UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL EXAMINATIONS
International General Certificate of Secondary Education

HISTORY **0470/21**

Paper 2 **May/June 2011**

2 hours

Additional Materials: Answer Booklet/Paper

4145882315

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–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

WHY WAS THERE A REVOLUTION IN FRANCE IN 1848?

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

Background Information

In 1848 there were demands by the middle classes of Paris for political reform. They were disappointed by the lack of reform during the reign of Louis Philippe. Only about one per cent of the population had the vote. However, the working classes also had grievances. Following a financial crisis and bad harvests, unemployment in Paris increased rapidly. In February 1848 Louis Philippe fled into exile. A republic was declared and a provisional government was established. National Workshops to help the unemployed were set up by the new government. However, protests throughout France against the resulting higher taxes led the government to close the workshops. This led to more disturbances in Paris which were dealt with severely by the army during the 'June Days'. Some 500 people were killed during the fighting and about 2000 were shot afterwards. The government had used force against its own people and was accused of siding with the middle classes against the working classes. Was the 1848 revolution about middle-class demands for political reform or was it caused by working-class concerns such as unemployment and hunger?

SOURCE A

How far was Louis Philippe to blame for his own downfall? In February 1848 he banned a political banquet in Paris. On 22 February there were demonstrations by students and workers shouting 'Long live reform, down with Guizot!' On 23 February barricades were erected all over Paris. Troops clashed with demonstrators and 40 people were killed. On 24 February the royal palace was occupied by demonstrators and Louis Philippe abdicated.

These immediate events suggest that short-term political events explain why revolutions occur. However, most accounts of revolutions usually include longer-term factors, especially economic ones. In the case of the February Revolution there are two. Firstly, there was an economic depression which was caused by food shortages and a financial crisis which led to working-class unemployment and middle-class bankruptcies. The government was blamed for doing nothing. Secondly, two scandals involving former government ministers symbolised for many the corruption at the heart of the government. Dissatisfaction with the government began to grow. In order to escape the government's ban on political meetings, in 1847 some middle-class reformers held a political banquet. This could be described as a private, not a political, meeting. It was a great success and more were held. The government's attempt to deal with political banquets was the direct cause of the events of February 1848.

From a history book published in 2000.

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SOURCE B

There was no reason to fear any threat to the social order from conditions in the countryside. Paris was another matter. The population of the capital was both growing and changing in character. Under Louis Philippe the population of Paris grew rapidly. There had been little industrial development to give work to these extra workers, and little increased agricultural production to provide food for the extra mouths. There is no coincidence in the fact that two countries which escaped serious trouble in 1848 were the only two in which industrialization had made substantial progress – Britain and Belgium.

The most important cause of the revolution lies in an agricultural and economic crisis. Poor corn harvests led to violence. Then typhus broke out, to be followed in 1848 by cholera. All this misery was increased by mass unemployment. This was felt most keenly in the cities – a significant factor since the revolution was essentially an urban movement.

The fall of the July monarchy was as much a surprise to the opponents of the King as it was to Louis Philippe himself. The last six or seven years of Louis Philippe's reign were remarkably peaceful. There were no important revolts. However, the appearance of a few barricades in 1848 persuaded him to dismiss Guizot. As the violence continued Louis Philippe failed to use the army of 80 000 troops and left Paris, abandoning the Tuileries to a fury of looting and destruction by the mob.

From a history book published in 1961.

SOURCE C

I cannot find among us today, in the actual state of society, any real and serious motive worthy of a free and sensible country, to justify the proposed electoral reform.

I am, for my part, a decided enemy of universal suffrage. I look upon it as the ruin of democracy and liberty.

Guizot, Louis Philippe's chief minister, speaking in 1842.

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SOURCE D



A French illustration from 1848 commenting on the events of that year.

SOURCE E

In the name of the French people:

A reactionary government has just been overthrown by the heroism of the people in Paris. The government has fled, leaving behind a trail of blood.

The blood of the people has flowed, but this time the people will not be deceived. It has won a national and popular government in accord with the rights, the progress and the will of this great nation.

A provisional government is for the moment invested with the task of assuring and organising the national victory. With the capital of France on fire, the justification for the present provisional government must be sought in the public safety. All France will understand this and lend it the support of its patriotism.

The Provisional Government wishes to establish a republic – subject to the people who will be immediately consulted.

