Cambridge Assessment International Education

Cambridge O Level

HISTORY **2147/23**

Paper 2 Document Questions **May/June 2025**

1 hour 45 minutes

You must answer on the enclosed answer booklet.

You will need: Answer booklet (enclosed)

INSTRUCTIONS

- Answer **one** question on **one** option only.
  - Option A: Nineteenth century topic
  - Option B: Twentieth century topic
- Follow the instructions on the front cover of the answer booklet. If you need additional answer paper, ask the invigilator for a continuation booklet.

INFORMATION

- The total mark for this paper is 40.
- The number of marks for each question or part question is shown in brackets [ ].

This document has **12** pages. Any blank pages are indicated.

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Option A: Nineteenth century topic

1 Why did the Frankfurt Parliament fail?

Study the Background Information and the sources carefully, and then answer **all** parts of Question 1.

Background Information

The Frankfurt Parliament, which first met in May 1848, was the result of the revolutions across Germany. In May 1849, it was driven out of Frankfurt to Stuttgart, and in June it was forcibly dispersed by soldiers. To explain its eventual failure, some historians have pointed to developments outside the Parliament such as the recovery of the German princes and the lack of interest in the Parliament by the German people. Other historians have focused on problems within the Parliament itself.

Did the Frankfurt Parliament fail because of factors internal to the Parliament itself?

SOURCE A

The members of the Frankfurt Parliament were freely elected from the 39 German states and were elected by 75 per cent of the adult male population. It was an achievement to have got the Parliament elected and ready to work in just over a month. The members worked well together, united by a sense of mission. The Parliament made some important decisions. In December 1848 it introduced fundamental rights, which were later an important influence on the Weimar Constitution. These rights included equality before the law and freedom of the press. The Parliament's position became less secure in early 1849 when the Princes recovered their authority, but as late as March 1849 the Parliament was united enough to agree the Imperial Constitution, which was intended to establish a unified German state. However, the rejection of the Imperial Crown by Frederick William IV of Prussia in April 1849 was a fatal blow and persuaded many members to leave Frankfurt. Across Germany, the counter-revolutionary forces were recovering. The Parliament did not have its own army and it was forced to move to Stuttgart, where it was dispersed by force in June 1849. Despite this, it had important achievements.

From a recent history book.

SOURCE B

The Frankfurt Parliament was not very representative of the people as a whole. The vast majority of members were middle-class: lawyers, professors and government officials. There were few artisans and almost no peasants, despite these groups playing a key part in the revolution. In December 1848 it issued the Fifty Articles, promising legal equality and greater press freedom. In March 1849 Frederick William rejected the offer of the crown of Germany. This, and the rejection of the proposed German constitution by some German states, contributed to its weakness. Although the Princes gradually recovered their power and authority, the Parliament was mainly responsible for its own downfall. Its members were politically inexperienced and too academic. There were disagreements between the liberals, nationalists and radicals. This meant it acted slowly – it took almost a year to draft a constitution. It also lacked power. It could not raise taxes and did not have its own army. The Frankfurt Parliament was a missed opportunity.

From a recent study of the Frankfurt Parliament.

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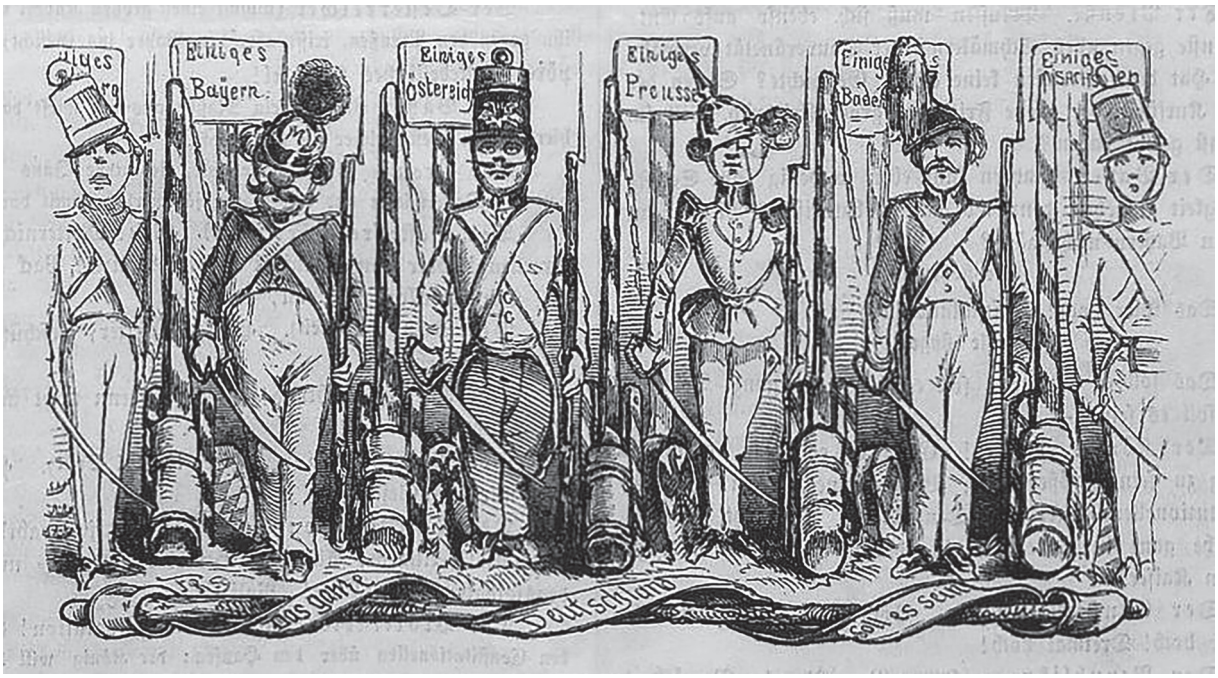
SOURCE C



