



HISTORY

0470/23

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.

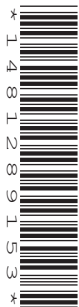
This paper has two options.

Choose **one** option, and answer **all** of the questions on that topic.

Option A: Nineteenth century topic [p2–p6]

Option B: Twentieth century topic [p8–p12]

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



Option A: Nineteenth century topic

HOW FAR DID PIEDMONT TAKE THE LEAD IN EVENTS IN ITALY, 1859–60?

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

Background Information

In March 1861 the Kingdom of Italy was proclaimed, with Victor Emmanuel II as King. This achievement depended largely on the events of the years 1859–60.

Many historians believe that until 1859 Piedmont, its King Victor Emmanuel II and its Prime Minister Cavour, were only interested in extending Piedmont's power and territory and expelling Austria from Italy. They claim that, until Garibaldi's conquest of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, Cavour had given little thought to a unified Italy. Even the war with Austria in 1859 was led by Napoleon III of France. They also argue that it was Garibaldi's successful expeditions to Sicily, and then Naples, and his handing over of these to King Victor Emmanuel, that made unification possible.

But was the role of Piedmont in 1859–60 really so insignificant?

SOURCE A

The biography of Cavour is the biography of Piedmont, the leading state of the Italian nation. It became evident that its internal reforms were a means to an end, and that this end was the consolidation of Italian liberty. Cavour saw his opportunity and turned the Crimean War to Italy's advantage. The alliance between Piedmont and France was Cavour's handiwork. After resigning over the Villafranca agreement, the Italian people called him back to lead Italy. Garibaldi has lived to see that Cavour and himself were following the same object by different routes.

From Cavour's obituary published in an English newspaper on 7 June 1861, the day after Cavour died.

SOURCE B

Garibaldi's overthrow of Bourbon government in Naples forced Cavour to go outside his original intention of expelling Austria from northern Italy. Instead, Cavour was forced to mastermind the unification of northern Italy with the southern Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, a part of Italy in which he had no interest. His 'nationalist' policies in 1859 and 1860 reflect his political ambitions for Piedmont, not Italy; they demonstrate the role of diplomacy and dynasty in the unification and were a cynical exercise in limiting the damage caused by Garibaldi. Cavour's actions in 1859–1860 were cynical and elitist. As historians, we can recognise the accidental character of unification in 1860, but must still acknowledge the unstoppable appeal of nationalism as a large-scale movement. To most educated contemporaries, national unification seemed the most viable and attractive solution to Italy's political crisis at this time.

From a history book published in 2009.

SOURCE C

King Victor Emmanuel and Cavour are determined to drag France into war with Austria. The great design which Piedmont places above all other considerations is her own territorial expansion and the creation of a strong monarchy in the north of Italy. To this everything is made subservient. In pursuit of this favourite scheme Cavour has damaged his prestige among thinking people in England and elsewhere. He has declined in the estimation of the French public to the character of a vulgar aggressor. Only in the French army is there any support for war.

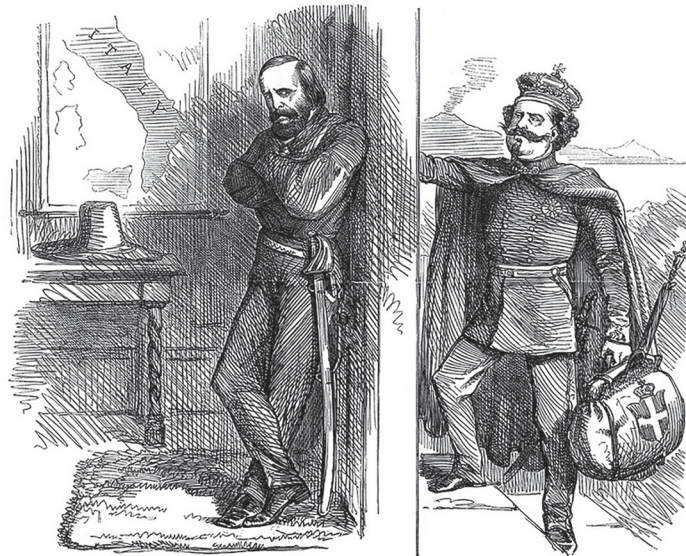
An account by a journalist in Paris published in an English newspaper, March 1859.

SOURCE D

THE GIANT AND THE DWARF.

