

Option A: Nineteenth century topic

WHO WAS TO BLAME FOR THE VIOLENCE IN KANSAS IN THE 1850s?

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

Background Information

The crisis in Kansas known as 'Bleeding Kansas' is regarded by some historians as the beginning of the Civil War. The passing of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854 created the possibility of Kansas becoming a slave territory. This set off a race for Kansas between pro-slavery and anti-slavery groups which soon turned into violence.

Northern organisations such as the Emigrant Aid Society encouraged people from the North to settle in Kansas. Southerners saw this as a plot to 'steal' Kansas and 'Border Ruffians' came over the border from Missouri in armed groups to support slavery. The aim of both sides was to win elections and have politicians elected who supported their position on slavery. A pro-slavery legislature was elected and in July 1855 began passing pro-slavery laws, one of which made it a crime to state that people in Kansas did not have the right to own slaves. The free soilers then held their own elections and set up their own government in Topeka. President Pierce supported the pro-slavery government and condemned the Topeka government. Soon violence was being committed by both sides. Who was to blame for 'Bleeding Kansas', the pro-slavers or the anti-slavers?

SOURCE A

THE DAY OF OUR ENSLAVEMENT !!

Worse than the most extreme Despotism on Earth !

Now we DO ASSERT and we declare, despite the wicked Legislature of
Kansas, that

PERSONS HAVE NOT THE RIGHT TO HOLD SLAVES IN THIS TERRITORY

And we will emblazon it upon our banner in letters so large and language
so plain that the infatuated invaders who elected the Kansas legislature, as
well as

THAT CORRUPT AND IGNORANT LEGISLATURE
may understand it

The constitution of the United States
Guarantees to every citizen the Liberty of Speech and Freedom of the Press

AN INSOLENT GAG LAW !!

*A page from a Kansas newspaper, published in Lawrence, 15 September 1855.
The legislature it mentions is the pro-slavery legislature elected in 1855.*

SOURCE B

By the start of 1856 there were two rival governments in Kansas; the official pro-slavery government and the free state government. Northern groups sent weapons to help the free-staters. The Southern response was for well-armed Missourians to move into Kansas. In May 1856 a pro-slavery posse, trying to arrest an armed band of free-staters who had been terrorising pro-slavery settlers, 'sacked' Lawrence (a free state town). This event was blown up out of all proportion by Northern journalists who invented facts. According to them dozens of free-staters were killed. In reality there were no casualties. Nevertheless the pro-slavers did demolish a hotel, two newspaper offices and a few houses and shops.

The Lawrence raid sparked off more serious violence. The man responsible for this was John Brown. At Pottawatomie Creek, Brown and his sons dragged five young pro-slavery settlers from their cabins and murdered them in cold blood. Brown shot some of his victims: others were hacked to pieces with a sword. Northern newspapers, suppressing the facts, claimed that Brown had acted in self-defence. As a result of his terrible crime, he became a Northern hero. These events led to worsening tension. The Northern press again exaggerated the situation, describing it as civil war. Events in Kansas – and the distorted reporting of them – led to 'Bleeding Kansas' becoming a rallying cry for Northerners.

From a history book published in 2002.

