UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL EXAMINATIONS
International General Certificate of Secondary Education

HISTORY **0470/21**

Paper 2 **May/June 2010**

2 hours

Additional Materials: Answer Booklet/Paper

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READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

If you have been given an Answer Booklet, follow the instructions on the front cover of the Booklet.
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 diagrams, graphs or rough working.
Do not use staples, paper clips, highlighters, glue or correction fluid.

This paper has two options.
Choose **one** option, and answer **all** of the questions on that topic.
Option A: 19th Century topic [p2–p7]
Option B: 20th Century topic [p8–p14]

At the end of the examination, fasten all your work securely together.
The number of marks is given in brackets [ ] at the end of each question or part question.

This document consists of **14** printed pages and **2** blank pages.

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Option A: 19th Century topic

WHY DID THE NORTH WIN THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR?

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

Background Information

By 1865 the North had won the American Civil War. However, when it started in 1861 no one thought it would last long and many people thought that the South would win. Historians have put forward many different reasons for the victory of the North. Some have argued that the war was won by the North because it had more money and a better financial system. How far can this view be supported?

SOURCE A

The North had more than double the population of the South – 22 million to 9 million – and it was home to four-fifths of America's industry. Its war effort was almost self-sustaining, whereas the South relied heavily on imports from Europe which the Northern blockade could disrupt. The South paid for the war by printing money, which fuelled roaring inflation, whereas the North, with its more developed financial and banking systems, imposed the first income tax in US history and issued the first paper currency. In the South growing shortages of food weakened morale among civilians and at the front. President Davis was no great administrator or politician and could not get the Southern states to pull together in a common war effort. Southerners were, after all, fighting against just that kind of centralised control.

From a book about American history published in 2009.

SOURCE B

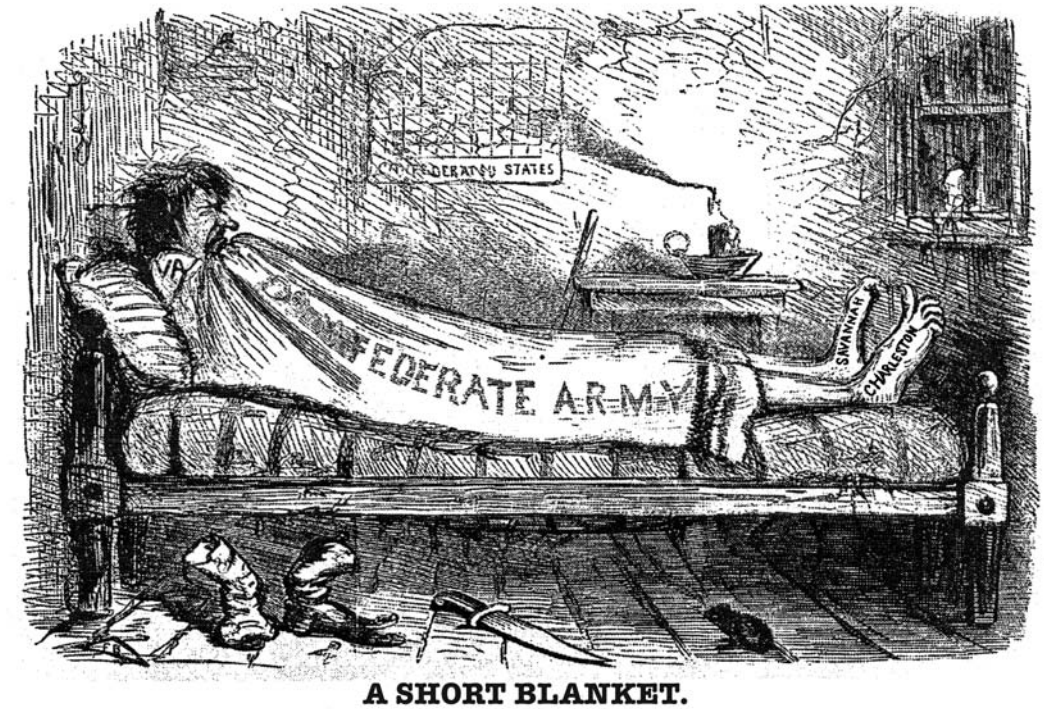
The Confederacy was confronted with a hard problem. Its war aim was simple: to win from the North an acknowledgement of its independence. It had neither the power nor the wish to destroy the government of the United States. The difficulty was in choosing the means to reach the goal. An embargo on the export of cotton was introduced to force the British government to intervene and recognise the Confederacy. But this never brought the British government anywhere near the point of intervention. In the end only Robert E. Lee's idea, of unrelenting aggression, with the object of breaking the Northern will to go on fighting, offered any hope; but in the winter of 1861–2 the South did not adopt it, unwisely content already to have dealt the North a stinging blow.

