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Cambridge Assessment International Education
Cambridge International General Certificate of Secondary Education

HISTORY **0470/21**

Paper 2 **October/November 2019**

2 hours

No Additional Materials are required.

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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.

This syllabus is regulated for use in England, Wales and Northern Ireland as a Cambridge International Level 1/Level 2 Certificate.

This document consists of **11** printed pages, **1** blank page and **1** Insert.

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Option A: Nineteenth century topic

HOW IMPORTANT WAS GIUSEPPE MAZZINI TO ITALIAN UNIFICATION?

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

Background Information

Giuseppe Mazzini is a controversial figure in the story of the Risorgimento. In 1831 he founded the Young Italy movement through which he aimed to unify the whole of Italy into a republic. He planned to achieve this through his writings and through revolution and he spent most of his life either being involved in failed uprisings or being exiled from Italy. He was often more highly regarded outside Italy than he was in his own country.

Some, like Cavour, regarded him as a dangerous revolutionary who did Italy harm. After the Kingdom of Italy was created in 1861, Mazzini refused to swear allegiance to the new kingdom and continued to be involved in rebellions. He described the new Italy as 'a corpse rotten with materialism and egoism'. Others saw him as an unrealistic dreamer. However, it has been argued that he was an inspirational figure who created Italian national consciousness. The final step in the creation of a united Italy was made in 1870, with the annexation of Rome. By this time Mazzini was no longer regarded as a threat and attitudes towards him in Italy began to change.

How important was Mazzini to Italian unification?

SOURCE A

Giuseppe Mazzini was born in Genoa on 22 June 1805. After university he joined the Carbonari but by 1830 he was disillusioned with them. He saw little future for a secret society whose members did not even know what they were working for. In the first few months of 1831 Mazzini was occupied with one of the greatest achievements of his life, and one which had a great effect on the progress of the Risorgimento. This was the establishment of Young Italy. Though its plans for action ended in failure, its significance was that it helped to build up a national consciousness in Italy and to give the idea of national unity pride of place over any federal solution. In this way Mazzini provided the psychological and spiritual foundation on which Cavour, Garibaldi and Victor Emmanuel II were to build the new Italy. His goal for Italy was clear. He wanted to see an independent unitary republic, with full democratic rights for every citizen and complete freedom from foreign domination and the power of the pope. To this national plan he added the hope of a closer association of nations.

When he later ruled the Republic of Rome for a short time in 1849, he took steps towards establishing reforms affecting the whole life of the Papal States. He abolished the death penalty, he removed taxes which oppressed the lower class and he introduced universal suffrage and freedom of the press. As far as possible, he suppressed acts of anti-clerical violence. Though republican in name, this was a liberal government in the grand manner, and won approval of English liberals.

From a recent account about Mazzini.

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SOURCE B

Born in Genoa in 1805, Mazzini went on to earn his degree in law at the university there and began his life as a revolutionary. He started to become affiliated with the Carbonari group, which used force in certain areas to spark a revolution. However, he was soon forced to flee to France. While there, Mazzini founded his most important contribution to Italian unification – Young Italy. Mazzini actually conducted this group from abroad in France. Young Italy was a specific group consisting of liberal intellectuals working for a strong central government after Italian unification. This group amassed around fifty to sixty thousand members, and lasted roughly two decades. Mazzini called for the removal of Austrian influence in Italy, an end to the pope's temporal power over the Papal States, and the creation of a republican national government.

Mazzini was not successful because on the one hand he was too intellectual, but on the other his thinking was terribly vague. His writings appealed to a few revolutionaries but not to the peasants. He failed to realise how important it was to win mass popular support. His ideas inspired some hopeless attempts at revolution and if it was not for his part in the Roman Republic, his reputation would be only as an unrealistic and romantic hothead. While briefly in charge of the Republic, he ruled in a tolerant and enlightened way. However, when the Republic was attacked by the French, it was Garibaldi who organised and led the defence.

From a recent account about Mazzini.

SOURCE C

An open letter to Charles Albert

If I believed you to be an ordinary king, with a narrow tyrannical outlook, I would not address you in the language of free men. But you, Sire, are not such a king. You have strength of mind and high principles. There is a crown more brilliant and sublime than that of Piedmont, a crown that awaits the man who dares to think of it, who dedicates his life to winning it. Place yourself at the head of the nation, write on your flag 'Union, Liberty, Independence'. Free Italy from the barbarian. Your safety lies on the sword's point. Draw it and use it. You can become either the greatest of men or the last of Italian tyrants. If you do not take up the cause of freedom, others will do it without you and against you.

