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Cambridge Assessment International Education

Cambridge International AS & A Level

HISTORY **9489/12**

Paper 1 Document Question **February/March 2025**

1 hour 15 minutes

8079837686

You must answer on the enclosed answer booklet.

You will need: Answer booklet (enclosed)

INSTRUCTIONS

- Answer **one** question from **one** section only.
  - Section A: European option
  - Section B: American option
  - Section C: International option
- 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 [ ].

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Answer **one** question from **one** section only.

Section A: European option

Liberalism and nationalism in Germany, 1815–71

1 Read the sources and then answer **both** parts of the question.

Source A

His Majesty observed that the threatening attitude of Prussia raises the question of whether Austria should make warlike preparations.

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His Majesty concluded that he should leave warlike preparations aside for the time being and continue to seek to maintain the honour and dignity of the country by diplomatic means.

From an account of a meeting between the Austrian Emperor and senior government officials, February 1866.

Source B

As a political question, the probability or inevitability of war against Austria lies outside the scope of my judgement. Success or failure in this war depends on our reaching a decision about it sooner than the Austrians, and, if possible, right now. For Prussia, everything depends on defeating Austria, and to this end we have to bring together all our forces.

One advantage for us, which cannot be overstated, is that we can advance our army on five railroad lines and thereby have it concentrated on the Saxon–Bohemian border within 25 days. Austria has just one railway leading toward Bohemia. Assuming that its cavalry is already on the march, it requires 45 days to assemble 200 000 men.

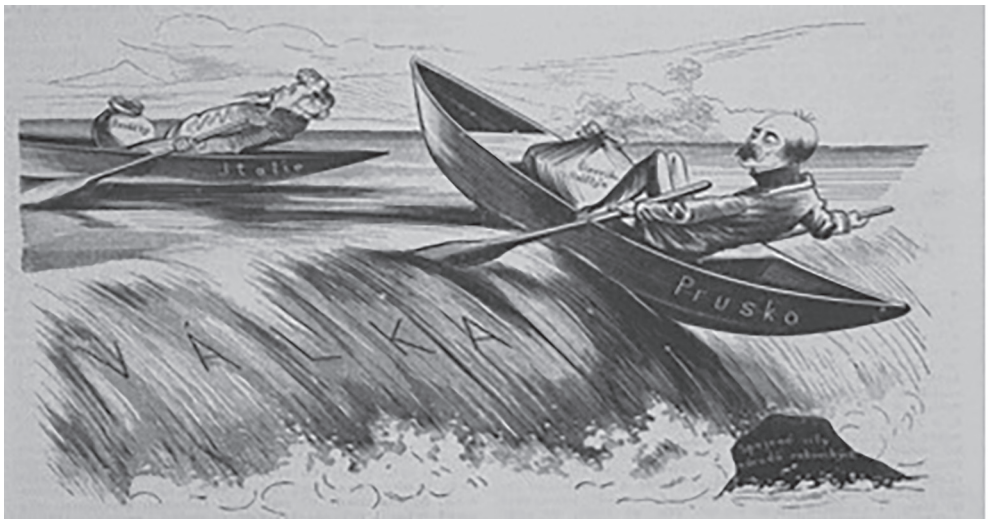
If Bavaria joins Austria, the Regensburg-Pilsen-Prague railway line will be disadvantageous for us since it shortens the time Austria needs to be ready by about 15 days. If the mobilisation of the Prussian army is ordered right now, then Bavaria, so ill-prepared in terms of arms and mobilisation, will probably not be ready until after the first battle between Austria and Prussia has been fought.

From a memorandum by Moltke, Chief of the Prussian General Staff, April 1866.

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Source C



A cartoon published in the 'Austrian Empire', 19 May 1866. The title was: 'What would these two give to have eyes in their backs?' 'Valka' means 'war', and the rocks represent the united forces of Austria. The first boat represents Prussia, loaded with Schleswig-Holstein; the second represents Italy, loaded with Venice.

