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Cambridge International Examinations
Cambridge International General Certificate of Secondary Education

HISTORY **0470/21**

Paper 2 **October/November 2014**

2 hours

No Additional Materials are required.

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READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

An answer booklet is provided inside this question paper. You should follow the instructions on the front cover of the answer booklet. If you need additional answer paper ask the invigilator for a continuation booklet.

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]

The number of marks is given in brackets [ ] at the end of each question or part question.

This document consists of **14** printed pages, **2** blank pages and **1** insert.

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Option A: 19th Century topic

DID THE JUNE DAYS UPRISING OF 1848 HAVE ANY CHANCE OF SUCCESS?

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

Background Information

In February 1848 King Louis Philippe of France was overthrown by revolution and the Second French Republic was established. The new government set up National Workshops to provide employment for the unemployed. People flocked to Paris from all over France and by May the workshops were employing 100 000 workers. The workshops were unpopular with rural farmers, who had to pay for them through increased land taxes, and with many people in Paris, who feared more radicalism. In June the recently elected Constituent Assembly closed the workshops. This was very unpopular with the unemployed and the poor, who rose up in rebellion. The following 'June Days' saw bitter fighting but after four days the rising had been defeated.

Did the rising of the June Days really have any chance of succeeding?

SOURCE A

On 22 June it was announced that the National Workshops were to be closed. Workers were told, with an amazing lack of tact, that 'if the workers do not want to leave, we will send them from Paris by force'. No effort was made to reassure the unemployed that poor relief provision would be made for them. This convinced many that with such an uncaring government there was no alternative but to recommence the Revolution. With the slogan 'Liberty or Death', a spontaneous revolt began with barricades being constructed in the poorer parts of Paris. About 40 000 to 50 000 demonstrators were involved. There was no overall plan, no collective leadership emerged, and the insurrection very rapidly became nothing more than a desperately-fought defence of isolated neighbourhoods.

Contemporaries saw the conflict as one between the bourgeoisie and the working class. Against the demonstrators were the National Guard units from the wealthier areas of Paris, made up of property owners, shopkeepers, professional men, intellectuals and skilled workers. They were anxious to defend their own neighbourhoods and to make clear their commitment to a hierarchical society and to crush the threatened social revolution and the prospect of 'anarchy'. Political differences were forgotten. Although many workers failed to report for duty, they still made up one-fifth of the National Guard. Many of them saw the insurrection as a threat to the Republic.

A major role in the fighting was given to the Mobile Guard. They were organised from young, unemployed workers. They remained loyal to the government which paid them. Most important of all, in the work of repression, was the regular army which was to become in the eyes of the propertied classes, the 'saviour of civilisation'. Overall command was put in the hands of General Cavaignac. He was anxious to concentrate his forces and this took time. This apparent inaction encouraged the insurgents to extend their network of barricades. However, once concentration had been achieved, the rising was smashed in three days of bitter street fighting, followed by 12 000 arrests.

From a history book published in 1989.

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SOURCE B

After days of debate in the newly-elected Assembly it was decided on 24 May to close the workshops to new enrolment. Before long, thousands of unemployed workers were threatened with starvation, as shown by the numerous delegations begging for bread. Workmen gathered in large numbers in the evenings not knowing where to turn.

The government appointed General Cavaignac as commander of the troops, the National Guard and the Mobile Guard. The 30 000 troops were demoralised and not entirely reliable. The huge National Guard was a doubtful asset because it was so socially mixed that there was no knowing how much it could be counted on to fight the workers. His most effective force was the new Mobile Guard, 15 000 strong, well-trained and tough.

Hostilities began on 23 June, following the government's decree dissolving the workshops. Barricades sprang up by the hundreds in the poorer sections of Paris. Soon, the entire east of the city was in the hands of the insurgents. The vast majority of the barricade fighters were destitute, unemployed workers who had been denied admission to the workshops. Most of them had recently come to Paris and were in a state of utter desperation. They were completely lacking in any ideas of political or social reform.