The unity of the nation; the government of the nation by itself; liberty, equality and fraternity as fundamental principles and 'the people' as our watchword; these constitute the democratic government which France owes to itself and which our efforts shall secure for it.

From a proclamation by the Provisional Government in February 1848.

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SOURCE F

The Provisional Government decrees that the Tuileries shall serve as a home for retired workers. It pledges itself to guarantee employment for all citizens.

The Provisional Government decrees that all articles pledged at the pawn shops since the first of February, consisting of linen, garments, or clothes, upon which the loan does not exceed ten francs, shall be given back to those who pledged them.

The Provisional Government of the republic decrees the immediate establishment of national workshops.

Decrees issued by the Provisional Government soon after it came to power in February 1848.

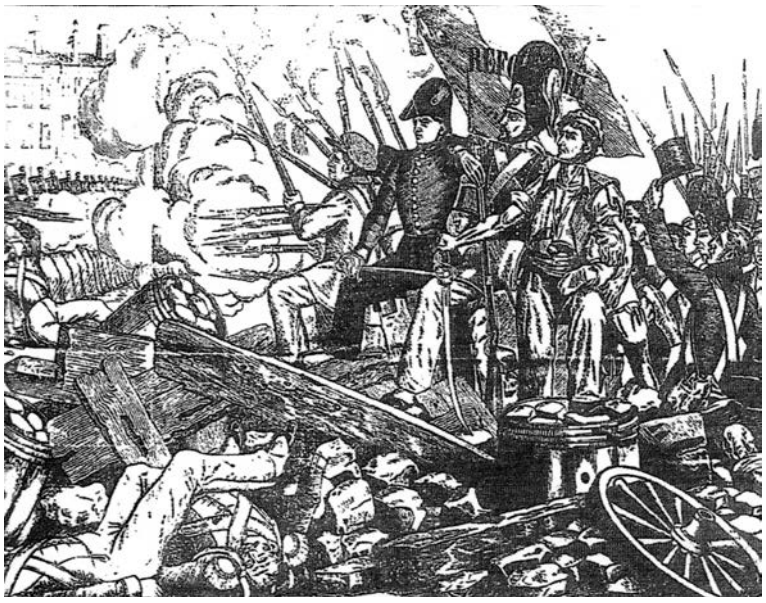
SOURCE G

Excitement and hostility are still at a high pitch in the political groups. The possibility of rebellion is still considered as serious, imminent and inevitable. The clubs have reached no decision about an armed uprising. But the Central Club for the Rights of Man has resolved to use all possible means to summon the people out on to the streets in order to bring pressure on the representatives. It is plain that they have not the confidence to start a battle. But their aim is to organise things in such a way that they will be maltreated by the national guard. Then they will have a good justification for defending themselves – and for attacking in their turn.

From a police report on events in Paris, 3 May 1848.

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SOURCE H



A drawing from the time, of the barricades in Paris in February 1848. On the flag is the word 'REFORM'.

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

2 Study Sources C and D.

How far would Guizot (Source C) have agreed with the artist of Source D? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

3 Study Source E.

How useful is this source as evidence about events of February 1848? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

4 Study Sources F and G.

Does Source F make you surprised by Source G? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [7]

5 Study Source H.

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

6 Study **all** the sources.

How far do these sources provide convincing evidence that the 1848 revolution in France was caused by economic factors? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

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Option B: 20th Century topic

WHY DID THE AMERICANS INTRODUCE THE MARSHALL PLAN?

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

Background Information

After the Second World War the USA became worried about the growth of Soviet power in Europe. In 1947 General George Marshall suggested a European Recovery Plan, usually known as the Marshall Plan. The American Congress was reluctant to agree to it because of the enormous sums of money involved, and its debates about the Plan dragged on for months. It was not until April 1948, shortly after Communists took power in Czechoslovakia, that Congress agreed to spend billions of dollars to fund the Plan.

Stalin regarded the Marshall Plan as an attempt by America to control Europe. However, when a meeting was held in Paris in July 1947 to consider the Plan, Molotov, the Soviet Foreign Minister, attended. When a second conference was planned for later in the month, Stalin instructed the Soviet satellite countries not to attend. In response to Marshall Aid he formed Cominform.

Was the Marshall Plan a genuine attempt to help Europe and protect it from Communism or was it to strengthen American power and the American economy?

