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UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL EXAMINATIONS
International General Certificate of Secondary Education

HISTORY **0470/23**

Paper 2 **October/November 2012**

2 hours

Additional Materials: Answer Booklet/Paper

3659927378

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–p6]
Option B: 20th Century topic [p7–p12]

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 **12** printed pages.

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Option A: 19th Century topic

WERE OUTSIDE FACTORS CRUCIAL TO THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY?

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

Background Information

By 1860 much of Italy had been united. Some historians have claimed that this was because of the Italians themselves, especially Mazzini, Garibaldi and Cavour. However, others have argued that because what happened in Italy was important to other European countries, outside factors were decisive. The role of Napoleon III, they claim, was especially significant.

How crucial were outside factors in the unification of Italy?

SOURCE A

Napoleon III was crucial to the uniting of northern and central Italy. While the work of making Piedmont a modern state capable of leading a movement to free Italy was proceeding, Cavour was looking for foreign allies. Troops from Piedmont fought alongside French troops in the Crimean War, and at the Congress of Paris at the end of the war Cavour was able to represent Piedmont and to attempt to get help for his plans to remove Austrian power from northern Italy. Secret meetings between Cavour and Napoleon followed. In 1859 a treaty was signed between the two countries. If Cavour could tempt Austria into declaring war on Piedmont, Napoleon would come to his aid with 200 000 men. Assuming the war was won, Piedmont would gain Lombardy, Venetia and other Italian states. France would gain Savoy and Nice and a kingdom of Central Italy would be formed.

However, Napoleon had soon had enough of the fighting and was worried about the Prussian army mobilising. The Treaty of Villafranca seemed to have brought Cavour's schemes crashing down. No Italian was present when France signed this agreement with Austria, and Piedmont's only gain was Lombardy. However, Cavour created triumph out of apparent disaster and soon he was welcoming delegates from the central states to a new Italian parliament. The central states had absolutely refused to be handed back to their previous rulers. What made all of this possible was that Britain feared Napoleon's ambitions in Italy and hoped to stop them by making Piedmont a more powerful state. Napoleon was content when Cavour offered him the original bargain – the provinces of Nice and Savoy.

From a book published in 1984.

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SOURCE B

Among France's allies in the Crimean War was Piedmont, and when the war ended in 1856, Cavour had a seat at the peace conference in Paris. This brought Cavour and Napoleon III into close contact. On a number of occasions in the 1850s Napoleon spoke to Cavour about 'doing something for Italy' but he did not explain what that something should be. It is difficult now to know what, if anything, he had in mind. It is usually taken to mean that he wished to drive Austria out of northern Italy, leaving the way clear for Piedmont and France to influence events in northern Italy.

What did Napoleon mean when he talked about Italy? Some historians believe that before 1861 'Italy' to him meant northern Italy. It is doubtful whether Napoleon would have wanted the whole Italian peninsula united into a single kingdom. Such a country might become a threat to France. Napoleon's plans were based on driving out the Austrians and setting up a French-controlled, enlarged Piedmont.

Cavour and Napoleon agreed a plan to lure Austria into war. Napoleon agreed that he would support Piedmont as French military assistance was required. The war was short. Why did Napoleon make a sudden and unexpected truce with Austria? The battles with their great loss of life seem to have affected him severely. It also seemed to Napoleon that Piedmont was trying to gain more territory and power than had been agreed. However, Napoleon became more sympathetic to the idea of the union of northern and central Italy when Austria refused to take part in a Congress to settle the problems of central Italy.

From a history book published in 2001.

SOURCE C

I believe you will be impatient to receive a detailed account of the long conversations I had with Emperor Napoleon. As soon as I entered the Emperor's study, he raised the question which was the purpose of my journey. He began by saying that he had decided to support Piedmont with all his power in a war against Austria provided that the war was undertaken for a non-revolutionary purpose which could be justified in the eyes of French and European public opinion.

We went to the main question: what would be the objectives of the war? The Emperor agreed that it was necessary to drive the Austrians out of Italy.

From a letter written by Cavour to Victor Emmanuel, July 1858.

SOURCE D

Your Majesty knows the difficulty of our position. We agreed a plan with your Majesty by which we would group around us all the forces of Italy but without our cause being connected to any revolutionary element. If we are now made to wait outside the door while Your Majesty plays the chief role, the rest of Italy will see us as weak and powerless. Austria is playing the role of an aggressor and this makes me hope she will before long commit one of those aggressive acts which will justify your armed intervention.

From a letter written by Cavour to Napoleon III, early 1859.

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SOURCE E



FREE ITALY (?)

A British cartoon published in July 1859. The three figures represent (from left to right) Austria, Italy and Napoleon III. Napoleon is placing the Papal crown on Italy's head.

