



Cambridge International AS & A Level

HISTORY

9489/11

Paper 1 Document Question

October/November 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.

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 German Confederation cannot be considered an effective political institution unless it remains completely faithful to the principle of equality of rights and duties among the members of the federal body. Special privileges for any states are banned by the Confederation. This situation has changed as a result of the formation of the Prussian customs union.

Within the Confederation, a smaller confederation with its own common interest is being formed. Under such circumstances, there can be no more useful discussions in the Confederate Assembly. Debates will be decided by votes agreed in advance, not by the interests of the Confederation but by the exclusive rights of Prussia.

Prussia will use economic interests to weaken the influence of Austria over the German states in order to sabotage their relations with Austria and make them used to the idea of turning their eyes to Berlin.

From a letter by Metternich, Austria's Chancellor and Foreign Minister, to the Austrian Emperor, June 1833. The treaties which established the Zollverein, merging the different customs unions, had been signed by the time this letter was written.

Source B



A German cartoon published in 1834, commenting on the reasons for establishing the Zollverein. The caption read, 'Is it the wagon that is too big or the Principality of Lippe-Schaumburg that is too small?'

Source C

I cannot pass over the probable political consequences of the establishment of the Zollverein. They were certainly not lost sight of by its founders. The connection between commercial and political interests is obvious. The supporters of this customs union understood that no political alliance would be so strong as that based upon a community of economic and social interests. It has prepared the way for political nationality. It has subdued much local feeling, prejudice and habit and replaced them with a wider and stronger element of German nationality.

By directing investment to internal rather than external trade, the Zollverein has already had a great influence in improving the roads, the canals, the means of travelling, in a word in giving additional impulse to inland communications of every sort. Railways are being constructed in many parts of German territory – steamboats are crowding German ports and coasting along German shores – everything is transported with greater cheapness and rapidity.

From a report on the Zollverein written by a member of the British Parliament in 1840.

Source D

Nothing profitable can be expected from the Assembly of the Confederation with regard to national unification. It has not carried out its duty in respect of representative governments or free trade. The press is censored, the procedures of the Assembly are cloaked in darkness and obstacles are placed in the path of liberal development. The only bond of common German interests, the Zollverein, was not created by the Confederation but by agreements reached between individual German states within the Confederation.

The aim of German unification, with a German policy, common direction and protection of national interests, will be more easily achieved when the public support the extension of this customs union to a German society. The customs union already directs a whole series of common economic interests and has established treaties with outside states. Through its further development, the customs union will act as an irresistible attraction for the participation of the remaining German states. It will bring about unification with the Austrian states and thus lead to the establishment of true German power.

From a newspaper report of a meeting of liberal representatives of the southwestern German states in 1847.

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 Confederation. [15]

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

‘The most important impact of the Zollverein was to strengthen the economies of the German states.’ How far do the sources support this view? [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 greatest injustice that will arise from the 1850 Compromise will be the Fugitive Slave Law. It must be opposed as it violates the liberties which were laid down in our Constitution. It will provoke great anger in the North. It will drive many of those who dislike the abolitionists and their attitudes into supporting their radical cause. Fugitives will be denied trial by jury and the right to give evidence on their own behalf. Paying Federal Commissioners \$10 if the fugitive is found to be a slave and \$5 if he is not makes it clear what is intended in this Act. It could well further the cause of those who wish to end the Union.

From a speech in Congress by a Representative from Massachusetts, July 1851.

Source B

This battle in the town of Christiana, where the slaveowner is dead and his son wounded, is the first blow in our Civil War. Our state was invaded by armed men from Maryland determined to impose their will and seize their 'property' by force. Attempting to defend themselves from an unwarranted assault, some of our citizens were compelled to fire back, leading to the death of Mr Gorsuch. The invaders felt they had the protection of the law and the government, with the United States marshal there to support them, but they were driven back under fire to their own state.

We follow a much higher law than they do. We must trample this Fugitive Law under our feet. It is to be denounced, resisted and disobeyed. We are moral and religious men here and we cannot obey an immoral and irreligious law. Our vigilance committee will do all it can to prevent these 'man stealers' who wish to destroy liberty. We urge all to make their feelings known to them and would warn them that this city cannot guarantee their safety.

From the 'Jeffersonian Republican', a Pennsylvanian newspaper, 18 September 1851.

