Cambridge Assessment International Education

Cambridge O Level

HISTORY **2147/23**

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 LINCOLN RESPONSIBLE FOR CAUSING THE SPLIT BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH IN 1860–61?

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

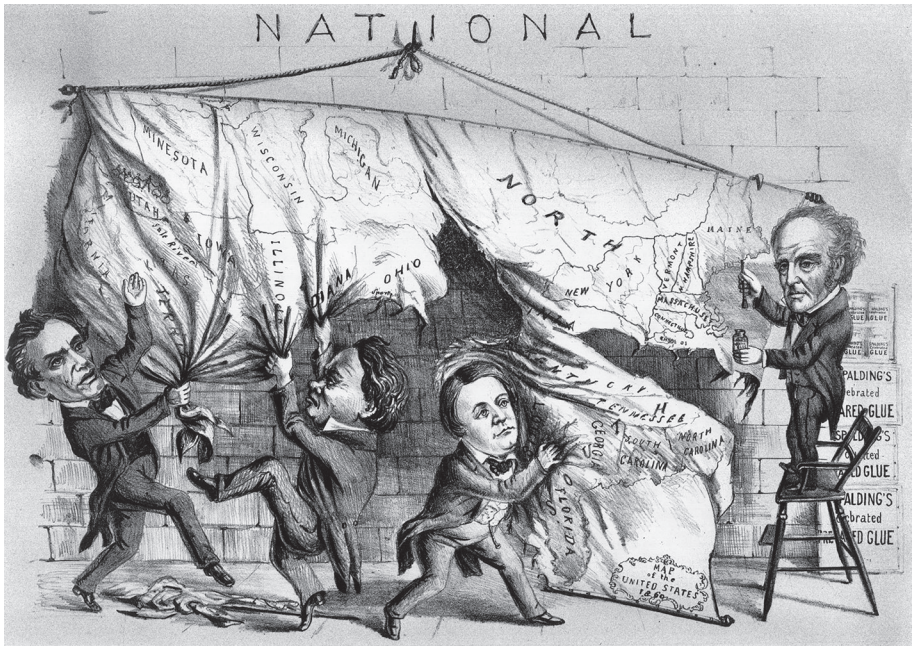
Background Information

Between December 1860 and June 1861 eleven states, starting with South Carolina, seceded from the USA. These secessions were an important factor in bringing about the Civil War which began in April 1861 shortly after Lincoln had begun his time as President.

Some historians argue that it was Lincoln himself who was responsible for the decision of some Southern states to secede – he was hated and feared by many people in the South. However, relations between North and South had worsened long before Lincoln became President, especially over the issue of slavery.

How far did Lincoln cause the split with the South?

SOURCE A



A cartoon published during the 1860 presidential election campaign. The candidates are (left to right) Lincoln, Douglas, Breckinridge and Bell. Bell is applying glue from a very small pot.

SOURCE B

THE DIS-UNITED STATES—A BLACK BUSINESS.

A cartoon published in a British magazine, November 1856.

SOURCE C

What will be the consequences of acceptance by the Southern States of the rule of Abolitionism at Washington, in the person of Lincoln?

The first consequence must be a powerful consolidation of the strength of the Abolition party of the North. If after all the threats of resistance and disunion, the Southern States submit, the demoralisation of the South will be complete. Immediate danger will be brought to slavery in all Frontier States and the underground railroad will become an overground railroad.

Before Lincoln can be installed in Washington the Southern States can dissolve peaceably their union with the North. If we do not dissolve our union with the North, we make the triumph of our Abolition enemies complete. If the South accepts the rule of Abolitionists, there is an end of all peaceful separation of the Union. We can then only escape by war. The ruin of the South will be the loss of liberty, property, home, country – everything that makes life worth having.

From the 'Charleston Mercury' newspaper, 16 October 1860. Charleston is in South Carolina.

SOURCE D

I am of the opinion that it would be unwise for the Southern states to secede, if Lincoln were to be elected. I believe that in the Union we would still be able to resist aggressions against the equal rights of the people of the Southern states. We would still have a majority in the US Senate opposed to the abolitionists. Without the consent of that body no law could be passed. We have also the US Supreme Court, whose opinions are favourable to the equality, both of persons and of property. We also have a majority of the United States opposed to the faction of which Lincoln is the head.

From a published letter by a Breckinridge supporter, Kentucky, October 1860.

SOURCE E

Do not consider any compromise in regard to the extension of slavery. The instant you do, they have us beaten; all our labour is lost, and sooner or later will have to be done all over again. Douglas is sure to be again trying to bring in his 'Popular Sovereignty'. Have none of it. The conflict has to come and better now than later. You know I think the fugitive slave clause of the constitution ought to be enforced – or at least it ought not to be resisted.

