also had mixed feelings about him. One day he could be their hero but on another he was their enemy. In April 1849 he was even offered the crown of a united Germany by the Frankfurt Parliament.

Did Frederick William really have sympathy with the ideas of the reformers?

SOURCE A

What mattered most was what happened in Prussia. On 13 March 1848 cavalry forces in Berlin charged the crowds and as usual showed themselves to be brutal. The crowds, who hated the troops, began to hurl stones. Two days later huge crowds surged about the royal palace and attacked the guards and insisted that the troops be withdrawn from the city.

News of the revolution in Vienna naturally put the situation in Berlin completely out of control. The King now began to make concessions. He announced on 18 March that the Diet would meet, a constitution would be granted and Prussia would assume leadership in the effort to achieve German unity. The crowds responded enthusiastically until they spotted the troops massed in the courtyard of the palace, when they renewed their demands that the troops be withdrawn. The King eventually ordered the army to clear the crowd away from the palace square.

By midnight the army had control over the centre of the city but General Pritwitz had become convinced that to suppress the uprising everywhere would be a long process. The King and his generals were firmly convinced that French and Polish revolutionaries had come in and stirred up the population. When the General advised him to leave for Potsdam to allow the city to be bombarded into submission, the King, fully convinced that his people had not spontaneously revolted against him, refused to abandon Berlin. Instead he composed a pathetic appeal 'To my dear Berliners' which was a surrender. He ordered the withdrawal of the troops to their barracks. The next afternoon a huge crowd appeared before the palace with seven or eight wagons filled with the dead. The King was obliged to appear on the balcony and show respect for these victims. Nothing could have demonstrated more clearly the capitulation of the Prussian monarchy. It was the deepest humiliation ever suffered by the Hohenzollern dynasty. Frederick William completed his surrender by agreeing to the establishment of a Civic Guard, thus placing himself entirely under the protection of his subjects. It was a real misfortune that at this crucial moment the Prussian crown should have been worn by a man so little fitted to the requirements of the modern world.

From a book published in 1969.

SOURCE B

In 1848–49 the hopes of the Frankfurt Parliament lay with Prussia. Frederick William was a strange and complex character, sensitive, cultured and charming but moody. He was a fervent believer in the divine right of kings but he was far from a total reactionary.

On 13 March a demonstration by workers took place in the palace square. The demonstrators threw stones at the troops who replied by opening fire with cannon and rifles. On 16 March, news of revolution in Vienna and the dismissal of Metternich reached Berlin and popular excitement rose even further. Frederick William accepted the idea of a new constitution, agreed to call the Diet, and agreed to end censorship.

On 18 March a large crowd collected outside the royal palace. The King appeared on the balcony and was loudly cheered. He then ordered the troops to clear the crowds and shots were fired. Students and workers immediately set up barricades. At least 300 rioters were killed as troops won control of the city.

The King, who all his life hated bloodshed and disliked the army, decided to make a personal appeal for peace and calm. He wrote a letter 'To my dear Berliners'. Copies were quickly printed and put out in the city centre on the morning of 19 March. Troops were withdrawn and the king was left in his palace guarded only by Berlin citizens who formed a Civic Guard. The King appeared on the balcony and showed respect for the bodies of the dead rioters. Berliners hoped that Frederick William might become a constitutional monarch and that he might support the national revolution. On 21 March he appeared in the streets of Berlin with the German colours – black, red and gold, round his arm. Greeted with enormous applause, he declared 'I want liberty: I will have unity in Germany'. In the following days he granted a series of reforms.

From a book published in 2001.

SOURCE C**To My Dear Berliners**

It rests with you now, 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. Citizens, forget what has happened, just as in my heart I too will forget it for the sake of that great future which will dawn for Prussia and through Prussia for all Germany.

