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HISTORY **0470/22**

Paper 2 Document Questions **February/March 2026**

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.

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Option A: Nineteenth century topic

1 How far were US actions towards the Philippines justified?

Study the Background Information and the sources carefully, and then answer **all** parts of Question 1.

Background Information

In 1896, the Philippine Revolution against Spanish rule began. In 1898, the Spanish–American War began. This led to an unofficial alliance between the Filipinos and the Americans against Spain. In 1898, the Filipinos declared independence, but this was not recognised by Spain or the USA. On 10 December 1898, in the Treaty of Paris, Spain sold the Philippines to the USA for $20 million. Led by Emilio Aguinaldo, the Filipinos rose up in revolt, but by 1901 they had been defeated and the Philippines became an American colony.

How far did people at the time think that US actions were justified?

Source A

Some argue that American rule in the Philippines will result in better education of the Filipinos. Do not be deceived. If we expect to maintain a colonial policy, we shall not find it to our advantage to educate the people. It is the educated Filipinos who are now in revolt against us. If we are to govern them without their consent, we dare not educate them because they might learn to read the Declaration of Independence of the United States and mock us for our inconsistency.

The main arguments put forward in defence of imperialism are that it will make us a world power and it will benefit our commercial interests. However, there is an easy and honourable solution to the Philippines question – to give independence to the Filipinos and to protect them from outside interference while they work out their destiny.

From a speech by William Jennings Bryan, 1900. He had just been told that he would be the Democratic Party candidate in the presidential election of 1900.

