Cambridge Assessment International Education

Cambridge International AS & A Level

HISTORY **9489/12**

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

1 hour 15 minutes

1951127026

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.

© UCLES 2025

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

Prussia's peace conditions are such that we must fight to the bitter end. The King of Prussia and Bismarck are no longer content merely to enter Paris. They are determined to make the whole country feel the humiliation of foreign invasion. A new German army, which is now advancing, has orders to prevent any French reserves from marching to the help of Paris. We lack all forms of armament – rifles, guns and cavalry. Europe remains inactive. Only God can deliver us from the shame of being conquered. The Defence Council believes that we shall be attacked during the next few hours from several points simultaneously. Although the siege has only been going on for four days, the people of Paris are suffering great hardships.

A report from Paris, September 1870.

Source B

The idea of Bismarck opposing the bombardment of Paris because of its works of art is ridiculous. Nothing in Paris would give him the slightest idea to spare it if he considered the bombardment right from a political and military point of view. There are few signs of the Parisians coming to reason and surrendering so it will be right and necessary to bombard it. We cannot wish that the people be brought to their senses by hunger. It will be far better for them to be bombarded than forced by hunger to submit.

Nothing worries Bismarck so much as to have an audience with the King on matters which the King does not like, in this case the bombardment of Paris. Bismarck is dreadfully nervous. The King will give way in the end but Bismarck's strength is taxed by the effort, and we are quite anxious about him. It is no wonder he takes out his irritation with the King on us.

From the diary of Bismarck's private secretary, October 1870.

© UCLES 2025

Source C

Bismarck is beginning to be fit for a lunatic asylum. He tries to begin a premature and hasty bombardment of Paris. After the victory at Sedan, he asked Moltke if it was possible to leave France entirely to itself and take up a defensive position in Alsace-Lorraine. But the apparent halt in operations brought about by the resistance of Paris and Metz caused him to approach the King. He complains bitterly that Moltke has written to the Governor of Paris. He argues that a negotiation with a foreign government should fall into his own sphere of competence. The King has ordered Moltke to tell Bismarck the results of yesterday's military council – we must tell a diplomat what we don't even tell our generals!

A telegram arrived reporting that diplomatic circles in Berlin are convinced that the government in Paris is only awaiting the beginning of the bombardment to surrender. This is possible but not likely. It is more plausible that Bismarck ordered the telegram himself to lend weight to his requests for bombardment.

From the secret war diary of a Prussian general, December 1870.

Source D

On 1 March 1871, I found the pavements in Paris were jammed with people, eager to get a look at the conquerors. National misfortunes were laid at Napoleon's door by everyone. He had become a scapegoat for every blunder of the war.

Emperor William did not accompany his troops into Paris but remained at Versailles. I went there to pay my respects and say good-bye. The only other people I met there were General Moltke and Bismarck. Moltke was, as usual, quiet and reserved, betraying not the slightest consciousness of his great ability, nor the least indication of pride on account of his mighty work. Undoubtedly, it was his marvellous mind that perfected the military system by which 800 000 men were mobilised with unparalleled speed, and moved with such certainty of combination, that the military power of France was destroyed and its vast resources sorely crippled.

From an account written by an American general who was an observer during the Franco-Prussian War, published in 1888.

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 Bismarck's involvement in the Franco-Prussian War. [15]

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

'France was defeated easily.' How far do the sources agree? [25]

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 implications of Mr Wilmot's Proviso could be considerable for our nation. It will forbid slavery in any of the territories acquired from Mexico. It has led the Northern Whigs, always hostile to slavery, to ally with many Northern Democrats, who are not interested in slavery but just want power. Together they hope to defeat the Southern Whigs and Democrats. The usual divisions between the two parties over the tariff, the Bank and federal aid to improvements have gone. Politics will never be the same again. Our old party divisions have suddenly disappeared, and new political divisions are emerging which will dominate our lives and our country.

From a report in the 'Boston Whig', August 1846.