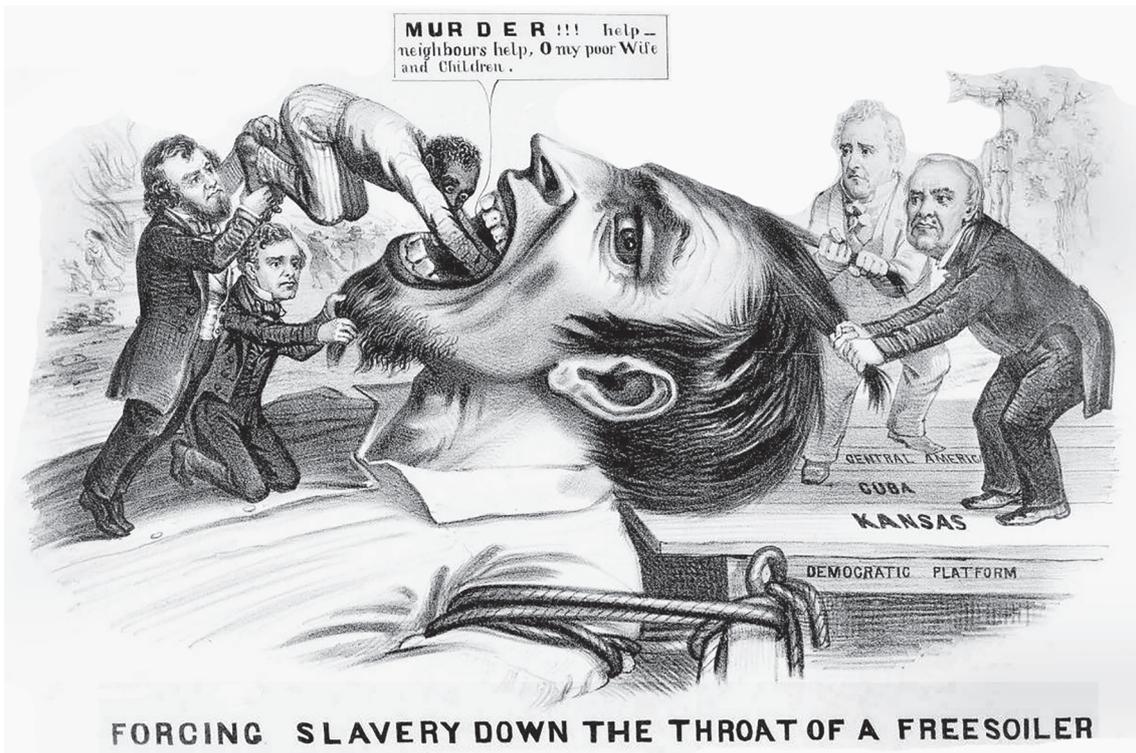
SOURCE C

Kansas became the battleground of Southern extremists and anti-slavery activists. Indeed, it could be said that the Civil War started here. When elections came Missourians crossed the border and swamped the polls. The new government expelled any anti-slavers from the legislature and adopted a slave-code. The anti-slavers drafted a new constitution which banned slaves and elected another government. A congressional committee reported the first elections to be fraudulent, and that the free state government represented the will of the majority. Then the fighting began. Northern clergymen sent guns. The South moved in guns as well.

In May 1856 a mob of slavers sacked Lawrence, blew up the hotel, burned the governor's house and tossed the presses of the local newspapers into the river. Two days later John Brown, his four sons, and some others headed for Pottawatomie Creek where the Doyle family, notorious slave catchers, lived. Brown told his men that they were to be taken prisoner, but they attacked the family with swords and killed them. Brown did not take part in the actual killings. Doyle's wife and his youngest sons were left unharmed. By the end of the year over 200 people had been murdered in 'Bleeding Kansas'.

From a recent account of 'Bleeding Kansas'.

