



UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL EXAMINATIONS International General Certificate of Secondary Education

HISTORY 0470/22

Paper 2 May/June 2011

2 hours

Additional Materials: Answer Booklet/Paper

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 then 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.



Option A: 19th Century topic

WHY DID THE 1848-9 REVOLUTIONS IN ITALY FAIL?

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

Background Information

In 1848 a series of revolutions broke out in Italy. The first one was in Sicily in January. Later in the year the people of Milan drove the Austrian army, led by General Radetzky, out of the city. Charles Albert, King of Piedmont, then decided to declare war on Austria. Despite at first appearing to side with Charles Albert, Pope Pius IX decided not to support the struggle against Austria and he had to flee Rome when a popular uprising led to a republic being established.

By August 1849 it was clear that all the revolutions had failed. Some historians have explained this failure by focusing on the weaknesses and divisions of the Italians, while others have placed more importance on foreign intervention. Why did the revolutions fail?

SOURCE A

The hopes of their revolutionary leaders of 1848–9, after a brief period of fulfilment, were shattered in Italy as elsewhere by the military force of the powers of reaction. The idealists and patriots who had for a few weeks ruled in half the capitals of Europe were crowded into prisons or huddled into nameless graves.

The most memorable of the closing scenes of the tragedy had been the defence of the Roman Republic, which the patriots from the north Italian provinces, led by Mazzini and Garibaldi, had inspired with heroism and glory. From the moment when the flag of the degenerate French Republic was victoriously planted in Rome among the corpses of the Red-shirts, the Catholics of France achieved the occupation of Rome which was destined to involve them and their cause in ruin; and Louis Napoleon was to find that all he would gain from his protection of the Pope was slavery and embarrassment. Garibaldi, not content with having defended Rome long beyond the last hour of hope, gathered around him those who would not ask for mercy from the restored Papal government and eluded the pursuing armies of Naples, Spain, France and Austria, until the last of his forces were captured or disbanded.

From a history book published in 1909.

SOURCE B

In Italy the apparently impending collapse of Austrian power encouraged Charles Albert, Pope Pius IX, the King of Naples and the Grand Duke of Tuscany to commit troops to expel Austrian forces. They were inspired by personal ambition, the pressures from liberals to work for a united Italy, and also to protect themselves against republican movements in the newly liberated areas. The working-class crowds who had defeated the Austrian army were seen by Cavour as a dangerous menace.

The campaign waged by the Italian states was a fiasco. The mutual suspicions of their leaders were immediately apparent. As early as April, Pius IX condemned the war. This led to the establishment of a republic in Rome in 1849 which was defeated by a French army sent by Louis Napoleon. The alliance against Austria was also weakened when Ferdinand of Naples had felt confident enough to ignore his liberal critics and recall his troops for use in repression in Sicily where the revolutions had started.

In March 1848 Charles Albert's hesitancy had allowed the Austrian commander Radetzky to regroup his forces following his expulsion from Milan. It also became clear that support for the nationalist cause was limited, and most middle-class republicans were frightened by the social protests that followed the revolutions. Assisted by the incompetence of the Piedmontese army, Radetzky was able to win a decisive victory in July. Charles Albert abandoned Lombardy and Venice to their fates.

From a history book published in 1988.

SOURCE C

Seeing that some at present desire that I too, along with the other princes of Italy and their subjects, should engage in war against the Austrians, I have thought it convenient to proclaim clearly and openly that such a measure is altogether against my wishes insomuch as I reach to and embrace all people and nations with solemn affection.

I cannot refrain from rejecting, before the face of all nations, the treacherous advice of those who will have the Roman Papacy to be the head of and preside over the formation of some sort of republic of the whole Italian people. Rather, on this occasion, moved by the love I bear them, I do urgently warn and encourage the Italian people to abstain from the advice, deceitful and ruinous to Italy herself, and to stay in close attachment to their sovereigns, of whose good will they have already had experience. For if they do otherwise, they would run a risk of dividing Italy herself with fresh discords and factions.

From an announcement by Pope Pius IX, April 1848.

SOURCE D



A cartoon of Pope Pius IX, published in Italy in 1852.

SOURCE E

My army was almost alone in the struggle. The lack of provisions forced us to abandon the positions we had conquered. But the throbs of my heart were ever for Italian independence. People of the kingdom show yourselves strong in a first misfortune. Have confidence in your king. The cause of Italian independence is not yet lost.

From a statement to his people by Charles Albert after his defeat in the battle of Custozza by the Austrian army, July 1848.

