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Cambridge International Examinations
Cambridge International General Certificate of Secondary Education

HISTORY **0470/22**

Paper 2 **February/March 2017**

2 hours

No Additional Materials are required.

READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

An answer booklet is provided inside this question paper. You should follow the instructions on the front cover of the answer booklet. If you need additional answer paper ask the invigilator for a continuation booklet.

This paper has two options.
Choose **one** option, and answer **all** of the questions on that topic.
Option A: 19th Century topic [p2–p7]
Option B: 20th Century topic [p8–p12]

The number of marks is given in brackets [ ] at the end of each question or part question.

The syllabus is approved for use in England, Wales and Northern Ireland as a Cambridge International Level 1/Level 2 Certificate.

This document consists of **12** printed pages and **1** Insert.

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International Examinations

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Option A: 19th Century topic

WHAT WAS LINCOLN'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS EMANCIPATION OF SLAVES?

Study the Background Information and the sources carefully, and then answer **all** the questions.

Background Information

Historians have disagreed about Abraham Lincoln's real attitude towards emancipation of slaves. He is sometimes portrayed as a great hero who saw slavery as evil and was determined to bring about emancipation. Others see him as someone who was little interested in the issue of emancipation and who had to be pushed all the way to act. When the Emancipation Proclamation came into operation in January 1863 it only freed slaves in the Confederacy and some argued that it was introduced simply to help the North in the Civil War. However, in 1865 Lincoln forced through Congress the Thirteenth Amendment which abolished slavery throughout the USA.

Did Lincoln really believe in emancipation?

SOURCE A

Lincoln's career was a process of moral and political education and deepening antislavery conviction. Lincoln was strongly antislavery, but he was not an abolitionist or Radical Republican and never claimed to be one. He made a sharp distinction between his personal wish that 'all men everywhere could be free' and his official duties as legislator, congressman, and president in a legal and constitutional system that recognised the South's right to property in slaves. Even after issuing the Emancipation Proclamation he continued to declare his preference for gradual abolition. While his racial views changed during the Civil War, he never became a principled egalitarian in the manner of abolitionists such as Frederick Douglass.

Much of Lincoln's career can be seen as an attempt to identify a workable mode of antislavery action in a political and constitutional system that erected seemingly impassable barriers to effective steps towards abolition. For most of his career, Lincoln had no real idea how to rid the United States of slavery, although he announced many times his desire to see it end. No one before the war anticipated what Lincoln would call its 'astounding' result, the emancipation of the slaves.

From a history book published in 2010.

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SOURCE B

Lincoln was far too moderate on slavery. Although he believed slavery was wrong he never believed in racial equality. All he wanted at first was to stop slavery spreading to the new territories. He did not even propose forbidding slavery in the South. Radical Republicans like Charles Sumner were angry with him for not taking a strong stand against slavery. His ideas about slavery never really changed during his lifetime.

During the early part of the Civil War Lincoln insisted that it was not about emancipation. He did not want to create new enemies in slave states such as Maryland and Kentucky and feared that emancipation would lead to the war degenerating into a 'remorseless struggle'. His only concern was the Union, but he began to realise that freeing the slaves would weaken the South and would help him win the war and restore the Union. It was not until August 1862 that he even supported the idea of black soldiers in the Union army. He agreed to the Emancipation Proclamation reluctantly and under great pressure from abolitionists. Although he introduced it in July 1862, he postponed issuing it until 1863 and spent the time trying to persuade Black Americans to support the idea of colonisation. When issued, it did not liberate a single slave in states that his government controlled as it applied only to areas ruled by the Confederates. What it did, however, was weaken the Confederacy. When in 1865 all slaves were freed, it was clear that the Civil War had unexpectedly led to full emancipation.

From a recent article about Lincoln.

SOURCE C

I hate the spread of slavery. I hate it because of the monstrous injustice of slavery itself. I hate it because it enables the enemies of free institutions to taunt us as hypocrites and causes the real friends of freedom to doubt our sincerity. I have no prejudice against the Southern people. They are just what we would be in their situation. If slavery did not now exist amongst them, they would not introduce it. If it did now exist amongst us, we should not instantly give it up. When it is said that the institution of slavery exists, and that it is very difficult to get rid of it, I can understand. I surely will not blame them for not doing what I should not know how to do myself. My first impulse would be to free all the slaves, and send them to Liberia – to their own native land. But a moment's reflection would convince me that doing this immediately is impossible. If they were all landed there in a day, they would all perish in the next ten days.