The June insurrection, in which not a single radical leader participated, and which was an unplanned, disorganised outbreak, never had much chance of success. It was able to secure control of a large part of the city simply because Cavaignac refused to take action until all his forces were ready and concentrated in three places. Only 10 000 of the National Guard reported for duty but thousands of provincials, eager to defend society against anarchic ideas, arrived in Paris. On 24 June Cavaignac opened his offensive. Much of the fighting was done by the Mobile Guard, with the soldiers only fighting where success was certain. In four days of desperate fighting the insurgents had lost 400–500 men and were defeated.

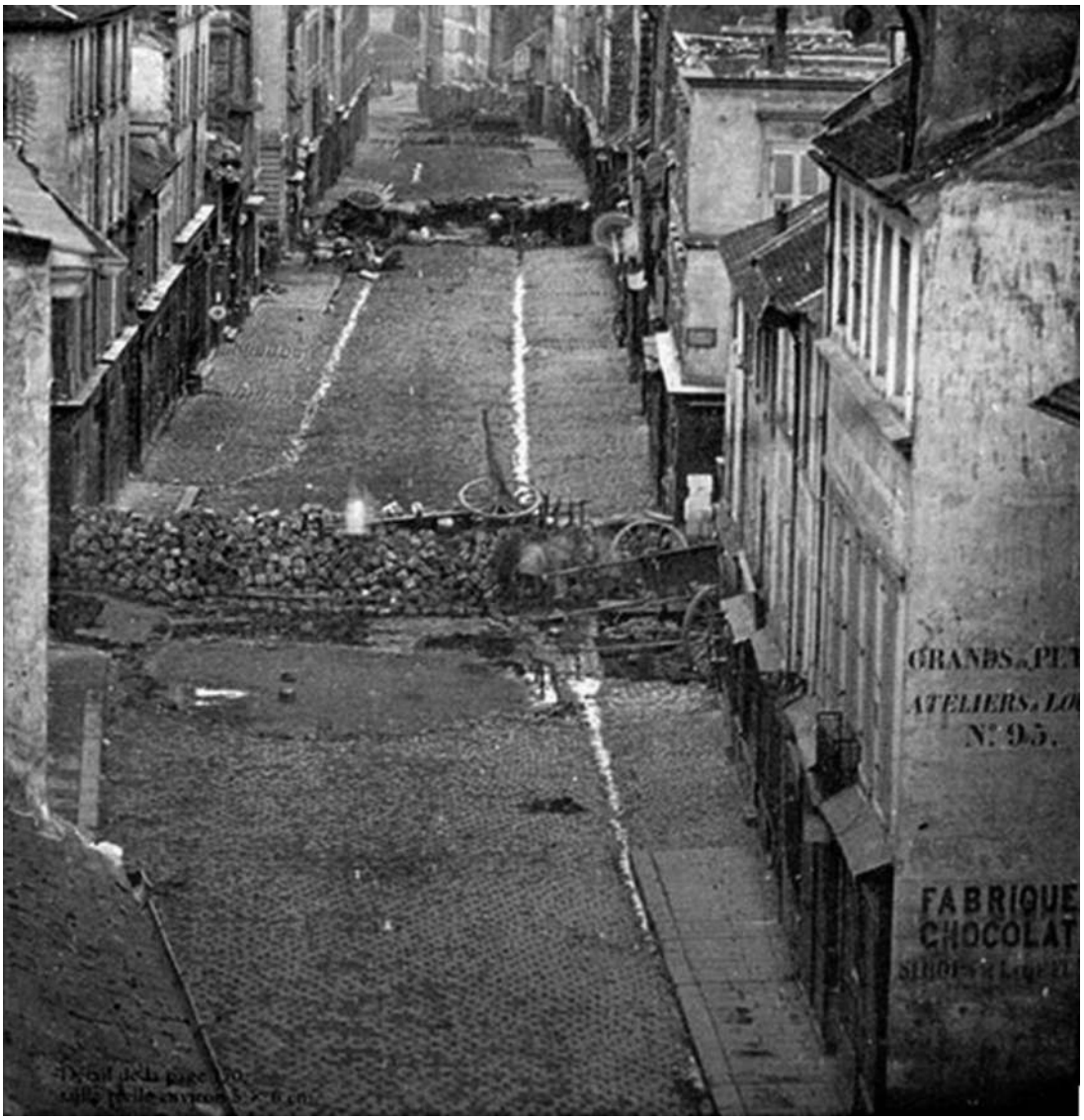
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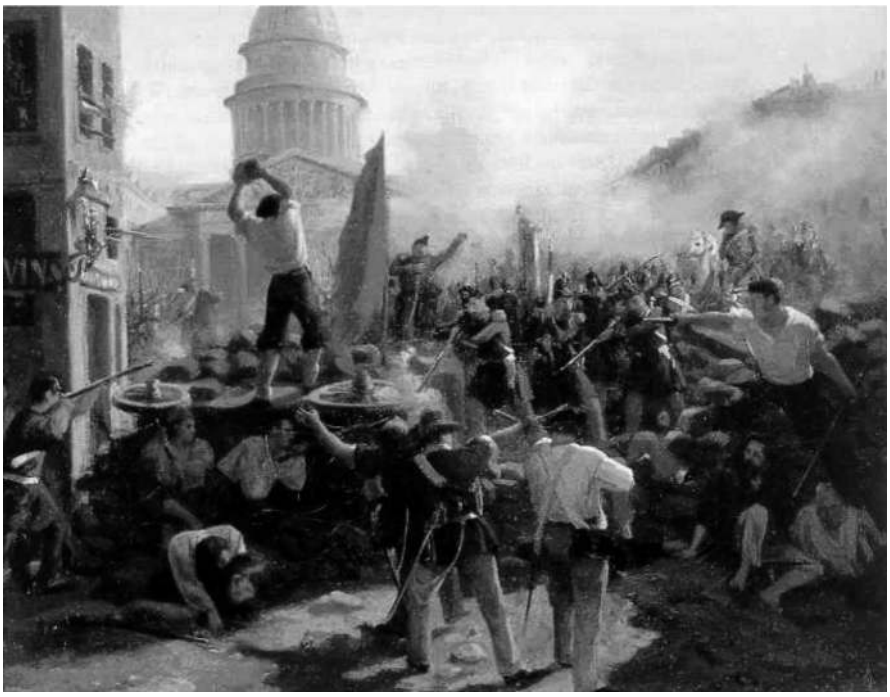
SOURCE C



