Cambridge Assessment International Education
Cambridge International General Certificate of Secondary Education

HISTORY **0470/22**

Paper 2 **October/November 2019**

2 hours

No Additional Materials are required.

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: Nineteenth century topic [p2–p8]
Option B: Twentieth century topic [p10–p14]

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

This syllabus is regulated for use in England, Wales and Northern Ireland as a Cambridge International Level 1/Level 2 Certificate.

This document consists of **13** printed pages, **3** blank pages and **1** Insert.

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Cambridge Assessment International Education

Option A: Nineteenth century topic

DID NATIONALISTS UNIFY ITALY OR WAS IT TAKEN OVER BY PIEDMONT?

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

Background Information

Two different stories can be told about Italian unification: the growing power and territorial expansion of Piedmont, with Piedmont coercing Italians into a single state, which accidentally led to unification; or the activities of nationalist revolutionary Garibaldi and his volunteers who were fighting for unification from the beginning.

Under the leadership of Cavour and King Victor Emmanuel II, Piedmont emerged as the strongest state in Italy. In 1859, after allying with the French against Austria, Piedmont gained Lombardy, and in 1860 the Central Duchies followed. Meanwhile, in the south, Garibaldi and his volunteer army, with their fervent desire to unify Italy, had defeated the Kingdom of Naples in Sicily and on the mainland, and were next heading for the Papal States. Cavour, worried that Garibaldi was a dangerous revolutionary who was beyond Piedmont's control, quickly sent an army to meet Garibaldi before he reached Rome. In October 1860 Garibaldi handed over control of the south of Italy to King Victor Emmanuel II and in November they entered Naples together. In 1861 Victor Emmanuel was declared King of Italy.

Which was more important in bringing about Italian unification, Piedmont's desire for more territory and power or the activities of Italian nationalists like Garibaldi?

SOURCE A

Cavour set out to modernise Piedmont and make her the leader of Italy. Up to 1858 he had not made any progress in freeing Italy from Austrian control or enlarging Piedmont. Then remarkably, between 1858 and 1860, he was able to achieve everything he set out to do. The truth is, that these were not actually Cavour's achievements at all, but rather the unexpected result of Napoleon's plans coupled with a great deal of luck. It is likely that events could have stopped there. Neither Piedmont nor France was interested in a unified Italy. A united Italy would damage French interests; Napoleon wanted a French satellite state as a neighbour, not a strong united state. And Cavour was not really interested in the Italian cause. Uppermost in his mind were hatred of Austria, personal ambition and Piedmontese expansion. He knew nothing of the south.

Garibaldi, on the other hand, felt that unity could be achieved right now and it was he who took the initiative. He conquered Naples, not for himself, but for Victor Emmanuel and Italy. When people of the south came to vote in plebiscites for unity, the vote was largely a vote for Garibaldi. He was fundamental to the unification process. It was he who forced Cavour to embrace unification. Cavour aimed at only an enlarged Piedmont but Garibaldi's success transformed the situation. Cavour did not see Garibaldi's work as part of a great process of unification but as a threat to everything he had achieved. Garibaldi, and in particular republicanism, had to be stopped and the only way this could be done was by conquering part of the Papal States and taking over the southern kingdom. Cavour unified Italy to stop Garibaldi. It was a desperate gamble to preserve an enlarged Piedmont.

From a history book published in 2013.

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SOURCE B

Cavour is remembered as probably the most significant figure in the Italian Risorgimento. His reputation rests on a string of political and diplomatic successes between 1858 and 1860. His aims were the liberty and unity of Italy, and the introduction of constitutional, political and social reforms. Owing to his independent thinking and high ideals, Cavour became very popular among the Italians and proved himself an able diplomat, a great politician and a maker of Italy. The question still in debate is how much credit Cavour can claim for the success of Garibaldi's expedition of 1860, which was essential to the achievement of Italian unity. He supported the expedition from the first and the assistance he gave Garibaldi was absolutely indispensable to the success of the enterprise.

