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

HISTORY 9697/01

Paper 1 Modern European History, 1789–1939

October/November 2004

3 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 on both sides of the paper.

You may use a soft pencil for any diagrams, graphs or rough working.

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

Answer four questions.

You must answer Question 1 (Section A), and any three questions from Section B.

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

All questions in this paper carry equal marks.

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

You must answer Question 1.

PUBLIC OPINION AND THE OUTBREAK OF WORLD WAR I

1 Read the sources, and then answer the question.

Source A

Serbian propaganda openly revealed its purpose and attempted, under the patronage of the Serbian Government, to achieve its ends by every means in its power. The whole of the Serbian press was calling for war against Austria-Hungary by malicious attacks in which facts were twisted and groups were being formed to prepare for this war.

The Serbian Government has done nothing to suppress this movement. The anti-Austro-Hungarian propaganda has only increased in extent and volume. Hatred against Austria-Hungary has been fanned into a feeling which prevents reconciliation. The Serbian people were summoned to the 'inevitable death struggle' against Austria-Hungary. Above all, the Serbian press has since then worked incessantly in this spirit. Serbian public opinion believes that the annexation by Austria-Hungary of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908 was robbery for which revenge is due.

Count Berchtold, Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, reporting to all of the Austro-Hungarian ambassadors in major European countries, 25 July 1914.

Source B

I have heard with the greatest anxiety of the effect of Austria-Hungary's action against Serbia. The unscrupulous agitation, which has been going on for years in Serbia, has led to the revolting crime of which Archduke Franz Ferdinand has become a victim. The spirit which made the Serbians murder the Archduke Franz Ferdinand dominates Serbia. Doubtless you will agree with me that both of us, and all other sovereigns, have a common interest to insist that all those who are responsible for this horrible murder shall suffer their deserved punishment.

On the other hand I by no means overlook the difficulty encountered by you and your government in stemming the tide of public opinion. In view of the cordial friendship between us for a long time, I shall use all my influence to persuade Austria-Hungary to obtain a satisfactory understanding with Russia. I hope confidently that you will support me in my efforts to overcome all difficulties which may yet arise.

Your most sincere and devoted friend and cousin, William

Kaiser William II, telegram to Tsar Nicholas II, 28 July 1914.

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Source C

German public opinion is divided into two groups on the question of the possibility of war. There are forces who favour peace but they are unorganised and have no popular leaders. They believe that war would be a misfortune for Germany, and that the manufacturers of guns and armour would get the greatest benefit, but above all that war would profit Great Britain.

These forces consist of the following elements. The bulk of the workmen, artisans and peasants, who are peace-loving by instinct. Those members of the nobility who have no military interests and are engaged in business. Numerous small manufacturers, merchants and financiers to whom war, even if successful, would mean bankruptcy. Poles, inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine, and Schleswig-Holstein which were conquered and hostile to Prussian policy. The governments and the governing classes in the large southern German states because a successful war would only profit Prussia, against which they have difficulty in defending their political independence and administrative rights. These groups of people prefer peace to war; but they are either unimportant in political matters, with limited influence on public opinion, or they are silent social forces, passive and defenceless against the wave of warlike feeling.

Those in favour of war are divided into several categories. Some want war because in the present circumstances they think it is inevitable – and, as far as Germany is concerned, the sooner the better. Others regard war as necessary for economic reasons based on over-population, the need for markets and outlets; or for social reasons, that is, to provide the outside interests that alone can prevent the rise of socialism and democracy. Others, uneasy for the safety of the German colonies, and believing that time is on the side of France, think that events should be brought to an immediate head. Others want war because they hate revolutionary France; others finally from a feeling of sheer wickedness.

Report to the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs on public opinion in Germany compiled by French diplomats, 30 July 1913.

Source D

There is no war party in this country. On the contrary, the horrors of war have already seized the public imagination. On the roads and in buses in London, the people were heard to express their indignation at the swift and tragic developments on the Continent.

The Daily News, a British newspaper, 3 August 1914.

Source E

Enthusiasm increased in London when it became known that war had been declared. The news was received with tremendous cheering which grew into a deafening roar when King George V, Queen Mary and the Prince of Wales appeared on the balcony of Buckingham Palace. The main streets were filled with excited crowds. Union Jack flags were seen everywhere and the air was filled with patriotic songs. There was a hostile crowd outside the German Embassy where the windows were smashed. A force of police was quickly on the scene but had difficulty in restoring order.

The Daily News, 4 August 1914.

Now answer the following question.

'Politicians were forced to declare war in 1914 because of the pressure of public opinion.' Use Sources A-E to show how far the evidence confirms this statement.

SECTION B

You must answer three questions from this section.

- 2 How far, and why, did the aims of the revolutionaries in France change during the period from 1789 to 1793?
- 3 How true is the claim that the most important political effect of industrialisation in the nineteenth century was to encourage the demand for democracy? (You should refer to developments in at least two of Britain, France and Germany in your answer.)
- 4 How consistent were Bismarck's aims and methods from 1862 to 1871?
- 5 Assess the effects of imperial expansion on Europe in the later nineteenth century.
- 6 How far did Nicholas II personally cause the downfall of the tsarist government in 1917?
- 7 Why was Hitler able to establish dictatorial rule in Germany in the 1930s?
- 8 Why, by 1900, was Russia less industrialised than Britain and Germany?

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