A photograph of barricades in Paris on 25 June 1848.

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SOURCE D



A French painting, from the time, of barricades in Paris on 24 June 1848.

SOURCE E

Days of Terror in Paris

They no longer seemed to be human beings but monsters, who took pleasure in the martyrdom of the solid citizens they challenged and who left no horror undone. The people struck their blows with brutal anger, they became intoxicated before they went off to commit murder. Such a revolutionary struggle has not previously existed; this one has been the frightful result of the most extreme moral decline of the masses.

From an article published in a leading, moderate, liberal German newspaper, 5 July 1848.

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SOURCE F

What is the sense of the detestable battle which has turned the streets of Paris into a bloodbath? With universal suffrage, freedom of the press and the right of association, all insurrection is absurd. It is a crime against society. It is not permissible for a small minority to express its grievances, if it has any, by shooting people. How could conditions for the proletariat be changed in a single day?

We can only hate and despise those who work for disorder, who inspire the conflict and who pay for the sedition. Agitators have exploited the people's suffering and the most important factor of all about these plots is found in their subversive theories and in wild and reckless ambition. The rebellion was not spontaneous. It was not simply a sudden reaction to hunger. It was well organised. It had its own regulations, its leaders and its meeting places. It operated with astonishing efficiency. Order will be restored, for a society cannot abandon itself to the wishes of a minority.

From Le National, a republican newspaper, 29 June 1848. This newspaper had led the opposition to Louis Philippe earlier in the year.

SOURCE G

Accused: They gave me some drinks and led me to the barricade. There they said to me, 'Look, are you going to shoot?' 'Are you serious?', I said, 'Who at?' 'Are you going to shoot?', they repeated, 'If not, you'll have to hand over your musket.' And they took it away. The next day they made me take one from a wounded man. I only fired twice.