SOURCE F

I had no idea of enlisting in Garibaldi's brigade of volunteers preparing to defend the Roman Republic against French attack. I was a young artist; I only went out of curiosity – but oh! I shall never forget that day when I saw him on his beautiful white horse in the market-place, with his noble, calm, kind face, his high, smooth forehead, his light hair and beard – everyone said the same. He reminded us of nothing so much as the paintings of Christ. I could not resist him. I went after him; thousands did likewise. He only had to show himself. We all worshipped him; we could not help it.

An artist's description of his first view of Garibaldi in April 1849.

SOURCE G



A drawing entitled 'Rome – Garibaldi's Men', published in an English magazine in July 1849.

SOURCE H

I am thoroughly convinced that it is high time to stop giving favours to a country which all too often abuses them; that it is much more necessary to let the country feel the punishment of its mighty and much offended lord, since everyone knows that the Italians fear a strict but just ruler and will do his bidding, while they abuse and despise a good and indulgent one.

In my opinion this wealthy land should be punished severely. To humble the rich and protect the loyal citizen should be the principle on which from now on the government of Lombardy-Venetia should be based.

I am firmly convinced that directly after the conclusion of a peace, ringleaders of the revolutionary party will petition for mercy and that the government shall smother them in it. The aim of my letter is to beg you to set aside any mercy and let justice run its course, even for the rich aristocracy and the larger cities, who have sinned so severely against the imperial royal government.

A letter from Field Marshal Radetzky, the commander of the Austrian army in Lombardy, to the new Chancellor of Austria, April 1849.

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 differ as accounts of the events of 1848–9? Explain your answer using details of the sources. [7]

2 Study Sources C and D.

How far does Source D make Source C surprising? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [9]

3 Study Sources E and F.

Do these sources prove that Charles Albert would have supported Garibaldi's efforts in Rome? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

4 Study Source G.

How useful is this source to a historian? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [7]

5 Study Source H.

Why did Radetzky write this letter in April 1849? 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 the revolutions of 1848–9 in Italy failed because of foreign intervention? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

Option B: 20th Century topic

WHY DID EUROPE DIVIDE INTO TWO OPPOSING CAMPS IN 1947-8?

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

Background Information

After the Second World War, the USA became worried about the growth of Soviet power in Europe. In 1947, after visiting Europe, General George Marshall feared that Europe was so poor that there was a danger it might turn Communist. There were demonstrations in several countries about poverty and unemployment. These demonstrations were often led by the local Communist parties. To fight the danger of Communism and Soviet power, Marshall devised the European Recovery Plan (ERP), usually known as the Marshall Plan.

The Plan was offered to all Europe, east and west. However, Stalin refused to participate and ordered countries under his influence to do the same. He was furious when the Czech government decided to attend the second Paris conference about Marshall Aid in July 1947. He banned the Czechs from attending. Czechoslovakia had held free elections in 1946 and only one-third of its government were Communists. The country had suffered from a poor harvest in 1947 and help was desperately needed. The Czechs appealed to America for help, but no help came. In February 1948 the Communists demonstrated on the streets of Prague, opponents were arrested and the Communists took over the government.

In 1947, in reaction to the Marshall Plan, Stalin had created Cominform to strengthen links between Communist parties in European countries. By 1948 Europe was divided into two. Was this the fault of the USA or of the Soviet Union?

SOURCE A

Stalin's decision to stand aside from the European Recovery Program was one of his greatest mistakes. Whatever their private plans, the Americans, having made the offer to all, would have had no choice but to include Eastern Europe in the ERP. Instead, the aid was confined to the West and marked a parting of ways between the two halves of the continent.

Americans were divided as to the goals of the Plan. Idealists saw an opportunity to reconstruct Europe in the American image. However, from a more conventional American perspective, free trade and its benefits were themselves a sufficient objective and justification for the ERP programme. The United States had been particularly hard hit by the trading and export slump of the thirties and spared no effort to convince others of the importance to post-war recovery of free trade. American pleas for the unrestricted movement of goods were self-interested. But this self-interest was enlightened. The CIA Director Allen Dulles said, 'The Plan shows we desire to help restore a Europe which can and will compete with us in the world markets, and for that reason will be able to buy substantial amounts of our products.' The Marshall Plan would benefit the USA by restoring her major trading partners, rather than by reducing Europe to a state of dependence.

From a history book published in the USA in 2005.

SOURCE B

It is now suggested that the possibility of American aid being received by this or that country involves an obedient attitude by that country. What will remain of the economic independence of European countries? The Soviet Government certainly cannot go along this path and continue to support the proposals. When it is stated that the decisive hold on the restoration of the economic life of European countries should belong to the United States and not to the European countries themselves, such a position stands in direct contradiction to the interests of European countries. The Plan will lead to Britain, France and the group of countries that follow them separating from the rest of Europe, which will split Europe into two groups of states.

