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Paper 2 Defining Moments

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MARK SCHEME

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Page 2	Mark Scheme	Syllabus	Paper
	Cambridge IGCSE – October/November 2016	0409	02

Section A: From Compromise to Conflict, 1850–1861

1 Study Source A.

What were the positive features of the Compromise of 1850? Explain your answer using details from the source and your knowledge. [6]

Level 0: No evidence submitted or response does not address the question [0]

Level 1: General comment: loose reference to source and/or question [1–2]

- The Compromise sorted out many difficult issues.

Level 2: Description only: identifies details [3–5]

- The Compromise did not violate the Constitution.
- All parts of the nation were treated fairly.
- The Compromise benefitted the States and the nation.
- It was a mechanism to unite the country ('restore harmony to all corners of this divided land').

Level 3: Level 2 and knowledge [5–6]

- Statehood for California.
- Utah and New Mexico were made into Territories with the right to exercise popular sovereignty.
- The boundary dispute between Texas and New Mexico was resolved.
- The slave trade was abolished in Washington.
- A new Fugitive Slave Law was introduced.

2 Study Source B.

Does this cartoon favour the North or the South? Explain your answer using details from the source and your knowledge. [7]

Level 0: No evidence submitted or response does not address the question [0]

Level 1: General comment: loose reference to source [1]

- It is not very useful as it does not provide any details about events in Kansas.

Level 2: Description only: it favours the North [2–4]

- It shows Southerners as brutal in the way they maintained slavery (represented by the whip in his belt).
- Southerners are portrayed as aggressive (the dagger and pistol).
- The South were a threat to the Union (the intention is clearly to wound the North, at least, and, with the left leg, to bring the latter down implying that the 'UNION' by which they are joined is at risk).
- The North is merely restraining the South with the intention of upholding the Union.
- Indeed, the North seems more virtuous (unarmed, wearing a white shirt) and strong enough to withstand the South (upright, with the left hand disarming the South).

NB Some may argue that it favours the South, e.g. that the North is pushing the South away with similar intent to break the Union. However, the scope to pursue this line of argument is limited.

Page 3	Mark Scheme	Syllabus	Paper
	Cambridge IGCSE – October/November 2016	0409	02

Level 3: Level 2 and either knowledge or evaluation [4–6]

Knowledge

- Decision of Kansas in May 1855 to introduce slavery into the Territory sparked alarm in those opposed to the extension of slavery.
- Attack by Senator Brooks (Southerner) on Senator Sumner (Northerner) in his office in the Senate.
- Pro-slavery people in Kansas acted against their opponents which prompted a response from the latter (John Brown intervened).
- Kansas engulfed by civil war ('Bleeding Kansas').

Evaluation

- The cartoon was published in London and reflects British attitudes which favoured the North/opposed the South because of slavery.
- The cartoon may be regarded as simply the view of the artist.
- Cartoon was published after events in Kansas had deteriorated into violence.

Level 4: Level 2 and knowledge and evaluation [5–7]

3 Study Source C.

How convincing are the claims expressed in this source? Explain your answer using details from the source and your knowledge. [7]

Level 0: No evidence submitted or response does not address the question [0]

Level 1: General comment: loose reference to source [1]

- Some claims are convincing/unconvincing.

Level 2: Description only: points that might be considered convincing or unconvincing [2–4]

- (i) The plea to 'refrain from interfering with the domestic institutions of other States'.
- (ii) The call to ignore or remove divisions between North and South ('blot out these lines' and 'have no dividing lines').
- (iii) The Compromise of 1850 had worked ('since 1850 when peace and harmony was restored').
- (iv) There was only one way to maintain the Union ('by maintaining fraternal feelings').

Level 3: Level 2 and addresses 'how convincing' with either knowledge or evaluation [4–6]

Knowledge

NB Each of the above points might be assessed with knowledge.