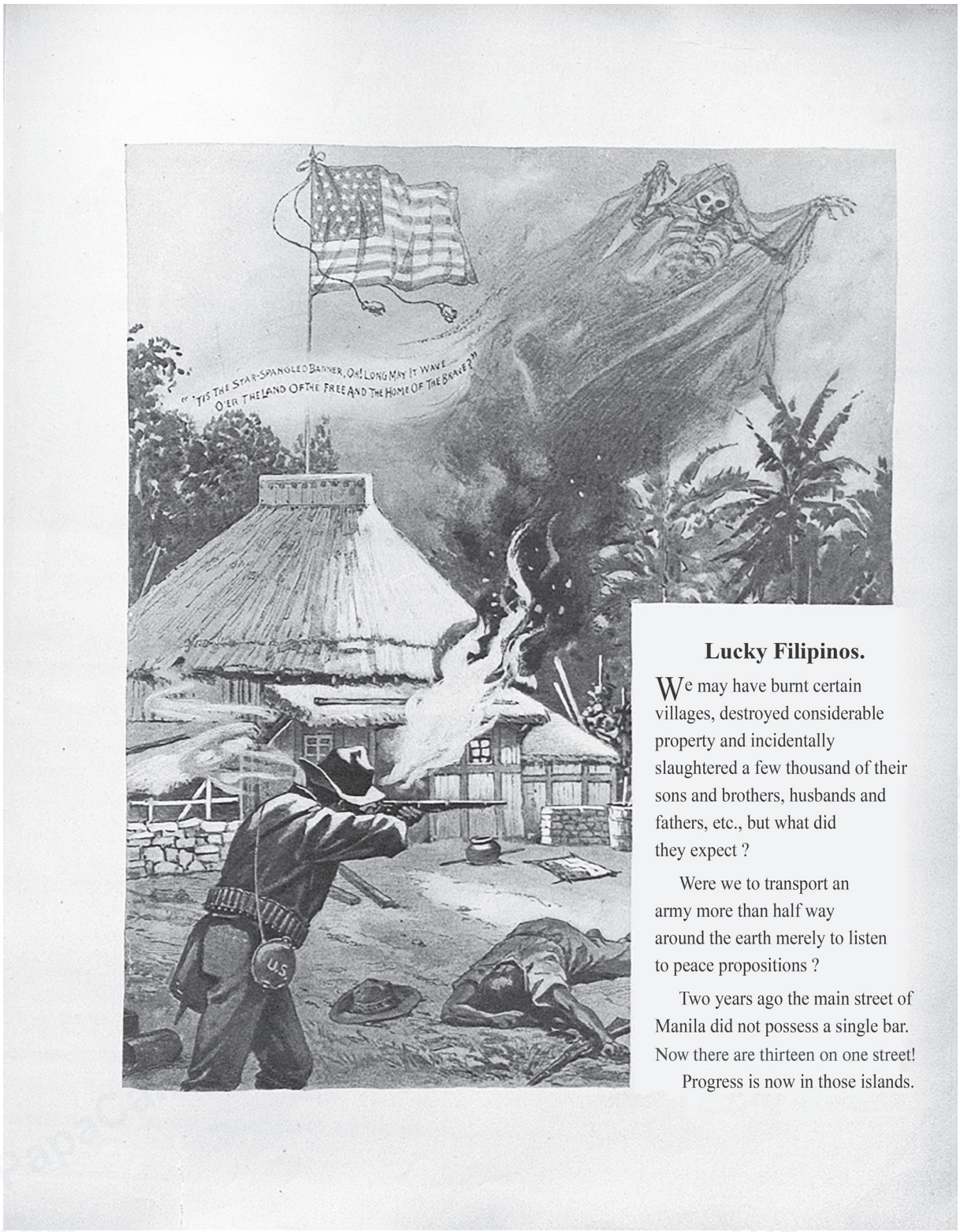
Source B

The United States cannot withdraw. We are there and duty binds us to remain. The Filipinos are wholly unprepared for independence and should our power be withdrawn, the government of the Philippines would speedily lapse into anarchy, which would lead to the intervention of other powers and the eventual division of the islands among them. Only through American occupation, therefore, is the idea of a free, self-governing, and united Philippines at all possible. And the need from the Filipino point of view of maintaining American sovereignty over the Philippines is recognised by all educated Filipinos. Thus, the welfare of the Filipinos coincides with our national honour in forbidding our abandonment of the islands. We cannot from any point of view escape the responsibilities of government and the commission is strongly persuaded that the performance of our national duty will prove the greatest blessing to the peoples of the Philippine Islands. Nor can we ignore the commercial opportunity in the Philippines. It is right to use every legitimate means for the enlargement of American trade.

From the report of the Schurman Commission, 1900. The Commission was set up by President McKinley in January 1899 to investigate conditions in the Philippines and make recommendations about how the USA should proceed.

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Source C



A cartoon published in an American magazine, 1900.

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Source D

With the signing of the treaty of peace in Paris, the control and government of the Philippine Islands are ceded to the USA. It shall be the main aim of the military government to win the confidence, respect and affection of the inhabitants of the Philippines by assuring them of their individual rights and freedoms and that the mission of the USA is one of kindly assimilation. In the fulfilment of this noble mission there must be maintained the strong arm of authority to repress disturbance, and to overcome all obstacles to good government for the people of the Philippine Islands.

From a proclamation issued by President McKinley, 21 December 1898.

Source E

I have announced the outbreak of hostilities between the Philippine forces and the American forces of occupation. On 8 January I published the grievances suffered by the Philippine forces at the hands of the American forces. Their constant outrages and taunts have caused misery to the people. The contempt shown towards the Philippine Government proves they plan to deny us justice and liberty. I have tried to avoid armed conflict. But all my efforts have been useless against the unlimited pride of the American Government and of its representatives in these islands. They have treated me as a rebel because I defend the interests of my country and do not make myself an instrument of their evil intentions.

From a manifesto issued by President Aguinaldo to the Filipino people, February 1899.

Source F

The Philippines are ours forever. And just beyond the Philippines are China's limitless markets. We will not retreat from either. We will not renounce our part in the mission of our race, under God, of the civilisation of the world.

It would be better to abandon the Philippines than to allow these children self-government. They are not a self-governing race. The common people are stupid. They are not even good farmers and they are incurably lazy. The crucial issue is racial. God has not been preparing the English-speaking peoples for nothing. No! He has made us the master organisers of the world to establish order where chaos reigns. He has made us skilled in government so that we may administer government among savage peoples.

From a speech by Albert J Beveridge in 1900. Beveridge was a leading member of the Republican Party.

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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 **1(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.

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

(c) Study Sources D and E.

Does Source D make Source E surprising? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

(d) Study Source F.

Does this source have any use for the historian studying imperialism in this period? 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 people at the time thought that US actions towards the Philippines were justified? Use the sources to explain your answer. [9]

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Option B: Twentieth century topic

2 Did the USA ever have a good chance of winning the Vietnam War?

Study the Background Information and the sources carefully, and then answer **all** parts of Question 2.

Background Information

President Kennedy sent advisers and military equipment to help the South Vietnamese Government but was reluctant to send combat troops. There were serious doubts about South Vietnam's ability to fight the war, and the number of US advisers in South Vietnam grew. In late 1964 and early 1965, the government came under greater pressure to send combat troops. By April 1965, President Johnson had decided this was necessary. By 1969, there were more than 500 000 US military personnel in Vietnam.