The North's military potential was so overwhelming that it should have been able to achieve a speedy victory. It was twice as populous as the South; it had command of the sea and its industrial strength was great and growing. After Lee's defeat at the Battle of Gettysburg in 1863, the strategic advantage passed to the North for good, and the South's doom was sure, so long as the Union's will held firm.

From a book about American history published in 1985.

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SOURCE C



A SHORT BLANKET.

OLD SECESH. "While I cover my Neck, I expose my Feet, and if I cover my Feet, I expose my Neck. Ugh!"

A cartoon published in the North in 1861. 'Old Secesh' represents the Confederacy.

SOURCE D



A cartoon from an English magazine, June 1862. The two figures represent the North and the South.

SOURCE E



A cartoon from an English magazine, August 1862.

SOURCE F

The army did all it could. I fear I asked it to achieve the impossible. When a military commander fails he should be removed. I have read criticism of me in the newspapers. I do not know how far this feeling extends in the army. My brother officers have been too kind to report it and so far the troops have been too generous to say anything. It is fair, however, to suppose that it does exist. Everything therefore points to the advantage of having a new commander. I know he will have as gallant and brave an army as ever existed to support his efforts.

From a letter from General Robert E. Lee to President Davis, 8 July 1863 (a few days after the Battle of Gettysburg).

SOURCE G

To ask me to replace you by someone who in my judgement would possess more of the confidence of the army, is to demand an impossibility.

From a letter from President Davis, replying to Lee's letter a few days later.

SOURCE H

After four year's arduous service, marked by unsurpassed courage and fortitude, the Army of Northern Virginia has been compelled to yield to overwhelming numbers and resources.

Robert E. Lee's farewell address to his soldiers at Appomattox in April 1865, just before he surrendered to General Grant.

SOURCE I

When we came on the 'Burnt Country', as it is well named by the natives, I could better understand the desperation of these poor people. I almost felt as if I should like to hang a Yankee myself. The fields are trampled down and the road was lined with carcasses of horses, hogs and cattle, that the invaders had shot down to starve out the people and prevent them from making their crops. All the dwellings still standing showed signs of pillage. Here and there lone chimney-stacks, nicknamed 'Sherman's Sentinels', told of homes reduced to ashes.

An account, by a local woman, of the results of Sherman's march across Georgia in the autumn of 1864.

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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 sources agree? Explain your answer using details of the sources. [7]

2 Study Source C.

Why was this source published in 1861? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

3 Study Sources D and E.

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

4 Study Sources F and G.

Does Source F make you surprised by what Davis wrote in Source G? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

5 Study Source H.

Why do you think General Lee said this? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [7]

6 Study **all** the sources.

Do these sources provide convincing evidence that the North won the Civil War because of its stronger financial position? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

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Option B: 20th Century topic

WHO WAS TO BLAME FOR THE CRISIS IN POLAND IN THE EARLY 1980s?

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

Background Information

By 1980 the Polish people were suffering from rising prices and food shortages. A strike in the shipyard at Gdansk developed into a broader protest against the Polish government. In 1980 agreement was reached between the strikers, led by Lech Walesa, and the government. The right to strike and to form trade unions independent of the government was agreed, while the strikers accepted the leading role of the Communist Party and Poland's membership of the Russian bloc.

Walesa quickly formed Solidarity – a new, independent trade union, which soon had 10 million members. Despite the agreement, strikes continued throughout 1980 and 1981. In December 1981 General Jaruzelski, the Prime Minister, introduced martial law. The Solidarity leaders were arrested and imprisoned and demonstrations were forbidden. A little later Solidarity was banned.

Who was to blame for this crisis? Was it the Soviet Union, determined to keep Poland under its control, and not allowing the Polish government to make any concessions? Was it the Polish government, with its failed economic policies, trying to rule through repression? Or was it Solidarity, interfering in politics, threatening Communist rule and the position of the Soviet Union?

SOURCE A

Poland Suffers: Poles rapidly were made aware by the heavy-handed Communist authorities, commanded by General Jaruzelski, of the very serious consequences to follow. Numerous members of the rapidly growing democracy movement, led by Solidarity and Lech Walesa, were to suffer intimidation, harassment, prosecution, severe physical punishment, the mass internment of 10 000 activists, and even an estimated 100 tragic deaths – all at the bloody hands of the reactionary Communists.

Even the small freedoms that the people had previously enjoyed were officially extinguished. The ruthless Communist regime was determined to strangle the infant democracy movement while it was still in the cradle. Poland, in effect, had now become one huge prison camp with every citizen a prisoner, guarded by the Polish Army. The secret police and riot police, all equally dreaded and detested in Poland, were given a free hand to subdue the people. The long and brutal period of martial law had begun and was to last until 22 July 1983.

An eye-witness account of events in 1981. This account is from a Polish website commemorating the period of martial law.