- (i) Convincing: States' Rights were enshrined in the Constitution and respected by Congress and people, e.g. in Kansas-Nebraska Act, 1854.
Unrealistic: activities of abolitionists and actions of people like John Brown.
- (ii) Unconvincing: slavery was entrenched in the South, free labour was a feature of the North.
- (iii) Unconvincing: there were disputes since 1850 over the application of the Fugitive Slave Law and there was civil war in Kansas (rather than harmony).
- (iv) Convincing: reconciliation was still possible in 1858 (there were attempts in the following years).
Unconvincing: ultimately, the Union was only preserved by war (1861).

Page 4	Mark Scheme	Syllabus	Paper
	Cambridge IGCSE – October/November 2016	0409	02

Evaluation

- Douglas had played a key part in the debates of 1850 so his faith in the Compromise is not surprising.
- He was campaigning for an election: he was appealing for votes in a State in which the security of the Union was important; he was obliged to match the rhetoric of Lincoln on the Union.
- The tone is that of an idealist or optimist ('one united, harmonious people', 'principles' and 'fraternal feelings') which may be considered unconvincing.

Level 4: Level 2 and addresses 'how convincing' with knowledge and evaluation [5–7]

4 Study Sources D and E.

Compare these sources as evidence about the impact of the Abolitionist Movement. Explain your answer using details from the sources and your knowledge. [10]

Level 0: No evidence submitted or response does not address the question [0]

Level 1: General comment: offers reasons with only loose links to the sources [1–2]

- The sources agree on many points about the movement to abolish slavery.

Level 2: Comparison based on content; similarities or differences only [3–4]

Similarities

- The abolitionist movement had been active for a long time (Source D says 'the abolition societies for the last twenty years', i.e. from 1830, and Source E claims it has been active 'for the last forty years', i.e. from 1820).
- Both agree that the movement helped entrench the sectional divide (Source D claims that, in Virginia at least, 'public opinion ... drew back' and Source E states 'they have turned large numbers of Northern people against the South').
- The movement is accused of encouraging talk of secession (Source D says 'I hear ... the word secession' and Source E declares 'that Georgia will have to secede').

Level 3: Comparison based on content; similarities and differences [5–6]

Differences

- The sources emphasise different methods of the movement (Source D refers to 'inflammatory publications' whereas Source E highlights 'armed invasion of Southern soil').
- On the position of slaves the sources differ (Source D thinks 'the bonds of the slaves are bound more firmly than before' as a result of the activities of the abolitionists whereas Source E focuses on the way the abolitionists 'encouraged the shameless disregard of the Fugitive Slave Law').

NB At this level reward development/discussion of points.

Alternative Level 3: Level 2 based on content and either evaluation or knowledge [5–6]

Page 5	Mark Scheme	Syllabus	Paper
	Cambridge IGCSE – October/November 2016	0409	02

Level 4: Differences and similarities based on content and either evaluation or knowledge [7–8]

Evaluation of D

- The tone is negative in its view of the abolitionists ('have produced nothing good').
- He was a Northerner (Massachusetts) which helps explain his regret that there has not been progress against slavery (reference to reverse steps in Virginia).
- Webster was clearly a Unionist (helped achieve the Compromise of 1850) which explains his 'distress' at talk of secession.

Evaluation of E

- Georgia was a slave state so unsurprising that the tone is strongly opposed to the abolitionists.
- Focus on 'constitutional rights' unsurprising given the importance of States' Rights in the South and which helps explain why secession was regarded as an option.
- These resolutions came after the election of Lincoln.
- The resolutions represent the views of a majority in one county only. The attribution makes clear that not all Georgians were separatists though the State did secede in January 1861.

Knowledge on D

- Propaganda from the abolitionists.
- The Liberator and Garrison's writings.
- Opinions in the border states like Virginia: more moderate than in deep South like Georgia.