This was published and privately circulated amongst revolutionaries in Italy in 1831. Although it was written by Mazzini, the author was simply described as 'An Italian'.

SOURCE D

Those who in later days have quoted my letter to Charles Albert as either a justification of their own desertion of the republican banner, or in order to accuse me of too great a readiness to abandon my convictions, attack me on a false ground. By publicly declaring to him that his own heart should have taught him his duty towards Italy, my object was to prove to my countrymen his absolute lack of those qualities which could have made the performance of that duty possible.

Written and published by Mazzini, 1861.

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SOURCE E

If Mazzini had bothered to realise that I too knew something about fighting battles and had allowed me to invade the Kingdom of Naples whose inhabitants were waiting for our arrival with open arms – how the circumstances would have changed! What a prospect would have opened up for a country not yet completely cast down by foreign invasion!

Instead of which, Mazzini called all the troops back to Rome and so offered them up in one appetising dish to the tyrant of France. Everyone knew Rome was impossible to defend. The correct strategy would have been to deploy most of the forces in the numerous defensible sites throughout the Republican State and allow me to continue my victorious march southwards into Bourbon territory.

From Garibaldi's memoirs, published in 1860. He is describing events in Rome in 1849.

SOURCE F

We still believe in liberty and Italian unification and we do not believe in any initiatives coming from Piedmont. But nor do we have the slightest confidence in the schemes you have pushed from 1852 until the uprising of last June.

You believe what you are told far too easily. You think the people are behind you, whereas unfortunately they are not waiting to start a revolution. These are your mistakes, the fatal delusions which have led you from error to error, and so have caused you to lose the support of most of our republicans. Many of your old supporters have become so discouraged that they have turned to other parties and policies; and some have become bitter critics of you. As for ourselves, we still share your political views and retain our former affection for you, but in future we shall act to stop what we think is wrong. We may even have to speak out in public and follow a different policy of our own.

Your mistakes, and they are serious, are these:

to impose action without preparation and with too few people;

to think that a simple uprising can be converted quickly into an extensive revolution;

to think that action is more important than success.

We do not ask you to remain idle and waste the brave and generous strength which you contribute to the cause; only that you will for the moment stop agitating for action, until we have plans and money and men; until we can confront the enemy with a large force of all those who believe in Italy.

A letter from three of Mazzini's former supporters to Mazzini, January 1858.

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SOURCE G

It was Mazzini who gave us the idea and hope that Italy could defeat the seven or eight tyrants who ruled it and become a single, strong nation. Is there anyone with an Italian heart who would not embrace such a man and want to welcome him home and offer him every kind of hospitality?

Mazzini is old and infirm and does not complain of the filthy slanders put upon him by vile and mercenary newspapers. Will you refuse such a man the permission to return to his native land? Will you refuse to let him visit his mother's grave? Will you let him die overseas in a foreign country?

A speech by a member of parliament during a debate in the Italian parliament in March 1866. The debate ended with parliament voting to cancel Mazzini's election to it because its members did not want his brand of republicanism represented there.

SOURCE H



A postage stamp with an image of Mazzini, issued in Italy in 1971. In 1946 Italians voted for Italy to become a republic.

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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.

Why did Mazzini publish Source D in 1861? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

3 Study Source E.

Do you trust Garibaldi's account? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

4 Study Sources F and G.

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

5 Study Source H.

How useful is Source H as evidence about Mazzini? 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 Mazzini helped Italian unification? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

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Option B: Twentieth century topic

WHO WAS TO BLAME FOR THE CRISIS OVER KUWAIT IN 1990?

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

Background Information

The crisis over Kuwait that developed during 1989–90 had many causes. Iraqis had long felt that Kuwait was really part of their country. Relations between the two countries grew worse because of the huge amount of money Iraq borrowed from Kuwait to fight the war against Iran. Iraq felt that the war had helped protect Kuwait from Iran and asked Kuwait to cancel the debt as Iraq was in great economic difficulties. Kuwait refused. Relations grew worse when Kuwait refused to reduce its production of oil, thus keeping the price low. Iraq needed the price to go up. Iraq also claimed that Kuwait was slant-drilling across the border into its Rumaila oilfield.