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SOURCE F



An illustration of Garibaldi in the battle of Calatafimi, published shortly after the battle in 1860.

SOURCE G

Were Garibaldi to become master of all the Neapolitan provinces, we would not be able to stop him from ruining our good relationships with France and Europe. We could no longer resist him. It follows that it is of the very greatest importance to us and the Emperor Napoleon that, if the Bourbons have to fall, it should not be by Garibaldi's actions.

From a letter written by Cavour to Nigra, his representative in Paris, July 1860.

SOURCE H

When Garibaldi reaches Naples, he must do whatever circumstances suggest. Once in Naples he should proclaim union with the rest of Italy, just as he has done in Sicily. He must prevent disorder. He should keep the Bourbon army together and ready, for Austria may declare war on us shortly.

From a note written by a royal official, summarising the content of a dictated letter sent by Victor Emmanuel to Garibaldi on 5 August 1860. Both the note and the letter were not made public until the 1950s.

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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 make you think that Napoleon III had changed his mind about Italy? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

3 Study Source E.

What is the message of this cartoon? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [7]

4 Study Source F.

Why was this source published in 1860? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

5 Study Sources G and H.

Does Source G make you surprised by Source H? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

6 Study **all** the sources.

Do these sources provide convincing evidence that factors outside Italy were crucial to the achieving of Italian unification? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

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Option B: 20th Century topic

WERE THE REFORMS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA A DANGER TO COMMUNISM?

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

Background Information

In January 1968, against the background of economic problems, low living standards and student demonstrations, Alexander Dubcek was appointed leader of the Czechoslovak government. Although some members of the government disagreed with him, he began to introduce economic and political reforms that became known as 'the Prague Spring'.

Demands for more reforms grew and this caused concern both in the Czechoslovakian Communist Party and in the rest of the Warsaw Pact. Dubcek always claimed that he was loyal to Communism and that his reforms were no threat to the Party. However, on 3 August some members of the Czechoslovak government sent a letter to Moscow asking for the Soviet Union to intervene. On 20 August 1968, half a million Soviet troops crossed the border into Czechoslovakia.

Were Dubcek's reforms really a threat to Communism?

SOURCE A

Dubcek and his colleagues intended to reform communism, not to get rid of it. They issued an Action Programme of reforms in April 1968, which was actually a fairly moderate document. It covered all the areas where discontent had been growing since 1956. Moderate solutions were proposed in all areas, except one: the rights of the individual. Dubcek and his supporters wanted to encourage spontaneous action from below; he was confident that this would lead to a more humane socialism, not a collapse of the whole system.

Others were not so sure. Communist leaders outside Czechoslovakia were extremely concerned about these developments. Warning after warning was given. The first indication of concern was the emergency session of Communist leaders which met in East Germany on 23 March 1968. Dubcek attached little importance to the concerns expressed. In his view, Czechoslovakia's allies 'accepted her line with understanding'. The real situation was that Brezhnev was unwilling to intervene, but was under constant pressure from his East German and Polish partners, who were both extremely hostile to what was happening in Czechoslovakia.

The publication of the 'Two Thousand Words' Manifesto on 27 June was a decisive turning point. It called on the people to force out party leaders who had abused positions of power. This brought a swift response from the Soviet leader. 'We cannot remain indifferent to the fate of socialism in another country,' he said on 3 July.

One question about 1968 is why Dubcek and his supporters felt that they could safely defy the Soviet Union. As Kadar said to the Czechoslovak leader on 17 August 1968, four days before the invasion: 'Do you really not know the kind of people you are dealing with?'

From a history book published in 2000.

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SOURCE B

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From a history book published in 2005.

SOURCE C

I went to Moscow on 29 January. The invitation was to me alone. I first met with Brezhnev and then with most of the Politburo. I said changes and corrections were absolutely necessary if the socialist system was to function effectively in Czechoslovakia. I carefully avoided words that would trigger hostility from these dogmatic Marxist-Leninists – such as reform or revision. As I watched the gloomy faces before me, I realised I wasn't getting through to them. I tried to reassure them, pointing out that nothing we planned was in any way directed against the interests of the Soviet Union or the Warsaw Pact. What we wanted to do was made necessary by the special conditions in Czechoslovakia, nothing else. In conclusion, I asked for their understanding. We needed to be left alone to put our house in order . And that, I said, should be seen as in harmony with the interests of the Soviet Union. They did not say much. Yet there was no sign of open disagreement.

From Dubcek's autobiography entitled 'Hope Dies Last', published in 1993. This extract describes a meeting in Moscow in January 1968.

