Cambridge Assessment International Education

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HISTORY **0470/22**

Paper 2 **May/June 2022**

2 hours

You must answer on the enclosed answer booklet.

You will need: Answer booklet (enclosed)

INSTRUCTIONS

- Answer **all** the questions on **one** option only.
  - Option A: Nineteenth century topic
  - Option B: Twentieth century topic
- Follow the instructions on the front cover of the answer booklet. If you need additional answer paper, ask the invigilator for a continuation booklet.

INFORMATION

- The total mark for this paper is 50.
- The number of marks for each question or part question is shown in brackets [ ].

This document has **12** pages. Any blank pages are indicated.

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Option A: Nineteenth century topic

HOW FAR WAS THE KU KLUX KLAN SUPPORTED?

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

Background Information

The first Ku Klux Klan appeared right at the end of 1865 and by the early 1870s had been suppressed after the US government passed laws against it. Its aims were to restore white supremacy and oppose what it saw as the corruption and incompetence of the Republican governments that appeared in the South during Reconstruction. However, it actually conducted a reign of terror against black people and Republicans, committing thousands of murders and beatings.

For some people in the South it stood for something important. But did it really have much support?

SOURCE A

In 1866, the Klan was much talked about in the South. Its mysteriousness created much interest. Every issue of the local paper contained some reference to it. These notices were copied into other papers, and in this manner the way was prepared for its rapid growth which was helped by the common belief that the Klan had some great and important mission.

One great concern of the time was the transition of ex-slaves to citizenship. They not only had no self-control, but many of them regarded themselves as free, not only from bondage to former masters, but from the laws of the state. The enforcement of the law had been only partially re-established and there was much disorder. But the Klan had organisation – through Grand Wizards, written constitutions and co-ordinated actions. Those who know the facts will know that the Klan was of immense service at this period of Southern history. Without it, in many sections of the South, life would have been intolerable for decent people. For a while the robberies ceased and the lawless behaved well.

From a book published in 1884. The author was a member of the Ku Klux Klan.

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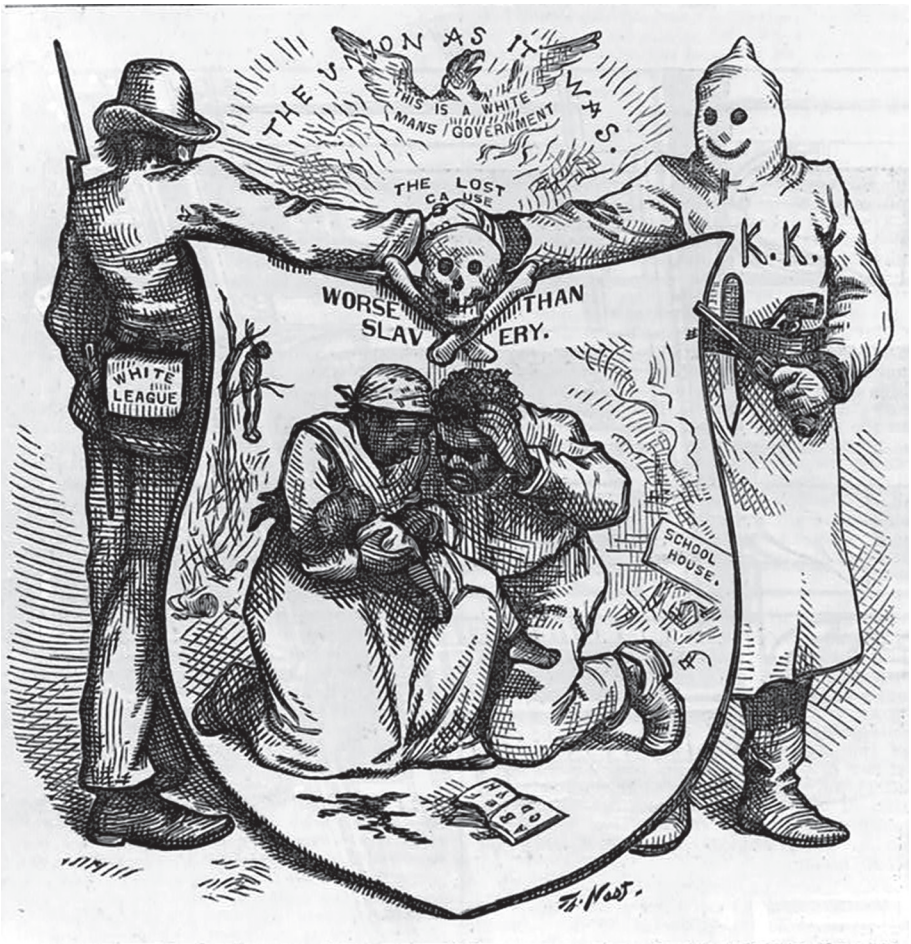
SOURCE B

