



UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL EXAMINATIONS  
International General Certificate of Secondary Education

---

**HISTORY**

**0470/21**

Paper 2

**October/November 2013**

**2 hours**

Additional Materials: Answer Booklet/Paper

---

**READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST**

If you have been given an Answer Booklet, follow the instructions on the front cover of the Booklet.

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 diagrams, graphs or rough working.

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

**DO NOT WRITE IN ANY BARCODES.**

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–p14]

At the end of the examination, fasten all your work securely together.

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



---

This document consists of **14** printed pages and **2** blank pages.



**Option A: 19th Century topic****HOW FAR WAS GERMANY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE RISING TENSIONS  
IN EUROPE BEFORE THE FIRST WORLD WAR?**

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

**Background Information**

In the twenty or so years before the outbreak of the First World War tensions between the different countries in Europe gradually grew. There were several crises during these years. There was also growing competition between the major powers over the size of their navies and empires. The system of alliances has been blamed for dividing Europe, as have forces such as nationalism and imperialism. However, many people at the time placed the blame for growing tension, and ultimately for the war, on Germany.

How far was Germany to blame for rising tensions in the years before the First World War?

**SOURCE A**

The World War was directly triggered by officials of the Russian General Staff. But their conduct was a natural outcome of the criminal activity of the Austrian Foreign Minister, and this in turn was aided by criminal negligence in Berlin. The self-centred William II and Bethmann Hollweg gave a free hand to the evil Berchtold; and the decision speedily passed from diplomats to general staffs.

Yet we must not take too seriously a few actors who strutted on the stage of European politics in July 1914 and who by cowardice or cunning sparked off armed conflict. They would have been quite unable to trigger any international war had they not been the more or less willing agents of immense forces which for a generation had been pushing the world to war. The whole world was parcelled out among states whose mutual distrusts and jealousies were quickened by rival nationalisms and rival imperialisms and these states were divided into two huge armed camps. The rapid rise of nationalism in the Balkans made Austro-Russian imperial rivalry in south-eastern Europe very dangerous. Nationalism among the subject peoples of the Austrian Empire directly embittered the relations between Germany and Russia. The attempts of Germany to obtain a commanding position in world trade and in overseas empires aroused the nationalism of France and England.

Nationalists and businessmen were pushing their governments into intense rivalry with one another. Armies and navies were standing by to enforce economic interests and national honour. The world was set for a gigantic war and those responsible included not just a few scheming diplomats but groups of businessmen and nationalists.

*From a book published in 1926. Bethmann Hollweg was Chancellor of Germany,  
Berchtold was Austria's Foreign Minister.*

**SOURCE B**

It would be wrong to exaggerate the rigidity of the system of alliances or to regard war as inevitable. The existing alliances were all fragile. In France the Russian alliance was increasingly unpopular, while Britain had reached an agreement with Germany over the Baghdad railway. In Russia there was dislike of the split with Germany. Plenty of Germans knew that the ring around them was not solid.

It has been strongly argued that the Germans deliberately timed war for August 1914. There is little evidence for this. Bethmann and William II were incapable of consistent policy. The Germans were involved in war by Austria-Hungary, but they went willingly. Historians have looked for some deep cause of the war but the immediate cause was simple. It was the Austro-Hungarian failure to solve its national problems. It blamed Serbia for the South Slav discontent; it would be far truer to say that this discontent involved Serbia, against its will, in Habsburg affairs. In July 1914 the Habsburg statesmen took the easy course of violence against Serbia. Austria-Hungary launched war in 1914 and rightly counted on the support from Germany; it would not have acted in such a way without the repeated encouragements from Berlin. The murder at Sarajevo revived the Balkan question. Berchtold was determined to force war on Serbia, and William II and Bethmann did more than give him a free hand; they encouraged Austria-Hungary to start a war against Serbia. The Austro-Hungarian declaration of war on Serbia was the decisive act; everything else followed from it.

As to the Balance of Power, it would be truer to say that the war was caused by its breakdown rather than by its existence. There is a deeper explanation still. No one took the dangers of war seriously and none expected a social catastrophe. They believed that war would put off their social and economic problems. William was able to say 'Now, I see only Germans' while a member of the British government said 'If we are engaged in war, we shall suffer but little more than we shall suffer if we stand aside.'