Knowledge on E

- Northern states that ignored the Fugitive Slave Law.
- Events in Kansas and Brown's Raid to support point about 'armed invasion'.
- Details about the Republican Party referred to in the source.

Alternative Level 4: Level 2 and evaluation and knowledge [7–8]

Level 5: Level 3 and evaluation and knowledge [9–10]

5 Study Sources F and G.

"Reconciliation of the North and the South was impossible." How far do you agree? Use Sources F and G and your knowledge to explain your answer.

In addition to Sources F and G, you may use any of the Sources A to E to help you answer this question. [15]

Content: evidence in the sources. *Agreeing:*

Source F

- Differences between Sections divided the two ('Two radically different political systems operate').
- Social and economic developments – population growth, transport and trade – ('collision will result').
- Pessimistic about the future ('an irrepressible conflict', 'the US will become either entirely slave or free').

Source G

- Concedes extent of the divide ('if a minority secede' and belief of the South in extending slavery and the North in opposing such a thing).

Page 6	Mark Scheme	Syllabus	Paper
	Cambridge IGCSE – October/November 2016	0409	02

Content: evidence in the sources. *Disagreeing:*

Source G

- Reassurance of continuity ('The property, peace and security of neither the North nor the South are endangered').
- Faith in the Union ('perpetual').
- Geographic and cultural factors ('physically we cannot separate' or 'build an impassable wall' and 'we are not enemies but friends').

Source F

- Concedes cooperation or tolerance between the Sections to date ('Until now, the two systems have existed ... side by side').

Knowledge

- Economy of the North was based on agriculture and industry using free labour whereas the economy of the South was based on the plantation system using slave labour.
- The two Sections had settled their differences before 1858/60: the Compromise of 1850, the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, etc.
- Interconnectedness of the Sections: transport, trade, mixed economies of the border states.
- Attitudes: the South's defence of slavery in the name of States' Rights; the North's fear of 'slave power'.

Evaluation:

Source F

- Links to Sources B and E.
- The author was a long standing opponent of slavery (a 'persistent critic of slavery').
- The author was a realist/pessimist (tone of the source and use of knowledge).

Source G

- Links to Sources A, C and D.
- The comments made are consistent with others uttered by Lincoln on previous occasions.
- The extract is from an inauguration speech when the new president swore to uphold the Constitution so his comments were unsurprising in that context.
- To some extent the comments were disingenuous given the secession of the Southern states by this time. As such, saying 'if a minority secede' is misleading. Technically, they were a minority but a large one and it had already happened.

Level 0: No evidence submitted or response does not address the question [0]

Level 1: General assertion rather than explanation [1–2]

Level 2: One-sided answer: either agrees or disagrees [3–8]

Level 3: Two-sided answer: agrees and disagrees but imbalanced [9–11]

Level 4: Two-sided answer: agrees and disagrees and balanced [12–14]

NB At Levels 2–4

- If knowledge only: mark at the lower end of the level.
- If only evaluation: mark in the middle of the level.
- If knowledge and evaluation: mark at the top end of the level.
- If a judgement is provided at Levels 3 or 4 an additional mark may be awarded.

Page 7	Mark Scheme	Syllabus	Paper
	Cambridge IGCSE – October/November 2016	0409	02

Section B: The Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s

6 Study Source H.

What does this source tell us about the response of the police and the Ku Klux Klan to the Freedom Riders? Explain your answer using details from the source and your knowledge.

[6]

Level 0: No evidence submitted or response does not address the question [0]

Level 1: General comment: loose reference to source and/or question [1–2]

- The police and Ku Klux Klan hated the Freedom Riders.

Level 2: Description only: identifies details [3–5]

- The police ‘planned’ the violence.
- The police agreed to give the KKK 15 minutes ‘to terrorise the passengers’.
- The KKK attacked ‘everyone who got off the bus’ and did so brutally (‘blood splattered the streets’).
- The KKK (and police) did not like publicity (the attack on the photographer).

