UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL EXAMINATIONS
International General Certificate of Secondary Education

HISTORY **0470/23**

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 then answer **all** of the questions on that topic.
Option A: 19th Century topic [p2–p6]
Option B: 20th Century topic [p7–p12]

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 **12** printed pages.

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Option A: 19th Century topic

DID THE SOUTH HAVE NO CHANCE OF WINNING THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR?

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

Background Information

Historians disagree over whether the South ever had a chance of winning the Civil War. Some claim that it had many advantages at the beginning of the war. They argue that the South could have won but made mistakes and misjudgements, while the North was better led and had a clearer strategy. However, many historians have focused on the strength of the North at the beginning of the war and argue that a Northern victory was inevitable. Did the South really have no chance of winning the war?

SOURCE A

It is not too much to say that the South held – or appeared to hold – at least two of the main advantages in 1861. The Confederacy did not need to win in order to win; it was enough if it continued fighting long enough to weary the North. The North, in order to win, had to conquer the South – invade and hold an area so great as all western Europe. The Confederacy could afford to lose all the battles, if only it could persuade the North that the price of victory was too high.

The second advantage was foreign intervention. The leaders of the Confederacy counted with confidence on the intervention of Britain and France on their behalf. The South also commanded interior lines and the ability to shift its smaller forces rapidly from one front to another. It was on the defensive, and that position more than made up for numerical inferiority.

Why did the South lose? Was it because the Confederacy was hopelessly outnumbered? But it was, in fact, able to put as many soldiers into action in battle as the Union until 1864. Was it finances? The financial explanation merely begs the larger question: Why was the Confederacy without money? Was it transportation? The South had a much smaller railroad mileage than the North, but it enjoyed interior lines and had advantages in water communication. Southern transportation facilities were not, in fact, inadequate; the real question is why the South failed to utilize them, or permitted them to disintegrate. Or was the fault, perhaps, in Jefferson Davis, so temperamental, so arrogant? He took the conduct of the war into his own hands; he intervened in the military; he had favourites, he alienated State governors; he never won the affection of the Southern people. Yet on balance, Davis emerges as a good President – certainly as good as the Confederacy could have selected at that time: tireless, courageous, intelligent, right on most issues far more often than his critics were.

From a history book published in 1960.

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SOURCE B

In leadership the Union was clearly superior. Lincoln was an abler and a stronger man than Davis. The North developed at an early stage an overall plan of strategy. The South was unable to accomplish this. We need to remind ourselves that ways of making war are always the product of cultures. For the nationalistic North it was comparatively easy to achieve a broad view of war. But it was natural for the localistic South to adopt a narrow view and to fight a conservative war. Confederate strategy was almost wholly defensive, and was designed to guard the whole of the country. Probably the South's best chance to win its independence by a military decision was to attempt a mass offensive. But the restrictions of Southern culture prevented this. Just as defence was the worst strategy for the South, offence was the best strategy for the North. This was the strategy that Lincoln had pressed upon his generals almost from the beginning.

For the North to win, it had to make good use of only a fraction of its economic potential. Its material strength was so much greater that it could almost defeat the South during the war years with one hand tied behind its back. The North actually grew in material strength, while the South wasted away. By 1864 the Confederacy was not yet beaten on the field of battle, but already economic exhaustion was setting in behind the lines. Economic rather than strictly military superiority was the basic reason for the ultimate victory of the North. Its vast economic power made the Union armies the best fed, the best clothed, the best cared for that the world had ever seen. The economic might made it possible for the North to field stronger forces when the final test came at every crucial point.

From a history book published in 1960.

SOURCE C

We shall have the enormous advantage of fighting on our own territory and for our very existence. All the world over, are not one million men defending themselves at home against invasion, stronger in a mere military point of view, than five million invading a foreign country?

Confederate diplomat, John Sidell, speaking in July 1861.

SOURCE D

You have no doubt wondered that I have not carried out that policy which I intended of fighting our battles on the fields of the enemy instead of allowing him to fight them on ours. This is the result of the power of the enemy. They had at their command all the wealth of seventy years – the military stores which had been laid up during that time. They had grown rich from the taxes paid by you. We have entered upon a conflict with a nation vastly superior to us in numbers. In face of the facts the wonder is that we have done so much. In the first year of the war our forces were sent into battle poorly armed, and were far inferior in numbers to the enemy.