*From a book published in 1954.*

**SOURCE C**

*A cartoon published in Britain in 1904. Underneath the cartoon were the words 'Let Germany be careful now.'*

**SOURCE D**

Either Germany is definitely aiming at a general political and maritime ascendancy, threatening the independence of her neighbours and ultimately the existence of England; or Germany, free from any such clear-cut ambition and thinking for the present, is merely using its rightful position and influence as one of the leading powers to promote its foreign trade and create new German interests all over the world whenever there is a peaceful opportunity.

*Written in 1907 by an official in the British Foreign Office.*

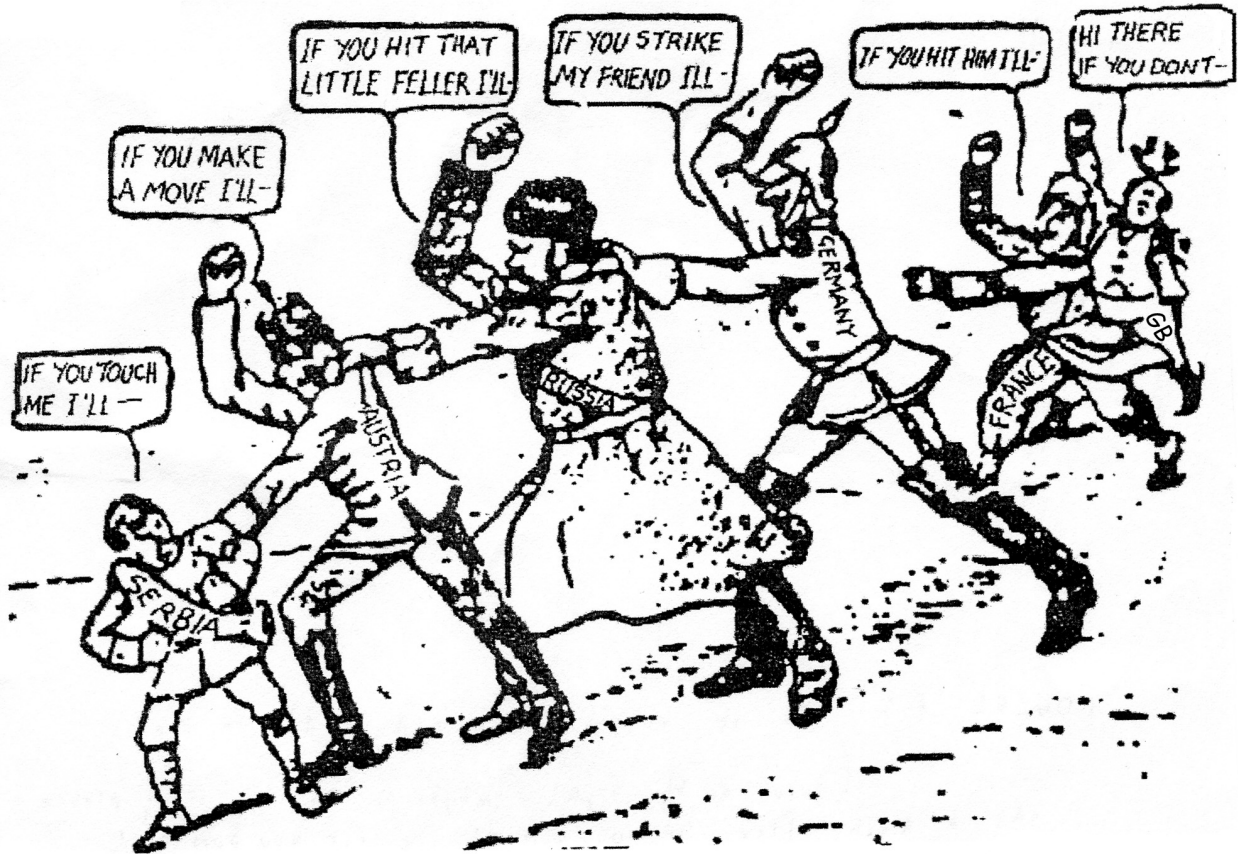
**SOURCE E**

You English [he said] are mad, mad, mad. What has come over you that you are so completely given over to suspicions quite unworthy of a great nation? What more can I do than I have done? I declared with all the emphasis at my command, that my heart is set upon peace, and that it is one of my dearest wishes to live on the best of terms with England. I have said time after time that I am a friend of England, and your press – at least a considerable section of it – tells the people of England to refuse my hand and hints that the other holds a dagger. How can I convince a nation against its will?