What then? Free them, and make them politically and socially our equals? My own feelings will not admit of this; and if mine would, we well know that those of the great mass of white people will not.

From a speech given by Lincoln in Illinois in 1854.

SOURCE D

Now I ask you, are you in favour of conferring upon the negro the rights and privileges of citizenship? If you desire negro citizenship, if you desire them to come into the State and stay with white men, if you desire to let them vote, if you desire them to serve on juries and be judge of your rights then go with Mr Lincoln.

I do not question Mr Lincoln's belief that the negro was made his equal, and hence his brother. But for my own part I do not regard the negro as my equal. I believe that this new doctrine preached by Mr Lincoln and this Abolition party would dissolve the Union.

From a speech by Stephen Douglas during the election campaign of 1858 in Illinois.

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SOURCE E

A cartoon published in an American magazine in October 1861. Lincoln is saying 'I'm sorry to have to drop you, but this concern won't carry us both!'

SOURCE F

We complain that the Union cause is suffering immensely from a mistaken tolerance of Rebel Slavery. Had you, Sir, said in your first speech as President that if the Rebellion should be persisted in, no loyal person could be rightfully held in Slavery by a traitor, we believe the Rebellion would have suffered a staggering blow. Had you proclaimed that Rebellion would strike the chains from the slave of every traitor, the wealthy and the cautious in the South would have been supplied with a powerful reason to remain loyal.

From an article entitled 'The Prayer of Twenty Millions' published in the important newspaper, the 'New York Tribune', August 1862. It was written by Horace Greeley, the editor of the newspaper and a leading abolitionist.

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SOURCE G

The increasing opposition to the war in the North because it was being made an abolition war, alarmed Mr Lincoln, and made him apprehensive that a peace might be forced upon him which would leave still in slavery all who had not come within our lines. What he wanted was to make his Proclamation as effective as possible in the event of such a peace. He said in a regretful tone, 'The slaves are not coming so rapidly and so numerously to us as I had hoped.' I replied that the slaveholders knew how to keep such things from their slaves, and probably very few knew of his Proclamation. 'Well,' he said, 'I want you to set about devising some means of making them acquainted with it, and for bringing them into our lines.' I was the more impressed by his consideration because he had always said that his aim was to save the Union with or without slavery. He said 'Douglass, I hate slavery as much as you do, and I want it abolished altogether.' What he said on this day showed a deeper moral conviction against slavery than I had ever seen before in anything spoken by him. At his suggestion, I agreed to undertake the organising of a group of coloured men who would go into the rebel states and carry the news of emancipation, and urge the slaves to come within our boundaries.

From the autobiography of Frederick Douglass published in 1881. Douglass is describing a meeting he had with Lincoln in August 1864. Douglass was an ex-slave and a leading abolitionist.

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SOURCE H

A cartoon published in Britain in August 1862. Lincoln is saying 'Why I do declare it's my dear old friend! Of course you'll fight for us. Lend us a hand old friend!'

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Now answer **all** the following questions. You may use any of the sources to help you answer the questions, in addition to those sources which you are told to use. In answering the questions you should use your knowledge of the topic to help you interpret and evaluate the sources.

1 Study Sources A and B.

How far do these two sources agree? Explain your answer using details of the sources. [7]

2 Study Sources C and D.

How far does Source C make Source D surprising? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

3 Study Source E.

What is the cartoonist's message? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [7]

4 Study Sources F and G.

Which source do you trust more about Lincoln? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

5 Study Source H.

Why was this source published in August 1862? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

6 Study **all** the sources.

How far do these sources provide convincing evidence that Lincoln really believed in emancipation? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

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Option B: 20th Century topic

WAS US INVOLVEMENT IN KOREA JUSTIFIED?

