



UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL EXAMINATIONS
International General Certificate of Secondary Education

HISTORY (US)

0416/21

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 Center number, student 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 scratch work.

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–p11]

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

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

This document consists of **11** printed pages and **1** blank page.



Option A: 19th Century topic**WHO, OR WHAT, CAUSED THE FIRST WORLD WAR?**

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

Background Information

During the years leading up to the First World War relations between Britain and Germany became very complicated. On some issues they still cooperated but the rivalry between them continued to grow. Germany resented the size of the British Empire and navy, while Britain was determined to maintain its imperial and naval dominance. The actions and aims of both have been blamed for the war.

Who, or what, was responsible for the First World War?

SOURCE A

The balance between the factors maintaining peace and those pulling towards war seemed little different in 1914 than before. There was perhaps one difference. In nearly all European countries the forces making for war were much what they had always been. However, in Germany militarism went deeper. Military values determined the tone of German policy in a way that was not true elsewhere. Few Germans doubted that their country was the greatest of European powers and many believed that she was receiving less than her due. Germans were aggrieved that they had come late to the distribution of colonies. This was harmless. But many Germans slipped into the habit of believing that Germany should exercise a sort of general control over Europe. When this was added to the traditional respect which Germans gave to their military chiefs, Germany became the most dangerous power in Europe.

It is the fashion nowadays to seek deep causes for great events. But perhaps the war which broke out in 1914 had no deep causes. International diplomacy, the balance of power, the alliances and the accumulation of armed might had produced peace. Suddenly the situation was turned round, and the very forces which had produced the long peace now produced a great war. In July 1914 things went wrong.

It has been suggested that the balance of power had broken down. Hence the German ministers were eager for war. This is the reverse of the truth. For years past, Germany had been the strongest of powers. In 1914 the French and, more hesitantly, the Russians believed that they were strong enough to face the threat. Earlier crises had ended without war, partly because the issues were not worth fighting about. French control of Morocco and even Serbia's claim to Bosnia in 1909 were topics of remote importance. There was a topic of real importance in 1914: the assertion of Habsburg prestige against Serb nationalism. None of the great powers wished to dispute this but the crisis ran away from them.

When cut down to essentials, the sole cause of the outbreak of war in 1914 was the Schlieffen Plan. Diplomacy functioned until the German demand that France and Russia should not mobilize. No power could have accepted such a demand. Yet the Germans had no deliberate aim of subverting the liberties of Europe. All were trapped by the ingenuity of their military preparations, the Germans most of all. The people of all countries believed they were being called to a defensive war but every defensive operation appeared as an attack to someone else.

From a book published in 1969.

SOURCE B

Was it inevitable? Starting with the July crisis, it is clear that the mechanism that had preserved peace amongst the great powers either failed or served to provoke a war. Allies failed to restrain each other as they had in previous crises. Military pressure played a role late in the day. Mobilization of mass armies was no longer a deterrent. Instead, it put pressure on the decision-making process.

None of the great powers wanted a general war in 1914, but they were all willing to risk it. This was the marked difference with previous crises. Their decisions interacted with each other so that the crisis escalated. Owing to the Schlieffen Plan, the fear of a two-front war, and the Franco-Russian alliance, Germany attacked France as well as Russia. What is striking about the decisions taken in the July crisis is that governments conceived of them as defensive.

Why did this happen in 1914, as opposed to an earlier date? War was the result of an accumulation of decisions, each one of which was not designed to provoke war, but which interacted with other decisions to destroy peace. Taking a longer view, the international system became less stable from 1908 and this instability accelerated in the wake of the Second Moroccan Crisis. A general war was by no means inevitable from 1908 or 1911, but it had become more likely, especially after the latter date. Other features such as the arms race reinforced the possibility of war.

