

HISTORY

Paper 2

0470/23 May/June 2013 2 hours

Additional Materials: Answer Booklet/Paper

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–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 and 4 blank pages.



Option A: 19th Century topic

HOW FAR DID WHITE AMERICANS IN THE SOUTH SUFFER FROM RECONSTRUCTION?

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

Background Information

One of the main debates about Reconstruction is about the effect it had on whites in the South. President Lincoln started to introduce Reconstruction policies whenever a Confederate state came under the control of the Union army, and policies such as giving land to ex-slaves were tried in some of these states. However, when Johnson became President, he declared that Reconstruction was completed. This led to a struggle between the President and Republicans in Congress who wanted Radical Reconstruction. In 1867 Congress put the former Confederacy under the rule of the US army. This led to the freed slaves getting the vote, Republican state governments being elected and radical policies being pursued. Democrats opposed these developments and claimed there was much corruption, especially involving carpetbaggers from the North. In 1877 the Compromise between Democrats and Republicans led to the end of Reconstruction and the re-introduction of white supremacy in the South.

Did Reconstruction lead to whites in the South losing their power?

SOURCE A

In some respects Reconstruction can be seen as a success for Southern whites. Given the enormous destruction of the Civil War, the North had been remarkably generous. Most Southerners, even those who had held high office in the Confederacy, were quickly pardoned. Only one man was executed for war crimes. Jefferson Davis spent two years in prison but was then freed. White Southerners quickly resumed economic and political control. Except for slavery, there was no major confiscation of 'rebel' property. For decades to come, the Democratic Party, the political agency of white supremacy, controlled the South.

However, white Southerners had not escaped entirely. Control had been taken away from them for a few years and they had been forced to accept something like military rule. The Southern planter class particularly lost power. Emancipation and the decline of Southern land values resulted in the planters also losing much of their wealth.

From a book published in 1997.

SOURCE B

Content removed due to copyright restrictions.



A Democrat election campaign poster from 1866.

SOURCE D

There are groups of white men hunting freedmen. All those found on the roads or coming down the rivers are almost invariably murdered. The bewildered and terrified freedmen know not what to do - to leave the plantation is death; to remain is to suffer the increased burden imposed upon them by the cruel taskmaster, whose only interest is their labour, forced from them by every device an inhuman ingenuity can devise. Hence the lash and murder are used to intimidate those whose fear of an awful death causes them to remain.

A report by Captain Poillon of the Union army about events in Selma, Alabama, 1866.



A cartoon, entitled 'This is a White Man's Government' published in a Northern magazine in 1868. The figures standing represent different parts of the Democratic Party: an Irish immigrant, a white supremacist, and a financier from the North holding money to buy votes. The box in the bottom right corner is a ballot box. The caption to the cartoon says 'Democratic Party statement "We regard the Reconstruction Acts (so called) as unconstitutional, revolutionary and illegal".'

SOURCE F

Reconstruction was the most soul-sickening spectacle that Americans have ever been called upon to behold. In place of government by the most intelligent and virtuous part of the people for the benefit of the governed, here was government by the most ignorant and the most vicious part of the population for the benefit of the governing set.

It was a great wrong to put the white race of the South under the domination of the negro race. A black skin means membership in a race of men which has never of itself succeeded in subjecting passion to reason, has never, therefore, created any civilisation of any kind.

From a history book published in 1902. The author's parents had owned slaves.



SOURCE G

GOVERNMENT

A cartoon published in the USA in 1880. The illustration on the left shows President Grant sitting on a carpetbag. The words on the carpetbag are 'Carpetbag and Bayonet Rule'. The figure underneath the carpetbag is labelled 'The Solid South'. The soldiers are Union soldiers. The illustration on the right shows President Hayes who was elected President in 1876. He is getting rid of the carpetbag. Next to Hayes, the words are 'Let 'em Alone Policy'.

SOURCE H

Even when the Southern states were under the military, it should not be assumed that the government was corrupt or unfair towards the whites. The number of troops actually stationed in the whole region was very small. Even when the Federal troops intervened in the South, it was with care and with a concern for fairness to the whites. President Grant in 1871, very worried about the attacks of the Ku Klux Klan, pre vailed upon Congress to pass an act to allow him to suppress the violence. Only once, however, did the President use the powers which Congress granted. Perhaps the most common explanation for the ascendancy of the radicals and the blacks in Southern state governments is that some whites lost the right to vote. However, at no time were sufficient whites deprived of the vote to permit the blacks and Northerners to take over the governments.