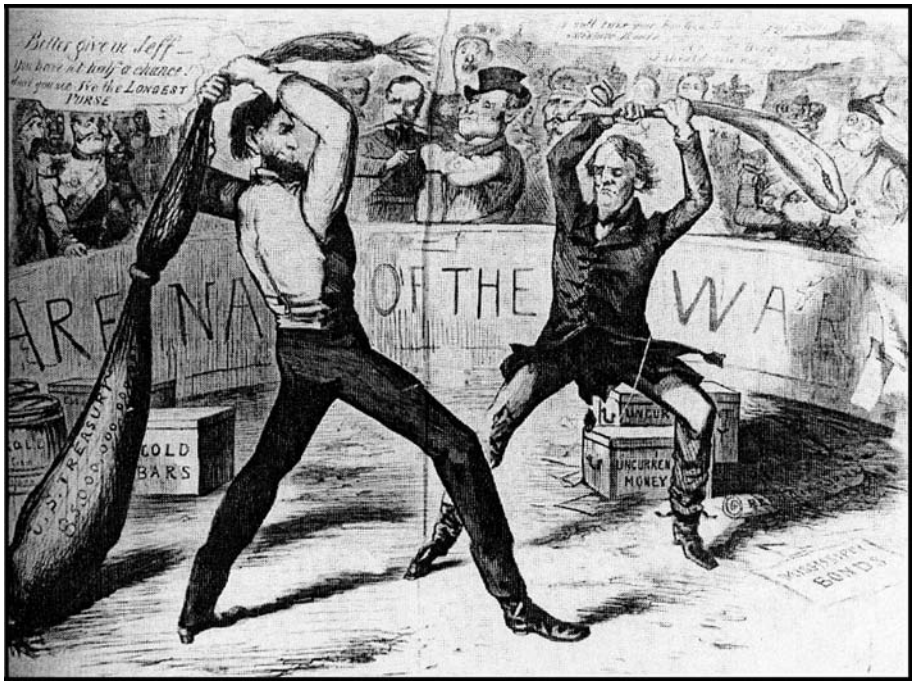
Thus in every battle it was necessary for us to adopt some action to enable us to maintain our ground. The only action was to call on our gallant men and nobly did they respond to the call. They asked that the men who had stayed at home should be forced to meet the enemy. From this resulted the conscription act. I regret to say there has been some prejudice excited against that act. If every young man must serve for two or three years in the army, he will be prepared when war comes to take his place in the ranks. To such a system I am sure there can be no objection.

Confederate President, Jefferson Davis speaking in December 1862 to the Mississippi legislature. This was part of a speaking tour he was making through the whole of the Confederacy.

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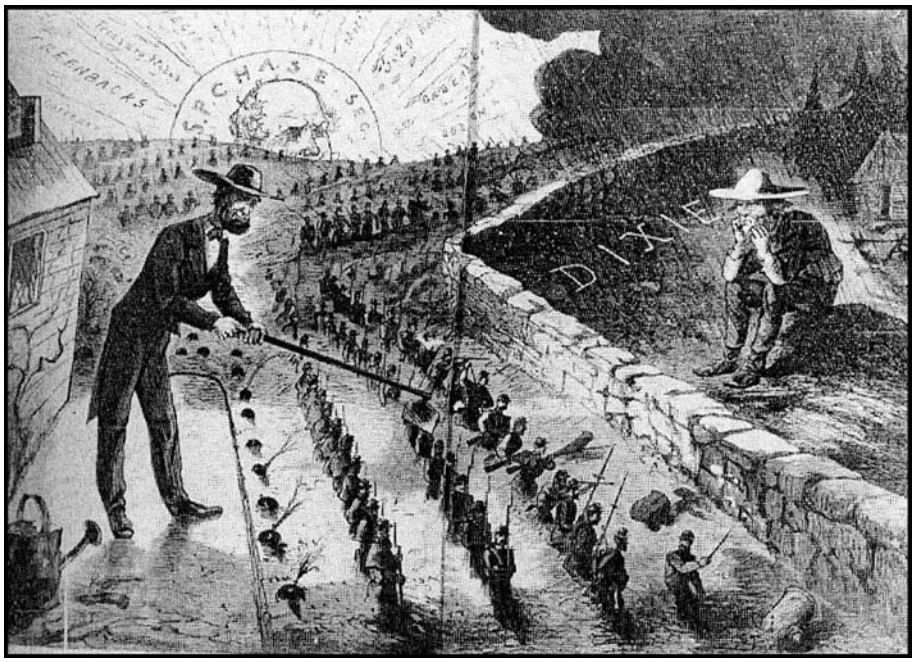
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SOURCE E



A cartoon published in a Northern magazine in 1864. The caption reads, 'Final issue of the war – The longest purse wins.' Some of the audience are saying, 'Better give in Jeff. You have not a half a chance.'

