

**International General Certificate of Secondary Education**  
**UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE LOCAL EXAMINATIONS SYNDICATE**  
**HISTORY** **0470/2**  
**PAPER 2**  
**OCTOBER/NOVEMBER SESSION 2001** **2 hours**

Additional materials:  
Answer paper

**TIME** 2 hours

**INSTRUCTIONS TO CANDIDATES**

Write your name, Centre number and candidate number in the spaces provided on the answer paper/answer booklet.

This paper has two options.

**Option A: 19th Century topic** [p2–p6]

**Option B: 20th Century topic** [p7–p11]

Choose **one** of these options, and then answer **all** the questions on that topic.

Write your answers on the separate answer paper provided.

If you use more than one sheet of paper, fasten the sheets together.

**INFORMATION FOR CANDIDATES**

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

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**This question paper consists of 12 printed pages.**

**Option A: 19th Century Topic****WAS LINCOLN TO BLAME FOR THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR?**

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

**Background Information**

In November 1860, Abraham Lincoln won the American Presidential election. He was the candidate of the anti-slavery Republican Party, which made him very unpopular in the South. He did not win any of the Southern states. Southerners believed that he wanted to abolish slavery. Soon after Lincoln's election victory, Southern states began to leave the Union, and by April 1861 the Civil War had begun.

Was Lincoln to blame for the Civil War, or were North and South already set on a collision course with each other?

**SOURCE A**

Southerners argued that to take a black from Africa and set him up in comfort on a plantation was the same as allowing a poor European peasant free entry into America, and allowing him to buy his own farm. The Kansas-Nebraska Act opened up enormous new opportunities for setting up farms using slave labour. But although Southerners sounded aggressive, they were in fact very insecure and had no real moral answer to the North's arguments against slavery.

The South's feelings of insecurity were justified, because it became obvious that plans for a vast expansion of slavery into the West were only dreams. The South's power was declining. If it did not act soon, it was doomed to a slow death. In 1858–9 the free states of Minnesota and Oregon entered the Union while Kansas, a slave territory, was denied admission. The South was now outvoted in both Houses of Congress.

Slavery was not the only issue between North and South. An attempt at secession might have been made even if the slavery issue had been resolved. The North favoured high tariffs, the South low ones. Many Southerners believed that the North's arguments against slavery were insincere, and hid economic motives – to promote the industry of the North-East at the expense of the South. They believed that the North, while accusing the South of exploiting the blacks, exploited the whole of the South. The South had all the disadvantages of a one-crop economy. It saw itself as the slave of the Union.

*From a History book published in 1977.*

SOURCE B

**CAUTION!!**  
**COLORED PEOPLE**  
**OF BOSTON, ONE & ALL,**  
 You are hereby respectfully CAUTIONED and  
 advised, to avoid conversing with the  
**Watchmen and Police Officers**  
**of Boston,**  
 For since the recent **ORDER OF THE MAYOR &**  
**ALDERMEN,** they are empowered to act as  
**KIDNAPPERS**  
 AND  
**Slave Catchers,**  
 And they have already been actually employed in  
**KIDNAPPING, CATCHING, AND KEEPING**  
**SLAVES.** Therefore, if you value your **LIBERTY,**  
 and the *Welfare of the Fugitives* among you, *Shun*  
 them in every possible manner, as so many **HOUNDS**  
 on the track of the most unfortunate of your race.

**Keep a Sharp Look Out for**  
**KIDNAPPERS, and have**  
**TOP EYE open.**

**APRIL 24, 1851.**

*A poster published in the city of Boston after the passing of the  
 1850 Fugitive Slave Act.*

SOURCE C



*A painting of John Brown leaving jail to be executed. It is called  
 'The Last Moments of John Brown' and was painted in 1859.  
 In fact, only soldiers were present as Brown was taken for execution.*

## SOURCE D

- (i) Can the South afford any longer to live under a government, the majority of whose citizens regard John Brown as a martyr and a Christian hero?
- (ii) The Harper's Ferry invasion has advanced the cause of disunion more than any event. Thousands of men, who, a month ago, believed that the destruction of the Union was impossible, now think it will happen.

