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HISTORY **0470/22**

Paper 2 Document Questions **February/March 2024**

1 hour 45 minutes

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You must answer on the enclosed answer booklet.

You will need: Answer booklet (enclosed)

INSTRUCTIONS

- Answer **one** question 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 40.
- 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

1 Did Frederick William IV of Prussia support reform?

Study the Background Information and the sources carefully, and then answer **all** parts of Question 1.

Background Information

In March 1848, revolution broke out in Prussia. At first, Frederick William IV tried to use his troops to repress it, but he soon recalled the troops and promised to support German unification, introduce reforms and convene a national assembly. He also ordered a constitution to be drawn up. Later in the year, his army reoccupied Berlin, and he dissolved the national assembly.

Many historians regard Frederick William as extremely conservative. Did he have no sympathy for those wanting reforms?

SOURCE A

On 16 March a mass of people gathered outside the royal palace and threw rocks and bottles at the guards. On 17 March Frederick William tried to ignore the popular pressure for reforms. He was stubborn in his belief in his divine right to rule and his only concession was to promise regular meetings of the Diet which had met in 1847 and rejected all reform proposals.

On 18 March a large crowd gathered at the royal palace to listen to a new royal decree which was welcomed with cheering. The decree sensibly moved in a liberal direction and promised abolition of press censorship and also Prussian leadership in an effort to achieve German unity. The King, disturbed by shouts from the crowd, ordered the cavalry to clear the square. The cavalry was surrounded by the crowd and the infantry unnecessarily fired two shots. The crowd was frightened and angry and spread out through the city. Within a short time, barricades began appearing at various points and serious street fighting developed. Frederick William was advised to bombard the city into submission. This was too much for the King and the next day he ordered the troops to withdraw and promised to discuss reforms with the people's representatives. He rode through Berlin wearing the colours of the German nation.

From a recent account of the events in Berlin in March 1848.

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SOURCE B

On 16 March soldiers were surrounded by the crowd. When the crowd did not give way, and after the drums had been beaten four times, the soldiers fired six shots, of which at least two hit. Everyone ran away. 17 March passes quietly. The King signed the unfortunate edicts about Germany and about the freedom of the press. He told me later that the granting of a constitution had been necessary because of Germany.

18 March. I am no longer of good courage. The King made concessions in everything yesterday. Today he has appeared on the balcony and announced the concessions and has been cheered. However, the continued news of disorders urged me to the Palace Square which was full of people. The sight of the masses was horrible. The crowd had rushed towards the cavalry and pushed over a corporal. The shots lyingly called 'fatal' had taken place. The cavalry had made their so-called 'murderous' attack which was no more than a clearing of the square by the troops. The infantry had to fire the so-called 'fatal shots' and the crowd dispersed in various directions. Everywhere in the town barricades were built, even in the sight of the Palace.

19 March. The Interior Minister declared, 'As the barricades are disappearing, His Majesty commands that all troops withdraw.'

From an account of the events in Berlin by General Leopold von Gerlach, chief advisor to Frederick William.

SOURCE C

There is an unhealthy atmosphere which oppresses everyone. The general excitement has not lessened since the various declarations of the King. People demand clear concessions, not those promises that simply delay matters and will be withdrawn as soon as circumstances change. It is impossible to understand the blindness of the King which will lead to the destruction of the state and send him on the same path as Louis Philippe. With appropriate concessions, Frederick William will be welcomed on all sides as the constitutional emperor of Germany. No other person can lead this empire, therefore no one has a greater responsibility. There is still time to gather everyone around him, while further delay will lead to civil war and the breaking up of Germany.

A leading industrialist and liberal writing to his son, 18 March 1848.

SOURCE D

To My Dear Berliners

I beg you to recognise your error. Return to the path of peace and clear away the barricades. Send men to me who can speak in a way suitable for the presence of your King and I will clear every street of troops. I will forget what has happened for the sake of that great future for Prussia and through Prussia for all Germany.

Frederick William's proclamation to the people of Berlin, 21 March 1848.