From a statement by Molotov at the first Paris meeting about the Marshall Plan in July 1947.

Molotov was the Soviet Foreign Minister.

SOURCE C



An American cartoon published in 1947. The title of the cartoon is 'When the time is right'.

SOURCE D



A photograph of workers in Paris demonstrating in 1947 for more pay, more bread and more united action by left-wing groups.

SOURCE E



A cartoon published in a Soviet magazine in 1947. At the top, the figures at the back are European leaders. At the bottom, the peoples of Europe are shown demonstrating for a better life and against warmongering.

SOURCE F

Totalitarian regimes are encouraged by misery and poverty. They spread and grow in the evil soil of poverty and conflict. They reach their full potential when the hope of a people for a better life has died. We must keep that hope alive. If we weaken in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world – and we shall surely endanger the welfare of our own nation.

At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is often not a free one. One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression.

The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio, fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedom. I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted conquest by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

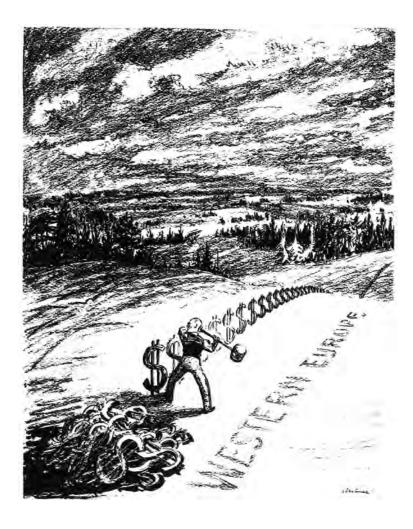
From a speech by President Truman to the US Congress in March 1947.

SOURCE G

The Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan are both part of an American plan to enslave Europe. America's aspirations to world supremacy encounter an obstacle in the USSR, the stronghold of anti-imperialist and anti-fascist policy. Soviet foreign policy proceeds from the fact of co-existence for a long period of the two systems, capitalism and socialism. The Truman Doctrine, which provides for American assistance to all reactionary regimes which actively oppose the democratic peoples, bears a frankly aggressive character. The cornerstone of the Marshall Plan is the restoration of the industrial areas of West Germany controlled by American monopolies. The Soviet Union will make every effort to ensure that the Marshall Plan is doomed to failure. The Communist parties of France, Italy and Great Britain and other countries must play a part in this.

From a speech by Andrei Zhdanov, organiser of Cominform's first meeting in September 1947.

SOURCE H



A cartoon published in Britain in 1947. The cartoon is called 'The Truman Line.'

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. [6]

2 Study Source C.

Why was this cartoon published in 1947? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

3 Study Sources D and E.

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

4 Study Sources F and G.

Why do these two sources differ so much? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

5 Study Source H.

What is the message of this source? 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 the USA was to blame for dividing Europe into two camps? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

Copyright Acknowledgements:

```
Option A Source A © G M Trevelyan; Garibaldi and the Thousand; Longman; 1909.
Option A Source B © Roger Price; The Revolutions of 1848; Humanities Press International; 1988.
                   © Peter Browning; Revolutions and Nationalities; Cambridge University Press; 2000.
Option A Source C
Option A Source D @ Andrina Stiles; The Unification of Italy 1815-70; Hodder & Stoughton/British Library; 2001.
Option A Source F
                    © Eric Wilmot; The Great Powers 1814-1914; Nelson Thornes; 1992.
Option A Source G
                    © www.sc.edu/library/spcoll/hist/garib/iln.html.
Option A Source H
                    © Martin Clark; The Italian Risorgimento; Longman; 1998.
                    © Tony Judt; Postwar; A History of Europe since 1945; published by William Heinemann. Reprinted by permission of The Random House
Option B Source A
                    Group Ltd; 2007.
Option B Source C
                    © Jeremy Isaacs & Taylor Downing; Cold War; Bantam Press/Peter Newarks Pictures; 1998.
                    © Jeremy Isaacs & Taylor Downing; Cold War; Bantam Press/Agence France Presse; 1998.
Option B Source D
Option B Source H © Tony Rea & John Wright; International Relations 1914-1995; Oxford University Press/Punch; 1997.
```

Permission to reproduce items where third-party owned material protected by copyright is included has been sought and cleared where possible. Every reasonable effort has been made by the publisher (UCLES) to trace copyright holders, but if any items requiring clearance have unwittingly been included, the publisher will be pleased to make amends at the earliest possible opportunity.

University of Cambridge International Examinations is part of the Cambridge Assessment Group. Cambridge Assessment is the brand name of University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate (UCLES), which is itself a department of the University of Cambridge.