



HISTORY (PRINCIPAL)

9769/72

Paper 5k Special Subject: Winston Churchill, 1914–1946

May/June 2015

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 Centre number, candidate number and name on all the work you hand in.

Write in dark blue or black pen.

You may use an HB pencil for any diagrams and graphs.

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

Answer Question 1 and **one** other question.

You are reminded of the need for analysis and critical evaluation in your answers to questions. You should also show, where appropriate, an awareness of links and comparisons between different countries and different periods.

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

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

The syllabus is approved for use in England, Wales and Northern Ireland as a Cambridge International Level 3 Pre-U Certificate.

This document consists of **3** printed pages and **1** blank page.

Answer the following question.**Nominated topic: The descent into War, 1938–1940**

- 1 Study all the following documents and answer the questions which follow. In evaluating and commenting upon the documents it is essential to set them alongside, and to make use of, your own contextual knowledge.

A *Churchill speaks in the House of Commons in opposition to the Munich agreement.*

I will begin by saying what everybody would like to ignore or forget but which must nevertheless be stated, namely that we have sustained a total and unmitigated defeat and France has suffered more than we have. In future the Czechoslovak State cannot be maintained as an independent entity. You will find that in a period of time which may be measured by years, but may only be measured in months, Czechoslovakia will be engulfed in the Nazi regime. But if the Nazi dictator should choose to look westward, as he may, bitterly will France and England regret the loss of that fine army of ancient Bohemia (i.e. Czechoslovakia) which was estimated last week to require not fewer than 30 German divisions for its destruction. What I find unendurable is the sense of our country falling into the power, into the orbit and influence of Nazi Germany, and of our existence becoming dependent upon its goodwill.

Speech, 5 October 1938.

B *A Conservative backbench Member of Parliament defends the Government in the debate on Munich.*

We hear the critics of the government asserting that when these demands were presented by Herr Hitler for the absorption of the Sudeten areas into Germany, our duty was to have collected together what they call the friends of peace. In order to have an enthusiastic war, we ought to have assembled the Czechs who, poor souls, would have been massacred out of hand before help could reach them. They say that we ought to have assembled France who would, reasonably enough, have been unwilling to have engaged in a fantastic and impossible attack upon an impregnable citadel. Also, that we ought to have assembled Russia, who have been kept in such admirable practice by executions in their own country and who would have come on to the field hot from the slaughter of nearly all their own officers. Russia is so useful an ally that their transport system now is worse than it was in 1914 and their rolling stock over 20 years old.

Roy Wise, Speech, 5 October 1938.

C *Churchill addresses a meeting in his local constituency about the future direction of foreign policy.*

This has been a year of disaster and humiliation. We must try night and day to put this country in a position where it cannot be blackmailed by the threat of air bombing. Public opinion is far ahead of the government in all matters of defence; we have to goad the government to take measures which their honour, their duty and their traditions should have prompted them long ago to undertake. The foreign policy that will unite the country is to gather together all the forces of resistance to the aggression of the dictators and make a common cause, so far as is still possible, with other like-minded nations. So, far from abandoning what is left of the League of Nations, we must proclaim our resolve to clothe it with even greater powers and by our own exertions to furnish it with the armed force which will make its judgements respected. Then we will find what now seems difficult will become easy and that the action of the democracies will be strengthened by a common purpose.

Speech to the League of Nations Union, 11 December 1938.

- D** *General Sir Hastings Ismay, Chairman of the Committee for Imperial Defence in 1938, looks back at the decision to avoid war in 1938.*

From the purely military point of view, it would have paid us to go to war in 1938. We gained an extra year to rearm, but Germany made better use of those twelve months than we did. Munich lost us the support of the fine Czech army and placed the great Škoda Munitions Works at the service of our enemies. On the other hand, the almost hysterical reception accorded to Mr. Chamberlain on his return from Munich and the flood of congratulatory messages which he received from all sorts of people the world over makes it seem very doubtful whether, if we had fought at the time of Munich, we would have done so as a united nation or as a united Commonwealth and Empire. On the whole, the advantages which we ultimately derived from our surrender at Munich outweighed the disadvantages.

Lord Ismay, *Memoirs*, 1960.

- E** *A modern historian questions Churchill's view about a Grand Alliance.*

Churchill's ideas on how to contain Germany did not inspire members of the Government with confidence about his judgement. He wanted to gather together, under the aegis of the League of Nations, the Baltic States, Holland, Belgium, France, Italy, Switzerland, Austria, Russia and Poland in an effort to deter Germany from aggression. This idea, which by 1938 was being dignified by the title 'The Grand Alliance', remained a feature of Churchill's thinking right up to the outbreak of war. But attractive as it sounded, it ignored two questions: whether the other countries would collaborate, and whether such a league was more likely to drive Germany in the direction of a war against Britain.

John Charmley, *Churchill: The End of Glory*, 1993.

- (a) How far does Document D corroborate the view of Munich in 1938 expressed in Document A? [10]
- (b) How convincing is the evidence provided by this set of documents for the view that the Government was right not to have confidence in Churchill's judgement on the conduct of foreign policy in 1938?

In making your evaluation, you should refer to contextual knowledge as well as to all the documents in this set (A–E). [20]

Answer one of the following questions. *Where appropriate, your answer should make use of relevant documents you have studied as well as contextual knowledge.*

- 2 'Churchill's record in government from 1918 to 1929 was characterised more by failure than success.' Discuss. [30]
- 3 How important were Churchill's views on India in explaining why 1929–38 became his 'wilderness years'? [30]
- 4 'When he was in office, he appeased Stalin too much; when he was in opposition he needlessly antagonised him.' How justified is this criticism of Churchill's policies towards Stalin and the USSR in the years 1944–46? [30]

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