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UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL EXAMINATIONS
International General Certificate of Secondary Education

HISTORY **0470/22**

Paper 2 **October/November 2012**

2 hours

Additional Materials: Answer Booklet/Paper

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READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

If you have been given an Answer Booklet, follow the instructions on the front cover of the Booklet.
Write your Centre number, candidate number and name on all the work you hand in.
Write in dark blue or black pen.
You may use a soft pencil for any diagrams, graphs or rough working.
Do not use staples, paper clips, highlighters, glue or correction fluid.

This paper has two options.
Choose **one** option, and answer **all** of the questions on that topic.
Option A: 19th Century topic [p2–p5]
Option B: 20th Century topic [p6–p11]

At the end of the examination, fasten all your work securely together.
The number of marks is given in brackets [ ] at the end of each question or part question.

This document consists of **11** printed pages and **1** blank page.

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Option A: 19th Century topic

WAS CAVOUR IN FAVOUR OF A UNITED ITALY?

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

Background Information

Cavour's role in the unification of Italy has long been a matter of dispute between historians. Some have argued that Cavour should be placed alongside Mazzini and Garibaldi as one of the heroes of Italian unification. They have claimed that from the beginning of his career Cavour carefully planned and worked towards unification. However, other historians have seen Cavour as having little to do with the nationalist cause. They argue that his only aim was to make Piedmont stronger and that unification was achieved because of Garibaldi and despite Cavour.

Was Cavour really in favour of a united Italy?

SOURCE A

Unification was achieved not by propaganda, but by war and diplomatic alliances. Cavour had to secure foreign support for his ambitions. Foreign armies did much of the actual fighting for Italian unity. After 1848 Cavour had concluded that only the French could defeat Austria. The campaign of summer 1859 proved his point. Two hundred thousand French troops, brought to Italy rapidly by rail, commanded by Napoleon III, invaded Lombardy and won the battle of Magenta. Four days later Victor Emmanuel and Napoleon III entered Milan in triumph.

By October 1860 troops led by Victor Emmanuel had joined with those under Garibaldi. On 26 October the two men met. Their handshake symbolised the creation of a united 'Italy'. By brilliant tactical generalship, Garibaldi had won Sicily and the south for his king. But the real winner was Cavour. Garibaldi, or the French, won the battles; Cavour won the war. Cavour both won over and outmanoeuvred the French emperor, and made Italian unification acceptable throughout Europe. He prevented Garibaldi from taking Rome, but himself took over most of the Papal States. It was a triumph, comparable only with Garibaldi's triumphs on the battlefield. In a dozen years Cavour had turned a minor little state into a united Italian kingdom, run by safe, reliable men with liberal views and a decent respect for their king.

From a history book published in 1998.

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SOURCE B

The astonishing success of the 'thousand' forced Cavour's hand. A successful invasion of Naples by Garibaldi would at best lead to a radical regime in the south, disputing the leadership of Italy with Piedmont. On 22 August 1860, Garibaldi landed on the mainland. Francis II abandoned Naples on 6 September, and Garibaldi occupied the city the following day. Cavour rose to the occasion with probably the greatest piece of opportunism of his career. The Piedmontese army defeated Papal troops at Castelfidardo. Garibaldi now faced the choice of acknowledging the supremacy of the King of Piedmont, or fighting him. He chose to hand over his conquests to Victor Emmanuel.

To understand Cavour's attitude to the question of Italian national unity, it may be best to view him as a man who lacked power to dominate events, or to direct them consistently towards any preconceived goal. Rather, Cavour was a practical politician with aims, at first limited, but modified and expanded by developments over which he had little control. It does appear to be the case that Cavour's views underwent a significant change in the last stages of his life, driven by the pressure of events taking place around him. In 1860, with his bid for control of northern Italy checked at Villafranca, Cavour lost the initiative in Italian politics to Garibaldi. Forced to annex the southern provinces to keep them out of radical hands, he found himself having to adopt Garibaldi's nationalist programme. He seems to have realised that the pressure towards unity – away from the greater Piedmont that had been his original goal – was unstoppable. Cavour, therefore, eventually adopted the geographical programme of Mazzini and of Garibaldi. He never accepted their political programme, however, and firmly imposed his own political ideas upon Italy as a whole.