*Newspaper extracts, 1859.*

## SOURCE E

**THE QUESTION**

**IF LINCOLN**  
will be elected or not, is one which interests all parties,  
North and South. Whether he

**IS ELECTED**  
or not, the people of

**SOUTH CAROLINA**  
(whose rights have been for a number of years trampled  
upon) have the advantage of supplying themselves with  
**CLOTHING**, at the well-known **CAROLINA CLOTHING**  
**DEPOT**, 461 King-street, at such prices as

**WILL LEAD**  
them to be satisfied that the reputation of this Establish-  
ment has been

**BOLDLY**  
and fearlessly maintained

**FOR A**  
number of years, supplying its

**SOUTHERN**  
Customers with all the Latest Styles, and at as low prices  
as any Clothing House in the present

**CONFEDERACY**  
of all the States.

*A poster published for the election campaign of 1860.*

**SOURCE F**

The real issue is that Republicans look upon slavery as being a moral, social and political wrong; and insist that it should, as far as is possible, be treated as a wrong; and one of the methods of treating it as a wrong is to make sure that it shall not grow larger. They also desire a policy that seeks a peaceful end to slavery at some time.

*Abraham Lincoln speaking at a public meeting in 1858 when he was campaigning as the Republican candidate to replace Stephen Douglas as Senator for Illinois.*

**SOURCE G**

We ought to extend to the negro race all the rights, all the privileges, as long as these do not threaten the safety of society. Humanity requires that we should give them these privileges. Christianity commands that we should extend these privileges to them. The question then arises; what are these privileges? My answer is that that is a question each State must answer for itself. If each State minds its own business, takes care of its own negroes, and does not interfere with its neighbours, then there will be peace throughout the whole Union.

*Senator Stephen Douglas replying to Lincoln's speech, 1858.*

**SOURCE H**

Our government is based on the consent of the governed. Our government is founded on the idea of the inequality of the races. It is based upon the great truth that the Negro is not equal to the white man. This government is the first in the history of the world based upon this great truth.

*From a speech in 1861 by Alexander H Stephens,  
Vice-President of the Confederacy.*

**SOURCE I**

I have no intention to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists. I believe I have no right to do so, and I have no desire to do so. In your hands, my dissatisfied countrymen, and not in mine, is the issue of civil war. The government will not attack you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. We are not enemies but friends.

*From Lincoln's speech in March 1861 when he took over as President.  
In the months since he had won the election, seven states had already left  
the Union and Federal forts in the South had been seized.*

**SOURCE J**

That on the 1st day of January 1863, all persons held as slaves within any State where the people are in rebellion against the United States, shall be forever free.

*From the Emancipation Proclamation issued by Lincoln in 1863.*

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.**  
How far does this source justify the South's decision to leave the Union? Explain your answer. [5]
- 2 Study Source B.**  
How useful is this source to an historian studying the causes of the Civil War? Explain your answer. [6]
- 3 Study Sources C and D.**  
Which one of these sources was published in the North and which one was published in the South? Explain your answer. [7]
- 4 Study Source E.**  
Why was this poster published in 1860? Explain your answer. [6]
- 5 Study Sources F, G and H.**  
How far do these three speakers agree with each other? Explain your answer. [8]
- 6 Study Sources I and J.**  
How far does Source J prove that Lincoln was lying in Source I? Explain your answer. [8]
- 7 Study all the sources.**  
How far do these sources show that Lincoln was to blame for the Civil War? Explain your answer. [10]

**Option B: 20th Century Topic****WHY DID THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS FAIL OVER THE  
ITALIAN INVASION OF ABYSSINIA?**

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

**Background Information**

In December 1934, Italian and Abyssinian troops clashed in a border dispute. Mussolini demanded compensation for the deaths of thirty Italian soldiers and threatened Abyssinia (*Ethiopia*). Haile Selassie, Emperor of Abyssinia, appealed to the League of Nations. When Italy invaded Abyssinia in October 1935 the League condemned this aggression and applied sanctions. By May 1936, however, the Italian conquest was complete. The League had failed.

Some historians have blamed Britain and France for undermining the League. Neither of these two countries wanted to upset Italy. Others have argued that the League did what it could, but that Mussolini was strong enough to survive.

**SOURCE A**

Britain and France faced a difficult problem. They did not want to annoy Mussolini, but they also wanted to support the League. Abyssinia was a member of the League. The League condemned Italian actions and imposed a trade ban. However, the ban did not include oil. This was crucial. As long as the Italians had oil they could continue the war.