But, you will say, what of the German navy? Surely, that is a menace to England! Against whom but England are my squadrons being prepared? My answer is clear. Germany is a young and growing empire. It has a worldwide commerce which is rapidly expanding, and to which the rightful ambition of patriotic Germans refuses to give any bounds. Germany must have a powerful fleet to protect that commerce and its many interests in even the most distant seas. Germany expects those interests to go on growing, and it must be able to support them in any part of the world. Germany's horizons stretch far away.

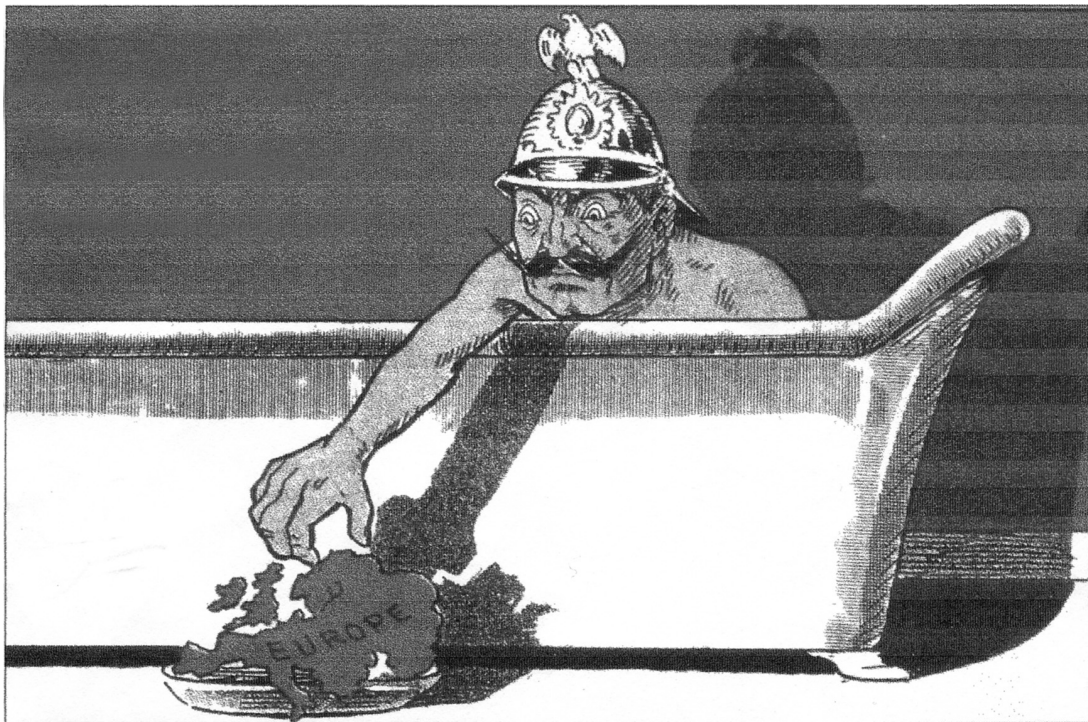
*From an interview William II gave to a British newspaper in 1908.*

## SOURCE F



A cartoon, entitled 'A Chain of Friendship', published in an American newspaper, July 1914.

## SOURCE G



A cartoon published in Britain in 1914. A caption with the cartoon contained the words 'He won't give up until he gets it.'

**SOURCE H**

Bethmann stood in the centre of the room. Shall I ever forget his face? I said to him ‘Well, tell me how it happened.’ He raised his long thin arms to heaven and answered in a dull exhausted voice ‘Oh – if I only knew!’ In many later arguments on ‘war guilt’ I have often wished it had been possible to produce a snapshot of Bethmann Hollweg at the moment he said those words. Such a photograph would have been the best proof that this wretched man had never wanted war.