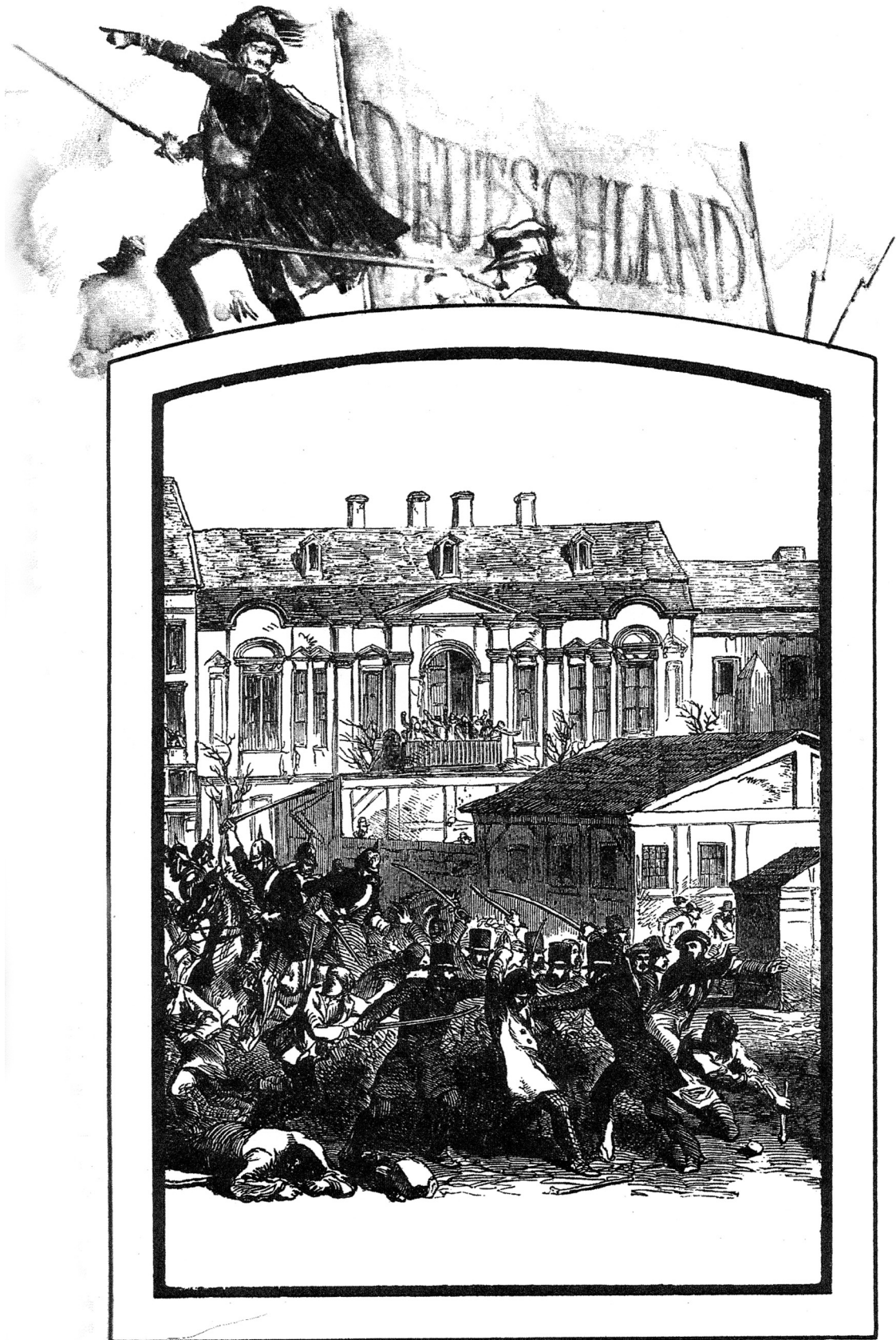
From Frederick William's declaration on 19 March, 1848.

SOURCE D



A drawing, from the time, of the disturbances in Berlin. It is entitled 'The Dance of Death, 1848'.

SOURCE E



A drawing of the disturbances in Berlin, published in Britain in May 1849.

SOURCE F

A meeting was held in which it was decided that where a barricade was removed by the citizens, the troops opposite would be withdrawn. With this reply the deputations of citizens appeared content and most of them left. Suddenly Bodelschwingh entered the room. He declared in a loud voice, 'As the barricades are disappearing so His Majesty commands that all troops should be withdrawn from all streets and squares.' In vain General Prittwitz declared that such a disappearance of the troops from the streets and squares was not sensible. Communications between the various units would be lost, the garrison at the Palace could no longer be supported and the troops would see it as surrendering to the enemy.

We asked if by 'all squares', the Palace squares were included because these were the only ones where returning troops could take up positions. Bodelschwingh then turned to the officers present and said, 'Now run and hide, gentlemen, to pass on the commands of the King. The troops are to march off with drums beating and trumpets sounding.'

From an account of a meeting in March 1848, by General Leopold von Gerlach, Frederick William's chief military adviser. Bodelschwingh was a leading member of the Prussian government.

