



UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL EXAMINATIONS  
General Certificate of Education  
Advanced Subsidiary Level and Advanced Level

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**HISTORY**

**9697/52**

Paper 5 The History of the USA, c.1840–1968

**May/June 2012**

**3 hours**

Additional Materials: Answer Paper

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**READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST**

Write your Centre number, candidate number and name on all the work you hand in.

Write in dark blue or black pen.

You may use a soft pencil for any rough working.

Do not use staples, paper clips, highlighters, glue or correction fluid.

**Section A**

Answer **Question 1**.

**Section B**

Answer any **three** questions.

At the end of the examination, fasten all your work securely together.

All questions in this paper carry equal marks.

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This document consists of **4** printed pages.



## Section A: The Road to Secession and Civil War, 1846–1861

You **must** answer Question 1.

### STATES' RIGHTS VERSUS NATIONALISM ON THE EVE OF CIVIL WAR

- 1 Read the Sources and then answer the question.

When answering **Question 1**, candidates are advised to pay particular attention to the interpretation and evaluation of the Sources both individually and as a group.

#### Source A

By the Constitution powers not delegated to the United States nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States, or to the people. Thus was established a government with defined objects and powers limited to the express words of the grant. This left the remaining powers reserved to the States or people and rendered unnecessary any precise specification of reserved rights. A fundamental principle was also the law of contract. We hold the failure of one of the parties to perform a material part of the agreement releases the obligations of the other. We assert that fourteen of the States have deliberately refused for years to fulfil their constitutional obligations. Thus the constitutional compact has been broken. And in consequence South Carolina is released from her obligations and we declare that the Union existing between this State and the other States is dissolved and that South Carolina has resumed her position as a separate, independent State.

*South Carolina's Declaration of the Causes of Secession, 20 December 1860.*

#### Source B

We love the Union because at home and abroad it gives us character as a nation and as citizens of this Great Republic; it gives us nationality as a People and renders us the equal of European States. In another half century it will make us the greatest, richest and most powerful people on the face of the earth. We love the Union because in commerce, wealth and resources of every kind we are the equal of the greatest and because we have only to exclaim 'I am an American' to ensure us respect and security abroad. And so, loving this great and glorious Union, we are ready to shed our blood in its preservation in order to transmit it in all its glory to our posterity.

*New York Courier and Enquirer, 21 December 1860.*

#### Source C

Our present political position illustrates the American idea that governments rest on the consent of the governed and that it is the right of the people to alter or abolish them at will whenever they have become destructive of the ends for which they were established. As Sovereign States we are the final judges of the time and occasion to exercise those rights which the Declaration of Independence defined as 'inalienable'. The Constitution undeniably recognises that the people have the power to resume the authority delegated for the purposes of government. Thus the Sovereign States here represented have agreed to form this Confederacy, and it is an abuse of language to call their act a revolution.

*Inaugural Address of Jefferson Davis, President of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America, 18 February 1861.*

**Source D**

Republican states are like sheaves of wheat in the harvest field; put them up singly and they are liable to be blown down by every gust of wind. Stack them together and they defy the fiercest storms. Soon enough it will be shown that sedition and violence are only local and temporary, and that loyalty to the Union is the natural sentiment of the whole country. I feel sure the hour has not come for this great nation to fail. This Union has not yet accomplished the good for mankind it was designated by Providence to fulfil. It shall continue and endure, and man will later declare that this generation, which saved the Union from sudden and unlooked-for dangers, surpassed in greatness even that one which laid America's foundation on the eternal principles of liberty, justice and harmony.

*Senator William H Seward, Speech to United States' Senate, 20 February 1861.*

**Source E**

Southerners believed that secession was a constitutional right, hence not revolutionary. This view was rooted in the doctrine of states' rights which held that the Union was a compact between sovereign states which had joined together of their own free will and which retained the power to resume their separate status whenever they saw fit. How does one account for the North's vehement refusal to acquiesce in secession, its passionate attachment to the Union and its willingness to make war to preserve the country's territorial integrity? While economic motives played a part, secession challenged the ideological basis of American nationalism. Countless generations had learned to identify the Union with liberty and democracy and to feel that maintaining its territorial integrity was vital to these ideals. On both sides, nationalism was the central issue. While the South contended for separate nationhood to maintain its distinctive way of life, the North fought to preserve the ideals the Union had come to symbolize.

*A modern historian's account of the origins of the Civil War.*

Now answer the following question.

*'By 1860, the Southern states' belief that they could secede was unreasonable.' Using Sources A–E discuss how far the evidence supports this assertion.*

**Section B**

You must answer **three** questions from this section.

- 2 Analyse the reasons why the United States was able to expand so quickly in the 1840s.
- 3 How far did Reconstruction rebuild the South?
- 4 'Economic expansion in America from 1865 to the end of the century proceeded too fast.' How accurate is this assessment?
- 5 'The revived Ku Klux Klan was merely the most obvious and sinister symptom of general and widespread discrimination in the period 1919 to 1941.' Assess the validity of this judgement.
- 6 Why was the Democratic Party so unsuccessful in the 1920s?
- 7 'An heroic failure.' Is this a fair evaluation of Woodrow Wilson's foreign policy from 1913 to 1921?
- 8 Evaluate the importance of popular music as evidence of social change in the USA between 1945 and 1968.

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*Copyright Acknowledgements:*

Question 1 Source E M.A. Jones; *The Limits of Liberty: American History, 1607–1980*; Oxford University Press; 1995.

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