Level 3: Level 2 and knowledge [5–6]

- Many police forces in the South supported the KKK (some officers were members of the KKK).
- KKK violence was condoned by the police.
- Police used violence on civil rights protestors on other occasions (use of dogs on protestors, cross reference to Source J, etc.).
- The violence described in the source was not an isolated case: in some instances the buses were also burned.
- The brutality of the KKK is typical of their treatment of African Americans: indeed, it was often worse (murder, lynching).
- Secrecy of the KKK (cloaks, anonymity).

7 Study Source I.

How reliable is this source as evidence about the March on Washington? Explain your answer using details from the source and your knowledge.

[7]

Level 0: No evidence submitted or response does not address the question [0]

Level 1: General comment: loose reference to source [1]

- The source is/is not reliable because some points raised are factually correct/inaccurate.

Level 2: Description only [2–4]

- The president did not want the march to go ahead (he wanted the organisers to ‘Call it off’).
- The march was peaceful (‘it ceased to be angry’).
- The protest ceased to be a march, rather, ‘it became a picnic’.
- The government controlled the event in every detail (they ‘took it over’ and ‘controlled it so tight’ in terms of ‘time to hit town, where to stop’, etc.).

Page 8	Mark Scheme	Syllabus	Paper
	Cambridge IGCSE – October/November 2016	0409	02

Level 3: Level 2 and addresses ‘how reliable’ with either knowledge or evaluation [4–6]

Evaluation

- It exaggerates the extent of the control exercised by the government in so far as it implies the agenda and conduct of the march were taken out of the hands of the organisers entirely. Speeches and songs were not subject to censorship/approval as implied.
- The language of the source is critical of the nature of the march, as almost a joke, describing it as ‘a circus’.
- The source is critical of the leaders of the march implying they were poodles of the government, being told what to do.
- The author was a radical and supporter of more forceful action so his denunciation of the march as accommodating (‘it ceased to be uncompromising’) is unsurprising.

Knowledge

- The leaders of the march did meet JFK before the day of the meeting.
- The march was peaceful, as intended.
- The march was subject to police regulation which was normal in the event of street protest, especially when the numbers involved were so large.
- It is possible that the organisers did amend their original plans, perhaps restricting the time allowed for certain speakers, for example.

Level 4: Level 2 and addresses ‘how reliable’ with knowledge and evaluation [5–7]

8 Study Source J.

Does the cartoon give a fair impression of the attitude and approach of the state troopers to those on the Selma March? Explain your answer using details from the source and your knowledge. [7]

Level 0: No evidence submitted or response does not address the question [0]

Level 1: General comment: loose reference to source [1]

- The cartoon provides a fair/unfair impression of the attitude and approach of storm troopers as they were intolerant/they were provoked into using violence.

Level 2: Description only [2–4]

- The storm troopers were prejudiced (the statement across the top hints at hostility to African Americans), and/or,
- The storm troopers enjoyed injuring/attacking the marchers (the officer appears to be pleased with himself for having chased a marcher to the church/drawn blood which he is wiping from the baton).
- The storm troopers were prepared to beat women (the person this officer pursued was female (‘she’)).
- The storm troopers were prepared to use a variety of weapons against the marchers (batons, gas, rope (whips?)).
- The storm troopers were like primitive animals (the officer is depicted as an ape).

Page 9	Mark Scheme	Syllabus	Paper
	Cambridge IGCSE – October/November 2016	0409	02

Level 3: Level 2 and addresses ‘fair impression’ with either knowledge or evaluation [4–6]

Evaluation

- The stock response is likely – that cartoonists exaggerate or overemphasise a particular issue – which is to be credited.
- Despite this, the cartoon could be considered an accurate depiction of the storm troopers as the detail in the source can be related to the facts known about their actions.
- The criticism implied in the cartoon is consistent with the hostile response of the media and public opinion, in the North at least.
- ‘Bloody Sunday’, by which March 7, 1965 became known, confirms the extent of the violence of the storm troopers that day.

