Cambridge Assessment International Education

Cambridge O Level

HISTORY **2147/22**

Paper 2 **May/June 2021**

2 hours

You must answer on the enclosed answer booklet.

You will need: Answer booklet (enclosed)

INSTRUCTIONS

- Answer **all** the questions on **one** option only.
  - Option A: Nineteenth century topic
  - Option B: Twentieth century topic
- Follow the instructions on the front cover of the answer booklet. If you need additional answer paper, ask the invigilator for a continuation booklet.

INFORMATION

- The total mark for this paper is 50.
- The number of marks for each question or part question is shown in brackets [ ].

This document has **12** pages.

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Option A: Nineteenth century topic

WAS AUSTRIA THE MOST IMPORTANT OBSTACLE TO ITALIAN UNIFICATION?

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

Background Information

There were many obstacles to Italian unification. Austria, which directly governed parts of Italy, and had influence over the rest, was ready to fight to retain its position in the country. However, there were other important obstacles. Few people in Italy felt 'Italian'. Their loyalties were more local. Italians in the North and South had little in common and actually felt contempt for each other. There were many differences even among the small number who wanted unification. For example, some were republicans, while others wanted a constitutional monarchy. Some wanted complete unification while others would have been happy with a federation. The Papacy was another obstacle. And then there were foreign powers, such as France under Napoleon III, which were always ready to meddle in Italian affairs, not always to the advantage of the cause of unification.

So, how important was Austria as an obstacle to Italian unification?

SOURCE A

Foreign rule, perhaps because it was remote and relatively free from involvement in local rivalries, found a positive welcome among many people in Italy. The main obstruction in the way of the patriotic movement was not foreign government but the slowness of the great bulk of Italians to accept or even understand the idea of Italy. The individual regions of the peninsula kept their own distinct character and no one region could aim for a leading position without the others reacting against it. Also, the Papal States stretched from one side of the peninsula to the other, an apparent obstacle to any political union of north and south Italy.

Because local forces were so weak, foreign help was needed to bring Italians together. Only when one or more European powers developed a serious interest in creating a strong Italy would a political risorgimento become possible in practice. However, the settlement of 1815 left Austria so much in command all over Italy that none of the local rulers had any influence over it. Most of them felt that without Austrian support they might well lose their thrones. Only when France was stronger would the nationalists of Italy have a possible ally against Austria.

From a history book published in 1968.

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SOURCE B

Mazzini was one of the first major figures to take up the idea of national unity but his ideas only made progress with a small group of well-educated revolutionaries. For a time Pope Pius IX appeared as a possible leader of a federation of Italian states but the Papacy presented Italian patriots with a huge problem. Because of its universal character it could appeal for foreign support against any threat. The Papacy blocked the development of any national concept and encouraged Italian principalities in their rivalries and enmities. Regional traditions and loyalties were an enormous obstacle to common action. Only 2.5% of people in Italy actually spoke Italian. The vast majority were peasants who were largely illiterate and had no understanding of political ideas. Local loyalties were more important to most Italians than ideas of national unity. It was true to say there were no Italians; only Neapolitans, Piedmontese, Tuscans and the rest.

However, Austria remained as the most important barrier to unification. It was in Austria's interest to keep control of much of Italy and to keep it as a group of separate states, as it provided a large proportion of its taxes. Austrian troops put down rebellions in Italy in 1821, 1831–2 and 1848–9. There was no coordination between the revolts but they did all show dislike of Austrian rule. The role of foreign powers in a future unification was constantly discussed by revolutionaries and nationalists. However, for many there was a major problem in substituting one foreign master for another by appealing for French aid to help get rid of the hated Austrians.

From a recent history book.

SOURCE C

We, out of love for our common race and supported by public opinion, hasten to associate ourselves with the admiration Italy feels for you. Peoples of Lombardy and Venetia, our forces, which were concentrating on your frontier when you liberated your glorious Milan from the Austrians, are now coming to offer you the help which a brother expects from a brother. In order to show more openly our feelings of Italian brotherhood, we have ordered our troops as they move into Lombardy and Venice to carry the Cross of Savoy imposed on the tricolour flag of Italy.

A proclamation issued by Charles Albert to the people of Lombardy and Venice, March 1848.

SOURCE D

Charles Albert had not been impatiently waiting to attack Austria. His army was entirely unprepared. It had no plans, and most of its strength was posted on the French frontier as a defence against the menace of republicanism. Four days were wasted at Turin deciding whether or not to fight. Then, with greatly superior forces, a slow advance took place which did nothing to trouble Radetzky. Garibaldi's offer of help was turned down by Charles Albert on the grounds that to accept support from mere volunteers would be dishonourable to the army.

The situation was made worse by political differences. Instead of trying to get support from the popular elements who had chiefly manned the barricades in Milan, Charles Albert preferred the small aristocratic element of Lombardy. Instead of concentrating on the war he held a plebiscite to achieve a political union of Lombardy and Venice with Piedmont. This aroused suspicions of Piedmontese expansion in Naples, Tuscany and Rome where many wanted a new union of Italy. Republicans and nationalists broke away from what looked like a royalist anti-revolutionary war.

