

**HISTORY**

**0470/21**

Paper 2

**May/June 2015**

**2 hours**

No Additional Materials are required.

**READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST**

An answer booklet is provided inside this question paper. You should follow the instructions on the front cover of the answer booklet. If you need additional answer paper ask the invigilator for a continuation booklet.

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]

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



**Option A: 19th Century topic****DID GERMANY PLAN A PREVENTATIVE WAR IN 1914?**

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

**Background Information**

Some historians agree that Germany deliberately planned a preventative war in 1914. They argue that many German politicians believed that Germany's position in Europe would become weaker unless something was done. Germany was worried by the fact that Russia was rebuilding her army and navy. It was also worried about being surrounded by Britain, France and Russia.

The claim that Germany caused, and fought, a preventative war is based on the idea that Germany believed it was better to fight a war sooner than be faced with one later when the situation in Europe would have grown worse for Germany.

Did Germany plan a preventative war?

**SOURCE A**

Was this a preventative war by Germany – to prevent the threatened formation of a more powerful hostile coalition in two or three years' time? Was there really such a threat in the expansion of the Russian army? Was there a real danger that Russia and France together would attack Germany? Would Britain, the strongest partner in the Triple Entente, have given its approval and support to an offensive war by Russia and France against Germany?

But what is a preventative war? Who threatened Germany? It was clear to the German government that France must be eliminated as a great power. The reason for this was France's alliance with Russia. France would have to disarm, pay a huge sum of war reparations and be integrated into 'Central Europe', an economic bloc dominated by Germany.

As far as Russia was concerned, the German Chancellor in early August 1914 already had a clear objective. He described his aims as the liberation and securing of the races subjugated by Russia, the pushing back of the Russian frontier to Moscow and the establishment of a number of buffer states.

These plans for the expansion of the German sphere of influence amounted to German domination in Europe. Was it not the greatest of delusions that Germany believed it had to fight this war, and that it was necessary for its own security? Russia lagged far behind in its development and was threatened with internal revolution. Germany was rich, flourishing and industrially the most advanced country in Europe, having already overtaken France and even Britain in many sectors. Viewed politically, the question arises as to whether in the case of Germany it was clever, or wise, to aim in such a short time, with such impatience and vehemence, and by means of such an aggressive naval and military armaments policy, to alter the international political system; in short, to practise a policy which must inevitably lead to war.

*From a history book published in 1967.*

**SOURCE B**

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**SOURCE C**

Sunday: ordered to the palace to see His Majesty at 11 o'clock along with Tirpitz, Heeringen (Vice Admiral), and General von Moltke. His Majesty had a report on the political situation sent by the Ambassador in London, Prince Lichnowsky. The British government had informed Lichnowsky that if we attack France, England will come to France's aid.

His Majesty painted the following picture:

Austria must deal firmly with the Slavs living outside its borders (the Serbs) if it does not want to lose control over the Slavs under the Austrian monarchy. Russia is apparently already supporting the Serbs. Russia will go straight into Galicia if the Austrians march into Serbia. War would be inevitable for us.

According to His Majesty, the fleet will naturally have to prepare for war against England. The possibility of a war against Russia alone will not be considered.

General von Moltke: 'I consider a war is inevitable—the sooner, the better. But we should do a better job of gaining popular support for a war against Russia.'

Tirpitz called attention to the fact that the navy would gladly see a major war delayed by one and a half years. Moltke said that even then the navy would not be ready, and the army's situation would continue to worsen, since due to our limited financial resources our opponents are able to arm themselves more rapidly.

That was the end of the meeting. There were almost no decisions.

Moltke says the sooner war comes, the better; but he hasn't concluded from this that we should give Russia or France an ultimatum that would trigger a war for which they would carry the blame.

*An account of the meeting of the Imperial War Council, 8 December 1912, from the diary of Admiral Müller. Müller was the Chief of the Imperial Naval Cabinet. Moltke was head of the German army. Tirpitz was in charge of the German navy. Bethmann Hollweg, the Chancellor, was not at the meeting.*

**SOURCE D**

The situation in Europe is extraordinary. It is jingoism run stark mad. Unless someone acting for you can bring about a different understanding, there is some day to be an awful disaster. No one in Europe can do it. There is too much hatred, too many jealousies. Whenever England consents, France and Russia will close in on Germany and Austria.

*A letter from Colonel House to US President Wilson, 29 May 1914. House was an adviser to Wilson.*

**SOURCE E**

England, Russia and France have agreed among themselves to use the Austro-Serbia conflict as an excuse for waging a war of extermination against us. The famous encirclement of Germany has finally become a complete fact. The net has suddenly been thrown over our head and England reaps the most brilliant success of her anti-German world policy. We squirm isolated in their net.

*The Kaiser writing on 30 July 1914. This note comes from written comments he made on a telegram from the German Ambassador in Russia to Jagow, the German Foreign Minister.*

**SOURCE F**

The more determined Austria appears and the more energetically we support it, the more likely Russia will do nothing. France and England also do not want war now. Russia will be ready for war in a few years. Then the number of its soldiers will crush us; then it will have completed construction of its Baltic fleet and railways. In the meantime, our groups will grow ever weaker. The Russians therefore desire peace and quiet for a few more years. If Russia attacks Austria we cannot abandon Austria. I do not want a preventative war, but if war there will be, we cannot shirk it.