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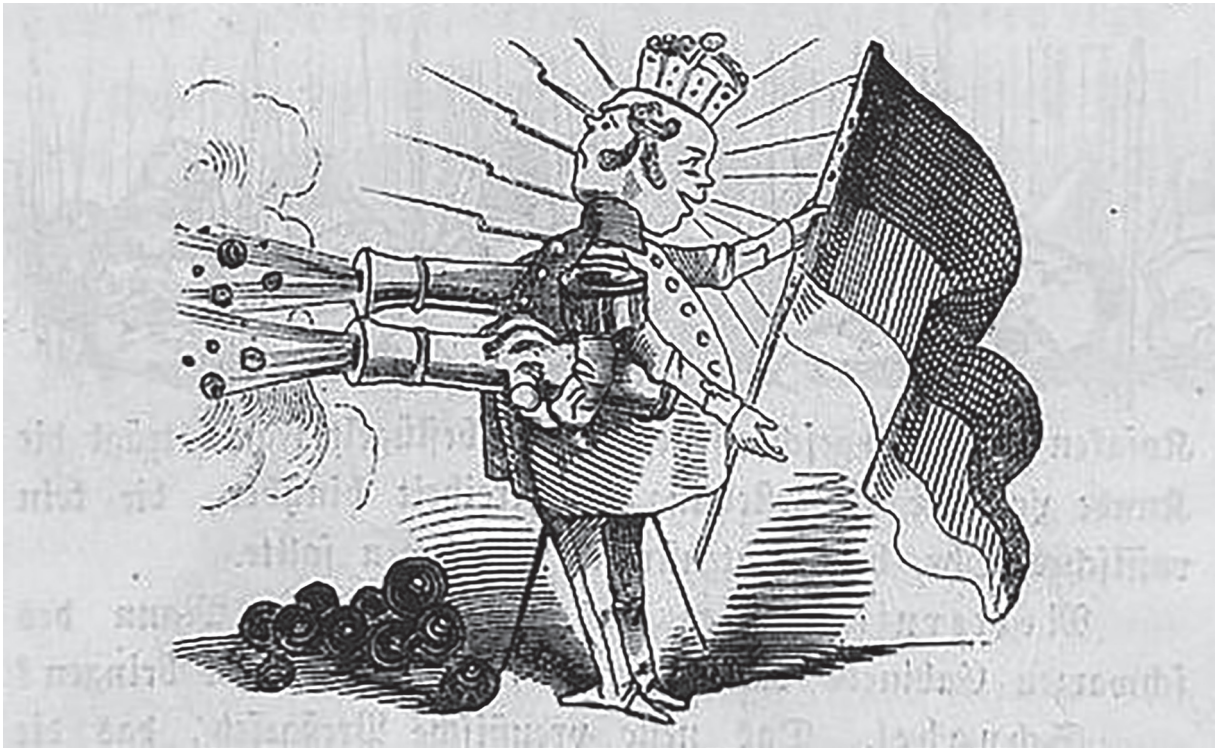
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SOURCE E



A cartoon from the time showing Frederick William riding through Berlin on 21 March 1848. He is holding the flag of Germany.

SOURCE F



A cartoon from March 1848. It shows Frederick William during the 1848 revolution.

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Now answer **all** parts of Question 1. 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 parts **(a)–(e)** you should use your knowledge of the topic to help you interpret and evaluate the sources.

(a) Study Sources A and B.

How far do these two sources agree? Explain your answer using details of the sources. [7]

(b) Study Source C.

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

(c) Study Source D.

Why did Frederick William issue this proclamation at that time? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

(d) Study Sources E and F.

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

(e) Study **all** the sources.

How far do these sources provide convincing evidence that Frederick William supported reform? Use the sources to explain your answer. [9]

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Option B: Twentieth century topic

2 Was there a real possibility that the Soviet Union would invade Poland in 1980–81?

Study the Background Information and the sources carefully, and then answer **all** parts of Question 2.

Background Information

In 1980, rising food prices and low wages led to strikes in Poland and an anti-Soviet opposition movement led by Solidarity. The Polish authorities came under strong pressure from the Soviet Union to deal with these developments. In December 1980, afraid of a possible Soviet invasion, the Polish leaders promised to take firm action. However, the disturbances continued throughout 1981. Soviet leaders were losing their patience with the Polish authorities, and on 13 December 1981, General Jaruzelski was forced to introduce martial law. This led to more opposition leaders being arrested and to more fears of a Soviet invasion.