Question: Why did you fire?

Accused: The one's who wouldn't fire were called idlers and were maltreated.

Question: But did you not know you were firing on your brothers?

Accused: Yes. But they told me it wasn't the same thing. A man like me from the country who had never heard these things talked about, and who couldn't read or write – a man like me is easily led astray.

From the record of the trial of a labourer accused of involvement in the June Days, September 1848.

SOURCE H

I have spent the last five days and nights on the streets with all the other honest men in Paris. The revolutionary army came close to succeeding. Happily such was their stupidity that they hoisted high the flag of communism which turned the entire sane population against them. The insurgents wanted to pillage Paris and establish government by guillotine. We fought to save our skins. The insurgents were numerous, perfectly organised and well provided with arms and munitions. In a few hours they were in control of a third of the city and had protected it with well-constructed barricades. The National Guard was the first to resist and suffered heavy casualties, but it carried along the soldiers and mobile guards whose loyalty had been in doubt.

The insurgents massacred their prisoners, cutting off their hands and feet. Amongst some prisoners we captured was a man whose arms were covered in blood up to his elbows after bathing his hands in the open stomach of a wounded mobile guard. Can anything be done with people who regard a riot as fun, ready to kill or be killed for senseless slogans? This last battle has given them a serious lesson, but the danger remains.

From a letter, 28 June 1848, by a writer and historian who had joined the National Guard. The letter was to the wife of Louis Napoleon who later became Emperor Napoleon III.

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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. [8]

2 Study Sources C and D.

Which of these two sources would be more useful to a historian studying the June Days in France, 1848? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [7]

3 Study Source E.

Why was this article published in July 1848? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [7]

4 Study Sources F and G.

Does Source G make Source F surprising? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

5 Study Source H.

Do you trust this account of the June Days? 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 rising in June 1848 had no chance of succeeding? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

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Option B: 20th Century topic

WHO GAINED MORE FROM THE NAZI-SOVIET PACT?

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

Background Information

In 1939, Britain and France were in negotiations with the Soviet Union. They all feared Germany. However, Chamberlain distrusted the Soviet Union and was not keen to reach an agreement. This disappointed Stalin and when Germany began to make approaches to the Soviet Union in May 1939 they were received positively. The Nazi-Soviet Pact was signed by Molotov, the Soviet foreign minister, and Ribbentrop, the German foreign minister, on 23 August 1939. The two countries agreed not to attack each other, and secretly agreed to divide Poland between the two of them. The German invasion of Poland started on 1 September and on 17 September Soviet forces moved in to take their share of the country. However, the two countries did not fully trust each other and their agreement was not guaranteed to last long.

Did the Soviet Union gain more than Germany from the Nazi-Soviet Pact?

SOURCE A

The English and French representatives who came to Moscow to talk with us didn't really want to join forces with us against Germany at all. Our discussions with them were fruitless. That's how the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact came into being. We knew perfectly well that Hitler was trying to trick us with the treaty. Stalin told me that because of this treaty the war would pass us by for a while. We would be able to stay neutral and save our strength.

I believe that the Pact was inevitable, given the circumstances of the time, and that in the final analysis it was profitable for the Soviet Union. I think the vast majority of the Communist Party considered the signing of the treaty tactically wise on our part, even though nobody could say so publicly. We couldn't even discuss the treaty at Party meetings. For us to have explained our reasons would have been offensive and nobody would have believed us. It was hard for us, as anti-fascists, to accept the idea of joining forces with Germany. It was impossible to explain it to the man in the street. Therefore we couldn't admit outright that we had reached an agreement with Hitler.

From the memoirs of Nikita Khrushchev, published in 1971. In 1939 Khrushchev was head of the Communist Party in Ukraine, part of the USSR.

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SOURCE B

The announcement on 23 August about the Pact came like a thunderclap to the international communist movement. We were thrown into utter confusion. We looked hopefully for an escape clause in the Pact, but the official text provided none. For several days there was no clarification from Moscow and we communists were left painfully on our own.