It has been claimed that US policy towards Iraq during this period was unclear. On the one hand, Iraq suspected the United States and Kuwait of plotting together to keep Iraq weak. On the other hand, the United States appeared to give the impression that it was not particularly worried by the Iraq-Kuwait dispute. On 2 August 1990 the crisis deepened when Iraq invaded Kuwait. This eventually led to Operation Desert Storm and the Gulf War.

Who was to blame for the crisis over Kuwait?

SOURCE A

Iraq emerged from the war with Iran with the port of Basra blocked. This put pressure on Iraq to turn to its other possible outlet to the sea that was blocked by Kuwaiti control of the islands of Warba and Bubiyan. In September 1990 the Iraq Press Office issued a statement, 'The Political Background to the Current Events', in which it quoted from the Iraq government in 1938, 'Iraq would like to rent a piece of land from Kuwait for establishing a deep harbour.'

Iraqi Foreign Minister, Tariq Aziz, made it quite clear that Iraq's motives for taking over Kuwait were economic, commercial and strategic. In a letter sent to all foreign ministers on 4 September, he denounced Britain for having created and sustained since 1899 an 'artificial entity called Kuwait' which cut off Iraq from 'its natural access to the waters of the Arabian Gulf', and went on to say that all Iraqi governments had insisted that Iraq must have Kuwait to guarantee its commercial and economic interests and its national security.

King Hussein of Jordan made the same point, in a broadcast on American TV on 22 September 1990, when he said that Iraq had been seeking 'an agreement with Kuwait that would secure it an independent access to the sea which it considers of vital national interest'.

Iraq emerged from the war with Iran with a huge debt and wanted OPEC to push up the price of oil but Kuwait disagreed. It had invested in capitalist industry and finance in the West so much that a large part of Kuwait's income came from these investments. The Kuwaiti rulers had become Western capitalists with the same interest in not having too high a price for oil. Iraq regarded this refusal to raise the price of oil as a plot to prevent it recovering from the war. Combined with their long-standing claim to Kuwait as a means of obtaining a vitally-needed secure trade route to the sea, this decided Iraq to take military action.

From a recent article about the causes of the Gulf War.

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SOURCE B

Iraq's miscalculation was on a grand scale, involving errors of strategy and timing. Few in the Arab world denied that Iraq had valid grievances; what it lacked was the patience to solve them by the traditional Arab approach of discussion. Iraq had good reasons to see itself as a regional superpower. Yet geography and economics conspired to frustrate Iraq's aims. The geographical shackles stemmed from the way Britain and France carved up the Ottoman Empire after the First World War. Britain repaid debts to the Kuwaiti ruling family by turning their city-port into a separate state. This meant Iraq could not reach the sea and had no deep-water port. Its short coastline could not be developed because two Kuwaiti islands, Bubiyan and Warba, straddled the approaches. Iraq tried to overcome being landlocked by building pipelines through neighbouring countries but these were often closed. Iraq had done everything it could to prevent being landlocked.

Iraq's economic problems stemmed from the falling price of oil. Kuwait ignored demands for a production cut, refused to lease the strategic islands, and delayed over requests that Iraq's war debts should be forgiven. Its obstructive attitude led Iraq to suspect that Kuwait had secretly obtained security guarantees from the United States. The motive of the United States, Iraq thought, was to prevent it from becoming too powerful.

The belief that Kuwait was part of Iraq was deeply embedded in the Iraqi consciousness, and was a cause Iraqis would defend with their lives, but Saddam Hussein miscalculated the impact on world opinion of the seizure of the whole of Kuwait, rather than just the parts he needed. He overestimated the Arab resolve to keep American forces out of the Gulf, overestimated the USSR's willingness to help, and underestimated American resolve.

From a book published in 1992.

SOURCE C

They will never forgive us our victory – our technological achievements. What we face now is a loss of $14 billion a year in oil prices. This is a conspiracy to make us live in famine. This is an American policy and there are Arabs who are mobilised in the service of that policy. We have to stand up to those who have come with a poisoned dagger and thrust it into our backs. Oh God almighty, be witness that we have warned them.

From a speech by Saddam Hussein at a public meeting, 17 July 1989.