From a history book published in 1959.

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 Source C.

Why was this source published in 1866? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

3 Study Source D.

Are you surprised by this source? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

4 Study Sources E and F.

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

5 Study Source G.

What is the cartoonist's message? 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 Reconstruction led to whites in the South losing their power? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

Option B: 20th Century topic

WERE THE BIG THREE IN AGREEMENT OVER WHAT TO DO ABOUT GERMANY?

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

Background Information

The talks to settle the peace after the First World War began in January 1919. The negotiations were dominated by Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau of France, Prime Minister David Lloyd George from Britain and President Woodrow Wilson of the USA. One of the most important issues to be settled was how Germany should be dealt with. The Treaty was finally signed in June 1919.

How far did these three leaders agree that Germany should be treated harshly?

SOURCE A

The peace negotiations at Paris are often interpreted as a struggle between the supporters of reconciliation, led by Wilson and Lloyd George, and the ruthless supporters of a peace of revenge represented by Clemenceau. While there is some truth in this analysis, it simplifies the divisions amongst the peacemakers in Paris. Not only were the great powers divided in their objectives at Paris, but their individual peace programmes also in themselves contained contradictory policies. It is not always accurate to regard the French as pursuing revenge, while the British and Americans followed the more noble aims of peace and reconciliation.

Wilson strongly believed that Germany needed to be punished for her part in starting the war. Clemenceau was convinced that only an effective balance of power in Europe could contain Germany. He was anxious to enforce maximum disarmament on the Germans, to encourage a large independent Poland and to extract reparation payments from Germany. In contrast to France, Britain, even before the Great Powers met in Paris, had already achieved many of her aims. The logic of British policy pointed in the direction of a peace of reconciliation rather than revenge, but in two key areas, reparations and the question of German war guilt, Britain adopted a stronger line.

From a history book published in 1994.

SOURCE B

For much of the time Britain, France and the USA argued among themselves. The fighting in northern France had destroyed towns and villages and left fields littered with corpses, craters and live ammunition. Nearly 1.5 million French soldiers had been killed and 2.5 million wounded. Clemenceau spoke for the French people as a whole when he demanded peace terms which would use German money to help restore and rebuild France. The French wanted revenge. They wanted to punish and weaken Germany so much that it would never again be strong enough to wage war.

Britain itself had suffered little damage but the loss of 750 000 men killed had caused immense suffering. Most people had little sympathy for the defeated 'Hun' and Lloyd George was restricted by his election promise in 1918 to 'squeeze the German lemon until the pips squeak'. Yet at Versailles he tried to soften French demands for revenge. Lloyd George wanted a peace settlement which would result in fair compensation from the Central Powers without reducing them to poverty. The United States had lost just over 100000 men and many Americans had made immense profits. It was easy for Wilson to be moderate and seek 'a just and lasting peace'.



A cartoon about the peace negotiations published in a British newspaper, May 1919. 'Der Tag' means 'The Day'. People in Britain believed that German soldiers before 1914 celebrated 'The Day' when they would start a victorious war against Britain.

SOURCE D

Today Clemenceau is angry with the English, and especially with Lloyd George. 'I won't move,' he said. 'I will wait until they come to talk to me. I will yield nothing. We will see if they can manage without me. Lloyd George is a trickster. I don't like being double-crossed. Lloyd George has deceived me. He made me the finest promises, and now he breaks them. Fortunately, I think that at the moment we can count on American support. What is the worst of all is that the day before yesterday, Lloyd George said to me, "Well, now that we are going to disarm Germany, you no longer need the Rhine".' I said to Clemenceau, 'Does disarmament then seem to him to give the same guarantees? Does he think that, in the future, we can be sure of preventing Germany from rebuilding her army?' Clemenceau said 'You and I are in complete agreement, it is a point I will not yield.'

From an entry in the diary of Raymond Poincaré, 14 March 1919. Poincaré was President of France.

