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Cambridge Assessment International Education

Cambridge International AS & A Level

HISTORY **9489/13**

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

1 hour 15 minutes

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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

The power of extraordinary events, the demands which have been expressed loudly throughout our fatherland, and past calls of the state governments have led, in this great hour, to this great Assembly, such as has never been seen in our history.

The best of our old political life is revealed in the basic principles of this Assembly, which has been greeted with joy and confidence by the entire German people. It is a great new achievement – the German parliament.

The German governments, and their common body the Bund, are united with the German people in their similar love for our great fatherland. We greet with joy the spirit of the times, and extend our hand of welcome to the national representatives.

From a speech made at the opening of the German National Assembly, May 1848.

Source B

The Frankfurt Parliament has become the tool of your princes. A central power, elected directly or indirectly by the people, should destroy the rights of sovereign rulers. You can only build German nationality on the ruins of thrones. We know hundreds of thousands of Germans think the same as we do.

The history of the past year has proved that there are bold and death-defying men in Germany, that Germany has a youth full of the spirit of self-sacrifice. We also know what it is to cross the gulf between words and actions. We would not from a far distance condemn the German people for having failed to respond adequately to the greatness of the time. Yet we feel prompted to urge you: Try! Wake up! Strive without distrust for a republican constitution. Choose representatives from the people and do not take them from the learned classes or the bench of ministers. Make it a sacred principle not to elect anyone associated with the princes.

From a letter written in January 1849 to the Frankfurt Parliament by a group of Germans who had emigrated to America.

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Source C



A German cartoon published in August 1849.
It was entitled 'A panorama of Europe' and shows the revolutionaries being driven out of Prussia and France to Switzerland and America.

Source D

Chosen under the influence of the capitalist class, the Frankfurt Parliament brought into the political arena all the celebrities of middle-class liberalism of 1820–1848, and then utterly ruined them. The middle classes expected wonders but earned shame for themselves and their representatives. Political liberalism, under either a monarchical or republican form of government, became forever impossible in Germany. Austria plainly demanded the restoration of the German Diet, known and recognised by the treaties of 1815.

By May 1849, the parliament had lost the confidence of the real fighting mass of all European uprisings, the working class. But yet, it had a fair chance. The rural population supported it along with two-thirds of the armies of the smaller states and one-third of the Prussian army. If only it had acted resolutely and with courage. But the politicians who led it proved to be even more attached to delusions and no more capable of resolutely dealing with facts than the Liberals. Thus vanished the Frankfurt Parliament.

From 'Revolution and Counter-Revolution' written by Karl Marx and published in 1852.

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

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

Compare and contrast these two sources as evidence about the Frankfurt Parliament. [15]

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

'The 1848–49 revolutions were a failure.' How far do these 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

We in the South see Senator Douglas as far more of a threat to us than Lincoln. Every honest and unselfish Democrat in the South should vote against him as his wish to prevent the expansion of slavery will destroy us. If Lincoln wins it will be a triumph for us. It will lead to a united South, united in its own defence, an end to abolitionism and a happy solution to the political problem of the slavery question. Douglas must be defeated at all costs. His support for the Free Soil movement is recent and motivated solely by a desire to win votes. His views on popular sovereignty within states are a cloak covering a strong desire to end slavery. While it may well gain him votes in the North, it will gain him even more enemies in the South than he gained over his role in the Compromise. His supporters argue that he is the right candidate for all the United States, but he is not the candidate for the South, only the North.

A letter from a North Carolina senator to the governor of North Carolina, October 1860.

Source B

I see Lincoln and his Republicans as the lesser of two evils. I will vote the Republican ticket next Tuesday, although I had initially intended to vote for Bell and the Constitutional Unionists. The Republicans are the only alternative to everlasting submission to the South, whose growing aggression knows no limits. I want to be able to remember that I voted the right way in this grave crisis. The North must assert its rights now and take the consequences. I dislike the way in which Lincoln adapts his views on slavery according to his audience, but it evidently increases his popularity.

