



Cambridge IGCSE™

HISTORY

0470/23

Paper 2 Document Questions

October/November 2025

1 hour 45 minutes



You must answer on the enclosed answer booklet.

You will need: Answer booklet (enclosed)

INSTRUCTIONS

- Answer **one** question on **one** option only.
Option A: Nineteenth century topic
Option B: Twentieth century topic
- 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 **12** pages. Any blank pages are indicated.

Option A: Nineteenth century topic**1 How keen was the North on fighting a civil war?**

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

Background Information

During the first half of the nineteenth century, relations between the North and the South gradually grew worse. There were disagreements over slavery and states' rights. Lincoln's victory in the presidential election of 1860 made the situation worse. On 20 December, South Carolina voted to secede from the Union. Other Southern states followed, and in February 1861 the Confederacy was established.

This left Lincoln and the North in a difficult position. Should a compromise with the South be sought? Were Lincoln and the North ready to go to war against Southerners who, until a few days before, had been fellow countrymen? Was it worth going to war to save the Union and abolish slavery?

How keen was the North to fight a civil war?

SOURCE A

Before and during the first weeks after the start of Mr. Lincoln's administration, there was a general feeling all over the North of looking for a peaceful solution to the crisis now upon the country. The Government seemed to be paralysed and the border states were active in their efforts to avert civil war. Fort Sumter was to be abandoned and the Northern people stood apparently powerless. But now the Government is aroused, the North is alive, and its divided people united. Drums are beating, men are enlisting, banners are flying, and money is pouring into the national treasury to put an end to the slaveholding rebellion.

A united North was not expected by the slaveowning states, and there was much in the history of Northern obedience to the Slave Power to encourage this belief. But now the cry is for war to the bitter end. If the change in the popular feeling has been sudden, the causes leading to it have been long maturing. The Government has been patient and long-suffering. It had heard rebellious threats six months ago, it has seen seven states formally secede from the Union. However, when it saw an attempt to starve out Major Anderson and his men from Fort Sumter, feelings changed. One thing is now certain, the slaveholding rebellion and its leaders will be crushed. Let the Northern army confront them from one direction, a furious slave insurrection meet them at another, and starvation threaten them from still another.

From a newspaper edited by Frederick Douglass, New York, May 1861. Douglass escaped from slavery in 1838 and became a leading abolitionist.

SOURCE B

Before Lincoln's presidency began, government remained in the hands of pro-Southern politicians who did little about the seceded states. However, as soon as Lincoln became President, he decided to send a military relief expedition to Fort Sumter. Once the Confederates had fired on Fort Sumter, many Northerners rallied to the Union's defence. Wrongly thinking that victory was inevitable, many people in the North expressed great enthusiasm for the coming of the war. Big rallies and celebrations erupted in many major cities. This support for the war was due to the long years of disagreement with the South. Lincoln's election was greeted with a feeling in the North that the country had thrown off the domination of the slaveholders, who had to be defeated. The unity and willingness of the North to fight surprised the South, which began to understand that independence would not be won without a fight.

However, some people in the North were not happy about fighting a war to abolish slavery and the Copperheads, many of them in the North, firmly opposed the war. Opinion was also divided in the border states, with brother going against brother, and neighbour against neighbour. Here, there was little enthusiasm for a war. Military experts thought that it would be difficult for the North to achieve a victory. The South did not need to win, it just had to defend, while the North had to invade and conquer the Confederacy.

From a recent history book about the Civil War.