A cartoon, entitled 'German unity. A tragedy in one act', published in Germany in 1848. It shows individual German states, including Bavaria, Austria, Prussia and Baden. The writing across the bottom says, 'This should all be one Germany.'

SOURCE D

The power of extraordinary events, the demands which have been expressed loudly throughout our fatherland, and the past calls of the state governments have led to this great Assembly. This Assembly has been greeted with joy and confidence by the entire German people. It is a great new achievement – the German parliament. The German governments are united with the German people in their love for our great fatherland. We greet with joy, and extend our hand of welcome to the national representatives, and wish them good luck and good fortune.

A message from the German Confederation at the opening of the Frankfurt Parliament, May 1848.

SOURCE E

Thus vanished the German parliament, and with it the first and last creation of the Revolution. Chosen under the influence of the capitalist class by a scattered rural population only just awakening from feudalism, this parliament served to bring into one body all the great popular names of 1820–1848 and then ruin them. Political liberalism is forever impossible in Germany. We have seen how it failed by its cowardice and short-sighted wavering typical of its middle-class approach. It lost the confidence of the working class. The rural population supported the parliament. Two-thirds of the armies of the smaller nations were ready to fight for it if only it had acted with courage. The politicians who led it were not clear sighted and were incapable of supporting the parliament.

From 'Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany', written in 1851–52 , edited by Karl Marx.

SOURCE F

The enemies have raised high the standard of revolt, first in Saxony, and then in south Germany. I was not able to submit a favourable reply to the offer of a crown by the German National Assembly. It does not have the right, without the consent of the German governments, to bestow the crown they have offered me. They made the offer on the condition that I would accept a constitution which could not be reconciled with the rights and safety of the German states. I have tried in every possible way to reach an understanding with the Assembly. Now it has broken with Prussia. The majority of its members are no longer those who Germany can look on with pride. Most of the deputies left the Assembly when it became obvious it was on the road to ruin. I have ordered all the Prussian deputies to be recalled. The other governments will do the same. A party now dominating the Assembly is in alliance with the terrorists. While they urge the unity of Germany, they are really fighting the battle of godlessness and theft and arousing a war.

An announcement 'To My People!' by Frederick William IV of Prussia, 15 May 1849.

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Now answer **all** parts of Question 1. 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 parts **(a)–(e)** you should use your knowledge of the topic to help you interpret and evaluate the sources.

(a) Study Sources A and B.

How far do these two sources agree? Explain your answer using details of the sources. [7]

(b) Study Source C.

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

(c) Study Sources D and E.

Does Source D prove that Source E is wrong about the Frankfurt Parliament? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

(d) Study Source F.

Why did Frederick William make this announcement at that time? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

(e) Study **all** the sources.

How far do these sources provide convincing evidence that the Frankfurt Parliament failed because of its internal weaknesses? Use the sources to explain your answer. [9]

Option B: Twentieth century topic

2 Was the Hoare–Laval Pact justified?

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

Background Information

When Italy invaded Abyssinia in October 1935, it was condemned by the League of Nations, which introduced sanctions in response. However, both Britain and France were keen to find a solution that would enable them to maintain good relations with Italy. They did not want Mussolini to become closer to Hitler, and they opposed stronger sanctions. In December 1935, Hoare and Laval, the Foreign Ministers of Britain and France, met in Paris to try and find a peaceful settlement. They secretly agreed the Hoare–Laval Pact, which gave Mussolini large parts of Abyssinia. On 9 December, the plan was leaked, and there was outrage in Britain, France and Abyssinia. At first, the British government supported the plan but then rejected it. Both Hoare and Laval resigned.