From the private diary of a prominent New York lawyer, and former Whig supporter, November 1860.

Source C

The Democrats were totally divided on one great issue of principle – slavery. Attempts to unite them to save both Party and Union failed. Nowhere in the Slave States did the supporters of Breckinridge consent to support Douglas, always seen as a danger to them. Douglas attempted to portray himself as the truly national candidate but failed in this in both the North and the South. His sudden enthusiasm for Free Soil ideas was seen as a device for winning votes and not based on conviction. His good work on the Compromise of 1850, which had gained him support in the South, was undone by his role in the Kansas dispute. His belief in popular sovereignty, where states could make their own decisions on the subject of slavery, won him support in the North, but further antagonised the South. He was not passionate on the subject of slavery, which led to limited support from the abolitionists.

In the North, the Fusion, the anti-Lincoln ticket, failed as they could agree on nothing but the Republican idea of excluding slavery from the territories. On every other issue, including support for Douglas, they were hopelessly divided. The Know-Nothings hated the Democratic 'bolters' who had rejected the Democratic platform more than any other Republican.

From a history of the American Civil War written by Horace Greeley, a New York newspaper owner and editor, and a strong Republican supporter, published in 1864.

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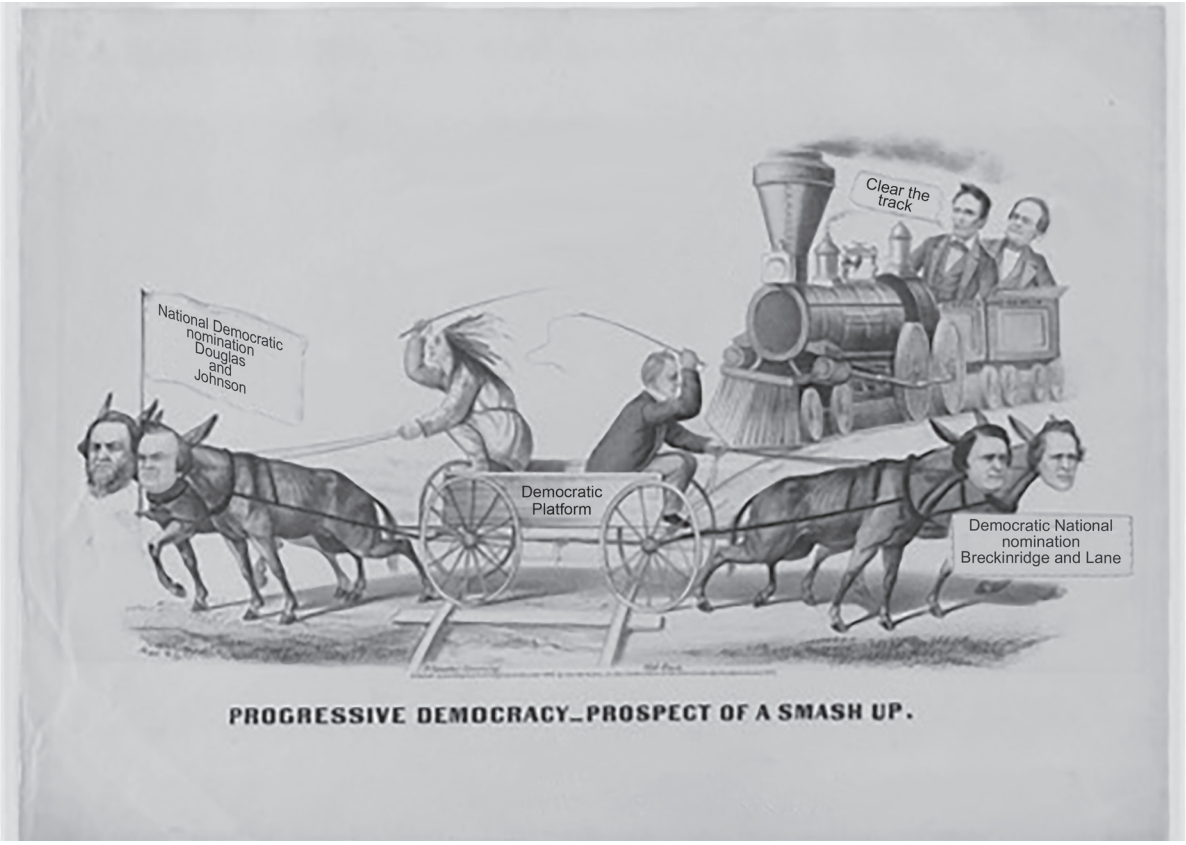
Source D