In December 1935, the British Foreign Secretary, Hoare, had secret talks with Laval, Prime Minister of France. They designed a compromise known as the Hoare-Laval Pact, under which Abyssinia would have been divided into two, with Italy given the richer part. The war was going badly for Mussolini, and he might have accepted the deal. However, the details of the Pact were leaked to the newspapers. There was uproar in Britain and the Pact was abandoned.

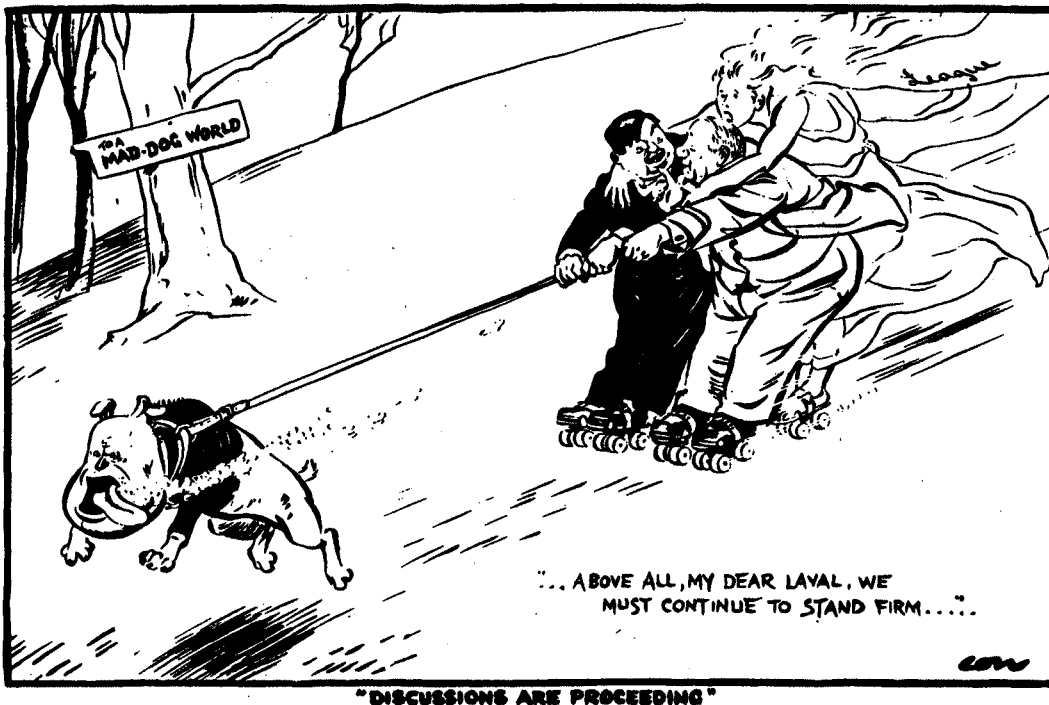
Britain and France now took a tougher line against Italy. In March 1936 they finally decided to ban the sale of oil to Italy but it was too late. By May Italy had won the war. The League had failed and on 15 July all the sanctions against Italy were ended. The League was broken by the Abyssinian crisis.

*From a History book published in 1966.*

**SOURCE B**

There was a growing demand in the League for cutting off Italy's supplies of oil. Britain and France felt they had to react. This led to the Hoare-Laval Pact. Mussolini was ready to accept it. The next step was to present it at the League. Then, with the League's agreement, they would impose it on the Emperor of Abyssinia. This was a beautiful example, repeated at Munich, of using the machinery for peace against the victim of aggression. However, the Pact appeared in the newspapers. There was an explosion in British public opinion and the Pact disappeared. Otherwise nothing changed. The British government was still determined not to risk war. They asked Mussolini whether he would object to his oil being cut off; when told that he would, they successfully resisted oil sanctions being introduced. On 1 May, Haile Selassie, defeated, left Abyssinia.