*Prince Bülow’s description of visiting Bethmann Hollweg early in August 1914. It comes from his Memoirs, published in 1931. Bülow was a German politician and had been Chancellor of Germany.*

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

**2 Study Source C.**

Why was this source published in 1904? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

**3 Study Sources D and E.**

How far does Source E explain why the author of Source D was uncertain about Germany’s plans? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

**4 Study Sources F and G.**

How far would the two cartoonists have agreed with each other? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

**5 Study Source H.**

Are you surprised by this source? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [7]

**6 Study all the sources.**

How far do these sources provide convincing evidence that Germany was responsible for rising tensions in Europe before the First World War? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

**Option B: 20th Century topic****WHO ACTED MORE RESPONSIBLY DURING THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS,  
KENNEDY OR KHRUSHCHEV?**

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

**Background Information**

Early on Tuesday 16 October 1962, John F. Kennedy's national security adviser, McGeorge Bundy, brought to the President's bedroom some high-altitude photographs taken from U-2 planes flying over Cuba. They showed Soviet soldiers hurriedly and secretly setting up nuclear-armed missiles. This discovery led to the Cuban Missile Crisis. Kennedy and his advisers had to decide what to do. Letters containing demands and proposals went back and forth between the two governments. On 26 October, Kennedy received a letter from Khrushchev offering to remove the missiles in return for a promise not to invade Cuba. Perhaps the crisis was over. However, the next morning another letter arrived demanding the removal of US missiles from Turkey. Kennedy was faced with the problem of how to respond to these different demands.

By 28 October the crisis was over. The world had come close to nuclear war but the danger had been averted. Who helped more to avoid such a catastrophe, Kennedy or Khrushchev?

**SOURCE A**

The scheme to install nuclear missiles in Cuba was crack-brained. It was dangerous and accompanied by a combination of boasting and deception. Khrushchev deliberately lied to Kennedy: when questioned, he admitted Russia was arming Castro but gave assurances that only short-range surface-to-air missiles were being installed. The lie was particularly childish, since US aerial surveillance instantly revealed the truth. By mid-October nine tactical missiles, equipped with nuclear warheads and with ranges of 30 miles, were already operational and their local Soviet commander had authority to use them at his own discretion.

Kennedy and his advisers invited and considered a wide range of opinions. Kennedy had been infuriated by Khrushchev's lying and was determined that the missiles had to go. But he was also persuaded by Secretary of State Dean Rusk that an unannounced air-strike on the sites would smack of Pearl Harbor and was not in the US tradition. In the end Kennedy and his colleagues decided to hold air-strikes in reserve, and in the meantime impose a 'quarantine' on Cuba, forbidding further Soviet ships to enter the area. On 24 October, Soviet missile-carrying ships approaching the quarantine line stopped, and slowly turned round.

When Kennedy contacted Khrushchev again, Khrushchev demanded a promise not to invade Cuba and the removal of missiles from Turkey. Kennedy ignored the second demand but agreed with the first, and it was on this basis that Khrushchev agreed to remove the missiles.

That was what the world knew at the time and it hailed a Kennedy victory, as he did. He laughed about Khrushchev, 'I totally destroyed him'. When Khrushchev was dismissed a year later, his colleagues referred to his 'hairbrained scheming and hasty decisions'.

There is no doubt that the world came close to nuclear war. However, thirty years later, the Cuban Missile Crisis looks different. It now appears that Kennedy privately agreed that he would pull out the missiles from Turkey and later did so. Secondly, 42000 Soviet troops and experts in Cuba remained. Thirdly, Kennedy appears to have agreed to restrain any efforts by Cuban exiles to invade Cuba. Kennedy allowed the continuance of a Communist regime in Cuba in open military alliance with Russia.

*From a book published in 1997.*



**SOURCE B**

We were sure that the Americans would never reconcile themselves to the existence of Castro's Cuba. We had to establish an effective deterrent to American interference in the Caribbean. The logical answer was missiles. The United States had already surrounded the Soviet Union with its own missiles. We knew that American missiles were aimed against us in Turkey and Italy. I found myself in the difficult position of having to decide on a course of action which would also avoid war. I had the idea of installing missiles with nuclear warheads in Cuba. I knew that the United States could knock out some of these installations, but not all of them. Even if we had only one or two big missiles left we could still hit New York. However, the main thing was that the missiles would, I thought, restrain the United States from precipitous military action. We had no desire to start a war.