SOURCE C**MEN OF NEW HAMPSHIRE!****WILL YOU VOTE FOR THESE MEN?**

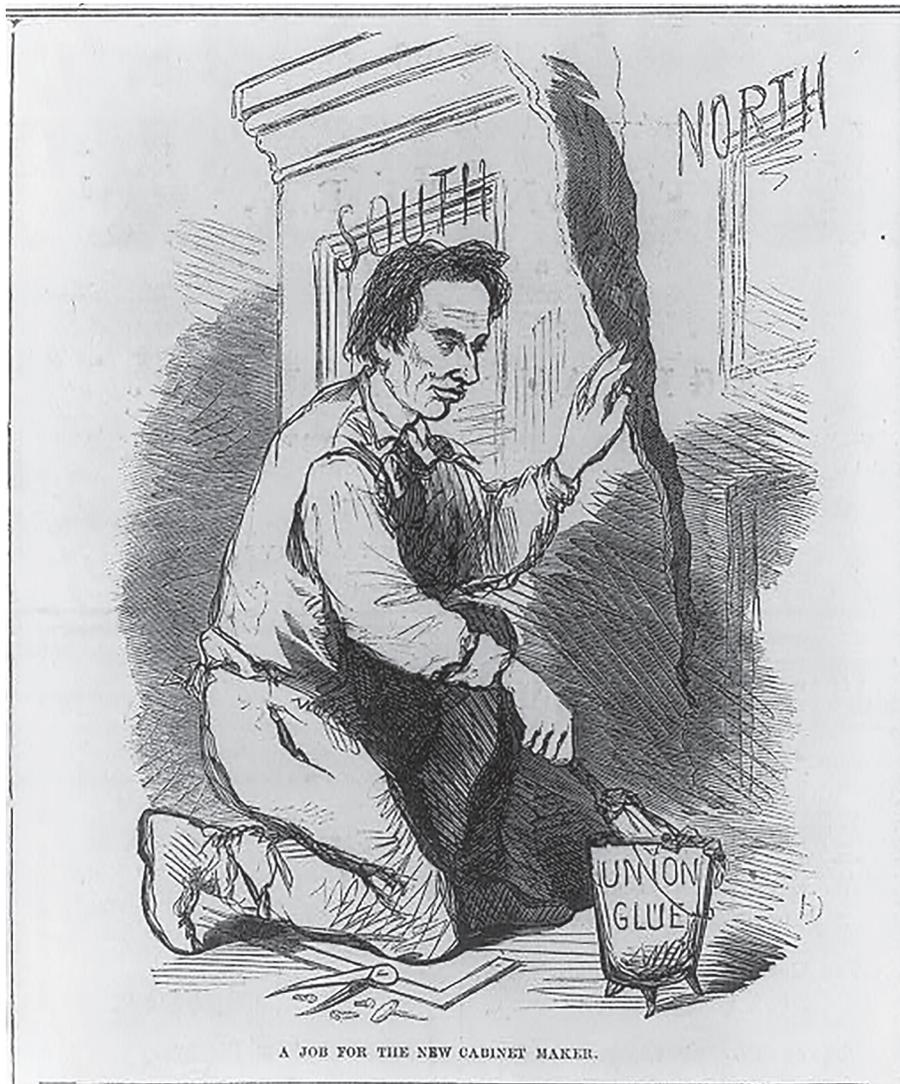
The declaration below shows the spirit of the traitors who are attempting to gain power in New Hampshire in their attempt to subvert our noble government.

John George, Copperhead candidate for Congress, said the following:

'Radical abolitionism must be put down. This great country will be shattered into fragments if it is not, or else we shall find ourselves brought under the iron rule of military despotism. I will not do a thing to support the President or the Government. I will not do anything that can be interpreted as supporting this war. I am personally acquainted with Jefferson Davis. He is a man of firmness of will and is the only one who could conduct the South through the present struggle. President Lincoln is a fool, an imbecile, a tyrant. The abolitionists are more dangerous than the Southern rebels. The war has been caused by abolitionists.'