Source B

No great anxiety over slavery has previously disturbed Mr 'pro-southern' Wilmot. He justifies his anti-slavery Proviso in Congress with high moral, newly-found principles. His real motives must be worked out from the political situation in his own state; for a sincere and radical free-soil conscience never sprouted and blossomed in a day. As an attack on slavery, it will achieve nothing. He is driven by a northern hatred of annexation, which he fears will bring disunion. He is driven by sectional rivalry and a desire for personal power. What he fails to realise is that his measure will not only hasten the disunion he fears but will also increase the determination with which the supporters of slavery will defend their cause. He hopes his Proviso will bring him political advantages in his state. It is unlikely to. It could well lead to the constitutional crisis we all fear.

Memorandum written by Secretary of State Buchanan (later President), August 1846.

Source C

While I doubt that this Proviso will ultimately have any effect on the fundamental issue of slavery or lead to the disunion many fear, it could well bring about considerable changes in our two major parties. It will widen the divide between the northern and southern Democrats and may well destroy the Whigs.

For his earlier votes on the tariff, Wilmot was strongly criticised by many from his own state. The fact that he has been praised by southern papers and southern men increases his fears that he favours the views of those in the South. He is anxious to show the citizens of Pennsylvania, and the country as a whole, that he is not a supporter of southern policies and he has long opposed slavery. He wishes to gain the support of those who favour abolition. He is anxious to regain the trust of the Democrats of the North in order to retain any power in the House. These views have led him, at the request of others, to introduce this Proviso. Wilmot was warned by the strong reaction to his tariff votes that his district might not return him to Congress. Heaven forbid! To redeem himself as a Northern man and stop the endless criticism from the Whig press in his own state, he has moved the Proviso.

From a speech by a prominent 'Free Soil' politician, November 1846.

© UCLES 2025

Source D

The Proviso has had a great impact on the public mind and in particular on those who believe that the issue of slavery within states, in new states, and in newly-acquired territories, should be kept out of Congress. Many now feel it should be left to the people alone to decide. It has encouraged a new doctrine of popular (or rather squatter) sovereignty in the South. This maintains that the Federal Government has no power to exclude slavery from its territories. What was intended as a simple political device to benefit certain politicians, has become much more than that. It is now a profound constitutional issue which will divide, and possibly destroy, our nation.

A letter from a Michigan senator to the Governor of Michigan, December 1847.

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 Wilmot's reasons for introducing the Proviso. [15]

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

How far do the sources agree that the main impact of the Proviso would be changes to American political parties? [25]

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

Hitler told me that Franco had asked for aircraft to ferry troops from Africa to Spain for action against the communists. He explained that Germany could not tolerate a communist Spain and that aircraft should be put at Franco's disposal. Mussolini was also in favour of Franco and combatting the peril of communism.

A better name for the Non-Intervention Committee would have been 'Intervention Committee', for its members concentrated on defending or hushing up their respective countries' intervention in Spain. This work was most unpleasant for me, because Britain often sided with the Reds. Nor were relations with France improved, for its representative had to support the cause of Red Spain. My main job, together with my Italian colleague, was to oppose intervention by the USSR. Working with this man was not always easy as he was an intriguer if ever there was one.

From the memoirs of Ribbentrop, Hitler's advisor and Ambassador to Britain from 1936 to 1938, written while on trial for war crimes, 1946.

Source B

The Spanish Civil War tightened the bonds between Germany and Italy. Mussolini was the first to help Franco, as proved by the presence of Italian military planes in Spain by July 1936. He convinced Hitler that the victory of the Spanish republicans would strengthen communism. The dictators built a fellowship which joined them in defence before it was to unite them in conquest.