Historians have disagreed over whether the USA ever had a chance of being successful in Vietnam. Some have argued that the war was unwinnable because there was little popular support for the war in South Vietnam. The alternative view is that the USA could have won, but victory was taken away from it by a lack of determination in the US Government and by a lack of support from the American media.

Could the USA have won the Vietnam War?

Source A

Ten years ago, anti-Communism was the mood of South Vietnam. Of that mood, little is left today. When ten years ago we committed ourselves to support the regime, our policies and the hopes of the people of South Vietnam coincided. They do not now. The great mass of the South Vietnamese are indifferent or hostile to our policies. They have one aim: to end the senseless slaughter and destruction.

It is pointless to expect our latest remedy – the expansion of the South Vietnamese army – to have any effect on the military situation. It is impossible to win the war without the support of a large part of the population. Nor can the war be won by expanding it northward. The war in South Vietnam is a civil war, aided by the North but neither created nor supported by it. We should not have allowed ourselves to get committed in a civil war which cannot be won. Only humiliation awaits us as long as we persist in our simple-minded opposition to all Communist governments.

Written by an American academic, June 1964.

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Source B

Some say that we are involved in a civil war but who is responsible for the war? If it were not for support of the guerrillas by North Vietnam there would be no war. The North Vietnamese are there as lawbreakers. We are there as law enforcers, by invitation of the South Vietnamese Government. Some claim that the war will not be won because the Vietnamese do not support us. But the South Vietnamese people do have the desire to keep their country free and independent.

What are the possibilities of winning? How could it be possible that, where 300 000 Frenchmen failed, 25 000 Americans can expect success? The Vietnamese had very little interest in fighting to preserve French colonialism. The Vietnamese have a great interest in fighting against Communist colonialism. That's why they fight with determination. What is involved here is not just Asia, but a battle for the whole world.

From a speech by Richard Nixon, April 1965. He was defeated by Kennedy in the 1960 presidential election.

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Source C



A cartoon published in an American newspaper in the late 1960s.

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Source D

The first reality is that North Vietnam has attacked the independent nation of South Vietnam. Its aim is total conquest. The second reality is that the deepening shadow of Communist China hangs over this war and all Asia. The rulers in Hanoi are urged on by China.

Why are these realities our concern? Over many years, we have made a national promise to help South Vietnam defend its independence. To leave Vietnam to its fate would shake the confidence of all those people in the value of an American commitment and would increase unrest and instability, and even lead to wider war. Let no one think for a moment that retreat from Vietnam would bring an end to conflict. The battle would be renewed in one country and then another. The central lesson is that the appetite of aggression is never satisfied.

From a speech to the American people by President Johnson, April 1965.

Source E

I see no reasonable way to bring the war to an end soon. Enemy morale has not broken. The enemy knows that we will not be able to translate our military successes into political achievements by the South Vietnam Government. Enemy forces are larger and attacks and sabotage have increased. We control little more of the population. The Viet Cong political organisation thrives in most of the country, continuing to give the enemy its enormous intelligence advantage. The South Vietnamese army is not interested in the welfare of the people and is corrupt.

We find ourselves worse off in the war in terms of the support of the people. This war must be fought and won by the Vietnamese themselves, but we have not found the formula for training and inspiring them into effective action.

From an evaluation of the situation in Vietnam written by Robert McNamara for President Johnson, October 1966. McNamara was a leading member of the US Government and frequently visited Vietnam.

Source F

It seems to me that the strategy we are following in Vietnam is the proper one, and is producing results. There are signs that the enemy's morale and military structure are beginning to deteriorate. The South Vietnamese army performs with growing professional skill and is supporting the government's nation-building programme which is improving the morale and conditions of the South Vietnamese people. As I have said before, it is clear to me that our only possible weakness is our lack of determination. Your continued support is vital to the success of our mission. Backed at home by determination and continued support, we will succeed in Vietnam against communist aggression.

From a speech by General Westmoreland to the US Congress, April 1967. Westmoreland was in charge of the US Army in Vietnam from 1964 to 1968.

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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 **2(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.

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

(c) Study Source D.

Why was this speech made at this time? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

(d) Study Sources E and F.

How far does Source E make Source F surprising? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

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

How far do these sources provide convincing evidence that the Americans had a good chance of winning the Vietnam War? Use the sources to explain your answer. [9]

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