

OXFORD CAMBRIDGE AND RSA EXAMINATIONS
ADVANCED SUBSIDIARY GCE
F964/02
HISTORY

European and World History Enquiries
Option B: Modern 1774–1975

WEDNESDAY 20 JANUARY 2010: Morning
DURATION: 1 hour 30 minutes

SUITABLE FOR VISUALLY IMPAIRED CANDIDATES

Candidates answer on the Answer Booklet

OCR SUPPLIED MATERIALS:

8 page Answer Booklet

OTHER MATERIALS REQUIRED:

None

READ INSTRUCTIONS OVERLEAF

INSTRUCTIONS TO CANDIDATES

- **Write your name clearly in capital letters, your Centre Number and Candidate Number in the spaces provided on the Answer Booklet.**
- **Use black ink.**
- **Read each question carefully and make sure that you know what you have to do before starting your answer.**
- **Answer BOTH SUB-QUESTIONS from ONE Study Topic.**

INFORMATION FOR CANDIDATES

- **The number of marks is given in brackets [] at the end of each question or part question.**
- **The total number of marks for this paper is 100.**
- **This question paper contains questions on the following five Study Topics:**
 - **The Origins and the Course of the French Revolution 1774–95 (pages 4–9)**
 - **The Unification of Italy 1815–70 (pages 10–15)**
 - **The Origins of the American Civil War 1820–61 (pages 16–21)**
 - **Dictatorship and Democracy in Germany 1933–63 (pages 22–27)**
 - **The USA and the Cold War in Asia 1945–75 (pages 28–33)**
- **You should write in continuous prose and are reminded of the need for clear and accurate writing, including structure of argument, grammar, punctuation and spelling.**
- **The time permitted allows for reading the Sources in the one Study Topic you have studied.**
- **In answering these questions, you are expected to use your knowledge of the topic to help you understand and interpret the Sources, as well as to inform your answers.**

**THE ORIGINS AND COURSE OF THE FRENCH
REVOLUTION 1774–1795**

Study the **FIVE** Sources on The Fall of Robespierre and then answer **BOTH** sub-questions.

It is recommended that you spend two-thirds of your time in answering part **(b)**.

1 (a) Study Sources A and D.

Compare these Sources as evidence for opinions about Robespierre. [30]

(b) Study all the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that the main reason for the fall of Robespierre in 1794 was because his rule was dominated by the policy of Terror. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

THE FALL OF ROBESPIERRE

SOURCE A: The revolutionary orator and journalist, Camille Desmoulins, warns Robespierre in his newspaper that he is over-reliant on repression and violence.

My dear Robespierre! My old school friend whose eloquent speeches will be read by future generations. Remind yourself of the lesson of history and philosophy; love is stronger, more lasting than fear; admiration and religion must come from generosity; acts of mercy are the ladder by which members of the Committee of Public Safety can elevate themselves to the sky; they can never reach it through paths of blood.

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Article, Le Vieux Cordelier, December 1793

**SOURCE B: From the Decree Establishing the
Worship of the Supreme Being.
Robespierre was anxious to legislate
for his belief in a divine creator and
the immortality of the Soul.**

**The Republic shall celebrate the following
festivals on successive revolutionary holy days:
The Supreme Being and Nature; the Human Race;
the French People. Then there should be festivals
for those who have done good works for Mankind;
those who have died for Freedom.** **10**

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**Also, liberty and equality; the Republic; the liberty
of the World; hatred of tyrants and traitors; truth;
justice; modesty; glory and immortality.**

**In addition, friendship; moderation; courage;
good faith; heroism; fairness; love; faithfulness
in marriage; love of parents; childhood; youth;
old age; misfortune; agriculture; industry; our
ancestors; the past; happiness.** **20**

Article VII, May 1794

SOURCE C: A Paris publisher writes to his brother about Robespierre and the Committee of Public Safety.