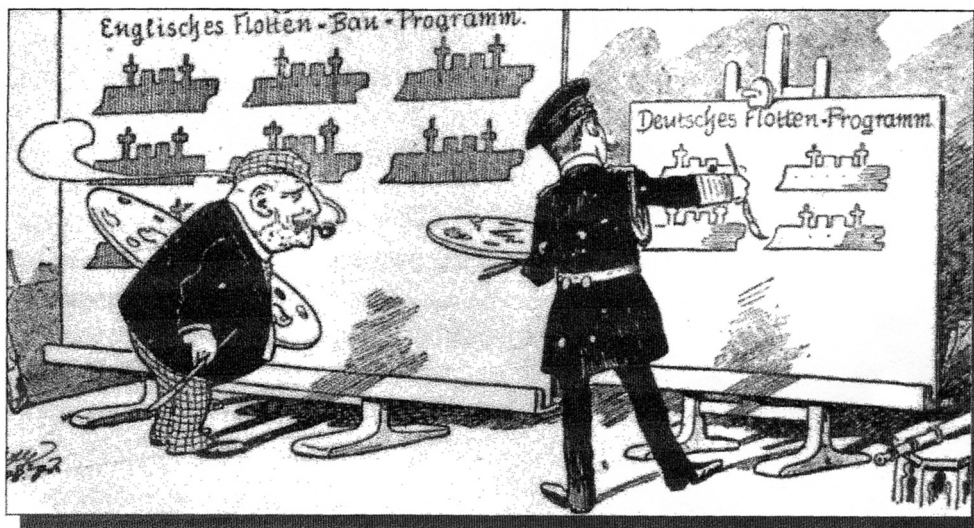
From a book published in 2010.

SOURCE C



A British cartoon published in 1900. Neptune, god of the sea, is saying 'Have I got to learn German at my time of life?'

SOURCE D



A German cartoon published in 1906. The cartoon is entitled 'The Marine Painters of England and Germany'. King Edward VII of Britain is on the left and William II on the right. The caption reads 'Uncle Edward to William, "Your little marine masterpiece is too ambitious; keep it as a practice sketch."'

SOURCE E

Count Szogyeny to Count Berchtold (Strictly Secret), July 5, 1914.

The Emperor authorized me to inform our gracious Majesty that we can rely upon Germany's full support. Especially as far as our action against Serbia was concerned. But it was the Emperor's opinion that this action must not be delayed. Russia's attitude will no doubt be hostile, and should a war between Austria-Hungary and Russia be unavoidable, we can be convinced that Germany would stand at our side. Russia at the present time was in no way prepared for war. If we had really recognized the necessity of warlike action against Serbia, the Emperor would regret if we did not make use of the present moment, which is all in our favor.

A report by Szogyeny, the Austrian ambassador in Berlin, of his conversation with Emperor William II. Berchtold was the Austrian Foreign Minister.

SOURCE F

A decisive statement on the part of the British government of its solidarity with France had in 1911 been sufficient to clear the gathering storm clouds. I am convinced now that, had the British government sided with Russia and France on the Serbian question from the first, Berlin would not have encouraged Austria in its policy of aggression but would, on the contrary, have advised caution and moderation.

From Sazonov's memoirs, published in 1928. In the years before the war, Sazonov was the member of the Russian government in charge of foreign policy.

SOURCE G

There is no evidence to prove that a threatening attitude on our part would have turned Germany or Austria from the path on which they had entered. On the contrary, the evidence is all the other way. Bethmann Hollweg himself has ridiculed the idea that Germany made a miscalculation in counting on British neutrality. 'This,' he writes, 'runs counter to the facts.'

Asquith writing in his memoirs, published in 1923. Asquith was British Prime Minister in the years leading up to the war.

SOURCE H

I had declared in the Reichstag that only the struggle for existence compelled Germany to march through Belgium. What was the British attitude on the same question? The day before, Sir Edward Grey had delivered his speech in Parliament when, although he did not actually state that England would take part in the war, he left the matter in little doubt. Amid all his beautiful phrases about England's honor and obligations, we find that England drew the sword only because it believed its own interests demanded it. Just for Belgian neutrality England would never have entered the war. That is what I meant when I told the Ambassador that, among the reasons which had made England go to war, the Belgian neutrality treaty had for England only the value of a scrap of paper.

I recalled to the Ambassador my efforts for years to bring about an understanding between England and Germany, which would have made a war impossible. But England had not taken up this plan, and its entry into the war had destroyed forever the hope of its fulfilment. In comparison with such momentous consequences, was the treaty not a scrap of paper?

Bethmann Hollweg, the German Chancellor, giving an interview during the war. He is describing his meeting with the British Ambassador in Germany on August 4, 1914.

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 Sources C and D.