*Jagow, the German Foreign Minister, writing to the German Ambassador in London, 18 July 1914.*

**SOURCE G**

That calls for champagne. We must provisionally halt the march towards the West. If Britain guarantees the neutrality of France I will abandon all action against it.

*The Kaiser in a meeting on 1 August 1914 just after the German mobilisation order had been signed.  
A telegram from the German Ambassador had just arrived stating that the British government had promised that France would remain neutral so there was no need to attack France.*

**SOURCE H**

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

**2** Study Source C.

How useful is this source as evidence about German foreign policy? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

**3** Study Sources D and E.

Does Source D prove that the Kaiser was right in Source E? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

**4** Study Sources F and G.

Are you surprised by Source G? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

**5** Study Source H.

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

**6** Study **all** the sources.

How far do these sources provide convincing evidence that Germany was planning a preventative war? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

**Option B: 20th Century topic****HOW FAR DID HITLER HAVE A CONSISTENT FOREIGN POLICY IN 1938–1939?**

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

**Background Information**

Czechoslovakia was ethnically very mixed. Rather less than 50 per cent of the population were Czechs. There were also Slovaks, Hungarians and Poles. 23 per cent of the population were German speakers who lived in the Sudetenland which formed the country's western margin.

After the Anschluss Hitler's attention turned to Czechoslovakia. Henlein, the Sudeten leader, began to complain that the German minority were being mistreated by the Czechs. This gave Hitler the chance to demand the Sudetenland be incorporated into Germany. This was agreed by Chamberlain at Munich in September 1938. In March 1939 Germany completed the takeover of Czechoslovakia.

The events surrounding Czechoslovakia raise the question of whether Hitler had a consistent foreign policy, or whether he was merely reacting to opportunities as they came along.

**SOURCE A**

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## SOURCE B

The French would not operate their alliance with Czechoslovakia; on the other hand they would not give it up. The French were dragging the British down with them. Britain was the country most remote from the Czech affair; yet she had to take the lead. The British must undertake to 'solve' the Sudeten question – how, it did not matter – as long as war was averted. Hitler remained the master of delay, refusing to show his hand. Preparations were pushed forward for attacking Czechoslovakia but this was far from a decision for war. The German generals continued to insist that they could not face a general war. Hitler steadily replied that it would not be necessary. Hitler's patience was not exhausted. He still waited for the nerves of others to crack.

Chamberlain flew to Germany on 15 September. Hitler's main concern at the meeting was to keep the crisis going until Czechoslovakia disintegrated. Chamberlain remained faithful to his policy of appeasement: 'I had nothing to say against the separation of the Sudeten Germans from the rest of Czechoslovakia.'

On 22 September Chamberlain again met Hitler. Hitler declared that the Anglo-French proposals were no longer enough. Sudeten Germans were being massacred – Sudetenland must be occupied by German troops at once. Why did Hitler take this line, when he was to receive by negotiation all that he had demanded? Did he want war for its own sake? There is another explanation. Others, such as the Poles and the Hungarians, were advancing claims to Czechoslovak territory. There was a good chance that Czechoslovakia would break into pieces. Germany would come in as a peace-maker. Hence, Hitler was playing for time. The Godesberg meeting ended in failure for Chamberlain. Hitler returned home where he spent his time drawing dream-plans for the rebuilding of Linz, the Austrian town where he went to school. Once more he waited for events to provide him with future success.

*From a history book published in 1961.*

## SOURCE C



*A cartoon published in Britain, September 1938.*



## SOURCE D



*A cartoon published in the Soviet Union, 1939. The signpost says left to western Europe and right to the USSR.*

## SOURCE E

The Sudetenland is the last problem that must be solved and it will be solved. It is the last territorial claim which I have to make in Europe. I have no further interest in the Czech state. We want no Czechs! The aims of our foreign policy are not unlimited. They are grounded on the determination to save the German people alone. In 1919 ten million Germans found themselves beyond the frontiers of Germany, Germans who wish to return to the Reich as their homeland.

*From a public speech by Hitler, 26 September 1938.*

## SOURCE F

Give thanks to your God. The wings of peace settle about us and the people of Europe. It was the war that nobody wanted. Nobody in Germany. Nobody in France. Nobody, above all, in Britain, which had no concern whatever with the issues at stake. If we must have a victor, let us choose Chamberlain. Millions of happy homes and hearts are relieved of their burden. Now let us get back to our own affairs.

*From a British newspaper, 30 September 1938.*

## SOURCE G

I will begin by saying what everybody would like to ignore or forget. We have experienced a total defeat. Silent, mournful, abandoned, broken Czechoslovakia disappears into the darkness. You will find that sooner or later Czechoslovakia will be swallowed up in the Nazi regime. And do not suppose this is the end. This is only the beginning.

*Churchill speaking in the debate in the British Parliament about the Munich Agreement, 3 October 1938.*

## SOURCE H



*A cartoon published in Britain, 6 September 1939. Hitler is saying to Mars, the God of War, 'There's some mistake. It was your small brother I sent for.'*

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

**2** Study Sources C and D.

How far does Source D support the view in Source C? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

**3** Study Source E.

How useful is this source as evidence about Hitler's foreign policy? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [7]

**4** Study Sources F and G.

Does Source F make you surprised by Source G? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

**5** Study Source H.

Why was this cartoon published in early September 1939? 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 Hitler, in his foreign policy, followed a consistent plan during 1938–1939? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

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