SOURCE D



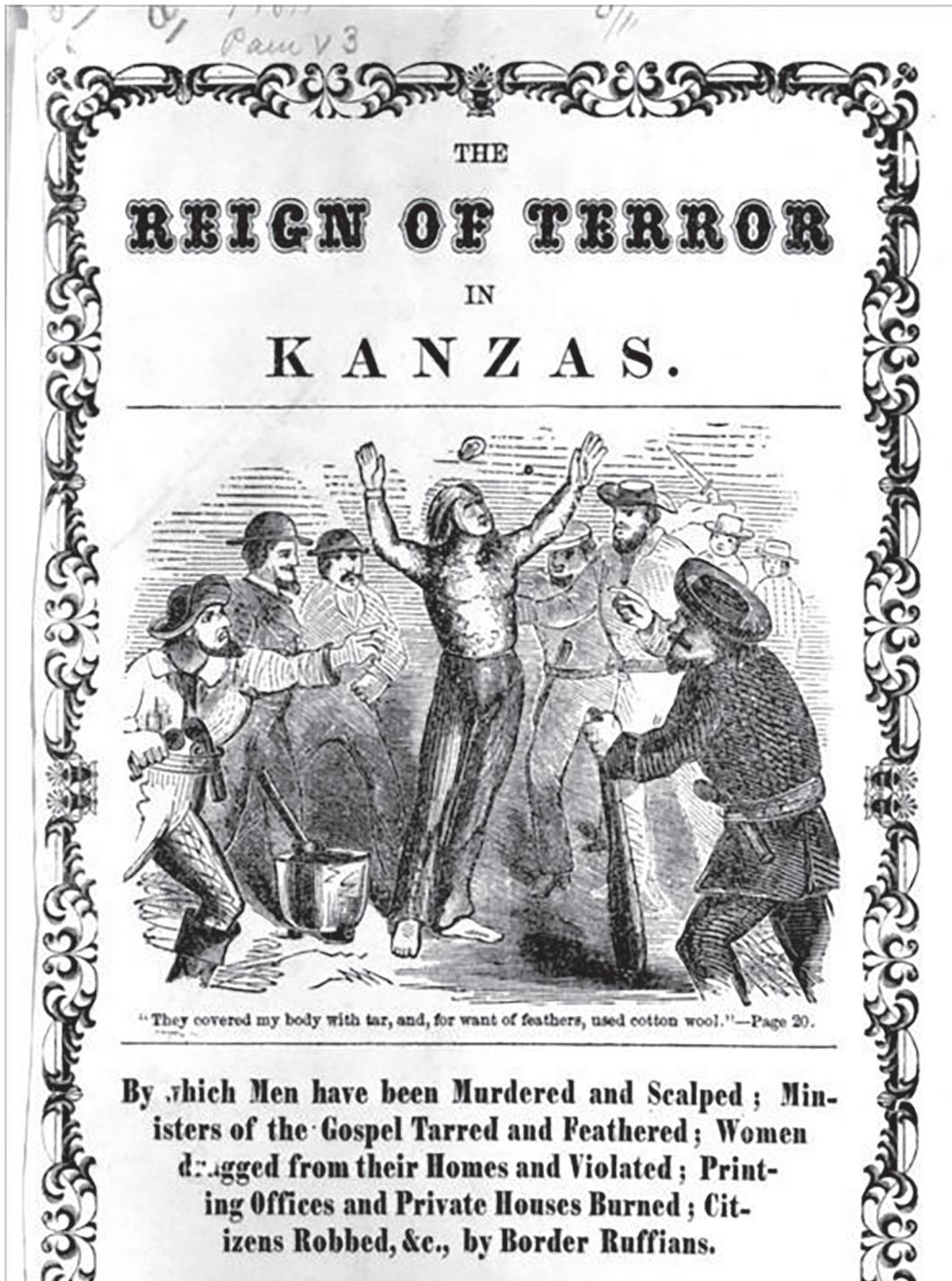
A cartoon published in 'Harper's Weekly', a Northern magazine, 1856. The two white men on the left are Stephen A Douglas and President Franklin Pierce. The figures on the right are presidential nominee James Buchanan and Democratic Senator Lewis Cass. The words in the speech bubble are 'MURDER!!! help - neighbours help, O my poor Wife and Children.'

SOURCE E



A mural entitled 'Tragic Prelude', from the late 1930s. It shows John Brown in Kansas during the 1850s. The book in his hand is the Bible. A prelude is an event that is an introduction to something more important.

SOURCE F



The front page of a book published in the North, 1856. The full title of the book was 'The Reign of terror in Kansas (Kansas): as encouraged by President Pierce and carried out by the Southern slave power'.

SOURCE G

Brown said he wanted me to guide him and his men into the neighbourhood where I lived, and show them where all the Pro-slavery men resided; that he proposed to sweep the creek of all the Pro-slavery men living on it. I refused to do it. He insisted upon it. I then wanted to go home, but he refused to let me do so. Some time after dark we were ordered to march.

The old man Doyle and his sons were ordered to come out. They did not immediately obey and Henry Thompson threw into the house some balls of hay in which gunpowder had been mixed, setting fire to them as he threw them in. The old man and his sons came out. John Brown drew his revolver and shot old man Doyle in the forehead. Brown's two sons immediately fell upon the younger Doyles with their short two-edged swords. One of the young Doyles was quickly killed; the other was pursued a short distance and cut down also. I thought this was terrible but after time I became satisfied that it resulted in good to the Free State cause, and was especially beneficial to Free State settlers on Pottawatomie Creek.

An account of events at Pottawatomie Creek on 24 May 1856 by James Townsley who was interviewed by a journalist in 1879 when he made this statement.

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.

