UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL EXAMINATIONS
International General Certificate of Secondary Education

HISTORY **0470/23**

Paper 2 **October/November 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–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

HOW FAR WAS THE FAILURE OF RECONSTRUCTION THE FAULT OF THE SOUTH?

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

Background Information

The failure of Reconstruction is one of the most controversial issues in American history. Some historians argue that the North was to blame by imposing a harsh rule on the South, including giving the freed slaves the right to vote. This led to black voters and corrupt politicians passing laws to benefit themselves, and to Carpetbaggers invading the South to rob it. It was therefore not surprising when white Southerners reacted to these events. Some historians have blamed President Johnson for failing to go far enough, and for compromising with the South too much.

The other side of the debate places the blame on the refusal of the South to accept that it had been defeated, and on its racial prejudices. These arguments claim that the South obstructed all attempts at Reconstruction and tried to recreate pre-war Southern society. Some historians have seen the failure as inevitable because the aims of Reconstruction – to bring the South back into the Union and to achieve justice for the freed slaves, directly conflicted with each other.

Why did Reconstruction fail?

SOURCE A

If a genuine opportunity ever existed for a reconstruction policy which would provide both a measure of justice to black Americans and a tough but not unreasonable settlement for the defeated South, it was almost certainly in 1865, in the immediate aftermath of the war. Shattered by defeat, the South might have accepted a firm hand at this stage, and Northerners, relieved that the bloodshed was over, might have found the right blend of justice and charity. But the chance was missed and the South, having accepted the remarkably lenient terms offered by President Johnson's programme, was bitter and resentful when confronted with much stiffer conditions in 1866 and 1867. Lincoln was sorely missed and Andrew Johnson had much to answer for.

The problem went far deeper, however, than personal failings or political mistakes. Because of the obstinacy of the white South, the divisions within the victorious North, and the racial prejudices of both, any approach to move to one of the conflicting objectives, mercy towards a defeated foe, and justice for freed slaves, obstructed achievement of the other.

From a book published in 1987.

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SOURCE B

Reconstruction can only be judged a failure. Among the host of explanations for this outcome, a few seem especially significant. Events far beyond the control of Southern Republicans – the nature of the national credit and banking systems, the Depression of the 1870s, the stagnation of world demand for cotton – severely limited the prospects for far-reaching economic change. The early rejection of federally sponsored land reform left in place a planter class still able to bring its prestige to bear against Reconstruction. The failure of the Republicans to develop an effective long-term appeal to white voters made it increasingly difficult for the Republicans to combat the racial politics of the Redeemers. None of these factors, however, would have proved decisive without the campaign of violence that turned the electoral tide in many parts of the South, and the weakening of Northern resolve.

From a history book published in 1988.

SOURCE C

We must think more than ever about reconstruction. The only aim is to get the seceded states back into their proper relationship with the Union. It is easier to do this without considering whether those states have ever been out of the Union.

The number of voters in Louisiana would be more satisfactory if it totalled 50 000 or 30 000, or even 20 000, instead of 12 000, as it does. It is also unsatisfactory to some that the vote is not given to coloured people. I would myself prefer that it were now given to the very intelligent, and those who serve our cause as soldiers.

Still, the question is not whether the Louisiana government, as it stands, is quite all that is desirable. The question is, will it be wiser to take it as it is and help to improve it, or reject it. Some 12 000 voters in the state have sworn loyalty to the Union.

Now if we reject them, we say to them you are worthless or worse.

From a speech by President Lincoln, April 1865, four days before he was assassinated.

SOURCE D

I spent most of the afternoon in a political caucus held for the purpose of considering the necessity for a new Cabinet and line of policy less conciliatory than that of Mr. Lincoln; and while everybody was shocked at his murder, the feeling was nearly universal that the accession of Johnson to the Presidency would prove a godsend to the country. Aside from Mr. Lincoln's known policy of tenderness to the Rebels his views of the subject of reconstruction were as distasteful as possible to Radical Republicans.

G W Julian, a Radical Republican Representative from Indiana,
writing in his memoirs which were published in 1884.