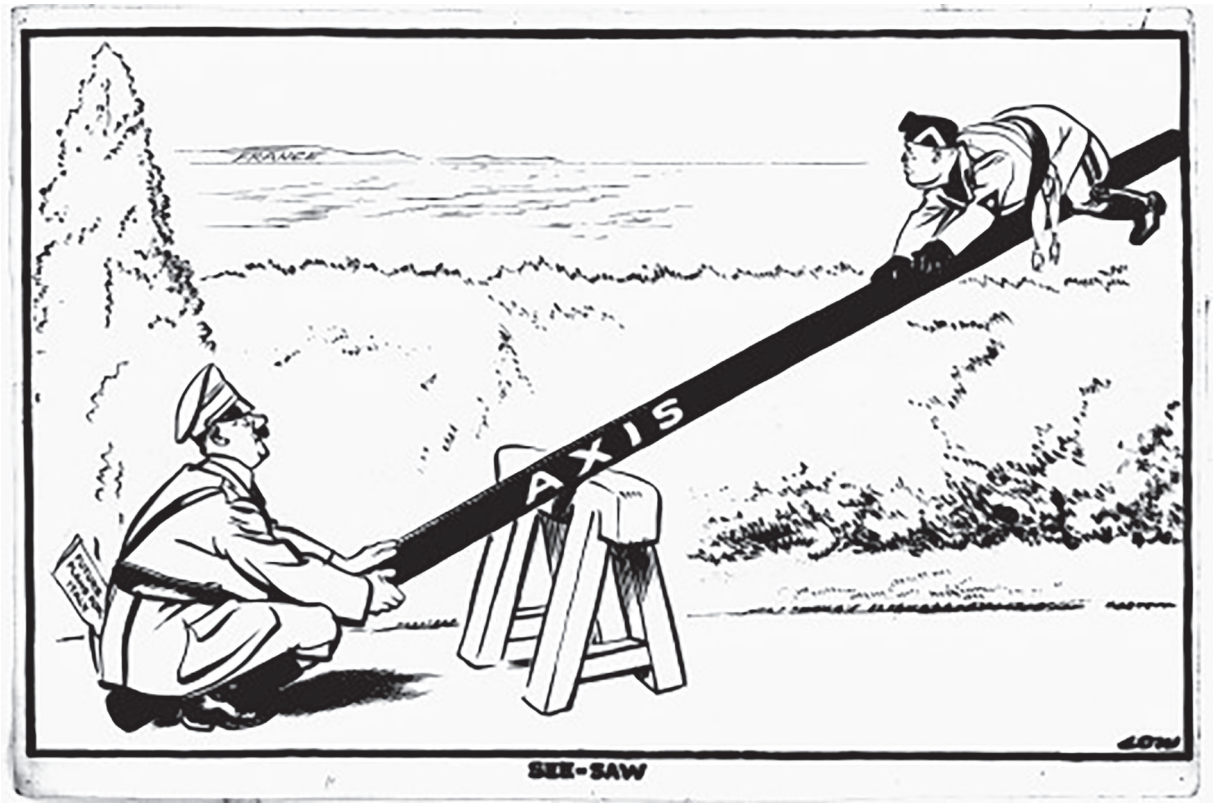
This solidarity asserted itself in the Non-Intervention Committee, where the dictator governments, competing with each other in hypocrisy, appeared as accomplices. While invoking non-intervention and accusing France of failing to keep its pledges, Mussolini was sending whole combat divisions into Spain at such a rate as to deplete Italian arsenals, already seriously strained by war in Abyssinia.

More cleverly, Hitler used the battlefields of Spain to test his planes and tanks. All his pilots flew there; every week a huge transport plane landed in Berlin carrying at least thirty so-called volunteer pilots returning from Spain.

From the memoirs of Samuel Hoare, a British government minister during the 1930s, published in 1954.

© UCLES 2025

Source C



A cartoon in a British newspaper, March 1939.
The paper in Hitler's pocket says 'Future plans for Italy'; Mussolini is on the right.

Source D

Ciano then spoke at very considerable length of German-Italian relations. He spoke openly of his hearty dislike of Ribbentrop. He said, 'If Hitler wants anything – and God knows he wants enough – Ribbentrop always goes one better.' He bitterly resented Hitler's lack of courtesy to the Italian Government in failing to consult it about German policy, and complete disregard for the terms of the understanding between Italy and Germany. He claimed that during the past summer, when the Soviet negotiations with France and England had been discussed, the Germans told him that they were attempting to conclude a minor commercial agreement with Russia to disrupt these negotiations.

'Can you believe', Ciano added with great bitterness, 'that Hitler called me on the telephone only on 21 August to announce the conclusion of the Nazi-Soviet Pact, and that before I even had time to tell Mussolini, this very radio in my own office here was carrying the report to the whole world?'

From a report written by a member of the US government about a meeting with the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Ciano, in Rome, February 1940.

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

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

Compare and contrast these two sources as evidence about the Non-Intervention Committee and intervention in the Spanish Civil War. [15]

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

'Germany and Italy developed a strong bond after 1936.' How far do the sources support this view? [25]

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