Why was this source published in September 1855? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

2 Study Sources B and C.

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

3 Study Source D.

What is the message of the cartoonist? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

4 Study Sources E and F.

How similar are these two sources? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

5 Study Source G.

Do you trust this source? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [7]

6 Study **all** the sources.

How far do these sources provide convincing evidence that the anti-slavery groups were responsible for the violence in Kansas? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

Option B: Twentieth century topic**WHY DID KHRUSHCHEV PUT MISSILES INTO CUBA?**

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

Background Information

Historians have long disagreed over the puzzle of why Khrushchev put missiles into Cuba in 1962. At the time, Americans saw his actions as a direct threat to the USA. Khrushchev claimed both that he was simply trying to protect Cuba from an American invasion and that he wanted to balance the American missiles surrounding the USSR. The conflicting evidence about why the Soviets placed missiles in Cuba has led to historians discussing a wide variety of possible Soviet motives.

What were Khrushchev's real motives?

SOURCE A

Historians have stated that the priorities in the minds of the Soviet leaders throughout 1962 were to prevent China from acquiring nuclear weapons, to prevent West Germany from acquiring such weapons, and to sign a German peace treaty which would continue the division of Germany. That the operation was undertaken simply to protect Cuba is a fantasy. As the Chinese pointed out, before the Soviet Union put weapons into Cuba there was no crisis of the USA using nuclear weapons in the Caribbean Sea and of a nuclear war breaking out.

Installing missiles in Cuba was seen as a way of solving the most difficult issue of Soviet foreign policy. In the West, the China-Soviet dispute was overshadowed by the German problem. The Berlin crisis continued with incidents and harassment. The Soviets never let the issue disappear from the front pages for long. But had the Russians been solely interested in Berlin, it is clear they could have continued such nerve-wracking tactics indefinitely. The Soviets' other concern was to prevail over China's determination to become a nuclear power. The missiles would be something to negotiate with. The Soviets would insist the USA met Soviet demands over Germany, and that a nuclear-power free zone would be established in the Pacific. They would extract a pledge from China not to manufacture atomic weapons. The Russians hoped that by their dramatic coup in Cuba they would create an atmosphere in which the Chinese would have to reconsider. Part of the price the Americans would pay for the removal of the Soviet missiles could well be the withdrawal of American protection for Formosa. This would be an almost irresistible incentive for the Chinese to postpone their atomic ambitions.

From a history book published in 1968.

SOURCE B

The Soviets thought that a general improvement in the Soviet military position would affect the entire political context, strengthening their hand for dealing with the whole range of problems facing them. But even though general rather than specific security goals were the principal motive, the decision over the missiles did offer prospects for specific gains. The Soviet leverage on Berlin would be improved. NATO would be shaken. In Latin America, other potential 'Castros' would be encouraged. It would also cut the ground from under the Chinese Communists and convince Communists everywhere that Soviet leadership was strong.

Castro clamoured more and more for military protection, magnifying the threat of an American invasion. Installing missiles in Cuba would meet Castro's demands, and take advantage of what had become, since Castro's self-proclaimed membership of the Communist bloc, the first opportunity to project Soviet power into the West. It would also provide a convenient solution to several of their other problems. The Soviet government seems to have decided on putting missiles in Cuba as a generalised, strategic response to a whole set of problems, military, economic and political.

From a book by Roger Hilsman, 1967. Hilsman was Director of the Bureau of Intelligence and Research in the American government at the time of the Cuban Missile Crisis.

SOURCE C

Khrushchev and his Defence Minister, Rodion Malinovsky, were at Khrushchev's estate on the Black Sea. They went for a walk and Malinovsky pointed in the direction of Turkey and said, 'That's where the American rockets are pointing at us. They need only 10 minutes to reach our cities, but our rockets need 25 minutes to reach America.' Khrushchev thought for a while and then said, 'Why don't we install rockets in Cuba and point them at the Americans? Then we will need only 10 minutes, too.'

An account by Major-General Boris Surikov, a Soviet missiles expert, of a conversation between Khrushchev and his Defence Minister which took place before the Missile Crisis.