Source D

So we make progress in the Holstein affair! Mistrust towards Austria will disappear, right-thinking people will attain a majority in the Confederation and German governments will be strengthened in their opposition to Prussia.

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Then we should have peace and a parliament, which means Austria's exclusion from Germany. War, we need war, only war.

An extract of a message from the Austrian envoy in Munich to the Austrian Foreign Minister, 29 May 1866.

Answer **both** parts of the question with reference to the sources.

(a) Read Source **A** and Source **D**.

Compare these sources as evidence about Austrian attitudes towards war with Prussia. [15]

(b) Read **all** of the sources.

'Before war broke out in June 1866, it was clear that Prussia held the military advantage over Austria.' How far do these sources support this statement? [25]

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Section B: American option

The origins of the Civil War, 1820–61

2 Read the sources and then answer **both** parts of the question.

Source A

The speeches of Mr Clay may have calmed the passions of the South but it is doubtful whether any of his speeches changed a single vote. Their real service was to gain time for others to work out the details of the Compromise in secret. Mr Clay will still go down in history as the great compromiser, but with this Compromise he did not provide the leadership he has done in the past. His proposals to settle the territorial question and to place all the questions in one comprehensive measure were rejected. The Administration hated him as did some Democrats as they feared the success of his bill would make him president. However, he fought a glorious and patriotic battle. No man was ever governed by higher or purer motives.

This Compromise is the work of Mr Douglas. He convinced many Whigs of the need to co-operate. The initial idea was his suggestion. He drew up the California, Utah, and New Mexico bills and collaborated with Pierce and the Whigs in drawing up the Texas bill. All were carried under his leadership. His ability to persuade many to forget their partisan divisions was remarkable. I echo the remark of Mr Jefferson Davis, 'If any man has a right to be proud of the success of these measures, it is the Senator from Illinois'.

From a speech by the Democrat Senator for Virginia in the Senate, 16 September 1850.

Source B

This Compromise has finally passed because Congress responded to the great popular feeling that the Union needed to be protected. The public demanded that the extreme views of the secessionists and the abolitionists be rejected. Mindful of the coming autumn elections, members of Congress voted accordingly. Those who desired compromise were also fortunate that President Taylor died when he did, as President Fillmore was prepared to sign the bills which his predecessor may well have vetoed.

From the 'New-York Daily Tribune', 19 October 1850.

Source C

In 1850 Mr Clay left the peace and quiet of his home to restore peace to our troubled Union. We Democrats all welcomed him as did the whole nation. He was regarded as having been preserved by God for this moment. He became our leader in the great fight, and we rallied round him. His great, and many say his finest, speeches led many away from the road to disunion. While some of the measures he advocated did not pass, the presence of such a man of principle, with his wish for compromise rather than conflict, was vital to the final outcome.

We Democrats joined with the Whigs and forgot our old fights as the Union was in danger. We managed to oppose the Abolitionists successfully and united together over the Compromise measures. These measures passed because of the joint actions of our two parties.

Stephen Douglas, speaking in one of the Lincoln–Douglas debates, 15 October 1858.

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Source D

The driving force behind the Compromise, pushed through Congress against the original convictions of the majority of its members, was revealed in the bill dealing with Texas. This specified that largely worthless bonds which formed the public debt of Texas would be repaid and thus greatly increase in value. Many of those holding the bonds were members of Congress and their supporters. This was probably the first time in our history when a vital measure was passed in Congress because of the financial benefit to members. Congress also knew that the people wanted peace and prosperity. They were reluctant to lose those in a quarrel (as they saw it) over slavery.

From 'The American Conflict', a history written by a Northern newspaper publisher and journalist, published in 1864.

Answer **both** parts of the question with reference to the sources.

(a) Read Source **A** and Source **C**.