A British cartoon published on 11 June 1859. Napoleon III is saying to Victor Emmanuel, 'Bravo, my little fellow! You shall do all the fighting, and we'll divide the glory!'

SOURCE E



THE MAN IN POSSESSION.

A cartoon published in Britain on 6 October 1860. Victor Emmanuel is saying, 'I wonder when he will open the door.'

SOURCE F



THE ITALIAN BOOT.

A cartoon published in Britain on 2 March 1861. The creature in the bottom left represents Leopold II, Grand Duke of Tuscany. The figure on the right represents King Victor Emmanuel.

SOURCE G

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 Giacinto de' Sivo published in 1862. Giacinto de' Sivo was the leading pro-Bourbon historian after the fall of the Kingdom of Naples.

SOURCE H

Whenever any internal division was likely to injure my country's great cause, I have submitted, and shall always submit. However, as an ordinary man, I leave it to the conscience of the representatives of Italy to decide whether I can hold out my hand to Cavour, who has made me a stranger in Italy.

Italy is not divided, it is whole because Garibaldi and his friends will always be on the side of those that champion Italy's cause and will fight its enemies on every occasion. With regard to my volunteer army, I must remind you of its glorious deeds; the marvels it accomplished were obscured only when the cold, hostile hand of government made its evil influence felt: when my hopes for unity were confronted by the horrors of a civil war provoked by the government.

Garibaldi speaking in the Italian Parliament in April 1861.

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 give similar impressions of Cavour? Explain your answer using details of the sources. [6]

2 Study Sources C and D.

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

4 Study Source G.

How far do you believe Source G? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

5 Study Source H.

Why did Garibaldi make this speech in April 1861? 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 Piedmont led the events in 1859–60 that ended in unification? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

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Option B: Twentieth century topic**DID THE IRANIAN PEOPLE AND KHOMEINI HAVE THE SAME AIMS?**

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

Background Information

In 1979 the regime of the Shah in Iran was overthrown by revolution. Demonstrations and strikes had begun in 1977 and, in January 1979, with the country paralysed, the Shah fled. He left Shapour Bakhtiar as Prime Minister. Bakhtiar was a moderate liberal and had opposed the Shah. His appointment was meant as a concession to the opposition and during his thirty-six days in power he passed many liberal measures. However, his government was rejected by Ayatollah Khomeini and the masses and he lost power in February. In March the Iranian people voted for an Islamic Republic, and in November for an Islamic constitution. Khomeini became Supreme Leader.

Before the Revolution there were many different types of opposition groups in Iran, including those who wanted an end to the Shah's rule and the introduction of democracy. There was also the exiled cleric Khomeini who wanted to depose the Shah. He criticised the Shah for destroying freedom but also wanted to establish a strict Islamic society and rid Iran of all the western influences he claimed the Shah had introduced.

Was Khomeini in agreement with the Iranian people or did they have different aims?

SOURCE A

In 1978 Iranian streets were flooded with thousands of citizens in a fight for change, ending up in a bloody uprising against the Shah. When the Iranian monarchy was abolished, it marked a massive turning point for the people of Iran. Many saw the Shah as a power-hungry king who had ruined the economy, silenced any opposition and had let corruption run rampant.

Khomeini, the primary leader of the movement to overthrow the Shah, had fundamentalist Islamic views and preached about the ills of the Shah's regime. He criticised the regime for crippling free speech, for westernisation of the country and the resulting moral corruption of Iran. His supporters viewed his stance as a way to reclaim their country from the greedy Shah and the West. These messages were incredibly effective in mobilising the people. Many Iranians were wedded to their Shi'a traditions and had a negative view of the Shah's reforms. The universal desire for change made people of all backgrounds unify and join in the revolution. The revolution did not conform to Western revolutions. This became a puzzle to some in the West, resulting in their disappointment and the idea that the revolution was 'deviant' because it established an Islamic republic. However, Khomeini's words were received as divine inspiration by the great majority of Iranians. It is possible to make sense of the Iranian revolution – the whole society, rich and poor, revolted against the state. However, for Westerners it would make no sense for the rich and educated groups to rally behind Khomeini and his call for Islamic government.

A recent account of the Iranian Revolution.