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SOURCE D

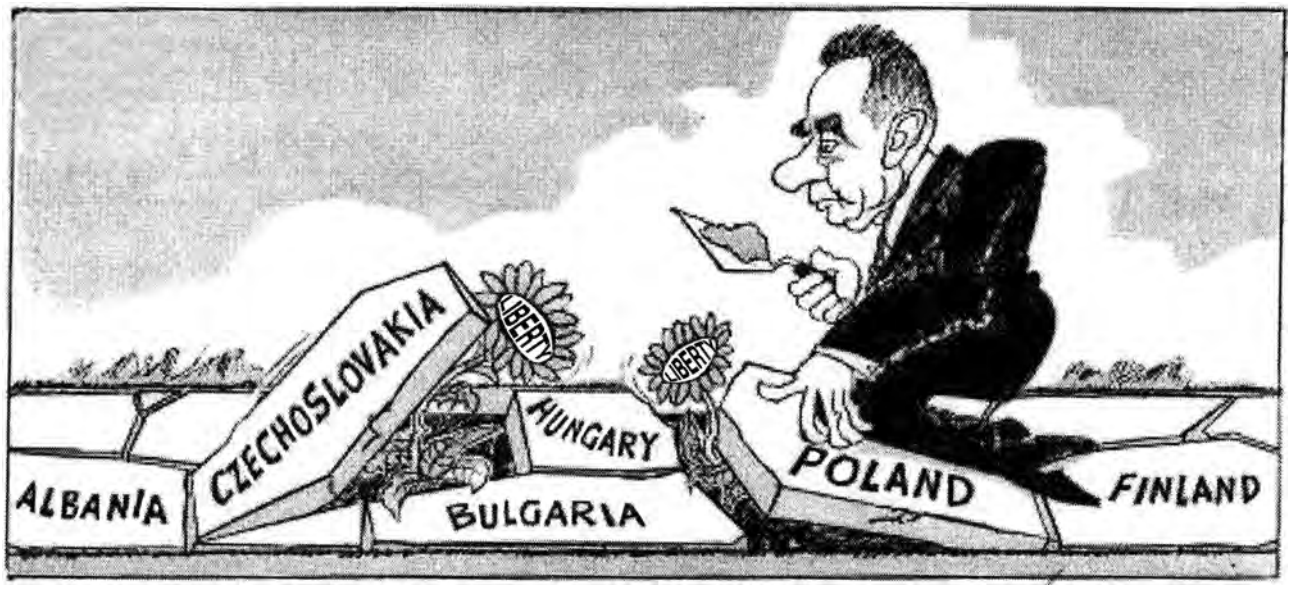
Developments in your country are causing deep anxiety among us. We are convinced that your country is being pushed off the road of socialism and that this puts in danger the interests of the whole socialist system.

We cannot agree to have hostile forces push your country away from the road of socialism. We cannot accept the risk of Czechoslovakia being cut off from the socialist community of countries. This is something more than your concern. It is the common concern of all communist parties and states. It is the common concern of our countries, which have joined the Warsaw Pact to place a barrier against the imperialist forces.

We shall never agree to the security of our peoples being placed in danger. We shall never agree to imperialism making a breach in the socialist system of countries.

A letter from the Soviet leadership to the Czechoslovak Communist Party, 15 July 1968.

SOURCE E



A British cartoon published in March 1968. The figure is Kosygin who was Premier of the Soviet Union.

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SOURCE F



A British cartoon published on 23 July 1968. The figure on the right is Dubcek.

SOURCE G



A British cartoon published on 24 July 1968. The leading figures facing Dubcek are Kosygin and Brezhnev. They are saying to Dubcek 'Of course, Mr Dubcek, we've had to bring a few lady secretaries and some tea boys.'

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SOURCE H

Yesterday, troops of the Soviet Union crossed the frontiers of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. This happened without the knowledge of the President of the Republic, the Premier, or the First Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee. The Czechoslovak Communist Party regards this act as contrary to basic principles of good relations between socialist states.

From a Czechoslovak radio broadcast, 21 August 1968.

SOURCE I

TASS is authorised to state that the leaders of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic have asked the Soviet Union and allied states to give the Czechoslovak people urgent assistance, including assistance with armed forces. This request was brought about by the threat to the Socialist system from counter-revolutionary forces in Czechoslovakia working with foreign forces.

A statement made by TASS, the Soviet news agency, 21 August 1968.

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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.

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

3 Study Sources E and F.

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

4 Study Source G.

Why was this source published in July 1968? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [7]

5 Study Sources H and I.

Is one of these two sources lying? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

6 Study **all** the sources.

Do these sources provide convincing evidence that the reforms in Czechoslovakia were a threat to Communism? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

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Option B Source C	© Alexander Dubcek; *Hope Dies Last*; Harper Collins; 1993.
Option B Source D	© Tony McAleavy; *Modern World History*; Cambridge University Press; 1996.
Option B Source E	© Kenneth Mahood; The Times; 13 March 1968.
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