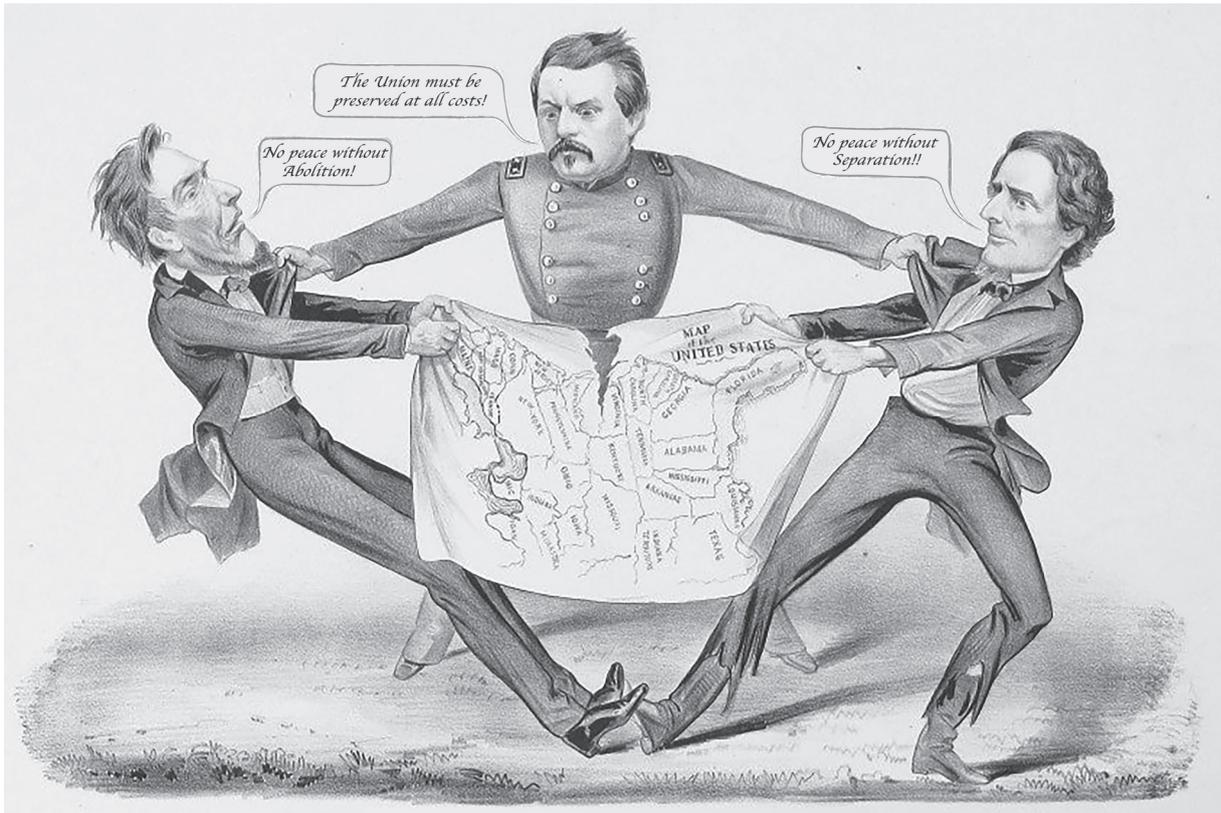
From a poster published in New Hampshire, a Northern state, during elections for Congress, March 1863.

SOURCE D



A cartoon of Lincoln, published in an American newspaper, February 1861.

SOURCE E



A cartoon published in 1864 during the presidential election campaign in which McClellan stood against Lincoln. The figures from the left are President Lincoln, General George McClellan and Jefferson Davis. McClellan was opposed to the abolition of slavery.

SOURCE F

I made every effort before I allowed myself to yield to the idea that the Government of the United States was determined to attempt the conquest of this people and that our hopes of peace were unattainable. I sent commissioners to Washington on 5 March assuring the Government of the United States that the people of the Confederate States earnestly desire a peaceful solution. I received constant assurances from the Government of peaceful intentions and the determination to evacuate Fort Sumter.

Early in April we discovered extraordinary preparations for an extensive military and naval expedition in New York and other Northern ports. These preparations commenced in secrecy, and in April vessels of war with troops, munitions, and military supplies sailed southward. The President had refused to speak with my commissioners and had used this time to secretly prepare to use force if opposed in his intention of supplying Fort Sumter.

A message to the Confederate Congress from Jefferson Davis, 29 April 1861.

Now answer **all** parts of Question 1. 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 parts **(a)–(e)** you should use your knowledge of the topic to help you interpret and evaluate the sources.

(a) Study Sources A and B.

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

(b) Study Source C.

Is this source surprising? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

(c) Study Sources D and E.

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

(d) Study Source F.

How reliable is this source? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

(e) Study **all** the sources.