From a book by Gabrio Casati published in 1885. During the uprising in Milan, Casati was one of the aristocrats who took control to prevent the Republicans gaining power. He was ready to accept truce proposals from Radetzky while at the same time asking Charles Albert to intervene to expel the Austrians from Lombardy and to stop the radicals proclaiming a republican democracy.

SOURCE E

I do not respect the Italians. I knew that they would promise money to you and me, but would not give any; that they would promise to act but would do nothing. Can't you see that they are prepared to be defeated one by one? Can't you see that if they were real men they would have acted en masse, at least in the Papal States, when Muratori was at the gates of Bologna with his armed band? I have no respect for my compatriots.

A letter from Giuseppe Mazzini to Nicola Fabrizi, November 1848. Fabrizi was a member of the Young Italy movement and was involved in expeditions with both Garibaldi and Mazzini.

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SOURCE F

An illustration published in a British magazine, September 1856. It is entitled 'Liberty files the Austrian Bars of Italy.' 'Files' means cuts away.

SOURCE G

FREE ITALY (?)

A cartoon published in a British magazine in July 1859. The figures represent (left to right) Austria, Italy and Napoleon III. Italy is wearing the Papal crown.

SOURCE H

The Pope explained to me that the childishness of the Italian people made self-government impossible and that the present movement in Italy could never succeed. He said that Italy must be ruled by strong armies and a firm hand.

I replied that when His Holiness had followed a national policy at the beginning of his reign the people of Italy had been at his feet and he had been a national idol. But since then he has allowed foreign bayonets to stand between himself and his people. They have turned to the only Italian power left – Piedmont – which offered Italy Independence, Freedom and Unity. 'But unity is impossible,' the Pope replied.

I said that if he extends his hand to Piedmont then the people will bless the name of Pius IX and the great work will be accomplished. 'No it will not,' the Pope exclaimed.

The official British representative in Rome writing to the British government, January 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 agree? Explain your answer using details of the sources. [7]

2 Study Sources C and D.

How far does Source D prove that Charles Albert was lying in Source C? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

3 Study Source E.

Why did Mazzini write this letter at this time? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

4 Study Sources F and G.

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

5 Study Source H.

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 Austria was the most important obstacle to Italian unification? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

Option B: Twentieth century topic

WAS GERMANY TREATED UNFAIRLY IN THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES?

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

Background Information

The Treaty of Versailles was signed in the Hall of Mirrors in the Palace of Versailles on 28 June 1919. Some observers at the time thought the Treaty was too harsh on Germany. They argued that this would cause problems in the future. However, many recent historians have argued that the Treaty was not responsible for the rise of Hitler or the Second World War. They argue that the peacemakers treated Germany fairly and did the best they could in very difficult circumstances.

Was Germany treated harshly by the Treaty of Versailles?

SOURCE A

It was not a Wilson Peace nor a Clemenceau Peace. Although it was highly distasteful to Germany, it was by no means fatal. There was enough of Wilson to provoke contempt, enough of Clemenceau to inspire hatred. These two elements were contradictory and cancelled each other out. Either of the basic elements, applied alone, might have produced a lasting settlement.

This was not how it seemed to the liberals in the British delegation. To them it was 'this reactionary peace'. Whatever its faults, it was not that. Germany had lost territory, but it was not partitioned. Indeed, with the splintering of the Austrian and Russian empires, it remained not only the dominant European power but potentially stronger than before. For all the French hopes of breaking Germany up, German sovereignty was not greatly harmed. The payment of reparations would depend on German cooperation because they could only be enforced by an army of occupation in the heart of Germany. However, military occupation of Germany was confined to the Rhine valley.

Most of this was hidden from the British liberals. For Keynes the Treaty was 'outrageous and impossible'. As much as any of the actual terms of the Treaty, it was the appearance, the atmosphere and the circumstances of Versailles that left such a bad taste – the awful gloating in the Hall of Mirrors and the solemn tone. The Treaty itself made little difference to the power of Germany. It was potentially stronger than in 1914. The trophies like the War Guilt Clause were essentially symbolic. Yet a British liberal wrote, 'We are all so disgusted with the peace.' Here was the deepest flaw of Versailles. It was too harsh for much of British opinion.

From a history book published in 1985.

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SOURCE B

German objections to the Treaty reinforced growing feelings, particularly amongst the British, that it was too harsh. There was a last-minute attempt by the British delegation for modifications. The demand for a plebiscite in Upper Silesia was accepted but the Treaty which the Germans signed was only a slight modification of the original version.

Attempts to carry out the military and reparations sections of the Treaty aroused storms of protest in Germany. Yet the Treaty of Versailles was not excessively harsh on Germany, either territorially or economically. It deprived it of only about 13% of its territory, only about 13% of its economic productivity, and only about 10% of its population. However, the German people were expecting victory and not defeat. It was the acknowledgement of defeat, as much as the Treaty terms, which they found so hard to accept.

