GradeMax

Cambridge Assessment International Education

Cambridge International AS & A Level

HISTORY **9489/12**

Paper 1 Document Question **October/November 2025**

1 hour 15 minutes

4761076877

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.

DC (WW/CGW) 342935/1
© UCLES 2025

GradeMax

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

From various platforms, moving speeches were made representing the sad condition of Germany and its insignificance in the council of European nations. The depression in trade and commerce is caused by the division into thirty-eight states, with different laws, different currencies and customs borders surrounding every state. All this is owing to the lack of national union. Speakers complained of the pressure which Austria and Prussia exercised over the German Diet at Frankfurt. Even liberal-minded princes are forced to adopt unconstitutional and illegal measures. Bruggemann, whose speech was one of the most eloquent, addressed the meeting as the representative of German youth which, in spite of criminal persecution, has kept the idea of the liberty and unity of the Fatherland alive.

An account of the Hambach Festival in 1832. It was by a radical lawyer who had been a member of a student nationalist society and was involved in the events depicted in Source C.

Source B

No newspaper containing political content, written in German, and published in a state not belonging to the German Confederation, may be distributed in a member state without prior approval of the government. Proceedings will be taken against the distributors of prohibited published writings.

Popular assemblies and festivals, whose time and place were previously neither customary nor permitted, may not take place, no matter under what name and to what purpose, without prior approval of the competent authority. Even at permitted popular assemblies, public speeches with political content will not be tolerated.

Police surveillance will be carried out on all local residents who have made known at any time, through public speeches, writings, or actions, their revolutionary activities. The resolutions of September 1819 concerning disciplinary measures towards student political societies in the universities, will be unfailingly applied.

From the Ten Articles, issued by Austrian Chancellor Metternich, July 1832, to be enforced throughout the German Confederation.

© UCLES 2025

GradeMax

Source C



A print by a radical French artist showing the storming of Frankfurt's main police station by armed students who were attempting to free political prisoners, April 1833. The words on the flag read 'liberty for Germany'.

Source D

In Germany, there is a lack of any trust toward the German Diet, from which no development of liberal institutions is expected. There is not even any protection of the constitutional rights of the individual states. Prussia, after Austria the largest of the Confederation states, is temporarily in possession of a constitution of which this much is clear: that its leading principle should be the unrestrained power of the monarch. Protestants in many states have had their religious beliefs violated. A significant portion of the working class engaged in manual labour in the Rhine Province is against the government. All the German states lack a secure, unified bond, or any kind of institution in which the German nation might be represented, and from which it might expect leadership toward the assertion of independence.

From a letter written by a German businessman to the Prussian Interior Ministry in March 1848.

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

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

Compare and contrast these two sources as evidence about attitudes towards the spread of liberal ideas in German states in the 1830s. [15]

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

'The desire for German unity was the main cause of discontent in the German Confederation.' How far do these sources agree? [25]

© UCLES 2025

[Turn over

GradeMax

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

I believe that the Republicans are a party of ethnic hatred and cultural tyranny. Much of their support comes from anti-immigrant extremists. I see the Republican Party as similar to another party that has emerged recently, the anti-immigrant, anti-Catholic party, better known as the Know-Nothings. Both aim to exclude the foreign-born from political life in the United States. I see Abolitionism, Know-Nothingism and Republicanism and all other 'isms' to be in alliance. The growth of Republicanism demonstrates the powerful influence of sheer prejudice in much of the northern electorate. We must end our own destructive divisions and unite to defeat this new and growing force.

From a letter by Stephen Douglas to a leading Southern Democrat, October 1858.

Source B

Despite the fact that this new party is one of dishonourable coalitions, shallow expediency and bad leadership by dishonest politicians, it should still be a success. Their Philadelphia Platform of 1856 is to be praised as a statement of essential truths. They did not turn a deaf ear to the millions of blacks in chains. They supported the beliefs of our Founding Fathers and argued that slavery and freedom cannot exist together under the Constitution. They laid down a few clear principles and proposed a few practical measures. These were sufficiently broad for all anti-slavery men, as well as those who were wary of the idea of emancipation of black people, to agree on. They therefore deserve my support and I now stand with the Republican Party.

From a speech by a member of the House of Representatives from Pennsylvania, who had been a member of both the Whig and the Free-Soil parties, October 1858.

Source C

In the past I felt that southern slaves were happier and better off than the free black people in the North. I also considered the principles of the abolitionists false, foolish, wicked and unchristian. However, since the brutal attack on Senator Sumner on the floor of the Senate, which has left him near death, by a supporter of slavery, I have reconsidered my views. I fear the shameless brutality of the Southern aristocratic slave-owners may drive me into not only abolitionism but also into supporting the Republican ticket. The barbarism demonstrated by the Fugitive Slave Law has also driven me into this view. I now see Southern slavery as the greatest crime of modern history. My feelings go out to those men and women who are enslaved. Emancipation should be the outcome, together with the rights and privileges that accompany citizenship of this country. I will join with the angry working class of the North who are arming against an arrogant Southern aristocracy, and contribute to, and vote for, the Republican Party.

From the private diary of a prominent New York lawyer, August 1859.