Compare and contrast the sources as evidence of Clay's role in the Compromise of 1850. [15]

(b) Read **all** of the sources.

How far do these sources support the view that the Compromise passed principally as a result of the cooperation between the Whig and the Democratic parties? [25]

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Section C: International option

The League of Nations and international relations in the 1930s

3 Read the sources and then answer **both** parts of the question.

Source A

It is my unalterable decision to smash Czechoslovakia by military action soon. I will wait for, or create, the most suitable moment from a political and military point of view. To this end, preparations are to be made immediately.

The following are necessary for the intended attack:
a) An apparent excuse;
b) Adequate political justification;
c) Action not expected by the enemy which will find it unprepared.

Most favourable would be action as the result of provocation which, in the eyes of at least some international opinion, gives the moral justification for military measures.

It is important to increase the total economic war effort so sparing, as far as military operations permit, Czech industrial and engineering establishments may be of decisive importance.

Hitler's secret directive for the invasion of Czechoslovakia, 30 May 1938.

Source B

The creation of Czechoslovakia after the war was complete insanity. This Czech illness must be dealt with. It is like a cancer which will infect international relations until they finally break down. As an ally of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia points like a dagger at the heart of Germany. It has reinforced my determination to create a mighty German Luftwaffe. If we fail to resolve the crisis now, Göring would soon be asking me to double the Luftwaffe's forces once again, then Britain and France would double theirs as well, and so the insane race would go on.

Seven million Czechs oppress eight million minority peoples. It was a deed of insanity and ignorance to have a handful of obviously inferior Czechs rule over minorities. Sudeten Germans have absolutely no respect for the Czechs and will not submit to their rule.

Hitler speaking in an interview with a British journalist, 17 September 1938.

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Source C

The problem of relations between races in the territory now called Czechoslovakia has existed for many centuries with periods of fierce struggle and periods of relative calm. Sudeten extremists provoked the riots after Hitler's speech; they were responsible for the breakdown of negotiations between Czechoslovakia and Germany, encouraged by their followers at home and abroad.

However, I have great sympathy for the Sudetenland cause. It is hard to be ruled by a foreign race. My impression is that the Czechoslovak government, although not actually oppressive, was marked by tactlessness and discrimination that has led to the resentment of the German population. Czech officials and policemen who did not speak German were appointed to German districts, and many believe that the state provided work and aid to the Czechs much more willingly than to the Germans. I think these complaints are largely justified. The rise of Nazi Germany gave the Sudeten Germans new hope and a very large majority of their population wishes to merge with Germany.

Lord Runciman to Prime Minister Chamberlain, 21 September 1938.
A mission of British diplomats led by Lord Runciman was sent to Prague on 3 August 1938.

Source D

Prague was accused of systematically mistreating the Germans of Sudetenland, much like the Vienna government had been accused of mistreating the German part of the population. The German press echoed the complaints and exposed at length and indignantly the injustices they suffered; it called for a speedy end to this intolerable abuse, which incidentally had never been mentioned before Hitler gained power.

The German newspapers recalled with suspicious perseverance the atrocities committed in the distant past by the ancestors of the Czechs. The entire policy reeked of evil intent which the Nazi chiefs did not even trouble to conceal. One evening at dinner at the French Embassy, when champagne had disposed him to be indiscreet, Göring tackled the subject squarely. 'Consider the shape of Czechoslovakia on the map,' he told me. 'Isn't this a challenge to common sense? We shall have to eliminate it.'

From the memoirs of the French Ambassador in Berlin from 1931 to 1938, published in 1949.

Answer **both** parts of the question with reference to the sources.

(a) Read Source **C** and Source **D**.

To what extent do Sources C and D agree about the treatment of the Sudeten Germans by the Czech authorities? [15]

(b) Read **all** of the sources.

How far do the sources support the view that the reason for German hostility towards Czechoslovakia was the issue of the Sudeten Germans? [25]

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