Knowledge

- The marchers were stopped on Edmund Pettus Bridge.
- Tear gas and clubs were used (the clash was shown on national television).
- The marchers were forced to retreat to a church in Selma.
- Storm troopers were dubbed the ‘apes’ of George Wallace, Governor of Alabama.
- Storm troopers had a record of violence in response to African Americans.

Level 4: Level 2 and addresses ‘fair impression’ with knowledge and evaluation [5–7]

9 Study Sources K and L.

Compare these sources as evidence about the reaction of politicians to demands for civil rights for African Americans. Explain your answer using details from the sources and your knowledge. [10]

Level 0: No evidence submitted or response does not address the question [0]

Level 1: General comment: offers reasons with only loose links to the sources [1–2]

- They differ because one politician came from the South and the other from the North.

Level 2: Comparison based on content; similarities or differences only [3–4]

Differences

- Source K regarded intervention on the campus as wrong (‘unwanted, unwarranted’) whereas Source L claims it was necessary (‘intervention was required’).
- Source K claims that intervention was ‘unwelcomed’ but Source L implies that the National Guard and the students supported it as ‘this was carried out peacefully’.
- In terms of education policy, Source K insists it was the responsibility of the Governor ‘to operate the public school system’, whereas Source L argues that the Federal Government must do more ‘to end segregation in education’.
- In asserting ‘the individual freedoms of the citizens of this State’, Source K implies all the people of Alabama enjoy the same ‘freedoms’. However, Source L is adamant that Negroes are not free and that ‘legislation is needed to give all citizens equality in law’.

Similarities

- Both politicians invoke the law to back their position. Source K justifies its opposition on the grounds of States’ Rights (‘the oppression of the rights, privileges, and sovereignty of this State’ which is denounced as ‘illegal action by the Central Government’), and Source L argues that intervention was justified to uphold ‘the decision of the United States District Court’.
- Freedom is stressed as the key concern of both politicians if for different reasons.

Page 10	Mark Scheme	Syllabus	Paper
	Cambridge IGCSE – October/November 2016	0409	02

Level 3: Comparison based on content; similarities and differences only [3–4]
 NB At this level reward development/discussion of points.

Alternative Level 3: Level 2 and either evaluation or knowledge [5–6]

Level 4: Level 3 and either evaluation or knowledge [7–8]

Evaluation of K

- The language used indicates a sense of anger, even hurt pride, in light of the way his authority was undermined on June 11. The tone is defensive and aggressive.
- The audience may be considered. It could be argued Wallace was articulating the views of the majority of whites in Alabama.
- Wallace had ambitions to be president and this was an opportunity to challenge JFK who would have been his rival in the next presidential election.

Evaluation of L

- JFK was aware of the importance of the black vote and this was a way to gain their support (the impact of the reference to Lincoln and his unfinished work could be explored).
- As president, he had responsibilities to uphold the law and the authority of the Federal Government.
- JFK had expressed sympathy with the civil rights movement. Even if he had not done a great deal before this point, this incident gave him the opportunity to take action.

Knowledge on K

- States' Rights was a principle which all states but especially Southern states took very seriously.
- Discrimination and segregation were deep-rooted in Alabama. Candidates could refer to Sources H and J for two examples of the extremes to which the police and state troopers were prepared to go to deny Negroes their rights as citizens.

Knowledge on L

- The reference to the heirs of slaves not being free could be explained further with mention of the Jim Crow laws, for example.
- The Brown v. Topeka Board of Education decision of 1954 could be considered to demonstrate the attitude to education for blacks.
- Details about JFK's speech may be known: he promised to appeal to Congress to address discrimination and segregation.