Although the Klan's membership was often exaggerated, it was large and it exerted a vast, terrifying power. However, its influence was never dependent on its membership but on the mystery in which its members surrounded themselves. It is an error to suppose that a majority of the male population of the South were Ku Klux. Klan supporters exaggerated claims about the Klan's size and strength. There were attempts to organise the Klan, but most Klan groups emerged where no one had organised them and developed no connection to any broader organisation. Accounts from the time are full of examples of the Klan controlling lightning bolts and being the ghosts of Confederate soldiers. These ridiculous claims made it seem more powerful than it really was. In their desire to describe the oppression of black southerners and their allies, northerners helped create the popular image of the Klan. But why care about the bizarre aspects of the Klan? What mattered about it was the pain and oppression that it inflicted.

Many people did attribute great good to the Klan and remembered with gratitude the protection it gave them in the most dangerous period of their history. White southerners shared a widespread belief that their former slaves would overpower them and demand their resources and rights. However, from 1866 through to 1871 the Klan killed hundreds of black southerners and their white supporters and it drove thousands of black families from their homes and from their political rights and dignity. It inflicted real pain, injury and death.

From a recent history book.

SOURCE C



A cartoon published in an American magazine, October 1874.

SOURCE D

There is plenty of evidence of a secret organisation in many parts of this State, of men who, under the cover of masks, armed with knives and other deadly weapons, do appear at night to commit violence on peaceable citizens, robbing and murdering them, inflicting on them the most cruel treatment. This organisation has become a widespread and alarming evil in this State, defying all law.

Any person away from his home, wearing a mask, or disguised in costume, shall be held guilty of a high crime.

From a law outlawing the Ku Klux Klan, passed by the Alabama legislature, 1868.

SOURCE E

Movements of the Mystic Klan

A reliable correspondent writes: about a week ago the Ku Klux came into town to regulate matters. They were here from eleven p.m. to three o'clock a.m. — five hundred in all. They shot one very bad black man. They also hanged three or four black men nearly dead, and whipped others severely in order to make them tell them about their nightly meetings. The strongest thing about them was that they did not hesitate to unmask themselves when asked to do so. Everyone who saw them says their horses were more beautiful than any in the country round about. They spoke little but always to a purpose. They did not disturb anyone else, nor did they take anything except a few Enfield rifles which were found in possession of some very bad black men. They called on the tax officer. What was said is not known, but it has made a great improvement in his behaviour. The visitors' arrival has been to the benefit of the community.

From a Tennessee newspaper, December 1868.

SOURCE F

In 1868 there occurred six bloody and terrible massacres. Over two thousand persons were killed or wounded within a few weeks of the presidential election. Half of Louisiana was overrun by violence, raids, murder and riot to keep the people in constant terror until the Republicans surrendered all claims and the election was won by the Democratic Party. One of the bloodiest riots on record occurred in the parish of Saint Landy, Louisiana. The Ku Klux Klan killed and wounded over two hundred Republicans, hunting and chasing them for two days and nights, through fields and swamps. Thirteen captives were taken from the jail and shot. A pile of twenty-five dead bodies was found half-buried in the woods. Having conquered the Republicans, killed and driven off their white leaders, the Ku Klux Klan captured the masses, led them to the polls and made them vote Democrat.

From a report by a committee of the US House of Representatives, 1875.

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SOURCE G

I have never recognised the present government in Tennessee. If the militia are called out and do not interfere with anyone, I do not think there will be any fight. If they commit outrages upon the people, they and the Governor, Mr Brownlow, and his government will be swept out of existence; not a radical will be left alive. If the militia are called out, we will see it as a declaration of war because Mr Brownlow has already issued his order directing them to shoot down the Ku Klux Klan, and he calls all southern men Ku Klux Klan. There is such an organisation all over the South with about 550 000 men. I intend to kill radicals and if trouble should break out, not one of them will be left alive.

From an interview between General Forrest and a journalist, August 1868. Twice, Forrest denied saying most of what is in this interview – when it was published, and in 1871 during his testimony to the Ku Klux Klan hearings in Washington. Forrest was the first 'Grand Wizard' of the Ku Klux Klan.

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.

How useful is this source to a historian studying this period? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [7]

3 Study Source D.

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

4 Study Sources E and F.

How far does Source F make you doubt the account in Source E? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

5 Study Source G.

Why do you think Forrest denied saying what was reported in 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 people supported the Ku Klux Klan? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

Option B: Twentieth century topic

WAS THE SOVIET UNION WILLING TO INTERVENE MILITARILY IN POLAND IN 1980–81?