A letter from Lincoln to William Kellogg, 11 December 1860. Kellogg, a Republican congressman, had proposed a compromise including an extension to the Missouri Compromise line.

SOURCE F

The people of Georgia have dissolved their political connection with the Government of the United States of America. For the last ten years we have had numerous causes of complaint against non-slave-holding States. They have endeavoured to weaken our security, to disturb our domestic peace and tranquillity. The Federal Government has tried to deprive us of an equal enjoyment of the common Territories of the Republic. This hostile policy has placed the two sections of the Union for many years in the condition of virtual civil war. Recent events have fully demonstrated the necessity of separation.

Northern States have by a large majority committed the Government of the United States into the hands of the party of Lincoln, called the Republican party, which under its present name and organisation, is openly an anti-slavery party. While it supports waste and corruption in the administration of Government, anti-slavery is its mission and its purpose.

From Georgia's declaration of secession, 29 January 1861.

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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.

What impressions does this cartoon give of the presidential candidates? Explain your answer using details of the source. [6]

2 Study Source B.

What is the cartoonist's message? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

3 Study Sources C and D.

How far does Source D prove that the author of Source C was wrong? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

4 Study Source E.

Are you surprised that this was Lincoln's position in December 1860? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

5 Study Source F.

Why was this source issued in January 1861? 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 it was Lincoln who split the South from the North in 1860-61? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

Option B: Twentieth century topic

HOW FAR WAS JARUZELSKI IN CONTROL IN POLAND IN 1981?

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

Background Information

Jaruzelski became leader of Poland on 18 October 1981 because the Soviet Union had become dissatisfied with the actions of Kania in dealing with Solidarity and the strikes and protests that were occurring across Poland. However, under Jaruzelski, these continued, and even got worse. On 13 December Jaruzelski announced to the Polish people that he was imposing martial law. Some historians claim he was pressurised to do this by the Soviet Union, while others claim he was trying to avoid a Soviet military invasion.

How strong a leader was Jaruzelski? Was he being told what to do by the Soviet Union or was he in control?

SOURCE A

The front cover of the American 'Time' magazine, 28 December 1981.

SOURCE B

I wanted to congratulate you on your election to the post of First Secretary of the Polish Communist Party. There is no other individual in the Polish Workers' Party whose authority is equal to yours. We are convinced that you will cope with the very difficult tasks before you and will do everything to overcome the severe problems facing your country. It is important, without wasting time, to take the decisive measures you intend against the counter-revolution. We hope everyone will sense that things in Poland will move along differently.

Brezhnev speaking on the telephone to Jaruzelski, 19 October 1981.

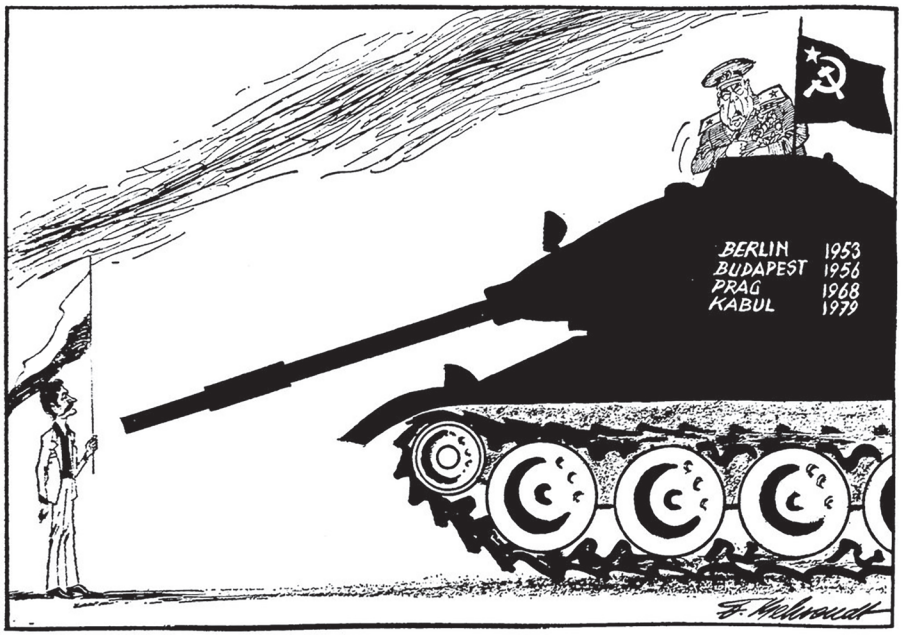
SOURCE C

We greeted your election as First Secretary of the Polish Communist Party with great hopes. We were aware that earlier in the struggle against anti-socialist forces you were held back by the political indecisiveness of the party leadership. Now this obstacle has been eliminated. We had hoped that people in Poland would sense that things in Poland were finally on a different course. We spoke on the phone about the need for a turnabout in the situation. However, one gets the impression that this has not been achieved. The anti-socialist forces are continuing to spread their influence among ever-wider segments of the population. It seems to me that you must mobilise the entire party in the struggle to win the hearts and minds of people.