Alternative Level 4: Level 2 and evaluation and knowledge [7–8]

Level 5: Level 3 and evaluation and knowledge [9–10]

Page 11	Mark Scheme	Syllabus	Paper
	Cambridge IGCSE – October/November 2016	0409	02

10 Study Sources M and N.

“The prospect of harmony between blacks and whites had vanished by 1968.” How far do you agree? Use Sources M and N and your knowledge to explain your answer.

In addition to Sources M and N, you may use any of the Sources H to L to help you answer this question. [15]

Content: in support of the view

Source M

- Blacks and whites were divided (‘moving toward two societies, separate and unequal’ and there was ‘discrimination and segregation’).
- Violence was used by both blacks and whites (‘violence as a form of protest has been created by white terrorism’ and ‘some Negroes think there is no alternative to violence’).
- The police acted on behalf of the whites (they symbolised ‘white power, white racism, and white repression’).
- Justice was not applied impartially (‘one for Negroes and one for whites’).

Source N

- Violence in the cities is acknowledged following the death of Martin Luther King (‘Negroes are burning and looting’).

Content: opposing the view

Source N

- Determination not to be discouraged by the assassination of MLK (‘they thought they could kill our movement’ implies they would not).
- The violence in the cities was regarded as temporary (Negroes ‘are merely acting out their frustrations’).
- Optimism is expressed that black and white would live together (‘will need to be reconciled’).
- A commitment to help others is expressed (‘your words of love are remembered’ as advocated by MLK and to ‘pull our load’).
- Plans to continue peaceful protest on behalf of blacks and whites (‘the Poor People’s March’).

Source M

- The report implies that not all Negroes were alienated (the words ‘Some Negroes’ is used twice to suggest that others, perhaps most, were less uncompromising).

Knowledge: in support of the view

Source M

- Details about the riots of 1967.
- Information about ‘Black Power’ (black radicalism, Black Panthers).
- Examples of discrimination and segregation (in housing and education, etc.).
- Examples of police brutality (Bull Connor in Birmingham, etc.).
- Iniquities of the justice system (arbitrary justice in some states, weighted juries, etc.).

Source N

- Details about the backlash following the assassination of MLK.

Page 12	Mark Scheme	Syllabus	Paper
	Cambridge IGCSE – October/November 2016	0409	02

Knowledge: opposing the view

Source N

- Reactions to the death of MLK (treated as a martyr, his funeral, impact on whites and blacks).
- Details of the Poor People’s March (support was multi-racial but violence broke out between those involved and the police dispersed the marchers).
- Abernathy held true to the principles of the non-violent movement.
- The SCLC had good relations with Government, including a sympathetic President Johnson.

Evaluation

Source M

- The report was compiled by an all-white commission and their criticisms of white racists confirm the objectivity of their investigation.
- The report was the result of months of investigation and based on evidence.
- Links to Sources H, J and K.

Source N

- Abernathy had been a close and long-standing friend of MLK so his commitment to his name and policies was unsurprising.
- Arguably, his assertion that the death of MLK would not kill the movement was incorrect as after 1968 the civil rights movement lost its strength.
- His optimism in reconciliation and peaceful protest might be questioned as typical of a minister in the Church (reference to ‘with God’s help’).
- The upbeat tone of the sermon might be explained by the need to calm nerves and reassure supporters in the immediate aftermath of the assassination.
- Links to Sources I and L.

Level 0: No evidence submitted or response does not address the question [0]

Level 1: General assertion rather than explanation [1–2]

Level 2: One-sided answer: either agrees or disagrees [3–8]

Level 3: Two-sided answer: agrees and disagrees but imbalanced [9–11]

Level 4: Two-sided answer: agrees and disagrees and balanced [12–14]

At Levels 2–4

- If knowledge only: mark at the lower end of the level.
- If only evaluation: mark in the middle of the level.
- If knowledge and evaluation: mark at the top end of the level.

If a judgement is provided at Levels 3 or 4 an additional mark may be awarded.