He is undoubtedly the greatest figure of the Risorgimento, and although other men and other forces cooperated in the movement, it was Cavour who organised it and skilfully conducted the negotiations which overcame all obstacles. His views broadened progressively; at each stage he discovered a new horizon, and he followed his path without ever seeking anything except what was possible. Although he disapproved of republicanism, he was a constitutionalist, for he felt that Italian unity could not last if unsupported by popular feeling. Some of his acts, especially his policy towards the Neapolitan kingdom, have been criticised as politically immoral; but few revolutions – and Cavour, after all, was a revolutionary – can be conducted without attacking established rights. He changed his views but in the difficult diplomatic situations which he had to face, what was impossible or dangerous one day became possible and desirable the next. This was particularly the case with the question of Naples. Cavour's one absorbing passion was the liberation and unity of Italy, and to this he devoted his whole life and talent.

From a history book published in 1909.

SOURCE C

GARIBALDI THE LIBERATOR

A British cartoon published in June 1860. The figure in the bottom right represents King Ferdinand II of Naples. He was nicknamed 'Bomba' because of his bombardment of Messina during the unrest of 1848.

SOURCE D

To make Italy, as things now stand, Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi must not be set against each other. If tomorrow I were to fight against Garibaldi, European public opinion would be against me and rightly so.

Garibaldi has done the greatest service that a man can do; he has given the Italians self-confidence; he has proved to Europe that Italians can fight and die in battle to reconquer a fatherland. It would be highly desirable if a revolution in Naples came about without him, but if in spite of all our efforts he should liberate southern Italy as he liberated Sicily, we would have no choice but to wholeheartedly go along with him.

A letter from Cavour to Costantino Nigra, 9 August 1860. Nigra was Cavour's representative in Paris.

SOURCE E

By firmly seizing the direction of political events in southern Italy, the King and his government prevented our wonderful Italian movement from degenerating; they prevented the factions which did so much harm in 1848 from exploiting the emergency conditions in Naples after its conquest by Garibaldi. We intervened not to impose a pre-conceived political system on southern Italy, but to allow the people there to freely decide their future.

From a speech by Cavour to the Piedmontese Parliament, 16 October 1860.

SOURCE F

RIGHT LEG IN THE BOOT AT LAST.

GARIBALDI. "IF IT WON'T GO ON, SIRE, TRY A LITTLE MORE POWDER."

A cartoon published in Britain in 1860. In the nineteenth century 'powder' could also mean gunpowder.

SOURCE G

A cartoon from 1861 showing Cavour and Garibaldi making 'the boot' of Italy.

SOURCE H

Piedmont has a thirst for power, a desire to destroy and rule. The unity boasted by Piedmont is a lie. Piedmont proclaims 'Away with the Austrian!', yet it enables another foreigner, the French, to penetrate into the heart of Italian lands. Piedmont cries 'Italy!', and makes war on Italians; because it does not want to make Italy – it wants to eat Italy. Our homeland, Naples, is not hostile to Italy but fights against those who say 'Unite Italy' in order to rob it. Naples wants to unite Italy so that it can advance in civilisation, not retreat into barbarity.

From a book by a historian, published in Naples in 1862.

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 June 1860? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

3 Study Sources D and E.

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

4 Study Sources F and G.

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

5 Study Source H.

How useful is this source to a historian studying the process of Italian unification? 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 Italian unification was brought about by Piedmont? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

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Option B: Twentieth century topic

HOW IMPORTANT WAS KHOMEINI TO THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION?

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

Background Information

In 1979 the Shah of Iran was overthrown by revolution. Demonstrations and strikes had begun in 1977 and increased to such an extent that in January 1979, with the country paralysed, the Shah fled. His government was swept away by force in February. In March the Iranian people voted for an Islamic Republic, and in November, for an Islamic constitution. Ayatollah Khomeini became Supreme Leader.

The Shah had attempted a 'white revolution' – westernising Iran, giving women the vote and introducing land reform to weaken the influence of the landowners and win the support of peasants and the working class. These reforms were opposed by clergy and caused social tensions. There were many different types of opposition groups in Iran, including non-religious groups like the liberals and communists. They claimed the Shah's government infringed civil rights, ruled oppressively and was corrupt. Religious opposition to the Shah was led by Khomeini, who had been in exile since 1964. Khomeini wanted to establish an Islamic society and rid Iran of all the western influences he claimed the Shah had introduced.

How important was Khomeini?