SOURCE G

There is an unhealthy atmosphere and the general excitement has not lessened since the various declarations of the King. People demand that they want clear concessions, not these vague promises, which appear to be forced by present circumstances and will be reversed as soon as possible. It is impossible to understand the blindness of the King and the inflexibility of Bodelschwingh which will lead to the destruction of the state and send Frederick William on the same path as Louis Philippe. If there are appropriate concessions Frederick William will be welcomed from all sides as the constitutional Emperor of Germany.

A German in Cologne, writing to his son in March 1848 about events in Berlin.

SOURCE H**To My People and to the German Nation**

With confidence I speak today to the German nation, when the Fatherland is in the greatest danger. It can be saved from this danger only by the closest unity of the German princes and people under one leadership.

Today I take over this leadership. I have today taken the German colours and have put Myself and My people under the flag of the German nation. The Diet already called for 2 April offers itself as a lawful way in which to proceed. I intend to invite the princes and estates of Germany.

What is needed today is the formation of a common German national army.

The assembly of the German states will discuss the foundation of a new Germany, of a united, not uniform, Germany, of a unity in diversity, of a unity with freedom. The introduction of a constitution with ministerial responsibility, justice based on juries, equal political rights for all religions, and a truly liberal government, will alone be able to create a higher and inner unity.

From Frederick William's Proclamation to the German people, 21 March 1848.

SOURCE I

About the crown which the Parliament has for sale: every German nobleman is a hundred times too good to accept such a crown moulded out of the dirt and dregs of revolution, disloyalty and treason.

The German National Assembly has counted on me in all things which were calculated to establish the unity of Germany and the power of Prussia. I feel honoured by their confidence but I should not justify that confidence if I, violating sacred rights, were, without the agreement of the crowned Princes and the free states of our Fatherland, to make a decision which must be of decisive importance to them and to the states which they rule.

Frederick William's response in April 1849 to the offer of the German crown by the Frankfurt Parliament.

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 do you think Frederick William issued this declaration in March 1848? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

3 Study Sources D and E.

How similar are these two drawings? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [7]

4 Study Sources F and G.

Which of these two sources is more useful to a historian studying events in Berlin in 1848? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [7]

5 Study Sources H and I.

Does Source H make Source I surprising? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [9]

6 Study **all** the sources.

How far do these sources provide convincing evidence that Frederick William accepted the ideas of the reformers of 1848–49? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

Option B: 20th Century topic**WAS CHAMBERLAIN'S POLICY TOWARDS GERMANY A FAILURE?**

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

Background Information

After he had achieved the Anschluss with Austria in March 1938, Hitler turned his attention to Czechoslovakia. On 15 September Chamberlain (the British Prime Minister) met Hitler at Berchtesgaden and was told that Hitler wanted the Sudetenland to be incorporated into Germany. On 21 September the Czech government was told by Britain and France that it could either give in to German demands or fight Germany alone. Further meetings took place at Bad Godesberg on 22 September and Munich on 29 September. It was agreed that the Sudetenland should be incorporated into Germany by 10 October.

Chamberlain was a central figure in all the negotiations over Czechoslovakia. How successful was he?

SOURCE A

Chamberlain's broad aim in foreign policy was, as he told Parliament in 1937, a general settlement of the grievances of the world without war. The grievances arose out of the Treaty of Versailles, which the Germans regarded as a diktat, and was obviously unfair. Throughout the course of the late 1930s Chamberlain was faced by the problem of whether to defend those artificial creations of the peace settlement, such as Austria and Czechoslovakia, which he knew to be unworkable, or follow his own 'appeasing' instincts and let them dissolve. Why should Britain stand in the way of the German minority of 3.25 million in Czechoslovakia returning to Germany?

Even before Chamberlain met Hitler on 22 September, doubts were growing in Britain about Chamberlain's policy. In the meeting Hitler insisted on immediate cession of the Sudetenland, to be followed by military occupation. If no agreement were reached, he threatened to send troops in within six days. Chamberlain agreed and reported, when he returned to Britain, that Hitler had no ambition beyond the Sudetenland and that he was a man Chamberlain could do business with. The Munich conference on 29 September merely affected the timing and means of the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia. Instead of the Sudetenland being forcibly occupied as Hitler had demanded, the occupation was spread over the first ten days of October. Munich was in one respect a triumph for Chamberlain. Hitler had been obliged to abandon his plan to 'smash Czechoslovakia by military action'. At the beginning of September Hitler was confident that Britain would not intervene but by 27 September Hitler had been persuaded by Chamberlain's actions that there was a risk of war and had sent a note dropping his threat to use military force. After Munich Chamberlain returned home waving a piece of paper that he had persuaded Hitler to sign. It promised that Britain and Germany would 'never go to war again'.