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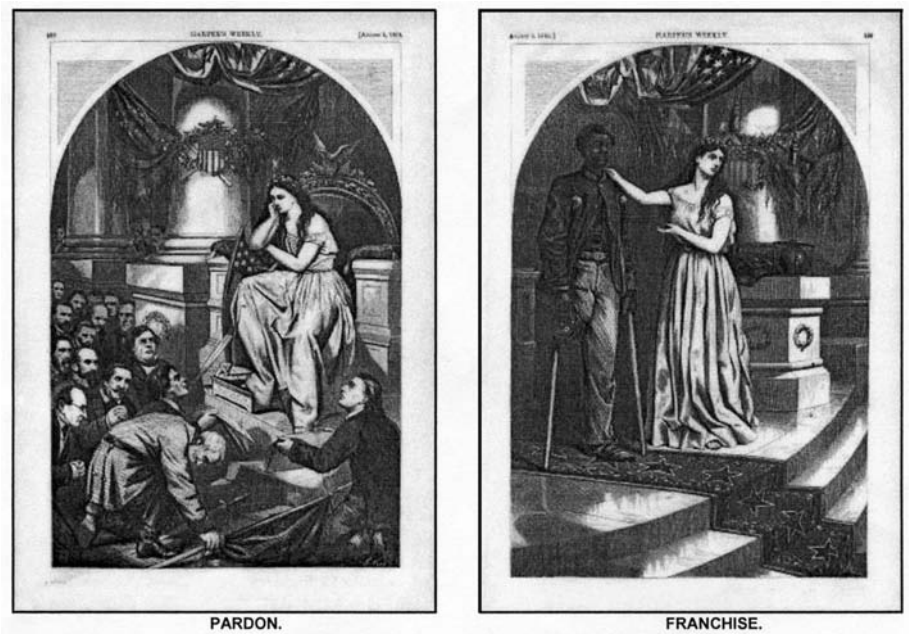
SOURCE E



COLUMBIA'S SEWING-MACHINE.

A cartoon published in Britain in 1864. Columbia was a name used for the United States. Mrs. Britannia (on the left) is saying, 'Ah, my dear Columbia, it's all very well; but I'm afraid you'll find it difficult to join that neatly.'

SOURCE F



Columbia - "Shall I Trust These Men, And Not This Man?"

A cartoon published in 1865. The woman represents the United States. She is saying 'Shall I trust these men, and not this man?' On the left are Confederate leaders asking to be pardoned. On the right is a black Union soldier who still cannot vote.

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SOURCE G

No more crafty and effective device for defrauding the southern labourers could be adopted than the one that gives them shopkeepers' tokens instead of their wages. It puts the labourer completely at the mercy of the land-owner and the shopkeeper. It gives the shopkeeper a customer who can trade with no other shopkeeper and the merchant can put him off with his poorest commodities at highest prices. Worse still, the labourer is brought into debt, and hence is kept always in the power of the land-owner.

It is said if the coloured people do not like the conditions under which their labour is demanded, let them leave and go elsewhere. A more heartless suggestion never came from an oppressor. For years paid in shop tokens, utterly worthless outside the shop to which they are directed, without a dollar in their pockets, they are brought by this crafty process into bondage to the land-owners.

From a speech by Frederick Douglass, delivered to the 'Convention of Coloured Men' in Louisville, 1883. Frederick Douglass was an ex-slave and had been a leading abolitionist. After the war he became a leading campaigner for equal rights for all.

SOURCE H

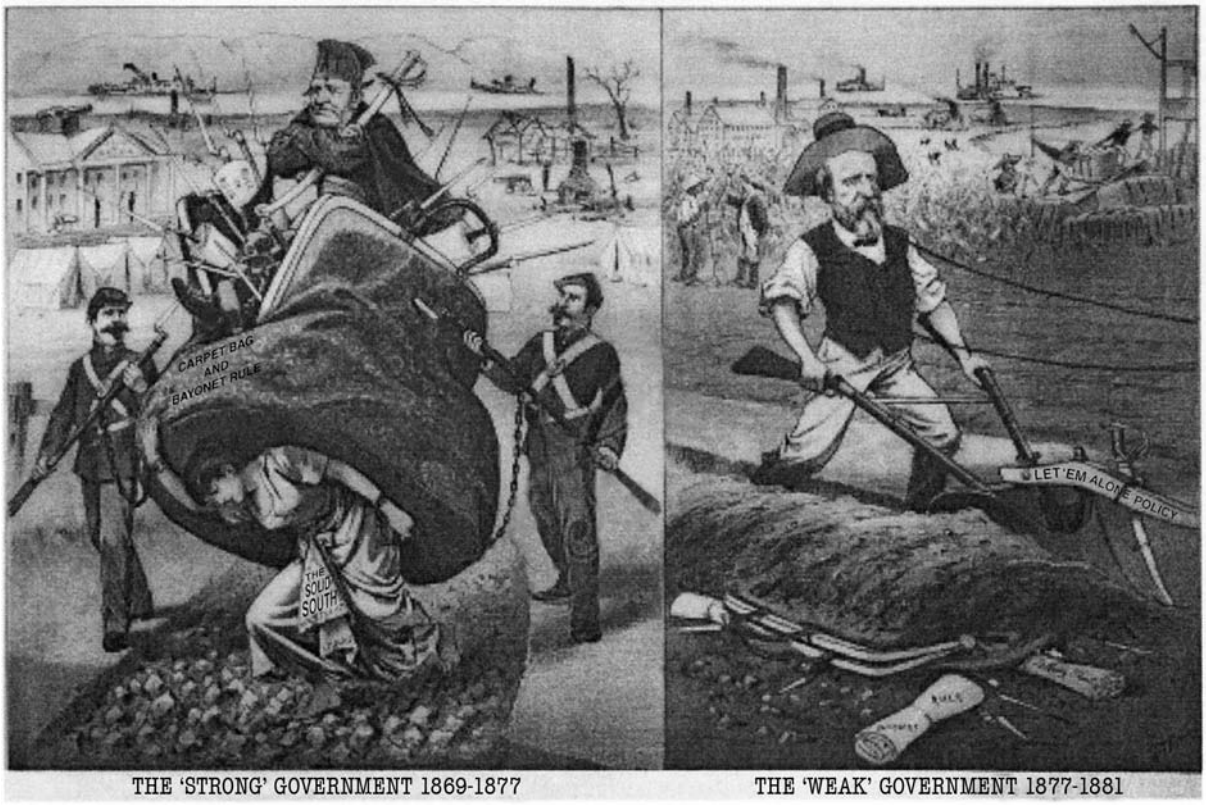
The legislation identified former slaves as a distinct class designated as 'persons of colour'. Various restrictions were imposed which placed persons of colour on a different level from the whites. In some of the states the inferior class were forbidden to carry weapons and they could be witnesses in court only in cases involving their own race. In Mississippi the freedmen could not own land. In Louisiana every negro had to be in regular service of a white person who was responsible for their behaviour.