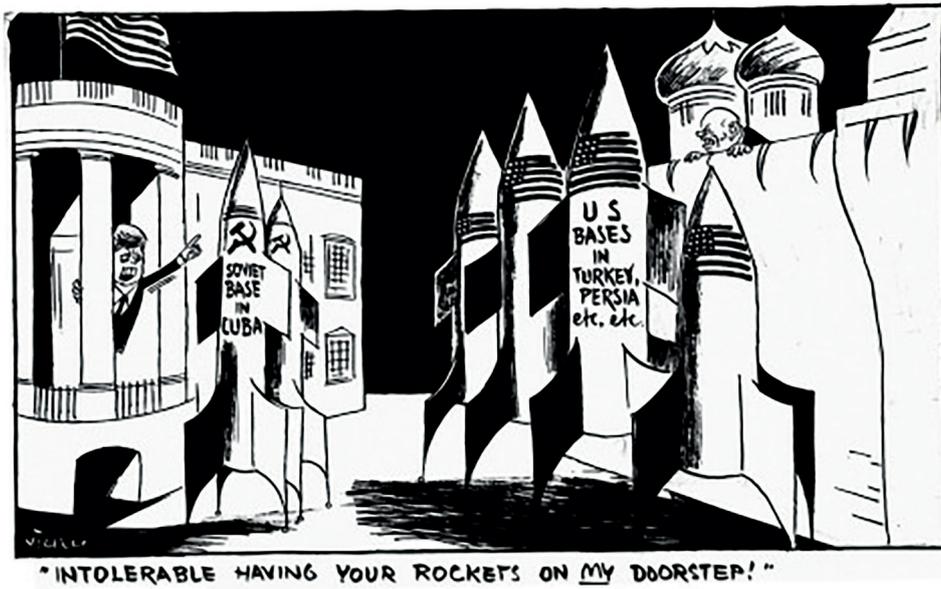
SOURCE D

We were sure the Americans would never reconcile themselves to the existence of Castro's Cuba. One thought kept hammering away at my brain: what would happen if we lose Cuba? I knew it would gravely diminish our stature throughout the world, but especially in Latin America. If Cuba fell, other Latin American countries would reject us. What exactly could we do? The logical answer was missiles. The United States had already surrounded the Soviet Union with its own missiles. It was during my visit to Bulgaria that I had the idea of installing missiles with nuclear warheads in Cuba.

I want to make one thing absolutely clear; when we put our missiles in Cuba, we had no desire to start a war. On the contrary, our main aim was only to deter America from starting a war. In addition to protecting Cuba, our missiles would have equalised what the West likes to call the 'balance of power'. The Americans had surrounded our country with military bases and threatened us with nuclear weapons, and now they would learn just what it feels like to have enemy missiles pointing at you. It was high time America learned what it feels like to have her own land threatened.

From Khrushchev's memoirs published in 1970.

SOURCE E



A cartoon published in a British newspaper, 24 October 1962.

SOURCE F



A cartoon published in a Soviet newspaper, 14 October 1962. The caption reads 'Cuba is not alone.'

SOURCE G



A Canadian cartoon published in October 1962.

SOURCE H

Good evening my fellow citizens.

Within the past week, unmistakable evidence has established that a series of offensive missile sites is now in preparation on Cuba. Their purpose can be none other than to provide a nuclear strike capability against the Western Hemisphere. Each of the missiles is capable of striking Washington DC, Cape Canaveral, Mexico City and any other city in the south-eastern part of the United States. This urgent transformation of Cuba into an important strategic base is an explicit threat to the peace and security of all the Americas.

Only last Thursday, the Soviet Foreign Minister told me that Soviet assistance to Cuba was 'pursued only for the purpose of contributing to the defence capabilities of Cuba', and that 'training by Soviet specialists of Cuban nationals in handling defensive armaments was by no means offensive'. That statement was false.

It shall be the policy of this nation to regard any nuclear missile launched from Cuba against any nation in the Western Hemisphere as an attack by the Soviet Union on the United States, requiring a full retaliatory response upon the Soviet Union.

From a speech by President Kennedy to the American people, 22 October 1962.

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 prove that Khrushchev was not telling the truth in Source D? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

3 Study Source E.

Are you surprised that this cartoon was published in Britain at this time? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

4 Study Sources F and G.

Would these two cartoonists have agreed with each other? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

5 Study Source H.

How useful is this source as evidence about Khrushchev's motives for placing missiles in Cuba? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [7]

6 Study **all** the sources.

How far do these sources provide convincing evidence that Khrushchev placed missiles in Cuba as a balance to American missiles surrounding the Soviet Union? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

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 the Cambridge Assessment Group. Cambridge Assessment is the brand name of the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate (UCLES), which itself is a department of the University of Cambridge.