SOURCE A

The so-called Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan are particularly glaring examples of the manner in which the principles of the United Nations are violated, of the way in which the organization is ignored.

The Marshall Plan conflicts sharply with the principles expressed by the General Assembly in its resolution of 11 December 1946, which declares that relief supplies to other countries ‘should at no time be used as a political weapon’. It is becoming more and more evident to everyone that the implementation of the Marshall Plan will mean placing European countries under the economic and political control of the United States.

As is now clear, the Marshall Plan is really a version of the Truman Doctrine adapted to the conditions of postwar Europe. In bringing forward this plan, the United States government apparently counted on the cooperation of the governments of the United Kingdom and France to pressure the European countries in need of relief into giving up their right to plan their national economies in their own way. The United States also counted on making all these countries directly dependent on the interests of American businesses, which are striving to avoid the approaching depression by increasing exports to Europe.

It is becoming more and more evident to everyone that the implementation of the Marshall Plan will mean placing European countries under the economic and political control of the United States and direct interference by the latter in the internal affairs of those countries. An important feature of this Plan is the attempt to confront the countries of Eastern Europe with a bloc of Western European states including Western Germany. The intention is to make use of Western Germany and its heavy industry as one of the most important economic bases for American expansion in Europe, in disregard of the national interests of the countries which suffered from German aggression.

Andrei Vyshinsky, the Soviet Union spokesman at the United Nations, speaking at the United Nations in September 1947.

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SOURCE B

We propose a plan of European recovery, open to all nations which co-operate in such a plan, based upon a strong production effort, the expansion of foreign trade, the creation of internal financial stability, and the development of economic co-operation.

Our policy is not directed against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos. Governments, political parties or groups which seek to perpetuate human misery in order to profit politically will encounter the opposition of the United States.

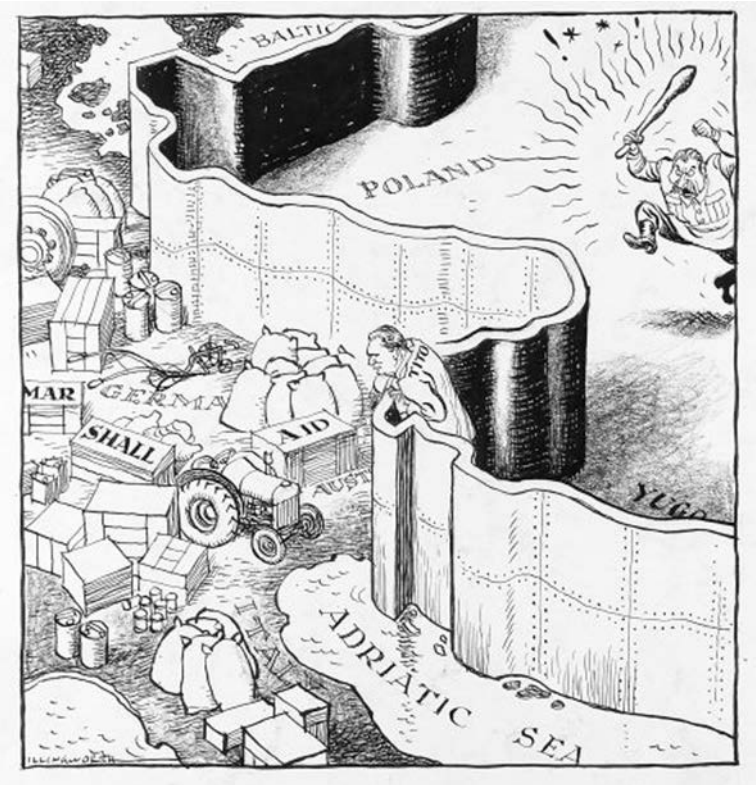
From a speech by General Marshall in 1947, announcing the Marshall Plan.

SOURCE C

The Soviet Union and its agents have destroyed the independence and democratic character of a whole series of nations in Eastern and Central Europe. It is this ruthless course of action, and the clear design to extend it to the remaining free nations of Europe, that have brought about the critical situation in Europe today. The tragic death of the Republic of Czechoslovakia has sent a shock wave through the civilised world. There are times in world history when it is far wiser to act than to hesitate. There is some risk involved in action – there always is. But there is far more risk in failure to act.

From a speech by President Truman to the US Congress, March 1948.
He was asking Congress to approve the Marshall Plan.