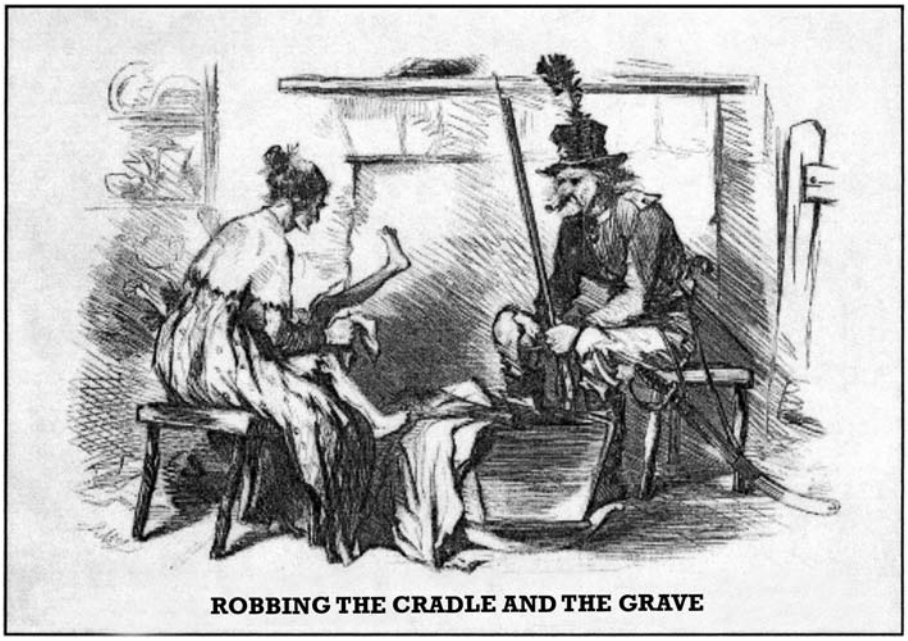
SOURCE F



An American cartoon published in April 1864. S. P. Chase was responsible for financing the war for the Union. The caption says, 'Symptoms of spring – Uncle Abram's crop begins to shoot.'

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SOURCE G



An American cartoon published in December 1864. The Southern Matron is saying, 'Well father, you've got to go, I see. Jeff Davis had better take little Pete along too. You'd both be just the age for two soldiers. You're sixty-nine years old, and he's one. That's exactly thirty-five on an average.'

SOURCE H

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

From Robert E Lee's farewell speech to his troops when surrendering to Grant in April 1865.

SOURCE I

Davis had an uncontrollable tendency to slide away from the chief points to minor issues, so the amount of business accomplished bore little relation to the time consumed and frequently a cabinet meeting would exhaust four or five hours without deciding anything; while the desk of every chief of a Department was covered with papers demanding his attention.

Stephen Mallory writing after the war about Jefferson Davis. Mallory had been in charge of the Confederate navy and had often been disappointed by the small amounts of money the Confederate government gave to the navy.

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

2 Study Sources C and D.

Would John Sidell (Source C) have been surprised by Source D? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

3 Study Source E.

Why was this cartoon published in 1864? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

4 Study Sources F and G.

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

5 Study Sources H and I.

Is one of these sources more reliable than the other? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

6 Study **all** the sources.

Do these sources provide convincing evidence that the South had no chance of winning the Civil War? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

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Option B: 20th Century topic

HOW IMPORTANT WAS LECH WALESA?

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

Background Information

Poland was always one of the most independent of the Soviet satellite states. This was partly due to a tradition of opposing invaders and to the strength of the Catholic Church in the country. There were major strikes and demonstrations in 1956 and 1970. Increases in food prices and a poor standard of living were constant grievances. From 1980, after a strike in the Gdansk shipyard, Solidarity, led by Walesa, became the first independent trade union in Eastern Europe and led the opposition to the Communist government.

At the end of the 1980s Soviet and Communist power in Eastern Europe, including Poland, began to collapse. How crucial a factor was Walesa?