SOURCE A

The Shah's government failed in a variety of ways – there was short-term economic difficulty, but more importantly, a failure to recognise the political aspirations of the people. For a popular revolution to happen people have to see the government as the problem. The growth of the revolutionary movement was helped by the regime's repressive rule. Initially, revolution was unthinkable. As more groups joined in, their different grievances flowed into a broad oppositional stream and the sense of shared commitment increased. Repeatedly, when government had got into trouble, Iranians had turned to the Shi'a clergy for leadership. The clergy, faced with the challenges of social and economic change, had always been uncertain about how to respond; now siding with the liberals, now with the monarchy. But Khomeini now provided clear principles for the leadership of the clergy. Allied to that was popular enthusiasm for Islam, in opposition to Westernisation and foreign interference. That was one part of what happened. The other was the demand from a broad swathe of the Iranian people for a free society and democratic government. The form the revolution took was determined by the leadership of Khomeini, and the demand for free institutions. In January and February 1979, it seemed possible that the two could be kept out of conflict with each other.

From a book published in 2013.

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SOURCE B

It was the working class that brought the Shah's regime down. The Iranian revolution represented intervention of the masses in their millions in determining the fate of the social order. It was an excellent example of how a mass movement can overthrow a vicious bourgeois dictatorship. Furthermore, the revolutionary upsurge resulted in numerous forms of self-organisation of the masses: the workers', peasants' and soldiers' neighbourhood committees; the women's movement in defence of equal rights; the movement of the oppressed nationalities; the struggles of the unemployed for jobs; and the student movement.

The revolution was a revolt against the injustices of the Shah's regime and the economic crisis it had brought about. The central demands of the masses were about democratic rights. The February insurrection brought about many democratic rights but these gains were brutally suppressed. The only 'right' recognised by the clerical rulers was the complete submission of everything to the arbitrary rule of the mullahs. Khomeini's regime was in the service of private property and class rule, based on exploitation of the majority by a handful of reactionary profiteers.

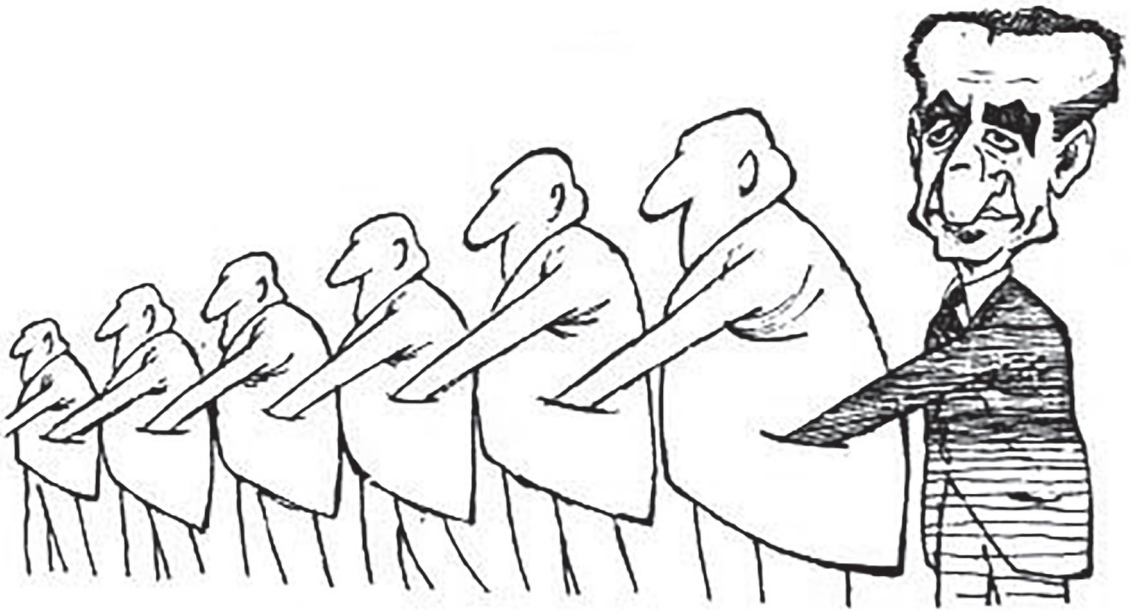
The establishment of this regime was a decisive victory for the counter-revolution. This bourgeois counter-revolution succeeded in defeating the revolution by 'joining' it. This was possible by supporting a faction within the opposition to the Shah that could ensure a degree of control over the masses. This was one of the most important factors in placing Khomeini at the head of the mass movement. The Shi'a clergy was well suited for this task because it has always been an important institution of the state, well trained in defending class society and private property. The Shi'a hierarchy has always been the main ideological prop of the state.