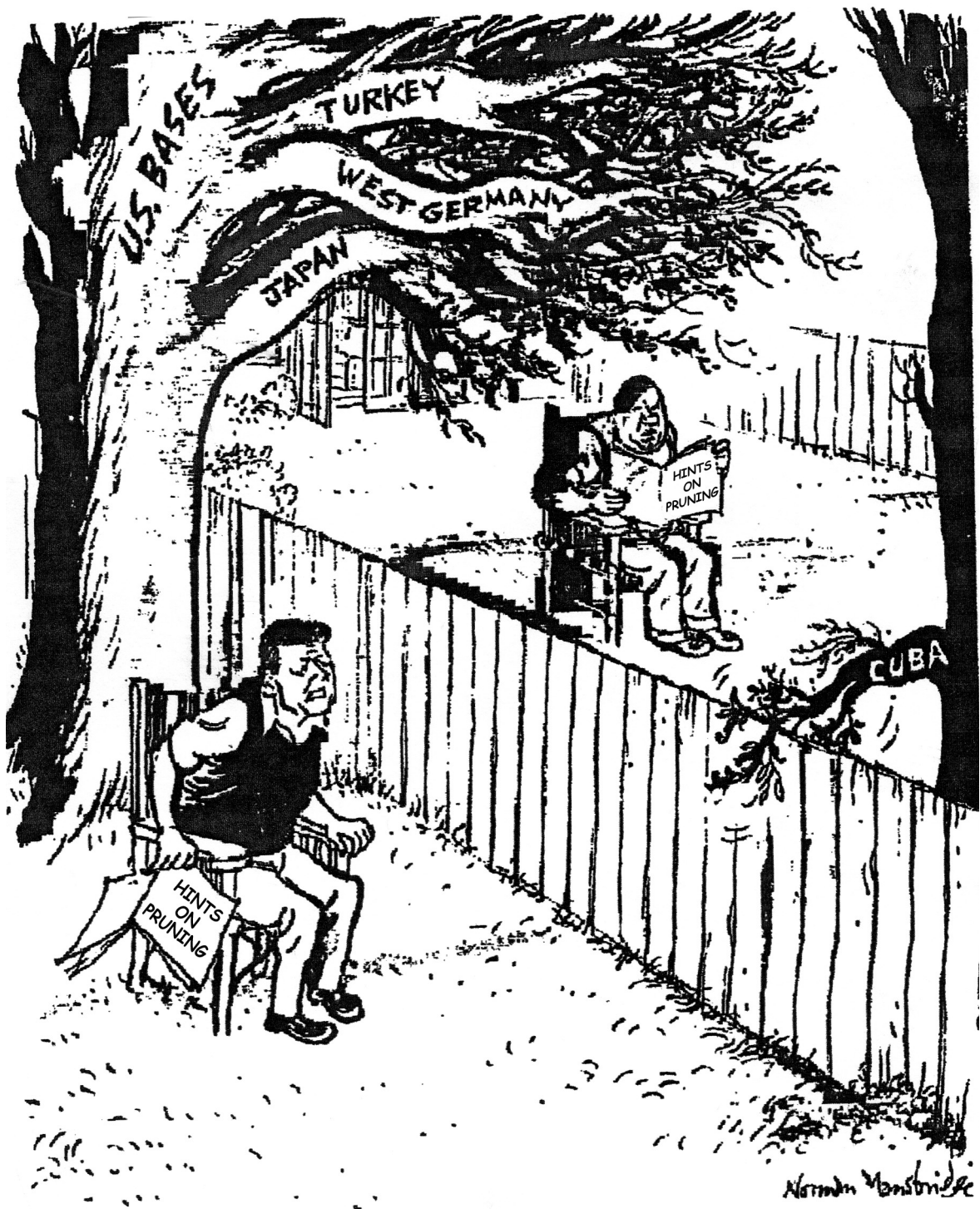
The United States completely surrounded Cuba with their navy. Our ships, with the remainder of our deliveries, headed straight through the ships of the American navy. We had almost completed our shipments and had installed enough missiles to destroy New York and Washington.