Was a Soviet invasion ever a real possibility?

SOURCE A

In the summer of 1980 the Soviets faced one of their most serious crises. Warsaw Pact leaders feared the strikes in Poland would infect their own citizens with a desire for freedom. The Soviets mobilised three armoured divisions to stand ready to assist the Polish army. However, military intervention would be opposed by the West and its effects were difficult to predict. The Soviets may have just been putting pressure on the Polish leaders to introduce martial law. On 1 December the head of the Soviet armed forces decided that military exercises would begin on 7 December and said that they were to 'demonstrate our readiness to defend socialism'.

The Director of the CIA (the US Central Intelligence Agency) warned on 2 December that the Soviets were preparing for a military intervention. However, only 18 divisions were planned to be involved in the December exercises when 30 divisions had been needed for the invasion of Czechoslovakia (a smaller country) in 1968. The Soviet leadership appeared to be interested in just putting pressure on the Polish leadership to take firm action, which it promised to do.

From an internet site published by a Polish museum.

SOURCE B

The emergence of Solidarity as a mass movement in August 1980 was a challenge to Soviet control of the whole of Eastern Europe. The Soviet reaction was predictable – to call up reservists and send warships for 'friendly visits to Polish ports'. The Soviets then planned military exercises for Warsaw Pact forces to begin on 8 December and be completed by 21 December. Plans for an invasion of Poland within this time frame were drawn up. The exercises were different from the routine exercises of the Warsaw Pact and followed the pattern of those that had preceded the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia.

It seems that planning for an invasion reached an advanced state. Troops were to enter Poland from several directions, as marked on a map recently found in the Berlin archives. However, at the last moment, at a meeting on 5 December, the Polish leadership convinced the Soviets that they would take firm action against the opposition. Brezhnev agreed to postpone the invasion which the Americans had correctly expected to start on 8 December.

From a recent article about Polish history.

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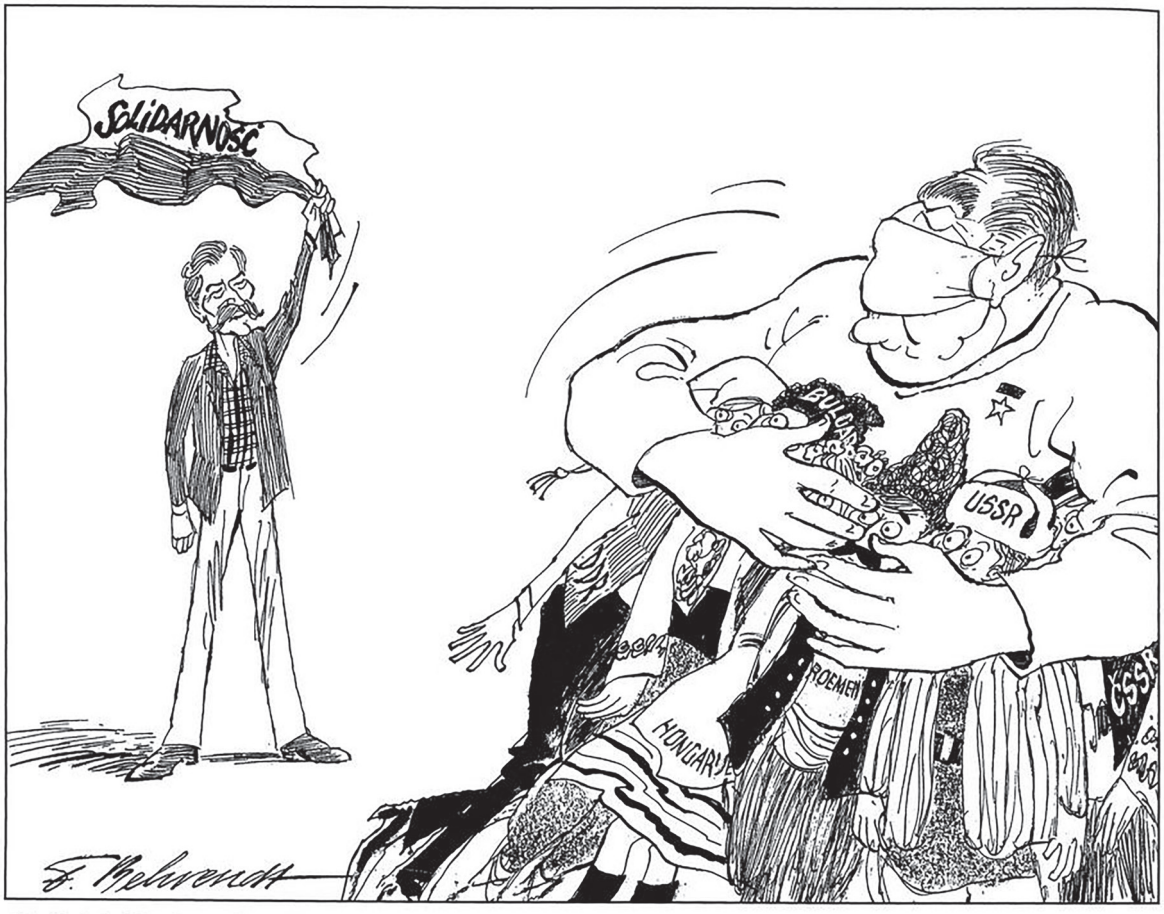
SOURCE C