From a history book published in 1994.

SOURCE B

Czechoslovakia consisted of a number of mixed nationalities artificially amalgamated into a nation by the peacemakers of 1919. During 1938 Hitler presented himself as the defender of the so-called 'oppressed minority' of Sudeten Germans. Chamberlain believed that the Czech problem had to be solved by negotiation. On 22 September 1938, the self-styled 'messenger of peace' took Hitler the news of the Czech agreement to hand the Sudetenland over to Germany. But he then found that Hitler had new demands, which included an immediate German occupation of the Sudetenland. Astonishingly Chamberlain was even willing to agree with this. The later Munich Conference simply agreed to the Sudetenland being peacefully incorporated into Germany. It seems Hitler, despite gaining the Sudetenland without firing a shot, was dissatisfied with Munich and was eager to push ahead with his own desire to occupy the remainder of Czechoslovakia at the earliest opportunity. In a separate meeting, Chamberlain persuaded Hitler to sign a piece of paper which declared that Britain and Germany would 'never go to war with one another again'. To Hitler, it was a worthless piece of paper.

The Munich agreement was celebrated as a triumph for Chamberlain but not everyone agreed. The Soviet Union believed that Britain and France were happy so long as Hitler moved eastward. The seeds of the later Nazi-Soviet Pact were probably planted in the mind of Stalin at the time of Munich. In Britain the cheers and acclaim for Chamberlain were symbolic of a deep longing to avoid a second world war.

From a history book published in 1997.

SOURCE C

A cartoon published in a British newspaper on 25 September 1938. The man in the cartoon is Chamberlain.

SOURCE D



"I HAVE SIGNED EVERYTHING": Mr. Chamberlain.

A cartoon published in Britain in a Communist newspaper on 1 October 1938. The figures on the left are Daladier (the French Prime Minister) and Chamberlain. The figures on the right are Mussolini and Hitler.