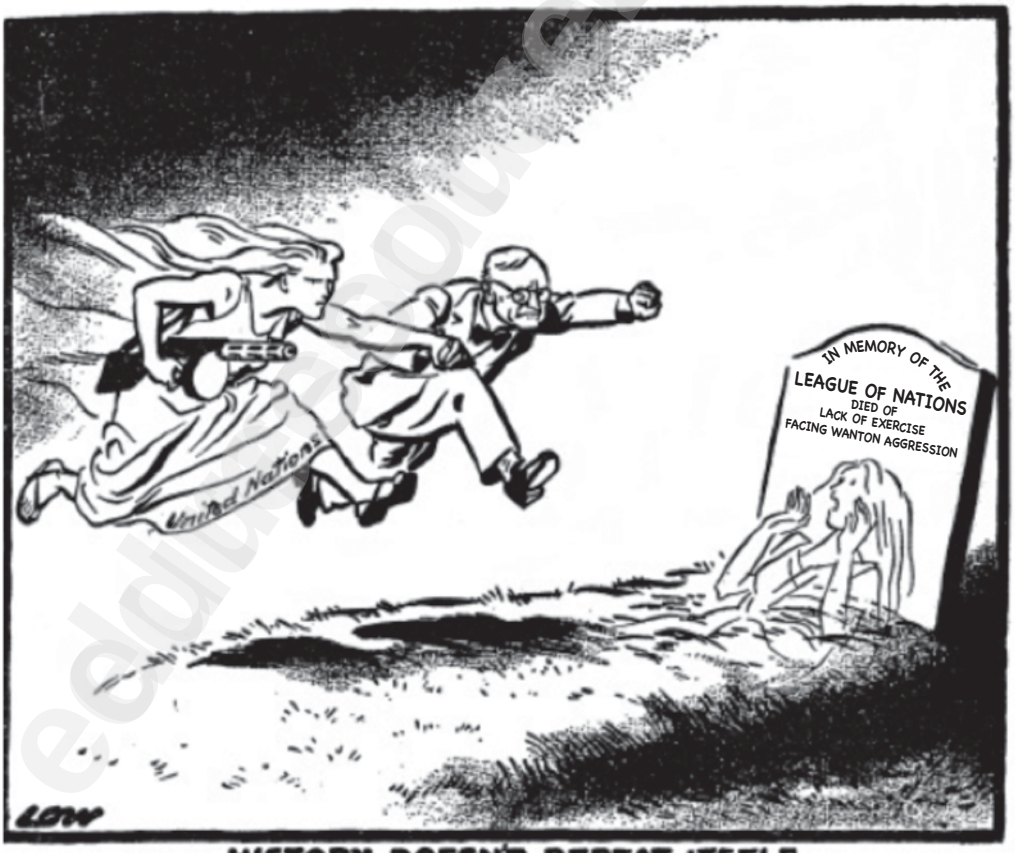
Study the Background Information and the sources carefully, and then answer **all** the questions.

Background Information

Towards the end of the Second World War the Soviet Union occupied Korea north of the 38th parallel while the United States occupied the south. After the war two separate governments were set up. Both claimed to be the rightful government of the whole of Korea with neither recognising the border as permanent. On 25 June 1950 war broke out between them. The United Nations condemned North Korea for invading the South and on 27 June asked member states to support South Korea. On the same day President Truman ordered the US army and navy to intervene. North Korea was supported by China and the Soviet Union.

Was the US justified in getting involved in Korea?

SOURCE A



HISTORY DOESN'T REPEAT ITSELF

A British cartoon published in June 1950. The man holding the hand of the United Nations is President Truman.

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SOURCE B

I am reporting to the Congress on the situation which has been created in Korea, and on the actions which this Nation has taken to meet this situation. At four o'clock in the morning, 25 June, North Korean armed forces invaded the South. Just one day before the attack observers from the United Nations Commission had completed a routine tour. They stated that the army of the South was organised entirely for defence. They found no concentration of troops and no preparation to attack. Within a few hours after the invasion was launched the Commission reported to the United Nations that the attack had come without warning and without provocation. This report makes it clear that the attack was naked, deliberate, unprovoked aggression, without justification.