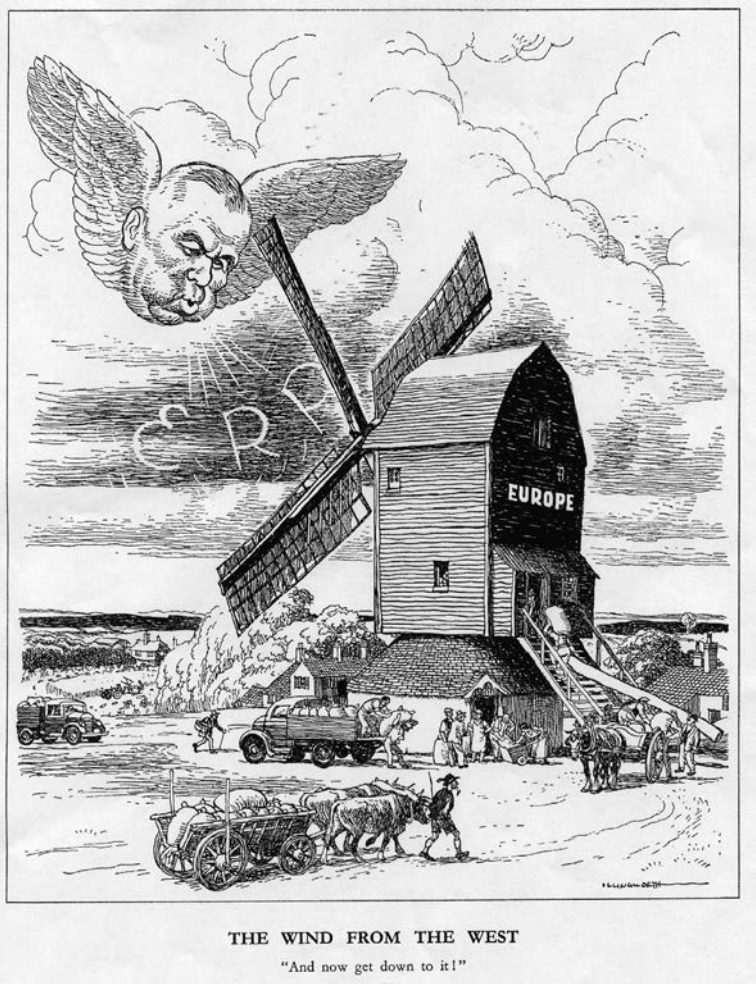
SOURCE D



A cartoon published in a British newspaper in June 1948.

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SOURCE E



A cartoon about the Marshall Plan published in a British magazine in July 1948.

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SOURCE F



A cartoon published in Czechoslovakia in 1949. The title of the cartoon is 'General Marshall's Plan in practice.' The harnesses Marshall holds are labelled 'for the French' and 'for the Germans'.

SOURCE G

Of course it was taken very seriously. I should say there were conflicting feelings. Molotov was willing to agree to discuss the question. He understood the Soviet Union needed help. In his reply he noted that reconstruction was everyone's main aim, and the United States' offer of help should be welcomed.

Stalin, with his suspicious nature, didn't like it. 'This is a ploy by Truman. They don't want to help us. What they want is to infiltrate European countries,' he said. But Molotov insisted on his view and went to the Paris conference in 1947. Stalin, meanwhile, received information that the Americans did not want us to take part. Stalin became even more suspicious and moved to stop the countries friendly to us taking part. The Czechs planned to go to the conference, so Stalin summoned their leaders to Moscow. Very severe pressure was put on them. The Soviet Union and the socialist-orientated countries stayed away from Paris. The US never really wanted the Soviet Union and its satellites to benefit from Marshall Aid.

Vladimir Yerofeyev, being interviewed in the late 1990s. Yerofeyev was a senior official in the Soviet Foreign Ministry at the time of the Marshall Plan.

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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 Source A.

How useful is this source to a historian studying the Marshall Plan? Explain your answer using details of the source. [6]

2 Study Sources B and C.

How far does Source B suggest that Truman was lying in Source C? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [9]

3 Study Sources D and E.

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

4 Study Source F.

Why was this cartoon published in 1949? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [7]

5 Study Source G.

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

6 Study **all** the sources.

How far do these sources provide convincing evidence that the Marshall Plan was designed to increase American power and help the American economy? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

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