To distrustful northern minds such legislation could look like an attempt to relegate the freedmen to a subjection only less complete than that from which the war had set them free. Yet, this legislation was a conscientious attempt to bring some sort of order out of social and economic chaos. Its general principles corresponded very closely to the facts. The freedmen could not, for generations, be on the same social, moral and intellectual level with the whites.

An account of the legislation passed by Southern states after the end of the Civil War, from a history book published in 1907.

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SOURCE I



A cartoon about Reconstruction published in 1881. On the left, the words above the figure labelled 'The Solid South' are 'Carpetbag and Bayonet Rule'. On the right, next to the figure in the foreground, it says 'Let 'em Alone Policy'.

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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.

Are you surprised by Source D? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

3 Study Sources E and F.

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

4 Study Sources G and H.

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

5 Study Source I.

Was this cartoon published in the North or the South? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [7]

6 Study **all** the sources.

How far do these sources provide convincing evidence that the failure of Reconstruction was the fault of the South? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

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Option B: 20th Century topic

DID GERMAN INTERVENTION IN SPAIN BENEFIT HITLER MORE THAN FRANCO?

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

Background Information

In February 1936 a Popular Front coalition of left-wing groups won elections in Spain and formed a government. The Nationalists, consisting of fascists, monarchists and conservatives, led by General Franco, opposed the Republican government, and Spain was soon divided in a civil war that lasted until 1939. Foreign powers set up a Non-Intervention Committee to prevent arms and men being sent to Spain. However, although the idea was generally welcomed, in practice it was ignored by several countries. Franco's requests for military help were answered by Germany and Italy, while the Soviet Union helped the Republicans. An 'International Brigade' of volunteers from many countries also fought on the government side.

There was much disagreement at the time about the importance of this foreign help. Germany, Italy and the Soviet Union claimed they were not intervening. The Nationalists also played down the significance of the help, as they wanted to be seen as winning the war for themselves. Germany had good reasons of its own for intervening. Did German intervention benefit Hitler more than it benefited Franco and the Nationalists?

SOURCE A

Most historians would agree that Franco could not have won the Civil War without the aid of Hitler and Mussolini which far surpassed the assistance that the Republicans received from the Soviet Union. Tanks and air power proved decisive factors in determining the outcome of the war, and the Nationalists held a superiority in both. In fact, Soviet aid began to dry up by 1938.

Although the level of international aid and intervention in Spain should not be exaggerated, its significance in terms of Europe's immediate future was great. Lessons were learned by all. Mussolini and Hitler viewed the lack of action of Britain and France as a further sign that parliamentary democracy was in terminal decline. The fascist dictators emerged with their reputations enhanced as champions of anti-communism and signed the Anti-Comintern Pact.

From a history book published in 1994.

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SOURCE B

German aid to Franco never equalled that given by Italy. Relative to Germany's own massive rearmament it was not much, but it paid handsome dividends to Hitler. It gave France a third unfriendly fascist power on its borders. It increased the internal strife in France between Right and Left and thus weakened Germany's principal rival in the West. Above all it made impossible a rapprochement of Britain and France with Italy, which the Paris and London governments had hoped for after the termination of the Abyssinian War, and thus drove Mussolini into the arms of Hitler.