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

Background Information

In the summer of 1980 Poland was facing an economic crisis. Basic goods were rationed, prices were high and there was much poverty. Unrest grew and Solidarity, a trade union led by Lech Walesa, organised strikes and demonstrations. By 1981 ten million people had joined the trade union. The Soviet Union was worried about communist rule in Poland being overthrown and had to decide whether to intervene militarily. In 1981 General Jaruzelski was put in charge of Poland to deal more firmly with Solidarity and the protests. On 13 December 1981 he introduced martial law, Solidarity was suppressed and thousands of people were imprisoned. At the time Jaruzelski said he introduced martial law to deal with Solidarity. However, later he claimed he was trying to prevent an invasion by the Soviet Union, although it denied it had plans to invade.

Was the Soviet Union willing to intervene militarily in Poland?

SOURCE A

Contrary to reports by US intelligence, no preparations were under way for Soviet military intervention. The Soviet Union was reluctant to intervene because of its economic problems, the war in Afghanistan and fears that it would lead to a national uprising in Poland. Kania, the Polish leader, was overheard criticising the Soviet leadership and Jaruzelski was appointed to replace him. He was under pressure by the Soviets to deal with the protests more decisively but he demanded military intervention by them if he ran into trouble while imposing martial law. As late as December 1981, Jaruzelski was begging for Soviet intervention but it was not forthcoming. After a meeting of Warsaw Pact defence ministers on 4 December 1981 he complained ‘Our allies left us on our own. They do not want to shoulder any of the responsibility.’ Despite this, martial law was introduced on 13 December. Ever since, Jaruzelski has denied that he invited Soviet troops in and insisted that martial law was aimed at preventing a Soviet military intervention. The Soviets have insisted that an invasion was never seriously considered.

From a recent history book.

SOURCE B

As early as December 1980 Soviet leaders ordered a Warsaw Pact military exercise as a cover for a Warsaw Pact intervention but Kania, leader of the Polish Workers’ Party, managed to persuade them to call off the intervention. Jaruzelski replaced Kania to deal with the protests more forcefully. He claimed in his memoirs, written ten years later, that in December 1981 he requested only Soviet moral backing for martial law which he introduced to prevent a Soviet intervention. On 4 December 1981, a meeting of Warsaw Pact defence ministers drafted statements referring to ‘the fulfilment of alliance obligations by the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact member states’ and declaring that ‘the Polish nation can rely completely on the support of the socialist states’. In his speech on 13 December 1981 announcing the imposition of martial law, Jaruzelski blamed Solidarity for refusing to cooperate with the government. He has since defended martial law as a ‘tragic necessity’ to prevent a Soviet-led Warsaw Pact invasion.

From a recent history book.

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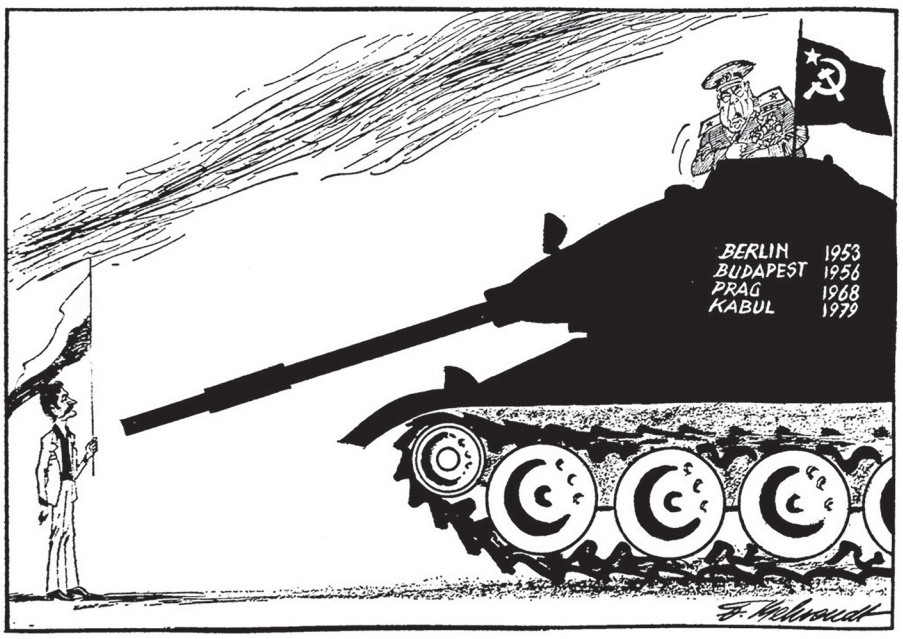
SOURCE C

" Excuse me sir — is this lady bothering you? "

A cartoon published in Britain, 5 December 1980. The figure on the right represents Brezhnev.