A national conference of the Communist Party in America had been scheduled for that weekend and it took place amid great anxiety. Eugene Dennis seemed to make the most sense, calling for a fight on two fronts: against the fascist enemy and against the appeasing democratic governments which could not be relied on to fight fascism. This attitude, a reasonable continuity with our former position, did not last long. Statements now began to come from Moscow which made clear a big change in policy was under way. The Soviet position was that British and French imperialists were responsible for the war, that this was an imperialist war and that neither side should be supported.

The world communist movement followed behind these statements. Until then communist parties had been demanding that their governments fight against fascism. We now denounced this approach. We demanded that the war be ended; how this could be done without the military defeat of Hitler was left unclear. Some communist leaders in the west suggested a policy of working to establish governments that would energetically fight the fascists, but these leaders were removed.

Actually, a good case could be made for the Pact. For years Moscow had tried to reach an agreement with the West against fascism. Instead, the West had come to an agreement with fascism at Munich and behind the back of the Soviet Union. After Munich, the Soviet Union had every reason to believe that the West was manoeuvring to push Hitler into an attack upon the USSR. The Soviet Union decided to protect itself through a non-aggression pact. The West had only itself to blame for what happened. The Soviet Union undoubtedly gained temporary safety and additional time to prepare for the inevitable onslaught.

From the memoirs of John Gates, published in 1958. Gates was a leading communist in the USA.

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SOURCE C



A cartoon published in America in September 1939.

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SOURCE D



A cartoon published in Britain, 20 September 1939.

SOURCE E

Comrades: In view of the tense state of affairs, the conclusion of a pact of non-aggression between the USSR and Germany is of tremendous positive value, eliminating the danger of war between Germany and the Soviet Union. As you know, Anglo-French-Soviet negotiations for a pact of mutual assistance began in April. The proposals of the British Government were entirely unacceptable. Such a pact would only have been of value if there had been agreement about military measures against the attack of an aggressor. Negotiations about this met a difficulty when Poland rejected military assistance on the part of the Soviet Union. Great Britain even encouraged these objections.

It became clear that these negotiations were doomed to failure and we had to explore other possibilities of ensuring peace and defending the interests of the USSR [Applause]. Only when it became clear that the German government genuinely desired to change its foreign policy towards the USSR did we agree to a Soviet-German Pact.

The Pact has been the object of numerous attacks in English, French and American newspapers. Leading these efforts are 'Socialist' newspapers, diligent servants of capitalism and of gentlemen who pay them decently [Laughter]. The Soviet Union signed the Pact in the interests of the peoples of the USSR and in the interests of all peoples and of world peace.

From a speech by Molotov to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, 31 August 1939.

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SOURCE F

Of course it is all a game to see who can fool whom. I know what Hitler's up to. He thinks he's outsmarted me, but actually it is I who have tricked him!

Stalin speaking to Beria and Khrushchev on 24 August 1939. Beria was the Soviet Commissioner for Internal Affairs. The speech was reported by Khrushchev in his memoirs.