Very Urgent!

From statements of highly placed military figures it appears that on the instruction of Defence Minister Jaruzelski, and agreed with the General Staff of the USSR armed forces in Moscow, there is a plan for introducing troops of the Soviet, the East German and the Czech armies to Poland. Readiness to cross the Polish borders has been set for 8 December. At the present time, representatives of the 'fraternal armies' in civilian disguise are carrying out reconnaissance of marching routes, training areas and regions of future actions. Troops will move into all main training areas of the Polish forces and conduct live-fire exercises there, and blockade industrial cities in Poland.

A note sent to the CIA by Ryszard Kukliński, an officer in the Polish army, on 4 December 1980. Using the name Jack Strong, he sent thousands of pages of secret papers to the CIA. He learnt about this plan from colleagues who had just returned from high-level meetings in Moscow.

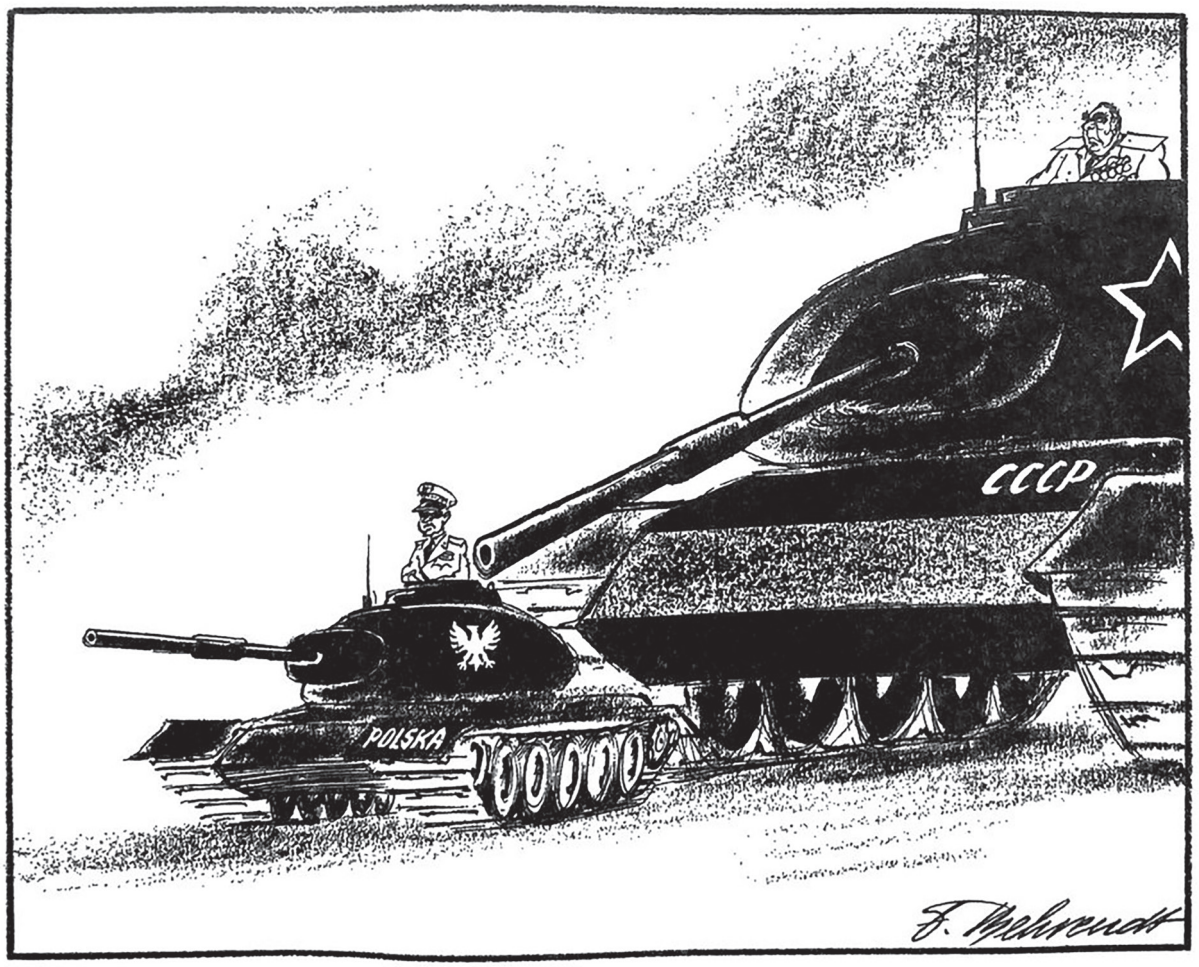
SOURCE D



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

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SOURCE E



A cartoon published in the Netherlands in December 1981, a few days after General Jaruzelski announced martial law in Poland.

SOURCE F

In the course of the entire period of events in Poland we have displayed self-control and composure. We are carrying out great work on behalf of peace and we cannot change our position now. World public opinion will not understand us. Let the Polish comrades themselves determine which actions they should take. We do not have to push them towards any more decisive acts. At the same time the Poles declare that they are against the introduction of troops. If troops are introduced, that will mean a catastrophe. I think that we all share a unanimous opinion here that there can be no discussion of any introduction of troops. As far as providing help to Poland, we have provided more than one billion roubles. Not long ago, we decided to supply Poland with 30 000 tons of meat.