SOURCE D

Top Secret

We went on a visit to the headquarters of the CIA [the US Central Intelligence Agency] in November 1989, a visit which the Americans wanted to be top secret so that it would not raise the sensitivities of our brothers in the Gulf, and also the Iranians and Iraqis. We agreed with the CIA that we should exchange information about Iran and Iraq, especially in the fields of armaments and political and social conditions. We agreed on the necessity to exploit the deteriorating economic situation in Iraq so that we can press its government to accept the designation of our frontiers. The CIA gave us its ideas about how we can conduct the suitable means of pressure.

A report by two Kuwaiti officials who secretly visited a unit of the CIA working with the Kuwait government to prevent any threat to the Kuwaiti royal family. This report was written for the Kuwaiti government and was found in their files by the Iraqis when they invaded Kuwait.

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SOURCE E

I have a direct instruction from the President to seek better relations with Iraq. He also wants an Iraqi contribution to peace and prosperity in the Middle East. He is not going to declare an economic war against Iraq. I have lived here for years. I admire your extraordinary efforts to rebuild your country. I know you need funds. We understand that and our opinion is that you should have the opportunity to rebuild your country. But we have no opinion on Arab-Arab conflicts, like your border disagreement with Kuwait. I was in the American Embassy in Kuwait during the late 1960s. The instruction we had was that we should express no opinion on this issue and that the issue is not associated with America.

From an Iraqi transcript of what April Glaspie, the US Ambassador to Iraq, said in a meeting with Saddam Hussein, on 25 July 1990. This transcript was sent to a US newspaper which published it on 23 September 1990. When she was questioned about this meeting by a committee of the US Senate in 1991 she said this version omitted her saying, 'But we insist that you settle your disputes with Kuwait non-violently'.

SOURCE F

At my direction elements of our forces are arriving today to take up defensive positions in Saudi Arabia. I took this action to assist the Saudi Arabian government in the defence of its homeland. In the early morning hours of 2 August, Iraqi armed forces, without provocation or warning, invaded a peaceful Kuwait. Iraq's tanks stormed in, blitzkrieg fashion, through Kuwait. With more than 100 000 troops, along with tanks, artillery, and surface-to-surface missiles, Iraq now occupies Kuwait. This aggression came just hours after Saddam Hussein assured numerous countries in the area that there would be no invasion. There is no justification for this outrageous and brutal act of aggression.

This past Monday, the United Nations approved sanctions. We will do our part to see that these sanctions are effective. But we must recognise that Iraq may not stop using force to advance its ambitions. Iraq has massed an enormous war machine on the Saudi border capable of starting hostilities with little preparation. Let me be clear: the independence of Saudi Arabia is of vital interest to the United States.

From a speech by US President Bush, 8 August 1990.