SOURCE A

From November 1980 until December 1981 Poland lived in an excited, uneasy condition. Walesa's advisers – mindful of past mistakes and wary of provoking a backlash from the humiliated Communist leadership – urged caution. The self-imposed restraints paid off, up to a point. Political issues – disarmament, or foreign policy – were kept off Solidarity's public agenda. But under Communism, even 'non-political' tactics were bound to run up against the Party's reluctance to concede any real power. On 13 December 1981 Jaruzelski declared martial law in Poland. Solidarity's leaders were swept up into prison.

The rise of Solidarity appears as the opening shot in the final struggle against Communism. But the Polish 'revolution' of 1980–81 is better understood as the last of a series of workers protests that began in 1970. But that is all they were. Price increases, protest strikes, the sympathy and support of the Catholic Church, these were all familiar. They did not in themselves promise the downfall of Communist power. Communism might be eroded from within or below, but it could not be overthrown. Open confrontation would be catastrophic. Yes, martial law was an admission of a certain kind of failure on the part of the authorities. But Communism was about power, and power lay not in Warsaw but in Moscow. The developments in Poland were only an exciting introduction to the story of Communism's collapse; they remained a sideshow. The real story was elsewhere.

From a history book published in 2005.

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SOURCE B

The strikes at Poland's Gdansk shipyard and the formation of the Solidarity movement brought the sharpest challenge to the Soviet system in Eastern Europe since the Prague Spring of 1968. The power of Solidarity lay in its threefold aims. The opposition to higher food prices rallied widespread support. The two demands for legalising strikes and allowing the broadcast of the Roman Catholic Church mass over state radio each Sunday rallied the working class, the Church and its supporters. The readiness of the Polish government to compromise gave Solidarity room to mobilise. But, to put pressure on the Polish government, the Soviet army held some threatening military manoeuvres and the KGB made it clear it was seriously alarmed. The Soviets were reassured by the appointment of Jaruzelski as Prime Minister, but when Polish leaders visited Moscow in March 1981, the Soviet government issued a plain warning that 'the Communist community is indivisible and its defence is the concern not just of each individual state, but of the Communist coalition as a whole.' In December 1981 Jaruzelski imposed martial law and the Polish army struck at Solidarity.

From a history book published in 1996.

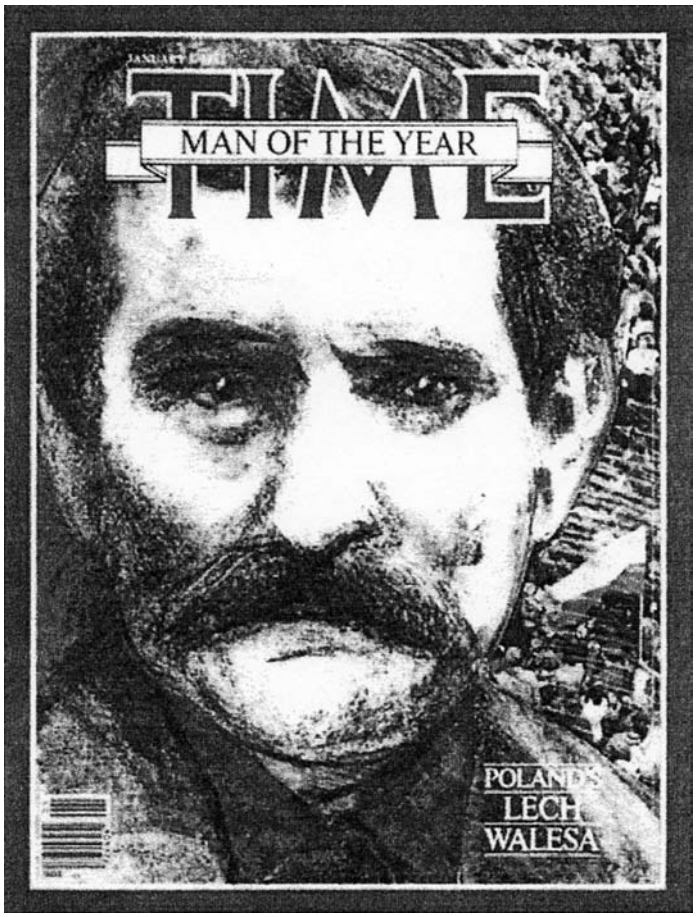
SOURCE C

What I remember most vividly from the Lenin Shipyard is not the leaders, Lech Walesa or Andrzej, but the figure of one ordinary striker. He was in his mid-twenties, with short cropped hair and piercing eyes. It was young men like him who would come into their own in Solidarity, and give the movement its extraordinary youthful energy and fearlessness. Then I remembered quite a different figure, a shy elderly clerk in the dispatch department of the docks. He was obviously afraid of what the police and army might do. He was afraid, but had still come to volunteer his services as an interpreter. Above all I remember a sense of being carried along on some mighty river, which led, majestically and inevitably, to the Gdansk Agreement, and to Solidarity.

