Cambridge Assessment International Education

Cambridge O Level

HISTORY **2147/23**

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. Any blank pages are indicated.

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Option A: Nineteenth century topic

HOW FAR DID AUSTRIA AND FRANCE HINDER THE PROCESS OF ITALIAN UNIFICATION?

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

Background Information

Many factors had an impact on the process of Italian unification. Many of these were internal to Italy and included the well-known exploits of men like Mazzini and Garibaldi who helped drive the Risorgimento. The diplomacy and politics of Cavour were also important. However, some historians have emphasised the important impact of the policies and actions of other European countries such as Austria and France.

How far did the actions of Austria and France hinder Italian unification?

SOURCE A

In my opinion this wealthy land can only be punished most severely by the removal of those means which have led it to such disobedience. For what is exile to the rich when they can take their money with them and continue to cause trouble? To humble the disloyal rich and protect the loyal citizen should be the principle on which from now on the government of Lombardy-Venice should be based. The aim of my letter is to beg Your Excellency to not give the ringleaders any mercy and to let justice run its course completely.

A letter from Field Marshal Radetzky to the Foreign Minister of the Austrian Empire, 1849. Radetzky was in charge of the Austrian army in northern Italy.

SOURCE B

Napoleon III said ‘he would like to do something for Italy’. By the 1850s he was alleged to have long been in sympathy with the Italian cause, but had actually done little to help. In fact quite the opposite, because in 1849 he had sent the French army to crush the Roman Republic which they did, remaining afterwards to garrison the city and protect the Pope. At the secret meeting with Cavour at Plombières in July 1858 Napoleon’s aim seems to have been not to unite Italy but to keep it divided into a federation of comparatively powerless separate states. As the war of 1859 began Napoleon proclaimed that his aims were not conquest but ‘to restore Italy to the Italians’. But after two bloody battles, he returned to France. Austria surrendered Lombardy to Piedmont but kept Venetia. Victor Emmanuel II and Cavour felt Napoleon had betrayed them by going home before he had done what he had promised, which was to free Italy. Napoleon made some amends in 1866 when he came into possession of Venetia and handed it over to the Kingdom of Italy. Italians were also angry that he refused to withdraw the occupying French troops from Rome until forced to do so by France’s war with Prussia in 1870.

From a history book published in 2001.

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SOURCE C

In 1858 neither Napoleon III nor Cavour wanted or expected Italian unification. The achievement of an Italian kingdom was something which, though it happened partly because of Napoleon III and Cavour, happened to a considerable degree in spite of both of them. It is certain that Napoleon's phrase about 'doing something for Italy' was not intended to involve anything more than the expulsion of the Austrians from the northern part of Italy, and that it did not at all involve Italy's unification.

It is incorrect to think of Napoleon as venturing into Italy because he was blinded by a romantic attachment to the cause of Italian nationalism. He took the action he did because he thought it would help to extend French influence in Italy. At Plombières he planned to expel Austrian influence from the north and centre of Italy and to create a Kingdom of Italy large enough to be a useful French client state. The Two Sicilies could perhaps be persuaded to become another French client state. The Pope would be persuaded to accept the whole process by being made President of an Italian Federation to which the new Italian states would belong.

However, to minimise the help Napoleon gave to Italy is to ignore the facts. The work of Cavour in the north and the centre up to April 1860 depended completely on Napoleon.

From a history book published in 1956.

SOURCE D

The aim of statesmen must be to avoid, as much as possible, all the causes of dispute that still exist in Europe. The country which is the greatest threat to European peace is Italy, because its political structure does not please anybody. To alter its structure either a revolution or a war is needed. These are extreme solutions and who would be powerful enough to impose his will on so many divided countries and to unite so many states and give them a common purpose?

Nonetheless I believe that one might try something that might satisfy nearly everybody. An Italian Confederation might be set up with the Pope as its figurehead, without any change to territorial boundaries. Austria, by reason of its Lombard territories, would be a member.

Some notes written by Napoleon III for himself and his foreign minister, 1856.