From the very beginning Hitler's Spanish policy was shrewd, calculated and far-seeing. An examination of the captured German documents makes plain that one of Hitler's purposes was to prolong the Spanish Civil War in order to keep the Western democracies and Italy in dispute and draw Mussolini toward him.

Written by an American journalist who was in Germany during the 1930s.
This extract is from a book published in 1959.

SOURCE C

It is clear that the German Government does not want any more trouble in connection with the Spanish Civil War. It seems to believe that further support of the rebels will harm Franco-German and, above all, Anglo-German, relations. It prefers not to take any risks where no vital interests of its own are involved.

Interference with the internal affairs of other countries is used by Germany only when it is safe to do so and when it is vital to German interests. It is therefore unlikely that Germany will put any further obstacles in the way of an agreement for non-intervention.

From a British newspaper, August 1936.

SOURCE D

The Spanish Government has denounced the armed intervention of Germany and Italy in favour of the rebels in the Spanish Civil War – such intervention is the most serious violation of international law. This is an act of aggression against the Spanish Republic. The rebels have been recognised by Germany and Italy, which are preparing to co-operate with them in the naval sphere as they have done in the air and on land. These facts threaten to disturb international peace. On behalf of the Spanish Government, I therefore request Your Excellency to take the necessary steps to enable the Council to proceed to an examination of the situation outlined above.

The Spanish Government's appeal to the League of Nations, 27 November 1936.

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SOURCE E

In November 1936, when an International Brigade with three battalions was fighting for the Republicans, the Nationalists had with them a handful of Italian volunteers. At that time the Italian and German contingents with Franco were evenly balanced as regards numbers. Each had little more than 200 men, counting pilots, gunners and tank specialists. When International Brigades appeared on the Madrid Front, a German expeditionary volunteer corps was formed under the name of 'Condor Legion', members of which, recruited from the Luftwaffe, had landed in Spain in mid-November. They were mainly aircraft pilots and mechanics, anti-aircraft gunners, or specialists of various kinds. They numbered 4 500, or one-tenth of those serving with the Spanish National Air Force.

The Condor Legion eventually consisted of one group of combat planes, one group of scouts, a reconnaissance group, four heavy and two light anti-aircraft batteries and two companies of light tanks, with instructors for training purposes. At no time did they surpass a total of 5 000 men.

The information contained in the preceding pages contradicts reports that Franco's victory was due mainly to Italian and German help. The Italians and the Germans at no time represented more than 4 or 5 per cent of Franco's forces, and they provided our troops with war material that was not essential to victory, aeroplanes excluded. Much of Spain rallied to Franco's support. It is true that he sought and accepted help from Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. But the Nationalists were already strong and Nationalist Spain was not at the mercy of her allies. Spain is one of the world's great powers.

From a book by Luis Bolin published in 1967. Bolin worked for Franco as his Press and Intelligence Officer from 1936 to 1938.

SOURCE F

Hitler was, as he said more than once, interested in the 'continuation of the war'. It helped him create the Anti-Comintern Pact and the Rome-Berlin Axis. Towards the end of the Civil War Hitler actually admitted that he would like the most industrialised part of Spain to remain in Communist hands. A Red Catalonia would keep Mussolini busy and stop him from worrying about other things in Europe.

From a history book published in 2000.

SOURCE G

For the Nationalists the belief that they have the support of the two great 'Fascist Powers' is an immense encouragement. But it is also more than an encouragement because of the many weapons now in their hands.

Germany has a great interest in the victory of the Nationalists. Apparently it hopes to secure concessions in the Balearic Islands from them when they are in power. These islands play an important part in German plans for the future development of sea-power in the Mediterranean. The victory of the Nationalists would open the prospect for Germany of action in Western Europe. That is to say, a 'Fascist' Spain would, for Germany, be a means of 'turning the French flank' and of playing a part in the Mediterranean.

On the Spanish mainland Germany has a numerous and extremely well-organised branch of the National Socialist party. This branch has been strongly reinforced by newcomers from Germany during the last few weeks. It also has a powerful organisation for political and military espionage, which works behind a diplomatic and educational facade. Barcelona in particular has a large German population, the greater part of which is at the disposal of the National Socialists.

From a British newspaper, July 1936.

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SOURCE H



A cartoon published in Britain in July 1937. The figure behind the desk represents the British Government.

SOURCE I



A cartoon published in Britain in February 1939. The figures on the left represent the British and French Governments. The figures on the right are Mussolini, Franco and Hitler.

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.

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

3 Study Source E.

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

4 Study Sources F and G.

Must one of these sources be wrong? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

5 Study Sources H and I.

How similar are the messages of these two cartoons? 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 German intervention in Spain benefited Franco more than Hitler? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

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