By the time the Reparations Commission started its work, it had become clear that Germany would not pay the sums originally demanded by the French. Even the sum of £6600 million established in 1921 was reduced again and again to ease Germany's burden. It should also be remembered that the Treaty made Germany potentially more powerful than it had ever been before or since. The creation of an independent Poland meant there was now a buffer between Russia and Germany that removed the need for Germany to fight on two fronts.

The peace treaties cannot be blamed for the failure of a lasting peace in Europe. Those who negotiated the terms did their best to construct a durable settlement. The significant defect was to be found with those that applied the settlement in later years.

From a history book published in 1984.

SOURCE C

THE FINISHING TOUCH.

A cartoon published in a British magazine, June 1919. The words on the plank say 'Peace discussions'.

SOURCE D

TREATY BETTER THAN GERMANY DESERVES

WAR MAKERS MUST BE MADE TO SUFFER

Germany is beginning to suffer the consequences of her actions in the First World War, and it is making a terrible fuss about it. That was expected, but it will not help Germany much. If Germany had the punishment it deserves, there would be no Germany left to bear any burden at all. It would be wiped off the map. Stern justice would demand for Germany a punishment ten times harder than it will have to bear.

The feeling in the country is not that Germany is being too harshly dealt with, but that it is being let off too lightly.

From a British newspaper, May 1919.

SOURCE E

VENGEANCE!

GERMAN NATION!

Today in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, a disgraceful treaty is being signed. Never forget it! On that spot where, in the glorious year of 1871, the German Empire in all its glory began, today German honour is dragged to the grave. Never forget it! The German people with unceasing effort will push forward to reconquer that place among nations to which they are entitled. Then there will be vengeance for the shame of 1919.

From the front page of a German newspaper, 28 June 1919.

SOURCE F

We have organised reparations where damage and injury have been inflicted, and we have established guarantees and securities against the repetition of those crimes and horrors from which the world is just emerging. We have disarmed; we have punished. We have demonstrated that you cannot trample on national rights and liberties. This is the task we set ourselves, and I claim that this treaty will be a lighthouse, warning nations against the perils on which the German Empire shattered itself.

Lloyd George, the British Prime Minister, speaking in Parliament, July 1919.

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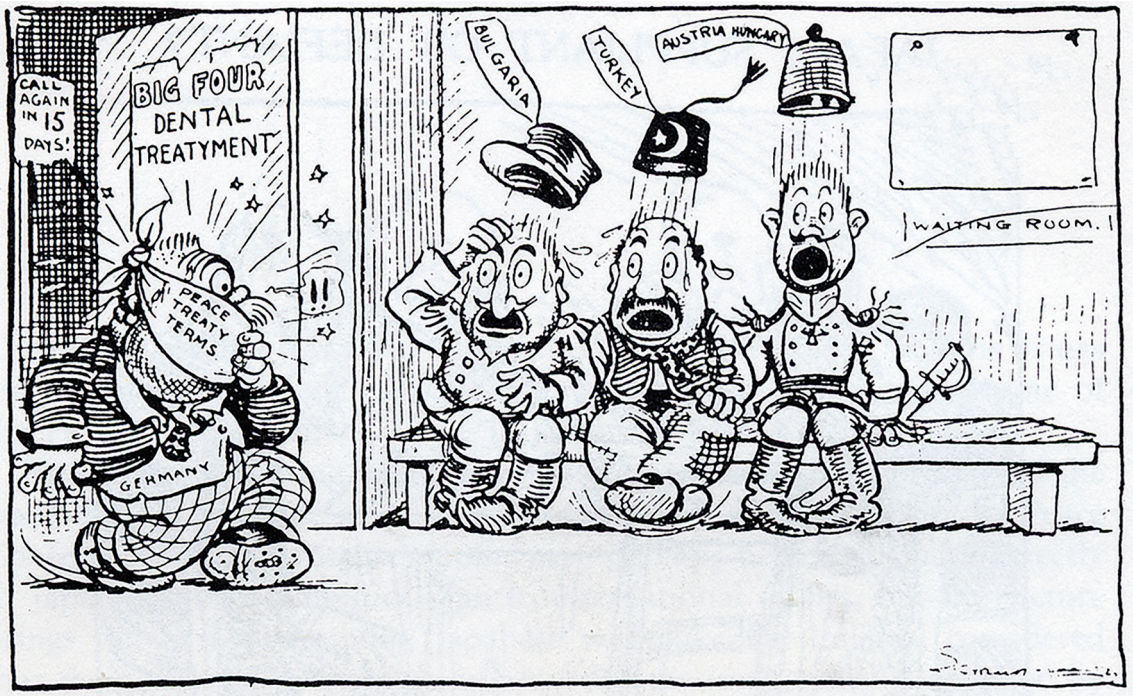
SOURCE G



THEIR TURN NEXT.

A cartoon entitled 'Their Turn Next', published in a British newspaper, May 1919.

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.

What is the cartoonist's message? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [7]

3 Study Sources D and E.

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

4 Study Source F.

Why did Lloyd George make this speech at this time? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

5 Study Source G.

How useful would this cartoon be to a historian studying the peace treaties? 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 Germany was treated unfairly in the Treaty of Versailles? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

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