SOURCE G

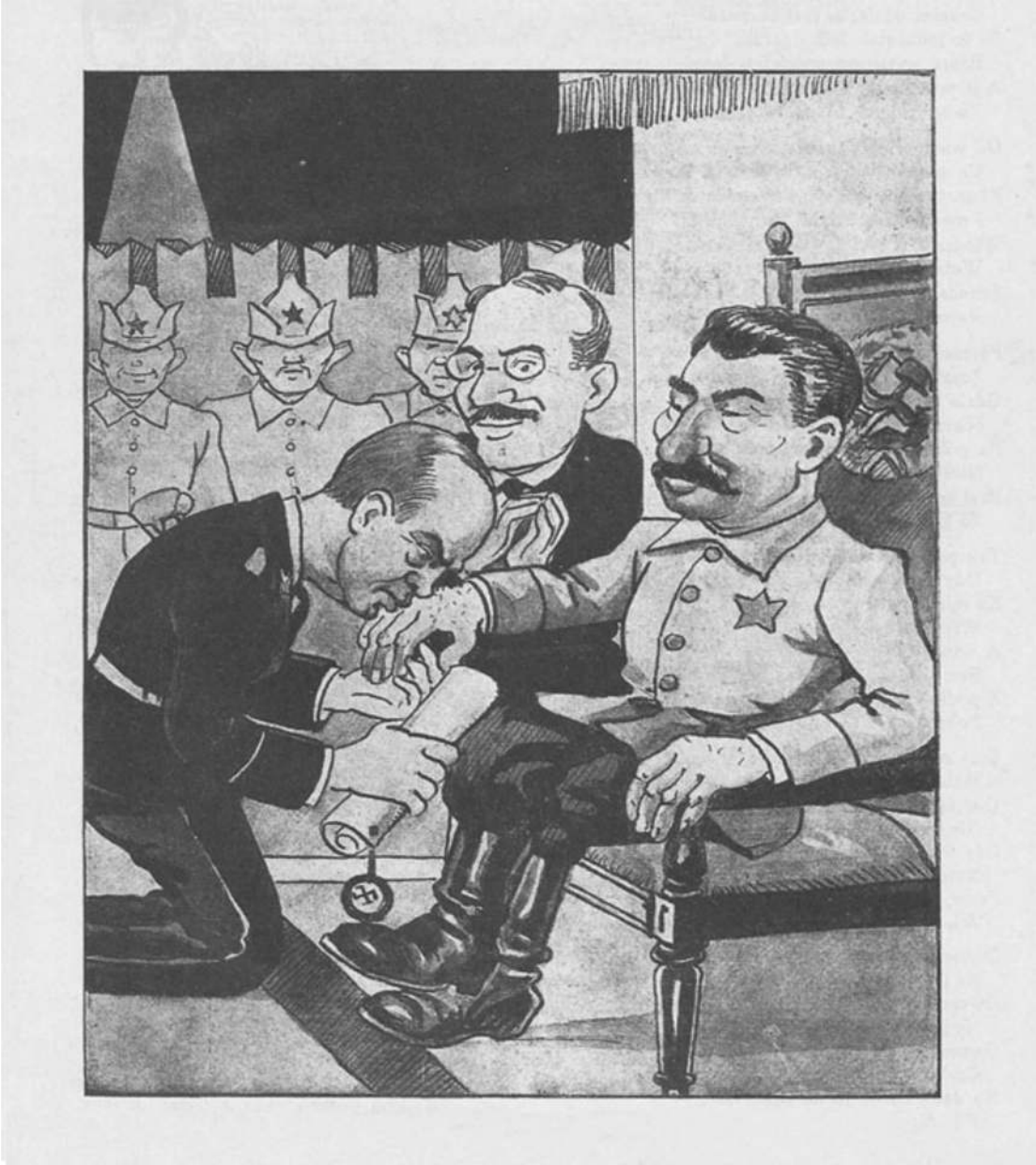
Since I realised Japan will not go with us unconditionally and that Mussolini is endangered by that idiot of a king, I decided to go with Stalin. As to what the weak western powers assert about me, that is of no account. I experienced those poor worms Daladier and Chamberlain at Munich. They will be too cowardly to attack. Poland will be depopulated and settled with Germans. My pact with the Poles was merely to gain time. The fate of Russia will be exactly the same. After Stalin's death – he is a very sick man – we will break the Soviet Union. Then will begin the dawn of the German rule of the earth.

From a speech by Hitler to his generals, 22 August 1939.

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SOURCE H



A cartoon published in a Polish newspaper, 8 September 1939. The figure on the left is Ribbentrop. Molotov is behind him. Stalin is saying, 'Ribbentrop, you can kiss my hand now and we will see what comes next.'

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

3 Study Source E.

Do you believe Molotov? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

4 Study Sources F and G.

Does Source G make Source F surprising? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

5 Study Source H.

Why was this source published in September 1939? 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 Russia got more than Germany from the Nazi-Soviet Pact? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

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Option B Source E	© V. M. Molotov; *The Meaning of the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact*; Workers Library Publishers; 1939.
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