Cambridge Assessment International Education

# Cambridge O Level

**HISTORY** **2147/22**

Paper 2 Document Questions **May/June 2024**

**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 Who was more to blame for the naval race between Britain and Germany?**

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

**Background Information**

The naval race between Britain and Germany was an important part of the arms race in the years before the First World War. It significantly contributed towards the growing hostility between Britain and Germany and was a key factor in the increasing tensions between the Great Powers in Europe. Traditionally, Britain had the largest navy in the world, but in 1898 Germany began to create a powerful battle fleet. In 1906 the rivalry between the two countries grew with the building of the dreadnoughts – a new type of battleship, faster and more powerful than any previous battleship.

Who was more responsible for the naval race, Britain or Germany?

**SOURCE A**

Kaiser William wanted Britain as a friend and thought the best way of achieving this was to build a powerful navy. Once Britain saw the power of the German fleet it would respect Germany and offer friendship. When Tirpitz became in charge of the navy in 1897, William had an ally. They both misunderstood the situation because their policy of building up Germany's fleet was totally against the British view of its security. Britain ruled the seas and would never allow the German navy to rival the British navy. As far as Britain was concerned, a strong German navy in the North Sea raised the possibility of an invasion. Germany's policy was in fact no threat to Britain, but Britain failed to see this. It also failed to understand the threat Germany felt the British fleet posed to Germany. In 1905 Britain worsened relations with Germany by starting to build the first dreadnought. This left Germany with no choice. It could not let Britain threaten Germany with dreadnoughts and so it had to respond by building its own dreadnoughts. In 1908 Tirpitz said, 'Every new ship added to our battlefleet means an increase in risk for Britain if it attacks us.' In Britain the anti-German public was aggressively demanding eight new dreadnoughts be built.

*From a recent history book.*

**SOURCE B**

William's motives were simple. He wanted to make Germany a world power and so a great navy was needed. Traditionally Britain ruled the waves but William did not understand what right Britain had to do this. Tirpitz's appointment in 1897 as the government minister in charge of the navy meant that Germany had decided to build a navy strong enough to defeat the British navy. It became clear to Britain that the German fleet that was emerging was designed to only operate in the North Sea – a clear threat to Britain. In fact, the German navy was emerging as Britain's main enemy of the future. Britain was bound to be uneasy and in 1906 launched the first dreadnought. Britain had to meet the German naval challenge and from that date focused on the possibility of a naval war in the seas around Britain and even a German invasion. The appearance of the first dreadnought did not improve Anglo-German relations. Tirpitz increased the tension by stating that he would build two dreadnoughts a year and ignored warnings that his naval programme was turning Britain against Germany.

*From a recent history book.*

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**SOURCE C**

"MONEY NO OBJECT!"

VULCAN. "THIS'LL RUN INTO MONEY MA-AM!"
BRITANNIA. "NEVER MIND ABOUT *THAT* AS LONG AS I CONTINUE TO RULE THE WAVES!!"

*A cartoon published in a British magazine, 1896.*

**SOURCE D**

*A cartoon published in an American magazine, January 1900.*

**SOURCE E**

One of the aims of Germany was to reduce to a minimum the positive results of the Conference. It is safe to draw the conclusion that the result of the attitude of Germany will be to give a boost to the manufacture of arms. Instead of encouraging disarmament the Conference has certainly increased the existing feeling on mainland Europe that no country can afford to neglect its means of offence and defence. The Conference has not given any new guarantee for the maintenance of peace and has confirmed the fact that many countries are constantly preparing for war.

*From a report to the British government about the Hague Conference of 1907 by one of the British delegates. The Conference dealt with a range of international issues including disarmament. Britain had proposed a yearly reduction of naval armaments.*

**SOURCE F**

Such insolent talk has never been heard before from Britain. We shall never be dictated to about how our armaments should be planned. We should look upon that as a declaration of war. The Ambassador is not permitted to agree to the demands of the British government to make its peacefulness dependent on the reduction of our navy. The Ambassador must be told that I do not wish for a good understanding with Britain at the expense of the expansion of the German fleet. The German fleet is not built against anybody. This is said quite clearly in the Navy Law. This law is being carried out exactly. Whether the British like it or not does not worry us. If they want a war, they must start it. We are not afraid.

*Kaiser William's comments written on a letter to him from the German Ambassador in Britain, July 1908. The Ambassador had reported that a member of the British government had suggested that a slowing down of Germany's battleship construction would reassure the British public.*

**SOURCE G**

My heart is set upon peace, and it is one of my dearest wishes to live on the best of terms with Britain. But, you will say, 'What of the German navy? Surely, that is a menace to Britain? Against who else but Britain is my navy being prepared? If Britain is not in the minds of those Germans who are bent on creating a powerful fleet, why is Germany asked to consent to such new and heavy burdens of taxation?'

My answer is clear. Germany is a young and growing empire. It has a worldwide commerce which is rapidly expanding, and to which the ambition of patriotic Germans refuses to set any limits. Germany must have a powerful fleet to protect that commerce and its many interests in even the most distant seas. It expects those interests to go on growing, and it must be able to support them in any part of the world. Its horizons stretch far away. It must be prepared for any events in the Far East. Look at the rise of Japan. It may even be that Britain will be glad that Germany has a fleet.

*Kaiser William speaking to a journalist from a British newspaper, 28 October 1908. The interview was published in the newspaper.*

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 Sources C and D.

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

**(c)** Study Source E.

Why was this report sent at that time? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

**(d)** Study Sources F and G.

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

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

How far do these sources provide convincing evidence that Britain was more responsible than Germany for the naval race? Use the sources to explain your answer. [9]

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## Option B: Twentieth century topic

**2 Who was to blame for the Bay of Pigs disaster?**

Study the Background Information and the sources carefully, and then answer **all** parts of Question 2.