From a history book published in 2008.

SOURCE C

If we so strongly desire the emancipation of Italy – if we declare that in the face of this great question all the petty questions that divide us must be silenced – it is not only that we may see our country glorious and powerful but that above all we may raise her up to the level of the most civilised nations. This union we preach with such enthusiasm is not so difficult to obtain as we might suppose if we just looked at our unhappy divisions. Nationalism has become general; it grows daily; and it has already grown strong enough to keep all parts of Italy united despite the differences that distinguish them.

Written by Cavour in 1846.

SOURCE D

In recent years Piedmont has tried to do away with the last hindrances to our country, and we have lost no occasion to act as the spokesman and defender of the other peoples of Italy. This policy found one such occasion in the Crimean War. As for the defence of the rights of Italy, that was our task at the Congress of Paris. It was an outstanding fact that the cause of Italy was for the first time supported by an Italian power.

Cavour speaking to the Piedmont Parliament in 1858.

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SOURCE E

Next I ask General Sirtori to tell the Chamber what answer he got from Count Cavour when he went to see him on 23 April 1860. Cavour said 'I don't know what to say or what to do,' and, in the sly way he had, ended, rubbing his hands, 'I think Garibaldi and the Thousand will be captured.'

Bertoni speaking in a debate in the Italian Parliament in 1863. Bertoni was an extreme republican and a leading supporter of Garibaldi. He recruited the volunteers for Garibaldi's Thousand.

SOURCE F

As to the expedition to the Papal States, Cavour said absolutely: 'No, the government will oppose it by every means in its power.' As to Garibaldi's expedition to Sicily, Cavour said exactly these words: 'Well and good. Begin at the south in order to come north. When it is a question of actions of that kind, however bold they may be, you can rely on my support.' Those were his precise words. He promised to help the expedition, provided the responsibility of the government was completely concealed.

Sirtori replying to Bertoni in the Italian Parliament in 1863. Sirtori was a moderate and a leading supporter of Garibaldi. He had opposed Garibaldi's plan to attack Rome in 1860.

SOURCE G

Your Majesty knows the high esteem and love I bear you. But the present state of things in Italy does not allow me to obey you as I would have wished. Called by the people I waited as long as I could. But if I were to delay longer, I should fail in my duty and endanger the sacred cause of Italy. Allow me then this time to disobey you. As soon as I have freed the people, I will lay down my sword at your feet and obey you for the rest of my life.

A letter from Garibaldi to King Victor Emmanuel, July 1860.
This letter was published immediately by Cavour.

SOURCE H



A British cartoon published in 1860. The title of the cartoon is 'The man in possession'.

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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.

Do these two sources show that Cavour's views had changed? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

3 Study Sources E and F.

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

4 Study Source G.

Are you surprised that Cavour immediately published this letter? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [7]

5 Study Source H.

What is the message of this cartoon? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

6 Study **all** the sources.

Do these sources provide convincing evidence that Cavour was in favour of a united Italy? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

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Option B: 20th Century topic

WHY WAS THERE A CRISIS IN HUNGARY IN 1956?

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

Background Information

After the end of the Second World War the countries in Eastern Europe were controlled by the USSR. However, as time passed, there were signs of change. In 1953 Stalin died and was replaced by Khrushchev. In June 1956 there was a revolt in Poland against Soviet control, and in October there was an uprising in Hungary. Khrushchev responded by appointing the reformer Imre Nagy as Prime Minister. However, the reforms he proposed were too much for Khrushchev and in November Soviet troops and tanks entered Hungary. Khrushchev had chosen his time well because Britain, France and the USA were distracted by the issue of the Suez Canal.

Was the crisis in Hungary caused by the Soviet Union, or were other factors to blame?

SOURCE A

Stalin acted not through persuasion, explanation and patient cooperation with people, but by imposing his ideas and demanding absolute submission. Stalin invented the idea of 'the enemy of the people'. This idea made possible the most cruel repression. The repressive nature of Stalin showed itself not only in decisions concerning the internal life of the country, but also in the international relations of the Soviet Union. We have studied in detail the reasons for the development of conflict in Yugoslavia. It was a shameful role that Stalin played there.