SOURCE D



A cartoon published in the Netherlands, 12 December 1980. Brezhnev is saying to Walesa, 'I would never interfere in Poland's domestic affairs!'

SOURCE E

We can't risk such a step.

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That is our main concern.

Andropov speaking at a Politburo meeting, 10 December 1981. Andropov was a leading member of the Soviet government and succeeded Brezhnev as leader in 1982. The Politburo was the highest policy-making body in the USSR.

SOURCE F

VERY URGENT!

At a meeting of the top officers of the USSR armed forces plans were agreed to send into Poland the Soviet Army, National People's Army of East Germany and the Czechoslovak People's Army. At present, representatives from these armies dressed in civilian clothing are undertaking reconnaissance on invasion routes. The plans include the intervening armies to move to all major Polish Army bases to conduct manoeuvres with live ammunition. Then, depending on how things develop, all major cities, especially industrial cities, are to be sealed off.

Finally, I very much regret to say that everyone in the Polish Army who has seen the plans is depressed, and no one is contemplating putting up active resistance to the Warsaw Pact action. There are even those who say the presence of such enormous military forces may calm the nation.

JACK STRONG

A report from Jack Strong to the American Intelligence Service (CIA), early December 1981. Jack Strong was the codename for Ryszard Kuklinski, an officer in the Polish Army. He started spying for the USA after the brutal repression of Polish protests in 1970. The Americans got him out of Poland and to the USA just before martial law was imposed on 13 December 1981.

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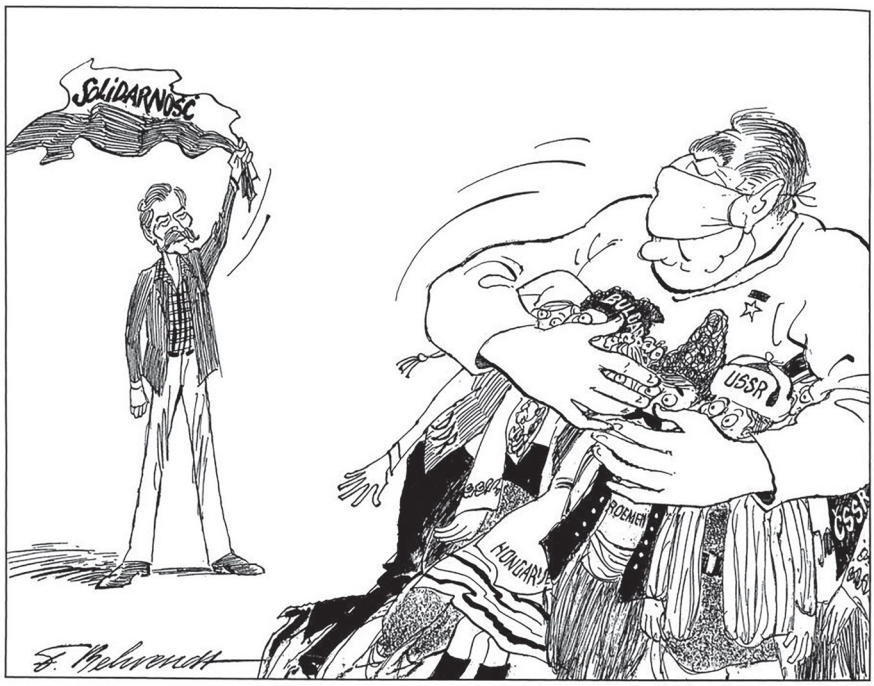
SOURCE G



A cartoon published in the Netherlands, 1981. Brezhnev, leader of the Soviet Union, is saying, 'Whatever you do, don't look at him!'

SOURCE H

At first the Soviets gave us an ultimatum: either bring the situation under control or we will cut off supplies of oil, gas and other raw materials. I was summoned three times to the Soviet Union. On the last occasion, in September 1981, I was shown army manoeuvres all along the Polish border. The Soviet army leader, Marshal Ustinov, informed me that what was happening in Poland was intolerable. We had to convince our allies that we would not undermine the Warsaw Pact or allow the state to be undermined. The introduction of martial law allowed us to avoid military intervention.

General Jaruzelski speaking in 1995 in an interview with a Western author.

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 these two cartoonists have agreed? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

3 Study Sources E and F.

Does Source F prove that Andropov was lying in Source E? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

4 Study Source G.

What is the cartoonist's message? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [7]

5 Study Source H.

Are you surprised by 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 Soviet Union was willing to send armed forces into Poland? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

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