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Cambridge Assessment International Education

Cambridge International AS & A Level

HISTORY **9489/11**

Paper 1 Document Question **May/June 2025**

1 hour 15 minutes

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 [ ].

This document has **8** pages. Any blank pages are indicated.

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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



A German cartoon entitled 'A Good Shepherd lets no sheep get lost', published in 1867. Germany (in the centre) warns Bismarck, who is knitting a stocking of unity, to guard the flock from the waiting wolf, Napoleon III of France. The sheep represent the German states.

Source B

There is a growing expectation of war both in France and Prussia. We have helped them resolve one quarrel, but we cannot go on doing this every six months, nor would it be of any use. If they mean to fight, an excuse can always be found.

The combatants are equally matched. France has superiority of numbers, and of financial resources. Prussia has a superior military system. Emperor Napoleon has domestic opposition to contend against. Prussia is unpopular in its newly acquired territories, where high taxes and conscription are novelties. Both are playing for high stakes. The Emperor, if defeated, will probably lose his throne. Prussia, if defeated, will lose the leadership of Germany. I have always felt the difficulty of peace being maintained but have persevered in hoping against hope.

From a letter by the British Foreign Minister to Queen Victoria's Private Secretary, August 1867.

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Source C

War with France will surely come. It will be forced upon us by the French Emperor. His security depends on personal prestige, and upon sensational effects which must follow one another in rather rapid succession to remain satisfactory to the ambition of the French people. Napoleon has lost much of his prestige. He allowed Prussia to become great without gaining compensation in the form of territory which would have appeared to the French as a brilliant achievement of diplomacy. It was well known that he wanted such compensation, and tried for it, and was manoeuvred out of it by me without his knowing. He is aware that he has lost more prestige than he can afford, and unless soon repaired, this loss may become dangerous to his tenure as Emperor. When he thinks his army is in good fighting condition again, he will use some excuse for picking a quarrel with us. We have to be ready of course, and we are. We shall win.

Bismarck speaking to American General Carl Schurz, January 1868. This conversation was recalled by Schurz in his memoirs, published in 1907. Schurz was German but emigrated to the US after the 1848 revolutions.

Source D

When a copy of the deciphered telegram from Ems was handed to me, I read it out to Roon and Moltke. I asked Moltke if we were sufficiently prepared to meet this sudden risk of war. He answered that a rapid outbreak of war was more favourable to us than delay.

Therefore, in the presence of my two guests, I reduced the telegram by striking out words, but without adding or altering. I went on to explain that if I communicated this text immediately, not only to the newspapers, but also to our embassies, it would be known in Paris before midnight, not only on account of its contents, but also on the manner of its distribution. It would have the effect of a red rag on the French bull. Fight we must if we did not want to be defeated without a battle. However, success depended upon the impression given of how the war was started; it was important that we should be the party attacked.

Bismarck's account of his alteration of the Ems Telegram, published in his memoirs in 1898.

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

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

Compare and contrast these sources as evidence of the strength of Prussia. [15]

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

'Napoleon III was to blame for the war between France and Prussia.' How far do the sources agree? [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

Instead of removing the issue of slavery in the territories from politics, the Supreme Court's Dred Scott ruling has made it into the major political issue of our time. Democrats in the North see it as destroying the black-supporting Republican Party, crushing it, and destroying the anti-slavery platform at a single blow. Southerners are delighted that Southern opinion on the subject of slavery is now the supreme law of the land and that the issue is now settled forever in their favour. Given the current divisions in the North between Democrats and Republicans, we fear this may well be the case.

From a newspaper published in Cincinnati, Ohio, March 1857.

Source B

There was a widely held opinion in the North, shared by lawyers and politicians, that in the Dred Scott case the Supreme Court had made a ruling on an issue which was not actually before it. The Court had no right to rule in the way it did, and the ruling should be challenged as unlawful. The Court had made up a pretext for so doing in order to give judicial support to the views advocated by the extreme slavery supporters in the South. They have tried to solve this great question by a legal decision they had no right to make. The majority of the Court are slaveholders and that has determined their ruling. Slavery, not politics or what is constitutional, has determined their decision. If necessary to maintain their rights as slaveholders, they would find arguments to rule anything unconstitutional. This decision has shocked the moral sense of the great majority of the people in the North and will drive them to extremes. The Court has lit a fire that it may not be able to put out. What was settled here in 1820 has been overturned in a shameful manner.