From Khrushchev's speech to the Communist Party Conference in Moscow in February 1956.

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SOURCE B



A cartoon from a British magazine, October 1956. The ringmaster is Khrushchev.

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SOURCE C



A cartoon from a British magazine published in November 1956, during the Suez Crisis. The figures at the bottom of the cartoon represent President Nasser of Egypt and the governments of Israel, Britain and France.

SOURCE D

True to the teaching of the founder of the Soviet State, Lenin, the government of the Soviet Union bases its policy towards other countries, big and small, on the principle of peaceful co-existence. We believe in equality, non-interference, respect for sovereignty and national independence. The Soviet Union rejects aggression and believes that any invasion of another state is not to be permitted.

From a speech by Khrushchev in 1955 during his visit to Yugoslavia to meet Tito.

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SOURCE E

In 1956 a bloody struggle broke out in Budapest. Imre Nagy used lies and threats to trick the people into mutiny and war. People were being murdered, strung up from lamp posts and hanged by their feet. Nagy demanded that we pull all Soviet troops out of Hungary. According to our obligations under the Warsaw Treaty, we could only pull out troops if asked to by a legal government. Although he was a Communist, Nagy no longer spoke for the Hungarian Communist Party. He spoke only for himself and a small group. We quickly saw that the uprising was without support from the workers and the peasants. Whatever we did we would not be pursuing nationalist goals but the internationalist goal of workers' solidarity. We decided to consult with the other Socialist countries. Tito said we should send our soldiers to help Hungary crush the counter-revolutionaries.

From Khrushchev's memoirs. These were published in 1971, after his fall from power.

SOURCE F

28 October 1956

Khrushchev: Things are getting more difficult. Demonstrations are reported.

Kadar: Engage in discussions with the centres of resistance. The workers are supporting the revolt.

Voroshilov: We are in a bad situation. We must work out our political line and bring in a group of Hungarian comrades. We shall not withdraw our armed forces. It is necessary to crush the rebellion decisively.

Molotov: Things are going badly. The situation is worsening. We must agree on the limits within which we will permit a retreat. If they don't agree, then we go in with troops.

Khrushchev: We must take account of the facts. The uprising has spread to other parts of Hungary. The army may go over to the rebels. Should we support Nagy? Yes, there is no other way.

30 October 1956

Khrushchev: Discussions with Chinese leaders. The whole Chinese leadership supports the policy of withdrawal of the army and discussions.

31 October 1956

Khrushchev: The army should not be withdrawn from Hungary. We must start to bring order. Our party would not understand if we gave Hungary, as well as Egypt, to the imperialists. If we leave Hungary it will encourage the American, English and French imperialists. They will see this as weakness on our part.

From notes of the meetings of the Soviet leadership, 28 October – 31 October 1956. These notes were not made public until 1996. Kadar was a member of Nagy's government and was summoned to these meetings by the Soviet government.

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SOURCE G

1 We demand the immediate withdrawal from Hungary of all Soviet troops.
2 We demand elections by secret ballot.
3 The government must be reorganised under the direction of comrade Imre Nagy; all the criminal leaders of the Stalin-Rakosi era must be immediately removed.
4 We demand the reorganisation of the whole of Hungary's economic life.
5 We demand the immediate dismantling of the statue of Stalin.
6 We demand freedom of opinion, of expression, of the press and a free radio.

From the demands of the students of the Budapest Technical Construction University, 22 October 1956. These demands became the programme of the Hungarian uprising.

SOURCE H



'I'll be glad to restore peace in the Middle East, too'.

An American cartoon published in 1956.

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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.

How surprised would people in countries controlled by the Soviet Union have been by this speech? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [7]

2 Study Sources B and C.

How similar are these two cartoons? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [9]

3 Study Sources D and E.

How far does Source D prove that Khrushchev's account in Source E is unreliable? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

4 Study Sources F and G.

Which of these sources is more useful as evidence about the Hungarian Crisis? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [6]

5 Study Source H.

Why was this cartoon published in 1956? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

6 Study **all** the sources.

Do these sources provide convincing evidence that the Soviet Union was to blame for the crisis in Hungary? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

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