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

3 Study Source E.

Are you surprised that this report was secret? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [7]

4 Study Sources F and G.

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

5 Study Source H.

Why do you think Bethmann Hollweg gave this interview? 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 Germany was responsible for causing the First World War? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

Option B: 20th Century topic

WHY DID AMERICA LOSE THE WAR IN VIETNAM?

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

Background Information

Many reasons have been suggested for America's defeat in the Vietnam War. Some historians have blamed decisions by America's military leaders, while others have blamed politicians such as President Johnson. Some claim that the war was lost in America with the growing opposition from the American people but others argue that the war was lost in Vietnam through military failures. Some historians have identified America's failure to win over the support of the people in South Vietnam.

Did America lose the Vietnam War because they failed to win the support of the South Vietnamese people?

SOURCE A

When the Tet Offensive started General Westmoreland, commander of US troops in Vietnam, was delighted. The Communists were at long last waging his kind of big conventional conflict where he wanted to fight – in the countryside – and where his enormous military machine could show dramatic results. The firepower he brought was unprecedented. The jungles surrounding Dak To were pounded by three hundred B-52 missions, more than two thousand fighter-bomber assaults, and chemical warfare units denuded the few remaining shreds of foliage with herbicides. The North Vietnamese and Vietcong losses were staggering, inspiring Westmoreland to proclaim that 'the enemy's hopes are bankrupt.'

As early as December 1967, Westmoreland had warned Washington to expect a 'maximum effort' by the enemy, while others in the military deemed the prospect of an offensive remote. In any case, Westmoreland expected the main action would be centred on the northern provinces, and he shifted his troops to the region. Westmoreland later acknowledged his misjudgment, admitting that he had not anticipated the 'true nature or the scope' of the enemy attacks – yet he at least put his forces on the alert. The Tet Offensive stunned Johnson. He had never imagined that the enemy could attack the US embassy in Saigon or assault the cities of South Vietnam.

The Communists also blundered. 'We have been guilty of many errors,' said their initial evaluation of the campaign, criticising their own failure to inspire the South Vietnamese population to rebel. Many Communist troops were clearly unhappy by the realization that despite their enormous sacrifices during the campaign, they still had a long struggle ahead. A senior Communist general said 'We suffered large losses and as a result we were not only unable to retain the gains we had made but also we did not achieve our main objective which was to spur uprisings throughout the South.' After the war, General Westmoreland alleged that distorted newspaper and television reports of the Tet attacks had transformed a devastating Communist military defeat into a 'psychological victory' for the enemy. However, public support for the war had been slipping for two years before Tet.

From a history book published in 1983.

SOURCE B

The Tet Offensive achieved almost complete surprise. US intelligence had gathered some information of infiltration into southern cities and captured documents that outlined the general plan. American commanders, however, were convinced that the enemy was incapable of conducting an offensive of such a massive scale.

Despite catching the Americans by surprise, Communist forces were not as well coordinated as they might have been, and some premature attacks gave the United States time to reinforce weak areas. However, the US received disappointingly little help from the civilian population.

Tet did not bring about the collapse of South Vietnam, as the Communists discovered a lack of revolutionary fervour in Saigon. Communist forces lost probably 30,000 dead and wounded. The Communists did achieve some success, however. With many rural areas now abandoned by the Americans, thousands of villages returned to Communist control, some for the first time since 1965.

For much of the American public, the Tet Offensive was a rude awakening of the realities of war that prompted a re-evaluation of the nation's commitment. Having been told by leading political and military leaders that the Communists were fading, the public were stunned to find them capable of such an effort. General Giap, the Communists' leading military strategist, said of the Americans, 'Until Tet they had thought they could win the war, but now they knew they could not.'

From a book published in 2008.

SOURCE C



“I can't see the objection to spraying people with napalm if it makes the world a better place to live in.”

A British cartoon published in 1967.

SOURCE D

We would go through a village before dawn, forcing everybody out of bed and kicking down doors, dragging them out if they didn't move fast enough. They all had underground bunkers inside their homes to protect themselves against bombing. But to us the bunkers were Vietcong hiding places, and we would blow them up. If we spotted extra rice lying around, we'd confiscate it to keep them from giving it to the Vietcong. The villagers were herded like cattle into a wire compound, and left to sit in the hot sun. If they had the wrong identity card they'd be beaten badly, maybe tortured. At the end of the day they would be turned loose. Their homes had been wrecked, their rice confiscated – and if they weren't pro-Vietcong before we got there, they sure as hell were by the time we left.