Were Hoare and Laval right to agree the Hoare–Laval Pact?

SOURCE A

Hoare went to Paris on 7 December 1935 with instructions to reach an agreement with the French that would be acceptable to the Italians. Baldwin had told him to avoid war at all costs. Hoare was determined to succeed. The talks went smoothly and it was not necessary for Laval to persuade Hoare into an agreement. Hoare rightly believed that oil sanctions were too risky. He knew Britain had serious military weaknesses and decided the sensible thing was to buy off Italy, so that Britain could concentrate on the far greater danger of Germany. The leaking of the Pact on 9 December created much high-minded indignation among the British public but the government defended the Pact. It understood that both Britain and France had overwhelming strategic and economic reasons why they should not go to war with Italy. By 17 December, however, facing mounting public anger, the government had decided to withdraw its support for the Pact. It had lost the best chance of a peaceful settlement of the crisis.

From a recent history book. Baldwin was the British Prime Minister at the time.

SOURCE B

On 7 December 1935 Hoare left for talks with Laval. He went with little guidance from the British government and later wrote in his autobiography that he had no intention of committing the government to an agreement. In Paris, he found himself under great pressure from Laval, who told him that a mobilisation of French forces at short notice could not be counted on. However, the talks went well and an agreement was reached. When it was leaked on 9 December it caused uproar in public opinion. The agreement was immoral, as it rewarded the aggressor and encouraged further aggression. This was the most promising time to have stood up to fascism with force. Italy was economically weak and its military forces were no match for those of Britain. The Pact showed the unwillingness of Britain and France to stand up to Mussolini, and the credibility of the League was lost.

From a recent article.

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SOURCE C

A cartoon published in Britain, 18 December 1935. Haile Selassie is saying, 'Have I got this right? He has taken half of what I had and now you gentlemen want to discuss whether he should take any more.' The two policemen represent France and Britain.

SOURCE D

France was intensely nervous of a breach with Italy so I did everything in my power to make a settlement possible. Two weeks ago a new situation was created by the question of oil sanctions. We received reports that Italy would regard oil sanctions as an act of war against it. It was in this atmosphere of threatened war that the conversations in Paris began, with member states appearing to be opposed to military action. It seemed to be that Anglo-French co-operation was essential if there was to be no breach in the League. We were discussing proposals that might make negotiations between the two sides possible. These proposals are less favourable to Italy than the demands made by Signor Mussolini last summer when he made it clear that if he had to go to war to secure his demands, his aim would be to wipe Abyssinia from the map.

From the speech by Hoare to the British parliament, 19 December 1935.
He had resigned as the Foreign Minister the day before.

SOURCE E

I expressed my astonishment at the terms of the Hoare–Laval proposals. I knew Haile Selassie would not accept them. The terms asked him to surrender too much, and even if they had been supported by the British and French governments, the League would never have approved them. My wish was to have nothing to do with the proposals. The reaction of public opinion was angry and ashamed. It was said that we should have no part in rewarding aggressors. I knew that at the League of Nations I should meet with criticism from many delegates. Even now I am unable to understand how Hoare could think that the proposals he agreed with Laval were consistent with his own speech, made to the Assembly only three months before, when he declared his support for the League and collective security.

From the memoirs of Anthony Eden. He was the minister in the British government responsible for Britain's relations with the League of Nations. His memoirs were published in 1962.

SOURCE F

The Hoare–Laval 'peace plan' marks the most shameless betrayal of the principles of the League of Nations! And at what precise moment? The moment of the faltering of the Italian army in Abyssinia and of ever-increasing problems for Mussolini at home! It is beyond understanding! I can imagine the course of events. When Hoare went to Paris he was given the most general instructions to do his best to end the conflict as soon as possible, even by 'correcting' Abyssinia's frontiers. Laval made it clear to him that Britain could not count on France in an armed conflict with Italy and refused to support oil sanctions. What could Hoare do? He felt a surge of imperialist sentiments and decided to show that he was the hero of British foreign policy.

From the diary of Ivan Maisky, Soviet ambassador to London. The diary was written at the time of the events it describes but was not published until 2015.

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Now answer **all** parts of Question 2. 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 parts **(a)–(e)** you should use your knowledge of the topic to help you interpret and evaluate the sources.

(a) Study Sources A and B.

How far do these two sources agree? Explain your answer using details of the sources. [7]

(b) Study Source C.

What is the cartoonist's message? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

(c) Study Sources D and E.

How far does Source D make Source E surprising? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

(d) Study Source F.

How useful is this source to a historian studying the Hoare–Laval Pact? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

(e) Study **all** the sources.

How far do these sources provide convincing evidence that Hoare and Laval were justified in devising the Hoare–Laval Pact? Use the sources to explain your answer. [9]

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