



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

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HISTORY

9697/11

Paper 1 Modern European History, 1789–1939

October/November 2012

3 hours

Additional Materials: Answer Paper

* 0 7 3 4 6 1 0 0 7 7 1 1 *

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.



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

You **must** answer Question 1.

RUSSIA'S POLICY BEFORE WORLD WAR I

- 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

Sazonov, the Russian Foreign Minister, told me that if Austria was absolutely determined to disturb the peace, it should not forget that in that event it would have to deal with Europe. Russia could not remain neutral in any move that aimed at the humiliation of Serbia. I told him that I could see no humiliation if Serbia was reminded of its international obligations. Sazonov told me that the situation was also causing serious concern in France and Britain. He also informed the Italian Ambassador of his anxiety about the Austro-Serbian tension. He remarked at the time that Russia would not allow Austria to make threats against Serbia or to take any military measures. He said, 'Russia's policy is peaceful but not weak.'

Portalès, German Ambassador to Russia, reporting to Bethmann Hollweg, the German Chancellor, 21 July 1914.

Source B

Sazonov telephoned me saying that he had just received the text of the ultimatum sent by Austria to Serbia that demands a reply in 24 hours. This step by Austria meant war. Sazonov hoped that Britain would announce its solidarity with France and Russia. He described Austria's conduct as immoral and provocative. Some of the demands which she had presented were absolutely unacceptable. Austria would never have acted as she did without having first consulted Germany. The French Ambassador has told me that France would not only give Russia strong diplomatic support but would, if necessary, fulfil all the obligations of its Entente with Russia. I told Sazonov that I thought that the British government might be prepared to point out strongly to Austria and Germany the danger to European peace of an attack on Serbia. You might point out that an Austrian attack would very probably force Russia to intervene and this would cause Germany and France to go to war. If war became general, it would be difficult for Britain to remain neutral. It is clear that France and Russia have decided to accept the challenge thrown out to them. Whatever we may think of the merits of Austria's charges against Serbia, France and Russia believe that these are only excuses.

Buchanan, British Ambassador to Russia, reporting to Sir Edward Grey, British Foreign Minister, 24 July 1914.

Source C

In spite of negotiations for mediation which are still in the balance, and although Germany has up to now not taken any measures of mobilisation, Russia has mobilised its whole army and fleet. In effect, this is against Germany. These Russian measures have forced us for our own security to announce the 'imminent danger of war', which does not yet mean mobilisation. But German mobilisation must follow if Russia does not suspend all warlike measures against us and Austria within twelve hours.

Message from the German government to the Russian government, 20 July 1914

Source D

After your appeal to my friendship and your call for help, I began to mediate between the governments of Russia and Austria. Whilst these attempts were continuing, your army was mobilised against Austria, my ally. Therefore, my mediation has been made impossible. I have nevertheless continued to try. I have now received authentic news of serious preparations for war on Germany's eastern frontier with Russia. Responsibility for the safety of Germany forces me to take preventative measures to defend my country. I have gone to the furthest possible limit in my efforts to maintain the peace of the world. Nobody is threatening the honour or power of Russia. You can still afford to wait for the result of my mediation. My friendship for you personally and for Russia has always been sacred to me. I have honestly often backed up Russia when she was in serious trouble. The peace of Europe can still be maintained by you if Russia agrees to stop the military measures which threaten Germany and Austria.

Kaiser William II of Germany, in a telegram to Tsar Nicholas II of Russia, 31 July 1914.

Source E

Russia was partially responsible for the Austro-Serbian conflict because of the frequent encouragement that it had given to Serbia – that Serbian national unity would be ultimately achieved with Russian help at Austrian expense. This led the Serbian government to hope for Russian support in the case of a war with Austria. This hope did not prove vain in July 1914. In 1914, Russian armaments, though not yet complete, had made such progress that the military officials were confident of success if they had French and British support. In the spring of 1914, the Minister of War published an article in a newspaper, but without signing his name, saying that 'Russia is ready. France must be ready also.' Russia's responsibility lay also in the secret military preparations that it was making at the same time as it was carrying on diplomatic negotiations. These alarmed Germany and Austria. But it was primarily Russia's general mobilisation, when Germany was trying to persuade Austria to accept a settlement, which precipitated the final catastrophe, causing Germany to mobilise and declare war.

From an American history of World War I, published 1928.

Now answer the following question.

'Russian policy before World War I was peaceful.' Use Sources A–E to show how far the evidence confirms this statement.

Section B

You must answer **three** questions from this section.

- 2 'Napoleon Bonaparte achieved his aims in domestic policies.' How far do you agree with this judgement?
- 3 Why did the Industrial Revolution affect Britain before France and Germany?
- 4 Assess the importance of the revolutions of 1848–49 in the process which produced a united Germany by 1871.
- 5 Did European countries embark on 'New Imperialism' more for political or economic reasons? (You should refer to developments in **at least two** of Britain, France and Germany in your answer.)
- 6 Why did Nicholas II's regime survive a revolution in 1905 but not in February 1917?
- 7 How similar and how different were the methods that Mussolini and Hitler used to keep themselves in power to 1939?
- 8 Explain which benefited the working classes more during the nineteenth century: industrialisation or Liberalism. (You should refer to developments in **at least two** of Britain, France and Germany in your answer.)

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Question 1 Source E © D Lee; *The Outbreak of the First World War*; D C Heath & Company; 1963.

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