How far do these sources provide convincing evidence that the North was keen to fight a civil war? Use the sources to explain your answer. [9]

BLANK PAGE

Option B: Twentieth century topic**2 How far was France responsible for the lack of action over Germany's remilitarisation of the Rhineland?**

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

Background Information

When German soldiers marched into the Rhineland on 7 March 1936, the terms of the Treaty of Versailles and the Locarno Treaties were broken. Both Britain and France had a right to respond militarily. Hitler offered to negotiate on new demilitarised zones on both sides of the border and non-aggression pacts with France and Belgium. He promised 25 years of peace.

Public opinion in both Britain and France was against military action. The French Government claimed that it was ready to act but could not without British support. The British Government claimed that it was not sure if France would act.

How far was France responsible for the fact that little was done in reaction to the remilitarisation of the Rhineland?

SOURCE A

Germany benefited from the Abyssinian War. During the war, Italy found itself friendless. Mussolini needed friends, which meant that Hitler was able to use him. It meant that he could contemplate an early move to remilitarise the Rhineland.

On 7 March a force of 22000 German troops entered the demilitarised zone. The western democracies did nothing. This proved the last chance for the western democracies to stop Hitler. Why did they not do so? After all, only a small German force advanced into the Rhineland, and with orders to retreat if challenged by the French, who had the biggest army in western Europe. If the French had stopped the advancing troops with a show of military strength, it would have significantly weakened Hitler in the eyes of the German military and public. However, as Hitler knew, there was little chance of France taking military measures to stop German action. The French army was not in a good condition to fight and in any case, the French were unwilling to act without British support. There was, however, no chance of any British backing for military action. British leaders were well aware that Britain was in no position to take military action against Germany. British public opinion would certainly not have favoured any such action. The mood in Britain was more anti-French than anti-German.

From a recent history book about the twentieth century.

SOURCE B

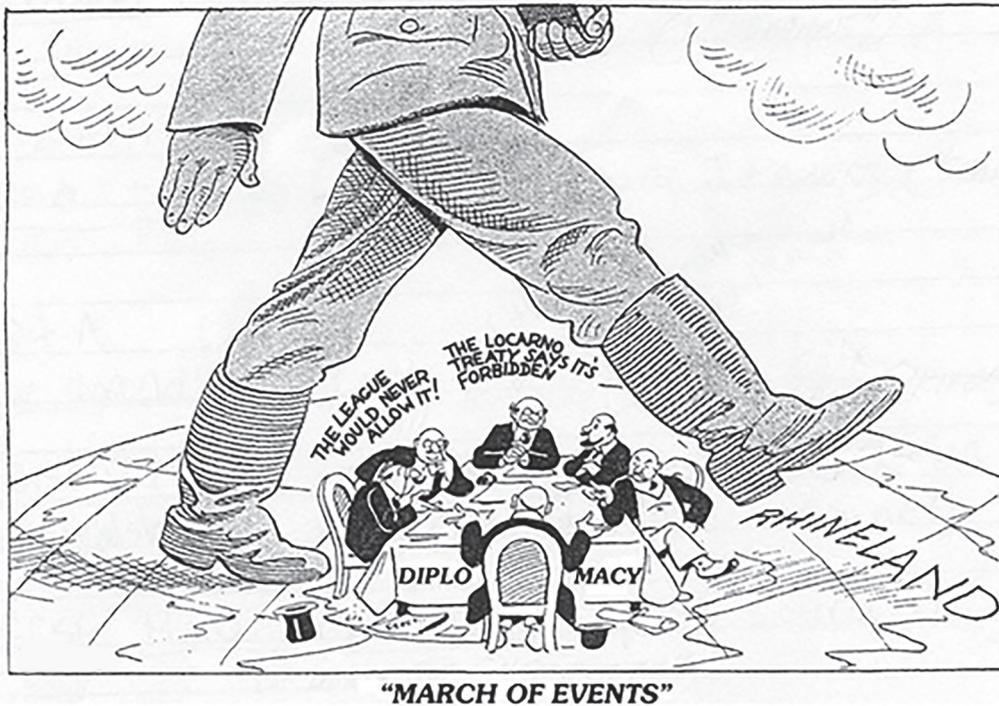
With the Allies distracted by Italy's invasion of Abyssinia, Hitler's thoughts turned to the Rhineland. He was prepared to gamble and use the Franco-Soviet pact as an excuse, claiming it broke the Locarno Treaty. The German forces were small, about 30 000. Their orders were to resist if challenged. Behind them stood the entire German army (over half a million men) and so France was faced with the possibility of a serious military confrontation. The French were determined not to act. Their army was in a disastrous state and General Gamelin even made the ridiculous claim that nearly 300 000 German troops were involved in the operation. The French attempted to shift the blame from themselves to Britain. When Flandin visited Britain on 11 March, he claimed he wanted British support for actions which he knew France was not really planning. He knew Britain would not intervene militarily and wanted an excuse for French lack of action. It has often been said that this was the last chance when Germany could have been stopped and the suffering of a world war avoided. But what could Britain and France do? Any action against Germany would have made it even more resentful and restless.