An account written by people involved in the revolution, from a Marxist website.

SOURCE C

A cartoon published in Iran, 1979. The caption said, 'The Shah had a lot of sympathy for the poor.'

SOURCE D



A cartoon published in Iran, 1979. The caption of the cartoon said, 'Economic prosperity'. The figure on the right represents the Shah.

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SOURCE E

I have heard the message of the revolution of you, the Iranian people. I am the guardian of the constitutional monarchy which is the divine duty entrusted to the Shah by the people. After all the sacrifices that you have made, I pledge that in future the Iranian government will be founded on social justice and the people's will and know nothing of despotism, tyranny and corruption. You should know that in the revolution of the Iranian people against colonialism, tyranny and corruption, I am beside you; and in the defence of national unity and Islamic religious observances, in the establishment of basic freedoms and the realisation of the wishes and ideals of the Iranian people, I will be by your side.

From a radio broadcast by the Shah, November 1978.

SOURCE F

In this book I will explain the complete untold story of the so-called Iranian Revolution which was in fact a reaction back to the Dark Ages. Today the Dark Forces under the pretence of the Holy authority, yet truly under the authority of an irresponsible bunch, are trying to destroy everything which was built by the people of Iran. My plans for Iran were glorious. My vision was to build a modernised, progressive, hi-tech, well-educated and economically prosperous Iran; to revive Iran and re-establish her as a major contributor for the global civilisation. My mistake was rushing this progress; maybe this downfall would not have occurred if I had not rushed. The fall of the Imperial Iran can bring catastrophic results for Iran. To understand the upheaval in Iran one must understand the politics of oil. As soon as I began to insist on a fair share of the oil wealth for Iran, a systematic campaign of condemnation of me by the West was begun. It was at this time they began to call me a 'despot', an 'oppressor', a 'tyrant'.

From a memoir by the Shah entitled 'Answer to History', published in 1980.

SOURCE G

You who suppose that something other than Islam overthrew the Shah's regime, you who believe non-Islamic elements played a role, study the matter carefully. Look at the tombstones of those who gave their lives to the movement. All the tombstones belong to Muslims: peasants, workers, tradesmen, committed religious scholars. Those who imagine that some force other than Islam could shatter the great barrier of tyranny are mistaken. As for those who oppose us because of their opposition to Islam, we must cure them by means of guidance, if it is possible; otherwise, we will destroy these agents of foreign powers with the same fist that destroyed the Shah's regime.

People infatuated with the West, empty people! Come to your senses; do not try to westernise everything! Look at the West, and see who the people are that present themselves as champions of human rights. Is it human rights they really care about, or the rights of the superpowers? How much you talk about the West, claiming that we must measure Islam in accordance with Western criteria! What an error! It was the mosques that created this Revolution, the mosques that brought this movement into being.

From a speech by Khomeini in late 1979.

SOURCE H

The old interests and the imperialists sought to find a spiritual leader, without beliefs and devoted to the causes of imperialism and ambition. Khomeini has lived in India and there had relations with English imperialism. A man without standing among the eminent clergy, he seized the opportunity to enter events and make a name for himself. Opposed to the White Revolution, he was determined to install imperialism, and unleashed his agents against the Land Reform and women's rights and showed that there are people ready to put themselves at the disposal of conspirators and foreign national interests. Millions of Iranian Muslims will ponder how Iran's enemies choose their accomplices dressed in the sacred and honourable cloth of the clergyman.

From an article published in an Iranian newspaper, 7 January 1979. The article was written by the Iranian government and secretly handed to the newspaper for publication.

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

3 Study Sources E and F.

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

4 Study Source G.

Why did Khomeini make this speech late in 1979? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

5 Study Source H.

Do you believe 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 Khomeini was important to the Iranian Revolution? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

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