From an article written by the Democratic Senator for Missouri, March 1858.

Source C

We oppose the Dred Scott decision in a certain way. We do not propose that when Scott has been decided to be a slave by the Court that we, as a mob, will decide him to be free. We will not in any violent way disturb the rights of property thus lawfully settled in this case, even though many argue that the Court had no right to rule on a matter which was not actually before it. The Justices hoped to solve this great moral problem by a ruling of the Court. We oppose that decision as a purely political one and will vote peacefully only for those who think the decision wrong. This decision will enlarge and spread slavery into other states. There is much evidence of their decision being part of a common plan drawn up by those Democrats, Senator Douglas and Presidents Pierce and Buchanan, both to gain the support of Chief Justice Taney and to increase the influence of their party in both the North and the South.

Abraham Lincoln, speaking in the Lincoln–Douglas debates, October 1858.

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Source D

Five slaveholders sitting in the Supreme Court think they have settled forever the issue of slavery, and also the vital questions of freedom, for eighteen million people in the free states. This may well be the case. The logical consequences of this decision might see slavery becoming dominant in our country and change its entire framework.

One day, however, those judges will have passed away and their places might be filled by new judges who will have the same right to trample on, and change, the opinions of all who had gone before them. What many now see as finished business might well contain the seeds of future conflict between South and North.

From a speech by the Republican Governor of Indiana, during an election campaign, March 1860.

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

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

Compare and contrast the views in these sources as evidence about the Supreme Court's decision-making in the Dred Scott case. [15]

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

How far do the sources support the view that the Dred Scott decision would finally settle the issue of slavery? [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

The task of the present German government is to rearm on land, and, as Hitler explains in *Mein Kampf*, to engage their rivals one by one. It may seem astonishing that he should express himself so frankly, but his book was written in 1925, when his prospects of reaching power were so remote that he could afford to be honest. He would probably be glad to suppress every copy today.

Since he assumed office, Hitler has been as cautious and discreet as he was formerly blunt and frank. He declares that he is anxious that peace should be maintained for a ten-year period. What he probably means is that Germany needs peace until it has recovered such strength that no country can challenge it without serious preparations. I fear we cannot hope for a return to sanity or a serious modification of his views. Hitler has, of course, sufficient cunning to realise the necessity for camouflage.

From a report by the British Ambassador in Berlin to the British Foreign Minister, 26 April 1933.

Source B



A cartoon published in a British newspaper, October 1933.

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Source C

Hitler announced that he would come to supper. Only a few friends and my old father were present. After the meal, Hitler spoke of foreign affairs and said he wanted peace at all costs. But he must achieve Germany's equality and revise Versailles. Germany, surrounded by armed states, could not remain undefended.

What he most wanted, said Hitler, was a permanent and clear settlement with Britain. He had written so in *Mein Kampf*. Hitler's remarks about France were negative, though I pointed out that many there hoped for an understanding with Germany. His attitude to Soviet Russia was strongly hostile: it was clear to me even then that Hitler was resolved to destroy communism for good.

Hitler could not hear enough about Britain. Our whole conversation clearly revealed Hitler's admiration for this small island nation that had been able to establish control over a large part of the world thanks to the vigour and genius for government of its ruling class.

From the memoirs of Ribbentrop, Hitler's Foreign Minister, recalling a meeting with Hitler early in 1933. The memoirs were written in 1946 while Ribbentrop was on trial for war crimes.

Source D

The desire for Anglo-German friendship and cooperation reflects my opinion that the British Empire is of importance to mankind and in its best interest. By whatever means Britain gained its colonial possessions, and this included the use of the most brutal force in many instances, I realise that no empire has ever been created by different means.

When Germany became National Socialist, I proposed, in pursuit of my policy of friendship, voluntary limits on German armament at sea. This implied that war should never again be possible between Britain and Germany. However, to bring about a lasting friendship, Britain must consider German interests as well as British ones. I fear that Britain will always oppose Germany. Never will we rob another state of its rightful possessions. But any attack on Germany will encounter such power and resistance that the events of 1914 will seem like nothing in comparison.

From a speech by Hitler to the German parliament, April 1939.

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

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

How far do Sources **C** and **D** agree about Hitler's attitude to Britain? [15]

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

'Hitler wanted peace.' How far do the sources support this statement? [25]

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