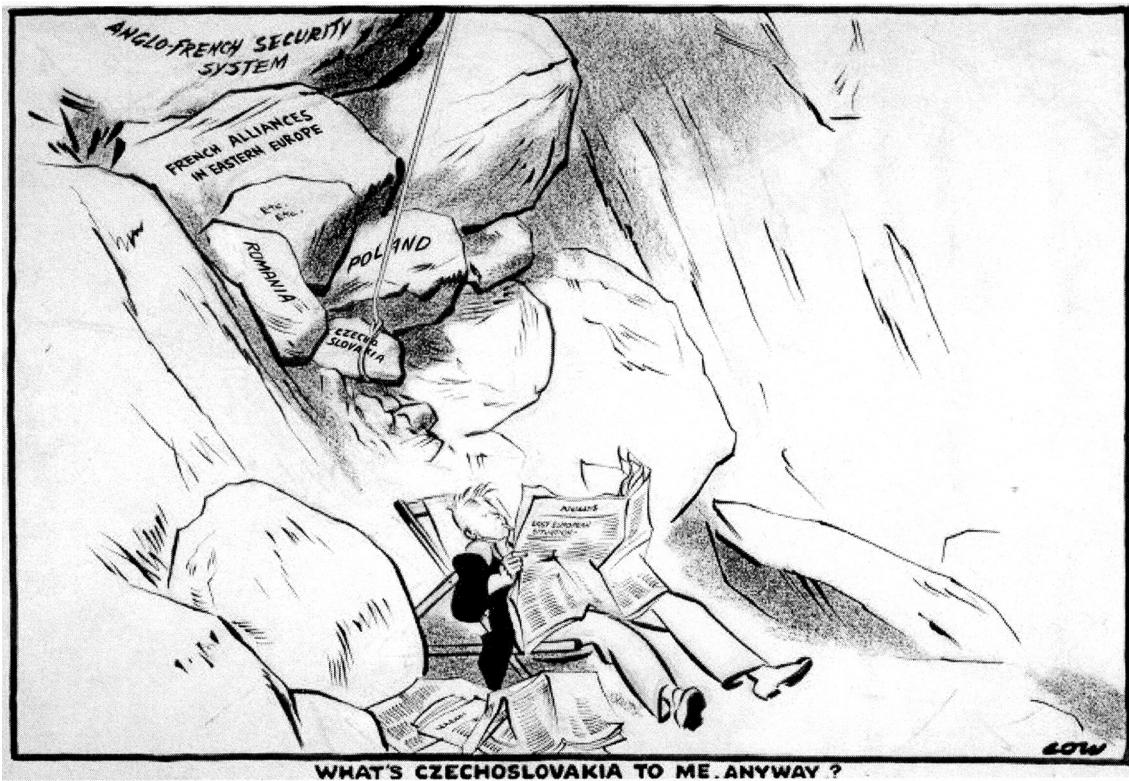
SOURCE E

How horrible, fantastic, incredible it is, that we should be digging trenches and trying on gas-masks here, because of a quarrel in a faraway country between people of whom we know nothing.

However much we may sympathise with a small nation confronted by a big and powerful neighbour, we cannot in all circumstances undertake to involve the whole British Empire in war simply on its account. If we have to fight, it must be on larger issues than that. I am myself a man of peace to the depths of my soul; armed conflict between nations is a nightmare to me. War is a fearful thing, and we must be very clear before we embark on it, that it is really the great issues that are at stake.

From a radio broadcast by Chamberlain to the British people on 27 September 1938.

SOURCE F



A cartoon published in Britain in July 1938.

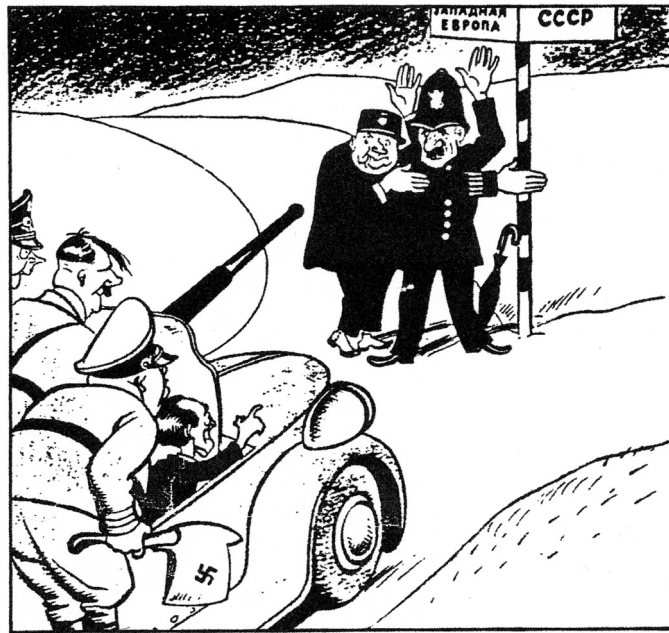
SOURCE G

Chamberlain at last came into Parliament, and was cheered frantically by members of all parties. Everyone appreciates the great efforts he has made. I sat immediately behind him. Chamberlain rose, and in measured, stately English, began the tale of his negotiations with Hitler. He was calm, deliberate, good-tempered and patient. With just a suggestion of a smile he told how he had telegraphed to both Hitler and Mussolini this morning; he had sought Mussolini's help and intervention, and how he had not let him down, but had acted promptly.

Members of Parliament thought there might yet be hope. The Führer had agreed to postpone negotiations for another 24 hours – and then the PM produced a masterstroke, and read a message. 'That is not all. I have something further to say,' and he told how Hitler had invited him to Munich tomorrow morning, that Mussolini had accepted the same invitation, that M. Daladier in all probability would do so too – every heart throbbed and there was born in many, in me, at least, a gratitude, an admiration for Chamberlain which will be eternal. I felt sick with enthusiasm, longed to clutch him – he continued for a word or two and then we all cheered and bellowed our approval. We stood on our benches, waved our order papers, and shouted – a scene of indescribable enthusiasm. Peace must now be saved, and with it the world.

From the diary of Henry Channon, 28 September 1938. Channon was a Conservative MP who held a minor post in Chamberlain's government.

SOURCE H



A cartoon published in the Soviet Union in 1939. The policemen represent Daladier and Chamberlain. The СССР is the Soviet Union.

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 Sources E and F.

Does Source E prove that the cartoonist of Source F is wrong? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

4 Study Source G.

Do you trust this source? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [7]

5 Study Source H.

Why was this source published in 1939? 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 Chamberlain was successful in his dealings with Germany over Czechoslovakia? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

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