A description by a US marine of what happened when he and other marines visited villages in 1965 to search for Vietcong and give out food and medical care. The marine wrote a book about his experiences when he returned to America.

SOURCE E

Even after the introduction of American troops into South Vietnam in 1965, the war might still have been ended within a few years except for the ill-considered policy of our government against North Vietnam.

Yet even so, the war still could have been won following defeat of the enemy's Tet Offensive in 1968. The United States had the finest military force ever assembled. Had the President allowed a change in strategy and taken advantage of the enemy's weakness to enable the military to carry out planned operations in Laos and Cambodia and north of the Demilitarized Zone, along with intensified bombing, the North Vietnamese would have been broken. Press and television had created an atmosphere not of victory, but of defeat, which coupled with the vocal anti-war elements, profoundly influenced timid officials in Washington. The President allowed public opinion to become a liability.

From General Westmoreland's autobiography, published in 1976.

SOURCE F

Our military strategy in Vietnam was deeply flawed. Beneath Westmoreland's strategy lay the assumption that bombing would prevent the Communists from replacing losses inflicted by US forces through recruitment in the South. That key assumption grossly underestimated the Communists' capacity to recruit in the South. Moreover, American military and civilian leaders assumed we could force the Vietcong and North Vietnamese soldiers to fight it out on the battlefield in a more or less conventional war. Our firepower, together with bombing to choke off supplies, would force them into a settlement. All these assumptions proved to be incorrect.

From a book called 'The Tragedy and Lessons of Vietnam' by Robert McNamara, published in 1995. McNamara was US Secretary of Defence and a leading member of the American government until 1968, when he resigned because of Vietnam.

SOURCE G



'If this boy of yours is real, how come we gotta wind him up all the time?'

A cartoon published in Britain in 1970. The man in the hat is talking to President Nixon.

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 cartoon published at that time? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

3 Study Source D.

How surprised are you by Source D? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

4 Study Sources E and F.

How far does Source F prove that Westmoreland was wrong in Source E? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

5 Study Source G.

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

6 How far do these sources provide convincing evidence that America lost the war in Vietnam because it failed to win the support of the people of South Vietnam? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

BLANK PAGE

Copyright Acknowledgements:

- Option A Source A © A. J. P. Taylor; *War by Time-Table*; Macdonald; 1969.
Option A Source B © William Mulligan; *The Origins of the First World War*; Cambridge University Press; 2010.
Option A Source C © A cartoon published in Germany during the crisis.
Option A Source D © H. Mills, G. Bean & J. Pipe; *The Road to Sarajevo*; Hulton Picture Library / Macmillan Press; 1996.
Option A Source E © Gordon Martel; *Origins of the First World War*; Published by Longman. Reprinted by permission of Pearson Education Ltd; 2008.
Option A Source F © J. A. Harkness, H. Macmillan, D. Moore; *Co-operation and Conflict: International Relations 1890–1930*; Hodder & Stoughton Ltd; 1991.
Option A Source G © J. A. Harkness, H. Macmillan, D. Moore; *Co-operation and Conflict: International Relations 1890–1930*; Hodder & Stoughton Ltd; 1991.
Option B Source A © Stanley Karnow; *Vietnam, A History*; Century; 1983.
Option B Source B © Mitchell K. Hall; *The Vietnam War*; Published by Longman. Reprinted by permission of Pearson Education Ltd; 2008.
Option B Source C © A British cartoon published in 1967.
Option B Source D © Vivienne Sanders; *The USA and Vietnam 1945–75*; Hodder & Stoughton Ltd; 2011.
Option B Source E © Mitchell K Hall; *The Vietnam War*; Published by Longman. Reprinted by permission of Pearson Education Ltd; 2008.
Option B Source F © Robert S. McNamara; *In Retrospect. The Tragedy and Lessons of Vietnam*; Times Books; 1995.
Option B Source G © N. Kelly & G. Lacey; *Modern World History*; British Cartoon Archive / Heinemann; 1999.

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.