Source C

What has occurred in Christiana is an act of insurrection. It is an armed rebellion determined to destroy our laws and our government. It would never have taken place but for the incitement by those in the North. Mr Gorsuch entered the town peacefully and legally, accompanied by a United States marshal, to rightly claim back what was his property, a runaway slave. He was murdered in cold blood and his son wounded. To avoid further bloodshed, his son and the officers of the law returned peacefully to Maryland. It is believed his slaves have since fled to Canada.

It is the fanatics of the 'higher law' belief that have incited this conflict in Christiana. They oppose the Fugitive Law arguing that there are laws superior to those passed by Congress and guaranteed under our Constitution. This gives them a right to break those laws. This is nonsense. Their opposition is truly based on a wish to destroy our way of life and impose their values upon us. They are jealous of what we have.

From the 'Cecil Whig', a Maryland newspaper, 22 September 1851.

Source D

In regard to the Fugitive Slave Law, I have never hesitated to say that under the Constitution the people of the Southern States are entitled to it, as it was passed by Congress. Having said that, I have nothing further to say about this law other than I think it should have been much better framed to avoid the many objections there have been to it. However, I would not be the man to introduce it now for fear of what it might provoke.

Abraham Lincoln, speaking at the Freeport Debate with Douglas, August 1858.

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 about events in Christiana. [15]

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

‘People objected to the Fugitive Slave Law because they feared the reactions it would provoke.’ How far do the sources support this view? [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

The case regarding Guernica has been absolutely proved. The Nationalists themselves, on 29 April, said that fog prevented any aeroplanes going up on the day of the bombardment. In the explanation given yesterday, they say that there was intermittent bombing during a period of three hours.

As against this self-contradictory defence, we have the evidence of countless eyewitnesses. The Dean of the Cathedral of Valladolid said that between 4:40pm and 7:45pm, the sky was black with German aeroplanes, and that they came down to a height of 200 metres to machine-gun the civilian population. We have the evidence from the correspondent of *The Times*, a British newspaper, who was machine-gunned in a neighbouring village by the German air force. We have still more sinister evidence that the German government knew about the plan. In a speech made the day before the atrocity occurred, General Göring said: 'Soon the Spanish War will prove Germany's aviation strength.'

From a speech by a left-wing MP in the British Parliament, 6 May 1937.

Source B

It was natural that the war correspondents who hastened to Guernica at midnight of the 26 April and found the town in flames concluded that the fire was the result of a terrible air bombardment. Some bombs had fallen. *The Times* correspondent had seen the bombers that very afternoon. What is surprising is that, on the 27 April, this story was repeated, because the survival of various historic sites was inconsistent with the theory of destruction from the air.

Aguirre, the Basque leader wrote: 'German planes bombed Guernica, the holy city of the Basques, for three and a half hours, reducing it to ashes.' But while he was saying this, his soldiers were carrying out his plan of destruction under cover of night. It took his agents three days to destroy Guernica completely, and he left them in peace to do it. Press campaigns across the world have sought to smother under a wave of ink and slime the heroic people who are opposing the advance of Communism.

From a report of a commission appointed by the Spanish Nationalists to investigate the causes of the destruction of Guernica, 1938.

Source C

During these last weeks, Germany has joined in the celebration of Spain's victory. When I responded to the request by General Franco for assistance in his struggle against the Bolshevik murderers, the international warmongers misinterpreted and abused this decision in the most shameful manner.

In a few weeks, the victorious hero of Nationalist Spain will make his solemn entry into the capital of his country. The Spanish people will jubilantly cheer him as their saviour. Entire populations of villages and cities were literally slaughtered by the Reds, supported by the democracies of Western Europe and North America. Our valiant sons fought in the defence of the freedom of a most noble people and contributed to the rescue of European civilisation. For the victory of Bolshevik sub-humanity in Spain could only too easily have swept over Europe.

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

Source D

My Comrades, your example will strengthen our ties of comradeship and will leave the world in no doubt that, should the international warmongers carry out their plan to attack Germany, then their attempt will be defeated by the German army and people. And so your struggle in Spain has taught our opponents a lesson. Now that you yourselves have returned as hardened soldiers, this has made you capable, to a high degree, of serving as examples and teachers for the young soldiers of our new army. Thus, you have helped to reinforce the belief in our new German armed forces and in the quality of our new weapons.

From a speech by Hitler to the Condor Legion soldiers on their return from Spain to Germany, June 1939.

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 events in Guernica. [15]

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

How far do the sources support the view that Germany intervened in Spain in order to defeat Communism? [25]

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