SOURCE E

As soon as I entered the Emperor's study he began by saying that he had decided to support Piedmont with all his power in a war against Austria. He agreed that it was necessary to drive the Austrians out of Italy. But how was Italy to be organised after that? After a long discussion we agreed the following principles. There would be a kingdom of Upper Italy under the House of Savoy. The rest of the Papal States, together with Tuscany, would form a kingdom of Central Italy. The Neapolitan frontier would be left unchanged. These Italian states would form a confederation, the presidency of which would be given to the Pope. This arrangement seems to me fully acceptable. Your Majesty would be sovereign of the richest and most powerful half of Italy, and so would dominate the whole of Italy.

From a report by Cavour to Victor Emmanuel about his meeting at Plombières with Napoleon III, July 1858.

SOURCE F

Do not forget the gratitude we owe to Napoleon III and the French army, so many of whose brave soldiers have been killed for the cause of Italy.

Written by Garibaldi after the Peace of Villafranca in August 1859.

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.

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.

Why did Radetzky send this letter in 1849? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [7]

2 Study Sources B and C.

How far do these two sources agree? Explain your answer using details of the sources. [7]

3 Study Sources D and E.

Why do these two accounts of Napoleon's plans for Italy differ? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

4 Study Source F.

Are you surprised by this source? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

5 Study Source G.

What is the cartoonist's message? 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 Austria and France hindered the process of Italian unification? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

Option B: Twentieth century topic

DID FRANCE GET WHAT IT WANTED AT THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE?

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

Background Information

During the First World War France suffered great damage to its industry, land and people. Understandably, at the Paris Peace Conference, the French wanted to punish Germany for the damage it had inflicted on France, and to weaken Germany to ensure that it could not threaten France again. France tried to achieve these aims by demanding the following: disarming Germany, imposing a high level of reparations, the Rhineland to become an independent state and Alsace-Lorraine and the Saar Basin to be transferred to France.

How far did France succeed in getting Germany harshly punished?

SOURCE A

It was a popular idea that Clemenceau was personally responsible for the damage the Treaty did to the ideals of Wilson. It was believed that he had influenced the French press and Parliament to support his extreme demands. This is wrong. In Paris during 1919 it would have been difficult to find another French politician as moderate, and open to negotiation and compromise, as Clemenceau. What was not understood at first was the degree to which the dominant French political forces combined to press their fears and hatreds upon him.

By January 1920, Clemenceau was out of power. The main reason why Clemenceau was thought to have betrayed France was by his alleged softness at the time of the Treaty negotiations. Clemenceau devoted the last nine years of his life to defending himself against these charges. He wrote a rambling book, which is nothing more than an attempt to prove that he had done all that he could to bring about a peace favourable to France. It was not well received. He had dreamt of being elected as president of France after the war. But after the events of the peace conference his election was unthinkable.

From a history book published in 1969.

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SOURCE B

A British cartoon entitled 'The Reckoning', published in April 1919. Germany is saying, 'Monstrous, I call it. Why, it's fully a quarter of what we should have made them pay, if we'd won.' 'Indemnity demands' refers to the reparations.

SOURCE C

We came to Versailles hoping for the peace of justice which had been promised. We were shocked when we read the demands, the victorious violence of our enemies. The more deeply we penetrate into the spirit of this Treaty, the more convinced we become of the impossibility of carrying it out. The demands of this Treaty are more than the German people can bear. Germany must declare itself ready to bear all the war expenses of its enemies, which would exceed many times over the total amount of German assets. Meanwhile its enemies also demand reparations for damage suffered by their civil population.

The reconstruction of our economic life is made impossible. We must renounce the realisation of all our aims in the spheres of politics, economics and ideas. The German people are excluded from the League of Nations, to which is entrusted all work of common interest to the world. Thus must a whole people sign its own death sentence.

Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau's response when shown the proposed terms of the Treaty of Versailles, May 1919. He was the leader of the German delegation at the Paris Peace Conference.