From a book by a British historian who was in Poland in August 1980.
The book was published in 1983.

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SOURCE D



The front page of the American magazine 'Time', January 1982.

SOURCE E

Member of Communist Party: 'Comrade, what happened to Kania?'

The Military Commissar for Polish Radio and TV: 'As far as Kania is concerned there are suggestions … for example…um…er…by the Soviet Comrades who judge him very critically, not directly of course, but at meetings, you know what sort of meetings. That's why he isn't First Secretary any more. Personally, I was very critical of his activities at the time. It won't be for another good few years that we will be in a position to answer the question whether martial law was introduced at the right moment. Perhaps it was too late. Because all of us demanded decisive action from the beginning. Only history will tell who was right: us or Jaruzelski.'

A written account of a tape-recording of a meeting between a member of the Polish Communist Party and a Military Commissar. In March 1982 this account was published in a Polish underground journal. When it was published the Polish authorities claimed it was a forgery. Kania was General Secretary of the Polish Communist Party and was willing to talk to Solidarity until he was sacked in 1981 just before martial law was introduced.

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SOURCE F



A British cartoon showing Lech Walesa, published in December 1981.

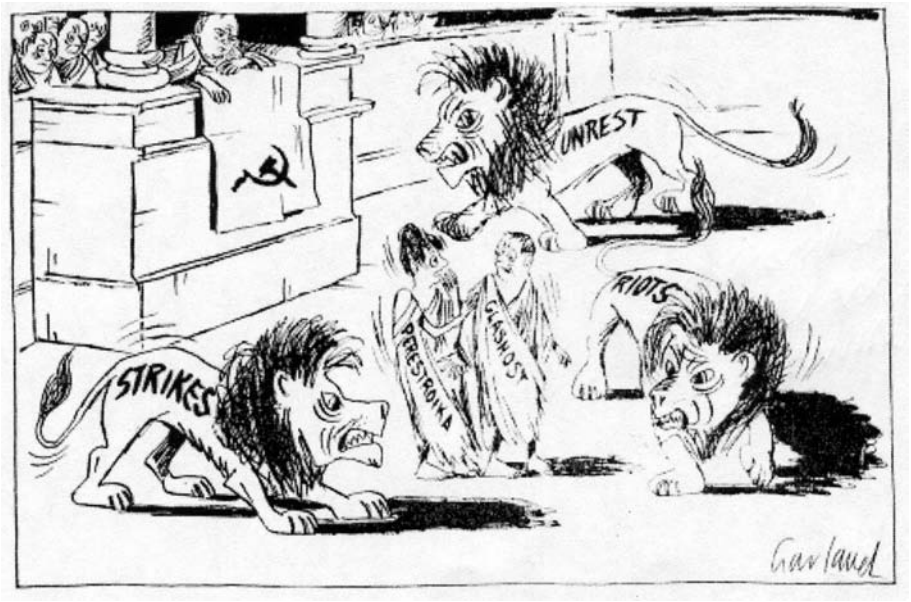
SOURCE G



A British cartoon showing Lech Walesa, published in January 1989.

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SOURCE H



A British cartoon published in 1988.

SOURCE I

If interviews with 'the man in the street' can be believed, the people in the former Soviet Union consider him a failure. History will be kinder. The Nobel Prize he received for ending the Cold War was well deserved. Every man, woman and child in this country should be eternally grateful. His statue should stand in the centre of every East European capital; for it was Gorbachev who allowed them their independence.

From an American newspaper reporting on Gorbachev's announcement in December 1991 of the break-up of the USSR.

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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 do you explain the different impressions given by these two sources? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

3 Study Source E.

Do you think the authorities were worried by the content of this source? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [7]

4 Study Sources F and G.

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

5 Study Sources H and I.

Do these two sources prove that Gorbachev was a failure? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

6 Study **all** the sources.

How far do these sources provide convincing evidence that Walesa was the crucial factor in developments in Eastern Europe? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

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