SOURCE B

The Shah relied on the brutality of his security forces. Tensions between the regime and society reached an irretrievable breach when the Shah in 1975 turned the country into a one-party state. Any remaining political parties were dissolved, all citizens were required to join the new Resurgence Party and to vote for it, and those who refused were denounced as traitors.

With Khomeini's return, the Iranian people looked forward to a new era with freedom of expression and with the nation's oil wealth being used for the benefit of the entire nation. Khomeini, writing from exile, had promised to set the people free from despotism. But the Ayatollah was hard at work on a very different political agenda. His ambition was to establish an Islamic state in which supreme authority was vested in the country's religious leaders and the country was governed on the basis of Islamic law. Now that he was safely back in Tehran, Khomeini was determined to implement the agenda he had championed for more than twenty years. It was of no concern to him that his programme bore little relation to the wishes of the majority of the people who wanted a constitutional democracy. When he became the Supreme Leader he had absolute power. When demonstrations were organised they were violently attacked by his Revolutionary Guards. A dictatorial regime was established.

From a history book published in 2010.

SOURCE C

I must tell you that the Shah, that evil traitor, has gone. He fled and plundered everything. He destroyed our country and filled our cemeteries. He ruined our country's economy. Even the projects he carried out in the name of progress pushed the country towards decadence. He suppressed our culture, annihilated people and destroyed all our manpower resources. We are saying this man and his government are illegal. If they were to continue to stay in power, we would treat them as criminals. I shall appoint my own government. I shall decide the government with the backing of this nation, because this nation accepts me.

From a speech to the Iranian people by Khomeini, February 1979.

SOURCE D

We have one country and it shall have one government and one army. Iran shall never have two governments under any circumstances. Unfortunately, some people have become accustomed to dictatorship. They accepted the Shah's dictatorship and maybe another future dictatorship would be to their satisfaction too. However, I am in favour of freedom and liberty in this country and nothing else. How amazing! We want to give these people freedom and democracy, and they do not want it. What can we do?

From a speech by Shapour Bakhtiar, February 1979.

SOURCE E

The Shah sacrificed the interests of the Iranian nation to our enemies and made the country completely dependent on outsiders. Imam Khomeini led an uprising by hoisting the flag of Islam. The Islamic Revolution is different from other revolutions. It is neither just a cultural, moral, economic or political revolution, but rather a revolution on all fronts. It is like Islam. Besides its moral, ethical, and divine aspects, Islam also considers the different aspects of people's lives and offers economic, political, and social perspectives as well. Similarly, the Islamic Revolution enjoyed several aspects which are in line with the needs of humanity.

Imam Khomeini insisted on the fact that the Revolution is divine and that it belongs to the people. This means that no individual or class can claim to own this Revolution. It was caused by his determination and personality, but Imam Khomeini considers his own role as very little. Protecting the Revolution is a duty that lies on everybody's shoulders. The people must consider themselves as the guardians of the Revolution. There have always been some individuals who have tried to separate the aspects related to religion and social justice.

From a speech by a leading Iranian cleric in June 2008 on the nineteenth anniversary of Khomeini's death.

SOURCE F

MEET THE NEW BOSS "SAME AS THE OLD BOSS"

A cartoon published in the USA in mid-1979.

SOURCE G

The masses supported the fedayee organisation. At the beginning of the revolution, when mullahs wanted to motivate people, they talked about fedayee guerrillas, but after the movement was victorious the situation changed, so now it is sinful to mention the name fedayee. They are so afraid of revolutionaries. They tremble because they want to preserve their class and status.

When can we say the revolution is over? To answer this we should see if the wills of the people who participated in the revolution have been satisfied. It was the strikes by workers that crippled the bourgeoisie. But instead of appreciating the workers, the new government invited all the owners of industry back and called the workers 'troublemakers'. We have three million unemployed, and government puppets who are getting salaries in the tens of thousands of rials, just as in the Shah's era. And when people questioned this they were branded counter-revolutionaries and punished. The government rebuilt the reactionary army of the Shah's regime to suppress the people under the name of the Islamic Republic.

From a speech by Ashraf Dehghani, February 1980. She was a leader of the banned Organization of Iranian People's Fedai Guerrillas, a communist organisation.

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 far would Bakhtiar (Source D) have agreed with Source C? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

3 Study Source E.

How useful is this source as evidence about the Iranian Revolution? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

4 Study Source F.

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

5 Study Source G.

Are you surprised by 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 had the same aims as the Iranian people? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

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