From a recent article about the Rhineland crisis. Gamelin was in charge of the French army and Flandin was in charge of French foreign policy.

SOURCE C

A British cartoon published on 13 March 1936. The figures on the left represent Eden and other members of the British Government. Eden was in charge of Britain's foreign policy.

SOURCE D



A British cartoon published on 9 March 1936. The figures in the centre represent European diplomats.

SOURCE E

I said I was certain that the German Government was planning to take military action in the Rhineland and I asked Eden what would be British intentions in such a case. He replied with a counter-question: what has the French Government decided to do? We will resist, I replied. I added that when I returned to Paris, I would demand the government state its position and I would tell Eden in February.

Flandin's account of his conversation with Eden on 27 January 1936. This account comes from Flandin's memoirs, published in 1947.

SOURCE F

Flandin told me that it looked certain that Germany was preparing to take some action in relation to Locarno and the demilitarised zone. He asked what advice I could give him about the attitude the French Government should adopt. I replied that the French attitude to a violation of the Rhineland was clearly a matter for the judgement of the French Government. How much importance, I asked, did they attach to the demilitarised zone? Flandin replied that these were the subjects which he thought our governments should carefully consider. This was hardly the attitude of a man determined to fight for the Rhineland.

Eden's account of his conversation with Flandin on 27 January 1936. This account comes from Eden's memoirs, published in 1962.

SOURCE G

Sarraut and Flandin's initial reaction was to call a general mobilisation. If they had been equal to their task they would have done so. There was no doubt that superior strength lay with the Allies. They had only to act to win. If the French Government had mobilised there is no doubt that Hitler would have withdrawn his troops. It must be remembered that France alone was strong enough to drive the Germans out of the Rhineland. However, it remained paralysed and lost the last chance of stopping Hitler's ambitions without a serious war.

When Baldwin and Flandin met on 12 March, Baldwin said the British people wanted peace. Flandin claimed that he replied that the only way to ensure this was to stop Hitlerite aggression, that France asked for no help and would itself carry out what would be a simple police operation as the German troops had orders to withdraw if they were opposed. Flandin claimed that all he asked for was a free hand. This is certainly not true. How could Britain have restrained France from action to which under the Locarno Treaty it was legally entitled? Nobody noted that the point from which Germany could invade France had been advanced by one hundred miles. No one was worried about the proof that France would not fight and that Britain would hold France back even if France wanted to.

From Winston Churchill's history of the Second World War, published in 1948. Churchill became British prime minister in 1940. Sarraut was French prime minister in March 1936.

Now answer **all** parts of Question 2. 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 parts **(a)–(e)** you should use your knowledge of the topic to help you interpret and evaluate the sources.

(a) Study Sources A and B.

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

(b) Study Sources C and D.

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

(c) Study Sources E and F.

These two sources are accounts of the same conversation. How far does Source E make Source F surprising? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

(d) Study Source G.

How far can Churchill's account be trusted? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

(e) Study **all** the sources.

How far do these sources provide convincing evidence that France was to blame for lack of action over the remilitarisation of the Rhineland? Use the sources to explain your answer. [9]

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