A cartoon published in a Northern newspaper in October 1860.

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

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

Compare and contrast the views in the two sources about Stephen Douglas. [15]

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

How far do the sources support the view that Lincoln's victory in 1860 was caused by divisions within the Democratic Party? [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

We urged the Czech government to agree to the cession of territory, and to agree promptly. The Czech government, through the wisdom and courage of President Beneš, accepted the advice of the French government and ourselves. It was a hard decision for anyone who loved his country to take, but to accuse us of having by that advice betrayed the Czechoslovakian state is simply preposterous. What we did was to save it from annihilation and give it a chance of new life as a new state, which involves the loss of territory and fortifications, but may perhaps enable it to enjoy the future.

The emergency has thrown a vivid light upon our preparations for defence. We have already ordered a prompt and thorough inquiry to cover the whole of our preparations, military and civil, in order to do what may be necessary to make good our deficiencies in the shortest possible time.

From a speech by Prime Minister Chamberlain in the British parliament, October 1938.

Source B

Look back less than a year. At that time, the Rome–Berlin Axis was a mere phrase, now you can see it stretching across the map of Europe. Russia, which was then playing its part as an active member of the League of Nations in defence of the rule of law, is now alienated. We see that Germany has not been slow to send missions to Moscow to improve trade relations, as a start. Austrian independence is gone, Czechoslovakia is sacrificed. That fine army which mobilised some 40 divisions with 1000 aeroplanes no longer exists for the defence of democracy. The Skoda works is now geared up to the German munitions industry instead of being available for the help of the democratic powers. While we are rearming, we are losing the support of vital and powerful forces abroad, on which, only a few months ago, we could have relied to help us to resist aggression.

From a speech by the leader of an opposition party in the British parliament, December 1938.

Source C

In this solemn hour, it is a consolation to recall our repeated efforts for peace. All have been doomed, but all have been faithful and sincere. This is of the highest moral value, and not only moral value, but practical value, at the present time. The wholehearted agreement of millions of men and women, whose co-operation is indispensable, is the only foundation upon which the trial and tribulation of modern war can be endured and overcome. This moral conviction alone affords that resilience which renews the strength and energy of people in long, doubtful and dark days. Outside, the storms of war may blow, but our consciences are at rest.

From a speech by Churchill in the British parliament, 3 September 1939.

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Source D

The Prime Minister at Munich agreed with Hitler that his demands should be granted. The Czechs were told that if they objected to the deal, they would fight against Germany alone. They abandoned their objections. On 2 October 1938, the German tanks advanced unopposed to take over their new territory (which included all the fortifications the Czechs had made sacrifices to erect on this German frontier during the previous five years). That Sunday, the Czech people prayed to the Almighty to forgive all those who imposed this injustice.

There was a unanimous view, expressed most vigorously by those proclaiming, 'Peace in our Time', that Britain must now rearm day and night. However, these efforts were ineffective. The British government broke its pledge. The evidence is the state of armaments of the British Expeditionary Force, stranded on the blood-soaked dunes of Dunkirk more than a year later.

From 'Guilty Men', written anonymously by a group of British journalists as a criticism of the policy of appeasement, 1940.

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

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

Compare and contrast these two sources as evidence about the German takeover of the Sudetenland. [15]

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

How far do the sources support the view that Chamberlain's policy of appeasement meant Britain would be in a stronger position when war came? [25]

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