Mikhail Suslov speaking in a meeting of the Politburo, 10 December 1981. Suslov was one of the most important leaders of the Soviet Union at that time. The Politburo was the main decision-making body of the USSR.

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SOURCE G

TOP SECRET

The recent events in Poland have filled the people of the United States with dismay. Since the imposition of martial law on 13 December, the most basic rights of the Polish people have been violated. Your country has repeatedly intervened in Polish affairs. Clear proof of this is your letter of 5 June 1981 to the Polish leadership, which warned that the Soviet Union could not tolerate developments there. There have been numerous other communications that warned of Soviet intervention unless the Polish government restricted the freedoms of its citizens.

Attempts to suppress the Polish people, either by the Polish army or through direct use of Soviet military force, could unleash a process which neither you nor we could fully control. Should the Soviet Union persist in aiding suppression in Poland, the United States will have no choice but to take measures affecting the full range of our relationship.

A letter from President Reagan to Brezhnev, 23 December 1981.

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Now answer **all** parts of Question 2. 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 parts **(a)–(e)** you should use your knowledge of the topic to help you interpret and evaluate the sources.

(a) Study Sources A and B.

How far do these two sources agree? Explain your answer using details of the sources. [7]

(b) Study Source C.

How useful is this source for a historian studying the crisis over Poland in 1980? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

(c) Study Sources D and E.

How far do these two cartoons agree? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

(d) Study Sources F and G.

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

(e) Study **all** the sources.

How far do these sources provide convincing evidence that there was a possibility that the Soviet Union would use military force against Poland? Use the sources to explain your answer. [9]

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