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SOURCE B

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SOURCE C

As long as imperialist states and forces exist, they will not stop trying to split and destroy the revolutionary movement through counter-revolution, to reverse the achievements of the working class. Murder, terror, and civil war are the open and most brutal form of counter-revolution. Let us remember the murders committed by Fascist elements in Hungary in 1956, led by imperialist spies, and the daily flood of lies, slanders, and disinformation that pours down not only on the citizens of their own countries, but also on the socialist states.

Counter-revolution appeals to weak elements with slogans of 'a socialism without communists', or 'independent trade unions' as a way of causing anti-socialist activities. Today, imperialist centres, especially in West Germany, are using determined counter-revolutionaries such as Walesa, who want a 'Poland without communism'.

Counter-revolution learned from its defeats in Hungary in 1956, in Czechoslovakia in 1968, and Poland in 1970. It works now with a number of long-range plans. In close cooperation with imperialist secret services, reactionary forces have worked out a three-step plan for Poland:

- Economic and political chaos will be caused by economic sabotage, strikes, and demands for higher wages
- A new anti-communist opposition will be established in the form of 'free and independent' trade unions
- Constant political pressure and threats of strikes aim at reducing and finally eliminating the influence of the party in the state and society.

That is the goal of counter-revolution in Poland!

Material prepared by the Polish government to be used by government supporters when talking to friends and workmates, November 1980.

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SOURCE D

In July and August of 1980 a wave of strikes swept throughout Poland. The issue at stake was then something much bigger than living and working conditions.

In the brief history of those eventful years, the Gdansk Agreement stands out as a great charter of the rights of the working people which nothing can ever destroy. We have won the right to association in trade unions independent from the authorities, founded and shaped by the working people themselves. Our union – 'Solidarity' – has grown into a powerful movement for social and moral liberation. The people freed from the bondage of fear called for reforms. We fought a difficult struggle for our existence. 'Solidarity', as a trade union movement, did not reach for power, nor did it turn against the established constitutional order. During the 15 months of 'Solidarity's' legal existence nobody was killed or wounded as a result of its activities.

We shall not yield to violence. We shall not be deprived of union freedoms. The announced trials of eleven leading members of our movement must never be held. All those already sentenced for their union activities should be released from prison. As a nation we have the right to decide our own affairs, to mould our own future. This does not pose any danger to anybody. Despite everything that has been going on in my country during the past two years, I am still convinced that we have no alternative but to come to an agreement, and that the difficult problems which Poland is now facing can be resolved only through a real dialogue between state authorities and the people.

From the lecture given by Lech Walesa when he was awarded the Nobel Prize for peace in 1983.

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SOURCE E



A poster published in Poland in 1981. It says 'The first result of the Ninth Communist Party Congress: a cut in food rations'.

SOURCE F



A cartoon published in Britain in April 1981. The caption says, 'A dog frightened a hare out of a bush, but the dog found himself being left behind by the hare.' Brezhnev is saying to the Polish Government, 'How surprising a little creature like that being faster than you.' 'It's one thing' answered the dog, 'running because you want to catch something. And quite another thing running to save your own skin.'

SOURCE G



A cartoon published in December 1981. The person in the tank is saying to Solidarity, 'Don't say we didn't warn you – this crisis is entirely your fault!'

SOURCE H

At first the Soviets gave us an ultimatum: either bring the situation under control or we will cut off supplies of oil, gas and other raw materials. I was summoned three times to the Soviet Union. On the last occasion, in September 1981, I was shown army manoeuvres all along the Polish border. The Soviet army leader, Marshal Ustinov, informed me that what was happening in Poland was intolerable. We had to convince our allies that we would not undermine the Warsaw Pact or allow the state to be destabilised. The introduction of martial law allowed us to avoid military intervention.

General Jaruzelski speaking in 1995 in an interview with a Western author.

SOURCE I

The decline of the Communist Party was most visible in Poland. An official report in 1981 on the causes of the Solidarity crisis reported on the widening gap between the declared aims of socialism and the results achieved. Solidarity proved that the workers of Gdansk took socialism seriously – they criticized the privileges of Party bosses and showed no signs of interest in capitalism. It was because the Party was no longer a convincing guide to socialism that the attack it faced was so devastating. The principal reason for the introduction of martial law in December 1981 was not the radicalism of Solidarity but the weakness of the Polish Communist Party. Party numbers fell from 3.1 million in 1980 to 2.1 million in 1984.

From a history book published in 1998.

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[Turn over

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

3 Study Source E.

Why do you think this source was published in 1981? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [7]

4 Study Sources F and G.

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

5 Study Source H.

How far do you believe General Jaruzelski in Source H? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

6 Study **all** the sources.

Do these sources provide convincing evidence that the Soviet Union was responsible for the crisis in Poland? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

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