**Background Information**

In 1959, Fidel Castro came to power in Cuba by armed revolution. The US government was extremely concerned about this due to Castro's close links with the USSR. President Eisenhower authorised a CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) plan for Cuban exiles to invade Cuba and overthrow Castro. When Kennedy became President in January 1961, he went ahead with the invasion plan. The attempted invasion took place in April and was a terrible failure, with most of the invaders having to surrender.

Kennedy blamed the CIA for the disaster, while the CIA blamed him. Historians have also identified accidents and bad luck, as well as the strength of Castro's forces, as possible causes.

How far was Kennedy responsible for the failure of the Bay of Pigs invasion?

**SOURCE A**

The landing point chosen by the CIA for the invasion was not a good one – the Bay of Pigs was a swampy area on Cuba's southern coast. News of the plan became common knowledge among Cuban exiles in Miami. Castro learned about it as early as October 1960 and prepared to defend Cuba. Newspapers were even able to report on developments as they happened. Kennedy said to one of his officials, 'Castro doesn't need agents over here. All he has to do is read our newspapers.' The plan included two air strikes against Cuban air bases. For the first strike on 15 April the CIA used obsolete World War II bombers and painted them to look like Cuban air force planes. The bombers missed many of their targets including Cuban airfields, leaving most of Castro's air force intact. Photographs of the repainted planes and US support for the invasion became public. To try to hide US involvement, Kennedy quickly cancelled the second air strike, leaving the Cuban air force intact. Castro ordered 20 000 troops to where the invaders had landed. Cuban control of the skies enabled its air force to attack the invaders, sink two escort ships and destroy half of the air support. Weaknesses in CIA planning became more and more apparent. The exiles got bogged down in the swamp and within 24 hours of the attack 1 200 invaders were captured and more than 100 were killed. One of the first things Kennedy did after the disaster was to sack the CIA director.

*From a recent history book.*

**SOURCE B**

Kennedy was fatally attracted by the idea of overthrowing Castro at little cost. Here was a scheme whose success was guaranteed by the CIA. He let himself be talked into something which his instincts had warned him against. In early April 1961 US newspapers were reporting that the United States was training Cuban exiles for an invasion of Cuba. On 15 April 1961, eight bombers bombed three of Castro's airfields. After the raids Cuba was left with only eight planes and seven pilots. On 17 April, five merchant ships carrying 1 400 exiles headed for the Bay of Pigs. The CIA checked with Kennedy about the second air raid and Kennedy said he did not remember being told about a second raid and cancelled it. The CIA was shocked. Its officials knew that without air support the invasion would fail. Very quickly two of the invasion force's ships were sunk. On 21 April the CIA asked Kennedy for air support for the attackers who were trapped on the beach but Kennedy said he wanted 'minimum visibility'. It was all over. 67 Cuban exiles were killed and 1 197 were captured.

*From a recent account of the Bay of Pigs.*

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**SOURCE C**

*A cartoon published in an American newspaper, 21 April 1961.*

**SOURCE D**

**TOP SECRET**

**1** In evaluating the CIA's performance it is essential to avoid grasping at the explanation that the President's order cancelling the air strikes was the chief cause of failure.

**2** If the invasion had been better conceived, better organised, better staffed and better managed, would the issue of air strikes have had to be presented for presidential decision at all?

**3** It is essential to keep in mind the possibility that the invasion was doomed in advance, that a landing by 1 500 men would eventually have been crushed by Castro's military resources strengthened by Soviet Bloc military material.

**4** The fundamental cause of the disaster was the CIA's failure to give the project appropriate organisation, staffing and full-time direction of the highest quality.

*The findings of the Taylor Committee. On 22 April Kennedy asked General Maxwell Taylor to report on the failed Bay of Pigs operation. Robert Kennedy, the President's brother, was a member of the Committee. After the Committee had reported, Taylor was promoted by Robert Kennedy.*

**SOURCE E**

Had the President been more concerned with a thorough investigation than with his image, he would have waited until all the troops had been accounted for; he would have eliminated his brother from the Committee; and he would have selected a group of 'statesmen' for the Committee. The report suffered from the haste in which it was prepared and the failure to interview a number of important witnesses. There can be no doubt that the CIA will continue to be blamed for the failure. This investigation shows that the major causes for the failure were the actions, or inactions, of the Kennedy Administration, including the President.

*From a report by the CIA's official historian about the Taylor Committee investigation. It was written in 1984 but not released to the public until 2011.*

**SOURCE F**

The president of a great democracy such as ours, owes a common obligation to the people: an obligation to present the facts, to present them truthfully.

On that unhappy island, the news has grown worse instead of better. I have emphasised before that this was a struggle of Cuban patriots against a Cuban dictator. We made it repeatedly clear that the armed forces of this country would not intervene in any way.

It is not the first time that communist tanks have rolled over brave men and women fighting to recover the independence of their homeland. Nor is it by any means the final episode in the eternal struggle of liberty against tyranny. It is clear that the forces of communism are not to be underestimated, in Cuba or anywhere else in the world. The advantages of a police state – its use of mass terror and arrests to prevent the spread of free dissent – cannot be overlooked by those who expect the fall of every fanatic tyrant.

*From a speech by President Kennedy to a group of newspaper editors, 20 April 1961.*

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

**(c)** Study Sources D and E.

How far does Source E prove that Taylor's findings (Source D) were wrong? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

**(d)** Study Source F.

Why did Kennedy make this speech on 20 April 1961? 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 President Kennedy was to blame for the failure of the Bay of Pigs invasion? Use the sources to explain your answer. [9]

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