President Kennedy issued an ultimatum, demanding that we remove our missiles and bombers from Cuba. We sent the Americans a note saying that we agreed to remove our missiles and bombers on the condition that the President give us his assurance that there would be no invasion of Cuba. Finally, Kennedy gave in and agreed.

In our negotiations during the crisis, the Americans had been open and honest with us. The two most powerful nations of the world had been squared off against each other, each with its finger on the button. The episode ended in a triumph of common sense. I'll always remember the late President with deep respect. It was a great victory for us, though, that we had been able to extract a promise that America would not invade Cuba. We had achieved a spectacular success without having to fire a single shot.

*From Khrushchev's memoirs, published in 1971.*

SOURCE C



A cartoon published in Britain in October 1962. President Kennedy is on the left, Khrushchev is on the right. (Pruning means cutting back.)

**SOURCE D**

Our purpose has been to help Cuba develop as its people desire. You want to relieve your country from danger. Your rockets are stationed in Turkey. You are worried about Cuba. You say it worries you because it lies at a distance of 90 miles from the United States. Turkey lies next to us!

I make this proposal. We agree to remove the missiles from Cuba. The United States will remove its missiles from Turkey. The Soviet Union will promise not to invade or interfere with the internal affairs of Turkey, the United States to make the same promise with regard to Cuba.

*From a letter sent by Khrushchev on 26 October 1962. Kennedy received it on 27 October.*

**SOURCE E**

I have read your letter of 26 October with great care and welcome the statement of your desire to seek a prompt solution to the problem. The first thing that needs to be done is for work to stop on offensive missile bases in Cuba and for all weapon systems in Cuba to be made inoperable.

Assuming this is done, we agree (a) to remove the quarantine measure now in effect and (b) to give assurances against an invasion of Cuba.

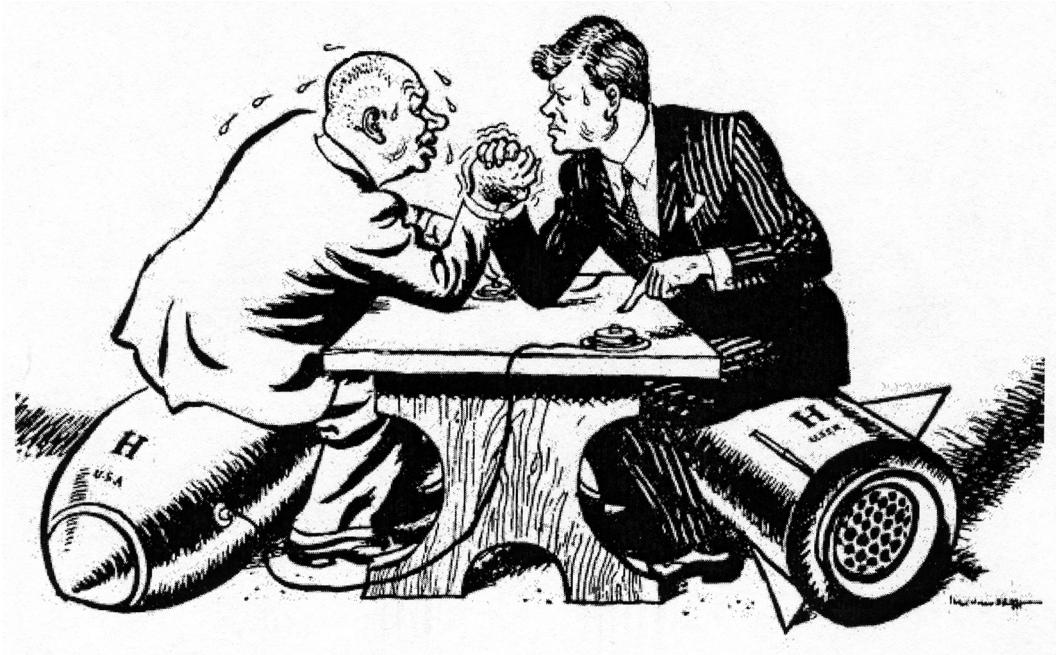
*From Kennedy's reply to Khrushchev sent on 27 October 1962.*

**SOURCE F**

He raised the question of our removing the missiles from Turkey. I said that there could be no deal or arrangement made under this kind of pressure. However, I said President Kennedy had been anxious to remove those missiles from Turkey for a long period of time. He had ordered their removal some time ago, and it was our judgement that within a short time after this crisis was over, those missiles would be gone. I said President Kennedy wished to have peaceful relations between our two countries.