This outright breach of the peace, in violation of the United Nations Charter, created a real danger to the security of every nation. This attack was, in addition, a demonstration of contempt for the United Nations, since it was an attempt to settle, by military aggression, a question which the United Nations had been working to settle by peaceful means. If this challenge had not been met squarely, the effectiveness of the United Nations would have been all but ended, and the hope of mankind that the United Nations would develop into an institution of world order would have been shattered. When the invaders took no notice of the Security Council resolution of 25 June, I ordered United States air and sea forces to give the South Korean government support.

President Truman speaking to the US Congress, 30 June 1950.

SOURCE C

The events now taking place in Korea broke out on 25 June as the result of the actions of the South Korean authorities. This attack was planned in advance. From time to time Syngman Rhee had blurted out the fact that his gang had such a plan. As long ago as October 1949, in an interview given to an American journalist, he claimed his army could capture Pyongyang in three days. In May this year a member of the American government told the American Congress that 100 000 men of the South Korean Army, equipped with American weapons, could begin war at any time. These facts speak for themselves. The United States started armed intervention in Korea before the United Nations' Security Council met on 27 June.

From a statement by Andrei Gromyko, Soviet Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, 5 July 1950, published in Soviet News. Syngman Rhee was president of South Korea. Pyongyang was the capital city of North Korea.

SOURCE D

In connection with the forthcoming session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, we consider it advisable to recommend to the government of North Korea to send a statement to the General Assembly, on the basis of documents found in the President of South Korea's archives in Seoul. This would show how Syngman Rhee and his gang prepared to attack the North and the illegality of the American intervention in Korea. It would also demand measures for the immediate ending of American intervention and the withdrawal from Korea of the troops of the foreign interventionists.

A telegram to North Korea from the Soviet Ambassador to the United Nations, June 1950.

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SOURCE E

The North Koreans wanted to prod South Korea with the point of a bayonet. Kim Il-sung said that the first poke would touch off an internal explosion in South Korea and that the power of the people would prevail. Kim told Stalin he was absolutely certain of success. We were inclined to think that if the war were fought swiftly then intervention by the USA could be avoided.

The North Koreans occupied Seoul and we wished Kim every success because this was a war of national liberation. Then the strength of the North Korean army gave out and the enemy recovered. Stalin was partly to blame for the dangerous position the North Koreans were now in. It's absolutely incomprehensible to me why he did it, but just before the North Koreans marched into South Korea Stalin had called back all of our advisors who were helping them. When I asked about this Stalin shouted, 'It's too dangerous. We don't want there to be evidence for accusing us of taking part in this business.'

From Nikita Khrushchev's memoirs published in 1971. In 1950 Khrushchev was head of the Communist Party in Moscow and one of Stalin's advisors.

SOURCE F

In the final analysis I did this for the United Nations. I believed in the League of Nations. It failed. Lots of people thought it failed because we were not in it to support it. OK, now we started the UN. It was our idea, and in its first big test we just couldn't let it down.

From President Truman's memoirs published in 1956.

SOURCE G

Clearly the invasion of South Korea was an open, undisguised challenge to America's internationally accepted position as the protector of South Korea, an area of great importance to the security of American-occupied Japan. To back away from this challenge would be highly destructive of our strength and reputation.

From Dean Acheson's memoirs published in 1969. Acheson was a member of Truman's government and in charge of American foreign policy.

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SOURCE H

A postcard published in 1950 in Eastern Europe. The figure is General MacArthur. The words on MacArthur's cloak are 'UN Flag'.

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Now answer **all** the following questions. You may use any of the sources to help you answer the questions, in addition to those sources which you are told to use. In answering the questions you should use your knowledge of the topic to help you interpret and evaluate the sources.

1 Study Source A.

What is the cartoonist's message? Explain your answer using details of the source. [7]

2 Study Sources B and C.

Why do these two sources differ about events in Korea? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [7]

3 Study Sources D and E.

Does Source E make Source D surprising? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

4 Study Sources F and G.

Do you believe Truman in Source F? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

5 Study Source H.

Why was this source published in Eastern Europe in 1950? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

6 Study **all** the sources.

How far do these sources provide convincing evidence that American intervention in Korea in 1950 was justified? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

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