SOURCE E

There never was a greater contrast, mental or spiritual, than that which existed between these two notable men. Wilson with his high but narrow brow, his fine head and his dreamy but untrustful eye – the make-up of the idealist. Clemenceau, with a powerful head and the square brow of the realist, the ever vigilant and fierce eye of the animal who has hunted and been hunted all his life. Clemenceau was amused by Wilson so long as Wilson did not insist on incor porating his dreams in a Treaty which Clemenceau had to sign.

It was part of the real joy of these conferences to observe Clemenceau's attitude to wards Wilson. He listened with eyes and ears in case Wilson should by a phrase commit the Conference to some proposal which weakened the treatment of Germany. If Wilson ended his speeches without doing us any harm, Clemenceau's stern face temporarily relaxed, and he expressed his relief with a deep sigh. But if the President spok e as he was inclined to do without regard to rele vance, Clemenceau would open his great eyes in twinkling wonder, and turn them on me as much as to say: 'Here he is off again!'

From Lloyd George's book 'The Truth About the Peace Treaties' published in 1938.



A cartoon from a British magazine, April 1919. The German is saying 'Monstrous, I call it. Why, it's fully a quarter of what we should have made them pay, if we'd won.'



A cartoon published in a German newspaper in July 1919. The cartoon is called 'Clemenceau the Vampire'. The figure lying on the bed is Germany.

SECRET

Some considerations for the Peace Conference

It is easy to patch up a peace which will last for thirty years. What is difficult is to draw up a peace which will not provoke a fresh struggle when those who took part in the war have passed away. You may strip Germany of her colonies, reduce her armaments to a mere police force and her navy to that of a fifthrate power but if she feels that she has been unjustly treated, she will find ways of getting revenge. Our terms can be so just that Germany will feel in its heart that it has no right to complain. But injustice or arrogance displayed in the hour of triumph will never be forgiven or forgotten. For these reasons I am strongly opposed to transferring more Germans to the rule of another nation than can possibly be helped. If we are wise we will do everything possible to enable the German people to get upon their legs again.

From a document written by Lloyd George in March 1919 during the peace negotiations.

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 Source C.

Why was this source published in May 1919? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

3 Study Sources D and E.

Does Source E prove that Source D is wrong? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

4 Study Sources F and G.

How far would the two cartoonists have agreed with each other? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

5 Study Source H.

Do you trust what Lloyd George is saying in this source? 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 Big Three wanted to treat Germany harshly? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

Copyright Acknowledgements:

Option A Source A Option A Source B	 © Alan Farmer; Reconstructing and the Results of the American Civil War 1865-77; Hodder & Stoughton; 1997. © Paul Johnson; A History of the American People; Weidenfield & Nicholson; 1997.
Option A Source C	© A Democrat election campaign poster from 1866.
Option A Source E	© A cartoon published in a northern magazine; 1868.
Option A Source F	© Hugh Tulloch; The Debate on the American Civil War Era; Manchester University Press; 1999.
Option A Source G	© www.granger.com, 19/10/09.
Option A Source H	© Carl N Degler; Out of the Past; Macmillan; 1959.
Option B Source A	© David Williamson; War and Peace: International Relations 1914 - 45; Hodder & Stoughton; 1994.
Option B Source B	© Philip Sauvain; Key Themes of the Twentieth Century; Stanley Thornes; 1996.
Option B Source C	© Roy Douglas; The Cartoonists' Vision; Routledge / The Daily Express; 1992.
Option B Source D	© From an entry in the diary of Raymond Poincaré, 14 March 1919.
Option B Source E	© From Lloyd George's book, The Truth About the Peace Treaties, published in 1938.
Option B Source F	© A cartoon from a British magazine, April 1919.
Option B Source G	© A cartoon published in a German newspaper in July 1919.
Option B Source H	© From a document written by Lloyd George in March 1919 during the peace negotiations.

Permission to reproduce items where third-party owned material protected by copyright is included has been sought and cleared where possible. Every reasonable effort has been made by the publisher (UCLES) to trace copyright holders, but if any items requiring clearance have unwittingly been included, the publisher will be pleased to make amends at the earliest possible opportunity.

University of Cambridge International Examinations is part of the Cambridge Assessment Group. Cambridge Assessment is the brand name of University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate (UCLES), which is itself a department of the University of Cambridge.