*From a History book published in 1961.*

**SOURCE C**

*A British cartoon published in August 1935. It shows the British and the French governments on roller skates. The dog represents Mussolini.*



## SOURCE D

## THE WAR SALAD



*A British cartoon published in December 1935. It shows Mussolini preparing a 'War Salad'. He comments that the recipe needs lots of guns, tanks and aeroplanes—and a madman to stir it! He is worried that he might not have enough oil.*

## SOURCE E

Economic sanctions against Italy were serious, but not a great problem. Banning the sale to us of weapons and rubber simply made us look for suppliers who were not members of the League. The biggest worry was a ban on selling oil to us. If that had happened in 1935 the invasion of Abyssinia would have halted in a week.

*Mussolini speaking in 1936.*

## SOURCE F

We have shown the world that we are the strong ones, the just ones, the best ones. The League of Nations refused us bread, iron, gold, coal and cloth; we found it all anyway. Bread from the fields of Italy. Iron from the houses of Italy. Black coal from the mines of Italy. They wanted to humiliate us, but our victory has raised us above them.

*A dictation exercise used in Italian schools in 1935–6.*

**SOURCE G**

I claim the justice which is due to my people and the assistance promised eight months ago. On many occasions I have asked for financial assistance for the purchase of arms. That assistance has been constantly refused me. The problem is a much wider one than Italy's aggression. It is the very existence of the League of Nations. God and History will remember your judgement. Are you going to set a terrible example of giving in to force?

*Haile Selassie, Emperor of Abyssinia, speaking to the Assembly of the League of Nations, 30 June 1936.*

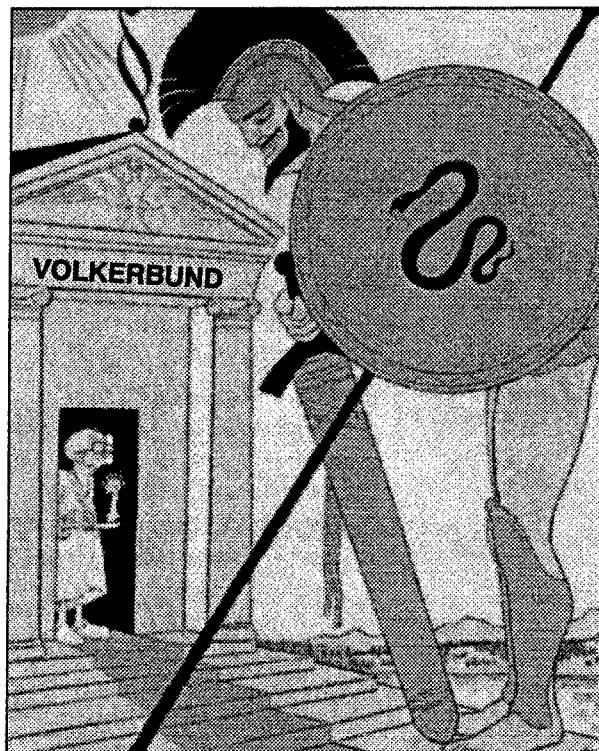
**SOURCE H**

Italy views the work she has undertaken in Abyssinia as a sacred mission of civilisation, and proposes to carry it out according to the principles of the Covenant of the League of Nations. Italy will consider it an honour to inform the League of Nations of the progress achieved in her work of civilising Abyssinia.

*A message from the Italian government to the League of Nations, 30 June 1936.  
It was meant as a reply to Haile Selassie's speech.*

**SOURCE I**

Finale



*A German cartoon published in May 1936. The soldier is saying to the League of Nations, 'I am sorry to disturb your sleep, but I should like to tell you that you no longer need bother yourself about the Abyssinian business; the matter has been settled elsewhere.'*

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 with each other? Explain your answer. [6]
- 2 Study Source C.  
What is the message of this cartoon? Explain your answer, referring to details in the cartoon. [7]
- 3 Study Sources D and E.  
Does Source E mean that Mussolini would have agreed with the cartoon (Source D)? Explain your answer. [7]
- 4 Study Sources E and F.  
Does Source F prove that Source E was wrong? Explain your answer. [8]
- 5 Study Sources G and H.  
Would members of the League of Nations have agreed with Haile Selassie (Source G) or with the Italian government (Source H)? Explain your answer. [6]
- 6 Study Source I.  
How useful is this cartoon to an historian studying the League of Nations? Use details of the cartoon to help you explain your answer. [6]
- 7 Study **all** the sources.  
How far do the sources show that Britain and France were to blame for the League's failure in the Abyssinian crisis? Explain your answer. [10]

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