SOURCE D

The Allied Powers have given the most careful consideration to the observations of the German Delegation. The protest of the German Delegation shows that they fail to understand the position in which Germany stands today. They seem to think that Germany has only to make sacrifices in order to attain peace, as if this were simply the end of some mere struggle for territory and power. In the view of the Allied Powers this war was the greatest crime against humanity ever committed.

Justice, therefore, is the only possible basis for the settlement of this terrible war. That is why the Allied Powers have insisted that Germany must undertake to make reparation. Reparation for wrongs inflicted is the essence of justice. That, too, is why Germany must submit to special punishments. The Allies therefore believe that the peace is fundamentally a peace of justice.

The German Delegation appears to have seriously misinterpreted the economic and financial conditions. There is no intention on the part of the Allies to strangle Germany or to prevent it from taking its proper place in international trade and commerce. Provided that Germany keeps to the terms of the treaty and abandons its aggressive traditions, it shall have fair treatment in the purchase of raw materials and the sale of goods.

Clemenceau's letter replying to the objections of the German Delegation, May 1919. Clemenceau was replying on behalf of all the peacemakers.

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SOURCE E

TERMS OF TREATY BETTER THAN GERMANY DESERVES

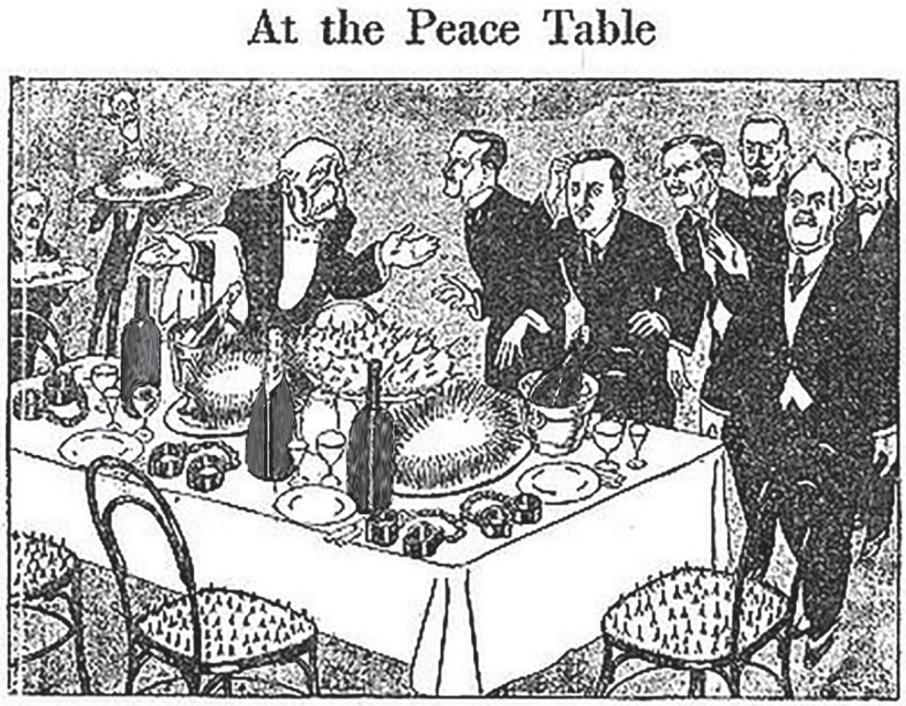
WAR MAKERS MUST BE MADE TO SUFFER

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 F



A cartoon published in a Norwegian magazine in August 1919. Norway was neutral in the First World War. Clemenceau is introducing the German delegates to the terms of the Treaty of Versailles and is saying to them, 'Take your seats, gentlemen!'

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.

What impressions does this source give of Clemenceau? Explain your answer using details of the source. [6]

2 Study Source B.

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

3 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]

4 Study Source E.

How useful is this source to a historian studying the Treaty of Versailles? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

5 Study Source F.

What is the cartoonist's message? 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 punished as much as the French wanted? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

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