*Robert Kennedy's account of his meeting with Dobrynin, the Soviet Ambassador in the USA, on 27 October. This account was written in Robert Kennedy's book 'Thirteen Days', published in 1969. Robert Kennedy was President Kennedy's brother, and one of his closest advisers during the crisis.*

SOURCE G



*A cartoon published in Britain on 29 October 1962.*

SOURCE H



A cartoon published in an American newspaper, November 1962.

**SOURCE I**

During the crisis President Kennedy spent more time trying to determine the effect of a particular course of action on Khrushchev than on anything else he was doing. What guided all his decisions was an effort not to humiliate Khrushchev. President Kennedy dedicated himself to making it clear to Khrushchev that the United States had limited objectives. During our talks he kept stressing that we would have war if we placed the Soviet Union in a position it believed would adversely affect its national security. Even after it was all over, President Kennedy made no statement attempting to take credit for himself. He instructed that no interview should be given which would claim any kind of victory.

*From Robert Kennedy's book 'Thirteen Days', published in 1969.*

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.**

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

**3 Study Sources D, E and F.**

Having read Source E, are you surprised by Source F? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

**4 Study Sources G and H.**

How far would the two cartoonists have agreed with each other? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

**5 Study Source I.**

How useful is Source I as evidence about the Cuban Missile Crisis? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [7]

**6 Study all the sources.**

How far do these sources provide convincing evidence that President Kennedy acted responsibly during the Cuban Missile Crisis? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]



## BLANK PAGE

---

**Copyright Acknowledgements:**

- Option A Source A © Encyclopedia Britannica; 1926.  
 Option A Source B © A. J. P. Taylor; *The Struggle for Mastery in Europe*; Oxford University Press; 1954.  
 Option A Source C © J. A. Harkness, H. McMillan, D. Moore; *Co-operation and Conflict: International Relations*; Hodder & Stoughton; 1991.  
 Option A Source D © J. Lowe & R. Pearce; *Rivalry & Accord: International Relations 1870-1914*; Hodder Murray; 2001.  
 Option A Source E © H. Mills, G. Bean, J. Pipe; *The Road to Sarajevo*; Macmillan Press; 1996.  
 Option A Source F © [www.johnandclare.net/causes.2224.htm](http://www.johnandclare.net/causes.2224.htm).  
 Option A Source G © H. Mills, G. Bean, J. Pipe; *The Road to Sarajevo*; Macmillan Press; 1996.  
 Option A Source H © L. C. F. Turner; *Origins of the First World War*; Arnold; 1970.  
 Option B Source A © P. Johnson; *A History of the American People*; Wiedenfield & Nicolson; 1997.  
 Option B Source B © ed. E. Crankshaw; *Khrushchev Remembers*; Andre Deutsch; 1971.  
 Option B Source C © Arthur Horner Cartoon; New Statesman; 14 October 1966.  
 Option B Source D © R. Kennedy; *Thirteen Days, The Cuban Missile Crisis, October 1962*; Pan Books; 1969.  
 Option B Source E © R. Kennedy; *Thirteen Days, The Cuban Missile Crisis, October 1962*; Pan Books; 1969.  
 Option B Source F © R. Kennedy; *Thirteen Days, The Cuban Missile Crisis, October 1962*; Pan Books; 1969.  
 Option B Source G © Cartoon; Associated Newspapers / Solo Syndication.  
 Option B Source H © Cartoon; Washington Post.  
 Option B Source I © R. Kennedy; *Thirteen Days, The Cuban Missile Crisis, October 1962*; Pan Books; 1969.

Permission to reproduce items where third-party owned material protected by copyright is included has been sought and cleared where possible. Every reasonable effort has been made by the publisher (UCLES) to trace copyright holders, but if any items requiring clearance have unwittingly been included, the publisher will be pleased to make amends at the earliest possible opportunity.

University of Cambridge International Examinations is part of the Cambridge Assessment Group. Cambridge Assessment is the brand name of University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate (UCLES), which is itself a department of the University of Cambridge.