I would like to mention another matter. A lot has been written about your meeting with Walesa and the agreement to set up a 'Front of National Accord'. How far can you go with such agreements without losing control over the situation? Agreements must not make concessions to the enemies of socialism. We know there are still people in the leadership of your party who want to continue the bankrupt course of Kania.

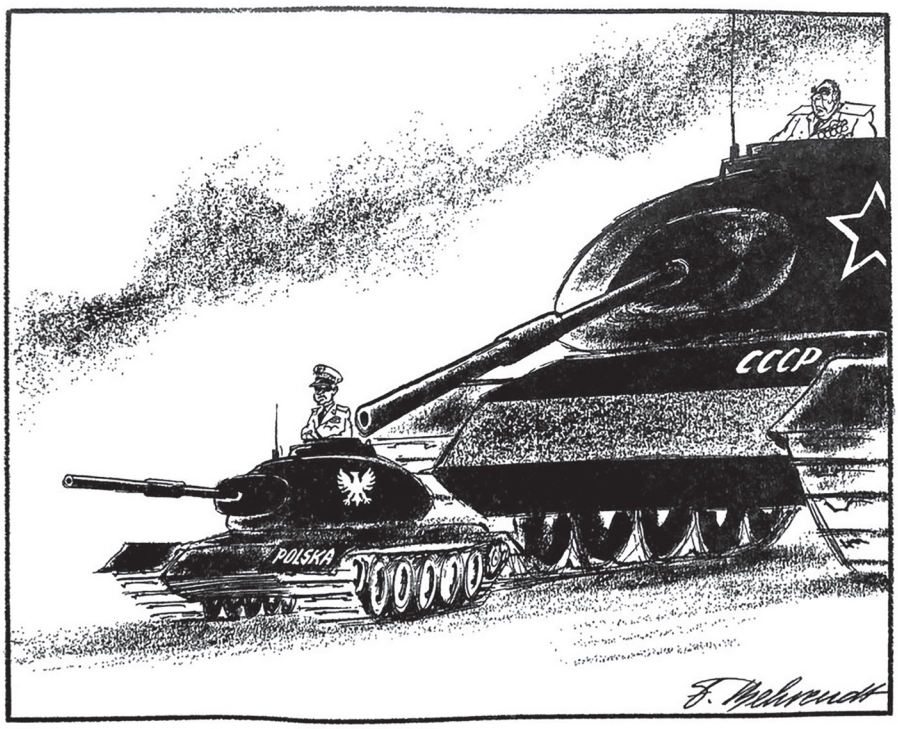
A message from Brezhnev to Jaruzelski, 21 November 1981.

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



A cartoon published in the Netherlands, 16 December 1981. The two men shown are Jaruzelski and Brezhnev.

SOURCE F

A cartoon published in Poland. It was published immediately after the imposition of martial law in December 1981.

SOURCE G

The rigours of martial law have complicated everyday life. But these restrictions are a lesser evil than the invasion which has so long threatened us. The introduction of martial law has saved Poland from a danger whose real character and seriousness are still not comprehended in full everywhere. On 13 December there was no other way of avoiding the disintegration of the state. Where was Poland going? How long could the country, torn by strikes, aflame with tensions and sinking in a climate of artificially created hatred, have continued to survive? There is still room in Poland for responsible, independent unions and the democratisation begun last year will continue. I state that the reports of alleged tens or hundreds of fatal casualties, of thousands arrested, held in the freezing conditions, beaten up and tortured, are a lie. One cannot hide the truth about Poland in Poland. Sooner or later, it will be known to the whole world.

Jaruzelski speaking to the Polish people on the radio, 25 December 1981.

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.

What impressions does this source give of Jaruzelski? Explain your answer using details of the source. [7]

2 Study Sources B and C.

How far does Source B make Source C surprising? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

3 Study Sources D and E.

These two cartoons are by the same cartoonist. Had he changed his opinion between drawing the two cartoons? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

4 Study Source F.

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

5 Study Source G.

Why did Jaruzelski make this announcement to the Polish people on 25 December 1981? 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 Jaruzelski was in control in Poland? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

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