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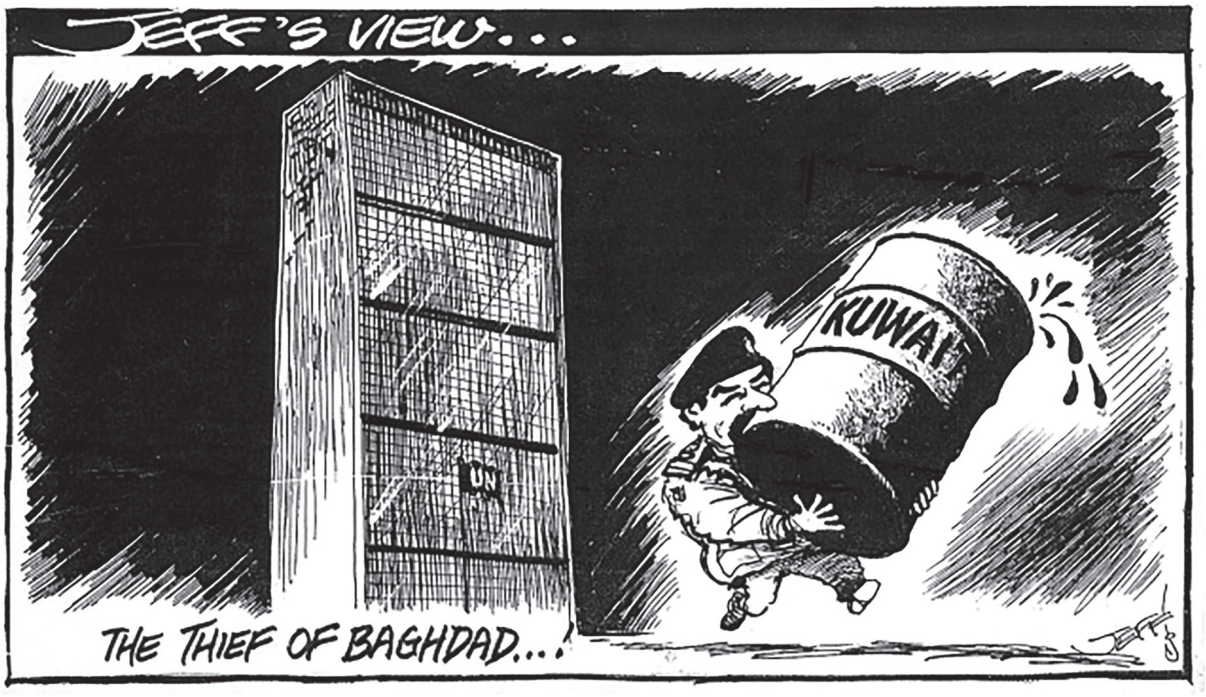
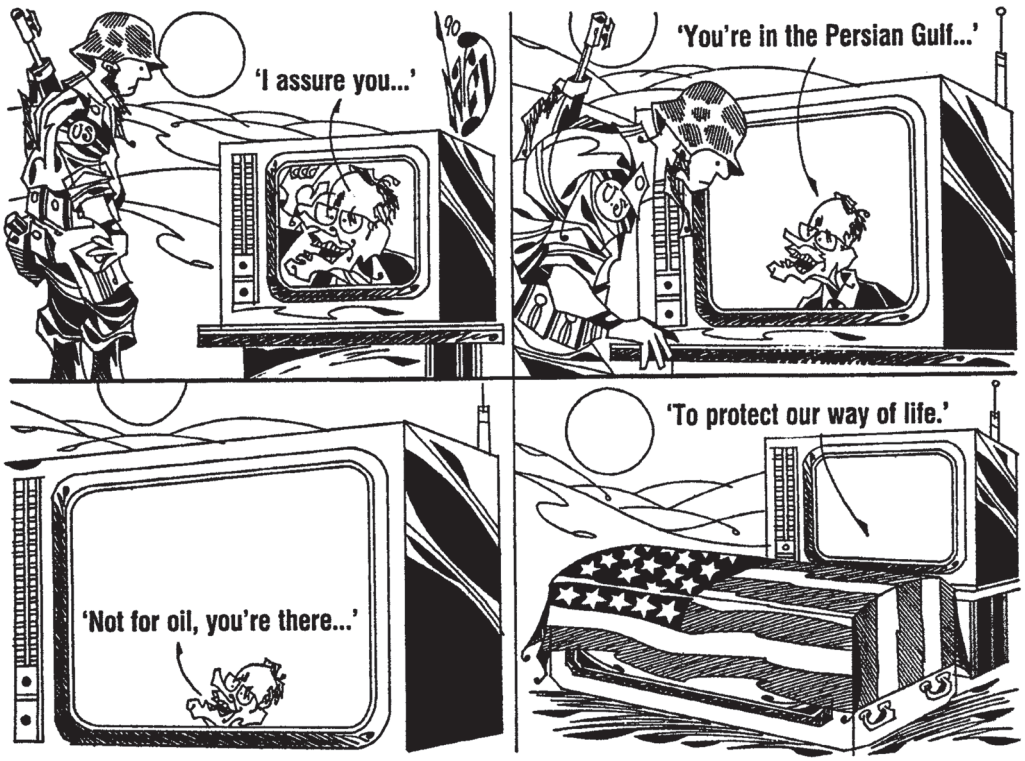
SOURCE G



A cartoon published in Australia, 3 August 1990.

SOURCE H



A cartoon published in the United States in early 1991. The figure on the television screen is President Bush.

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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.

How far does Source D prove Saddam's claims in Source C? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

3 Study Source E.

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

4 Study Source F.

Why did President Bush make this speech on 8 August 1990? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

5 Study Sources G and H.

How similar are the messages of these two cartoons? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [7]

6 Study **all** the sources.

How far do these sources provide convincing evidence that Iraq was to blame for the crisis over Kuwait? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

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