© UCLES 2025

GradeMax

Source D

I believe the reason why the Republican party is growing in support in the North is because it rightly, in my long-held view, opposes slavery. However, I feel it is not a question of sympathy for the Africans or much interest in the slavery question itself. It is because our American free labouring men fear losing their work to the slaves of the Southern aristocracy. Slavery represents a threat to their livelihoods and we see it as a criminal activity. I think the recent events in Boston over the brutal enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law on men, women and children has reinforced this view and increased the demand for abolition. It matters not to me, or those who voted for me, whether they happen to be African slaves, Asian or European. While some feel that all men are created equal, I do not think that every man has the same rights. Our Northern people prize their political privileges too highly to think of sharing them with three or four million emancipated slaves.

From a letter by a Democratic party politician in the 'New York Daily Tribune', a leading abolitionist newspaper, December 1859.

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

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

Compare and contrast the views in these two sources about slaves and slavery. [15]

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

How far do these sources support the view that the main reason for the growth of support for the Republican Party was its hostility to slavery? [25]

© UCLES 2025

[Turn over

GradeMax

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

During the last six weeks the League of Nations has undoubtedly been weakened by our action, the principle of collective security has been impaired, German treaty-breaking has been approved and even praised, the Stresa Front has been shaken if not, indeed, dissolved. Although I cannot doubt our sincere desire for peace, British influence has undoubtedly been diminished, and our moral position damaged.

Of course, it is quite wrong to pretend that the emergence of Germany as a formidable naval power is the result of the Naval Agreement. That would have happened anyhow. Germany intends to rearm by land, sea and air, until it is the most formidable military power in the whole world. I am not blaming the Agreement for this, but when the Prime Minister says that he hoped this would be a great measure of disarmament, I am afraid it is not.

From a speech to the British parliament by Winston Churchill, July 1935.

Source B

As a result of the conscription decree, two British ministers, Simon and Eden, came to see Hitler in Berlin. I was present at the talks, which were friendly. Hitler emphasised his sincere desire for a naval agreement with Britain. Hitler wanted me to conduct the negotiations and in June 1935 I went to London. I rejected the proposal that agreement depended on approval by the Versailles powers. I emphasised that by this voluntary limitation of armaments, Hitler wanted to end naval rivalry; it laid the foundations for an enduring Anglo-German friendship and resolved one of the causes of the First World War.

I was very satisfied with the Agreement and Hitler called this the happiest day of his life. It meant Britain agreed the repeal of the Versailles armament provisions. The French were seriously annoyed, but I pointed out that Germany's limitation of armaments would also benefit France.

From the memoirs of Ribbentrop, Hitler's Foreign Minister, written while on trial for war crimes, 1946.

© UCLES 2025

GradeMax

Source C

The agreement of the Stresa Front in April 1935 marked the climax of European unity against Nazi ambitions. No doubt, if the powers had been able to maintain their cohesion against the Third Reich, the world would have been spared many misfortunes. But scarcely two months passed before this cohesion began to waver.

Hitler, in his meeting with Simon and Eden, stated his claims quite roughly and with the utmost assurance. He informed his visitors that he intended to build a war fleet equal to 35 per cent of the British Navy's. Privately Simon was astounded, but he gave no sign of it. He listened very politely and made no objections. He did not dislike the man. Hitler was certain that he had charmed Simon and he could count on Britain's support. Britain leaped at the bait. Quietly on its own, it concluded the Naval Agreement with Germany.

From the memoirs of the French Ambassador in Berlin in 1935, published in 1949.

Source D

We were right to seize the opportunity of restricting one important side of German rearmament. The Naval Agreement would slow down the construction of a formidable German Fleet while giving us time to strengthen our own. We hoped to follow it up with an Air Pact between ourselves, France, and Germany, and we believed this more likely to succeed when we had shown Hitler that a naval agreement was possible. The alternatives were either drift or preventive war. No one in Britain or France was prepared to go to war to stop German rearmament. Drift had already let Hitler build up an army as strong as the French, and an air force as strong as ours.

Even in France, where the anti-British press continued to rage, the prime minister, Laval, told Eden that he quite understood the British position. Mussolini did not criticise the terms of the Agreement, merely claiming he ought to have been more fully consulted.

From the memoirs of Samuel Hoare, British Foreign Minister in 1935, published in 1954.

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

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

Compare and contrast these two sources as evidence about the making of the Naval Agreement. [15]

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

'The Naval Agreement improved relations between European powers.' How far do the sources support this view? [25]

© UCLES 2025

GradeMax

BLANK PAGE

Permission to reproduce items where third-party owned material protected by copyright is included has been sought and cleared where possible. Every reasonable effort has been made by the publisher (UCLES) to trace copyright holders, but if any items requiring clearance have unwittingly been included, the publisher will be pleased to make amends at the earliest possible opportunity.

To avoid the issue of disclosure of answer-related information to candidates, all copyright acknowledgements are reproduced online in the Cambridge Assessment International Education Copyright Acknowledgements Booklet. This is produced for each series of examinations and is freely available to download at www.cambridgeinternational.org after the live examination series.

Cambridge Assessment International Education is part of Cambridge Assessment. Cambridge Assessment is the brand name of the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate (UCLES), which is a department of the University of Cambridge.

© UCLES 2025