In recent weeks we have seen the deaths of all the greatest and most famous people still living in France. They all died at the foot of a tall and hideous plaster statue called Liberty. Is it possible to believe that all those who were sacrificed at her feet were enemies of Liberty? The Committee of Public Safety are nothing but leaders of unthinking popular violence, *sans-culotte* chieftains. The Committee has done marvels for the defence of the fatherland, raising armies out of nowhere. But now it is making itself detested by the horror and frequency of executions which are quite unnecessary.

Nicolas Ruault, Letter, 21 June 1794

SOURCE D: A former supporter of the Jacobins gives an account of Robespierre's appearance at the first Festival of the Supreme Being on 8 June 1794.

With what joyful pride Robespierre walked at the head of the Convention surrounded by a huge crowd. Everyone noticed how excited he seemed; but while the rapturous crowds shouted 'Long Live Robespierre' – shouts that are a death warrant in a republic because they arouse envy – his colleagues on the Committee of Public Safety, alarmed by his arrogant claims, provoked him with sarcastic comments. It was not just members of the Convention who perceived his intentions. I have this vigorous expression from a real *sans-culotte* from someone who heard it at the Tuileries: 'Look at the bastard; it's not enough he wants to be a dictator, he wants to be God as well.'

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Joachim Vilate, The Secret Causes of the Revolution of 9th and 10th Thermidor, published in 1794

SOURCE E: A modern historian gives a judgement on Robespierre.

His hands are covered in blood; he initiated the law that menaced absolutely everyone on the most flimsy grounds and without recourse to any form of defence. He also played a prominent part in extending the Revolution's agenda to include the moral regeneration of the people. He was prepared to resort to the most drastic measures to achieve this. It was not enough to encourage patriotism, anti-patriotic sentiment had to be exterminated. It was not enough to promote correct moral behaviour – wicked behaviour had to be stamped out. He went on with the Terror, kept moving through that river of blood, because he believed it was necessary for the Revolution. He can be accused of insanity and inhumanity, but not of insincerity.

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Ruth Scurr, Fatal Purity, Robespierre and the French Revolution, 2007

THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY, 1815–70

Study the FIVE Sources on The Development of Piedmont from 1848 and then answer BOTH sub-questions.

It is recommended that you spend two-thirds of your time in answering part (b).

2 (a) Study Sources B and D.

Compare these Sources as evidence for Cavour's influence in Piedmontese politics in the period 1851-57. [30]

(b) Study all the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that Piedmont developed into a liberal state in the 1850s. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PIEDMONT FROM 1848

SOURCE A: In a letter of introduction for a young engineer from Piedmont, Cavour, the Piedmontese Minister of Finance, expresses his views on trade policy to Richard Cobden. Cobden was the most prominent free trade politician in England.

The Sardinian government is ready to let the principles of free trade triumph in Parliament. We are in the process of bringing about a complete reform of our tariff system. Your name has been often quoted, and your authority often invoked in the discussions that have taken place, to the extent that one could say that you have powerfully contributed to our economic progress.

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C. Cavour, letter, June 1851

SOURCE B: A member of the Piedmontese cabinet recalls the political context leading to the *connubio*, or political alliance, of Cavour with the moderate radical party led by Rattazzi to form a new centre party.

The parliamentary Right was less ready to support the government. Cavour saw how he might use this fact to acquire greater popularity and how he could reinforce public faith in his liberalism. His parliamentary speeches became full of fine liberal sentiments. Following Napoleon's coup of December 1851 he no longer feared revolution. He spent so much time at Rattazzi's house that the Centre Left knew more of his financial policy than his cabinet colleagues. Indeed, no important political business was seriously discussed by ministers collectively. Cavour was in complete charge of the situation.

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G.F. Galvagno, diary, February 1852

SOURCE C: The King of Piedmont, writing to the Pope, explains his views about the bill of November 1854 to suppress the monasteries of Piedmont.

It is with the deepest regret that I see things going as they are. When the Senate did not approve the marriage law, which was desired by the nation, my government did not bring it up again. A similar outcome was expected for the law on religious orders but the words addressed to Piedmont on the matter by You, Most Blessed Father, served only to embitter people's minds so that we may well reach the opposite goal. The clerical party here has only lies on its lips, and misinformed Rome. If Your Holiness could see what respect there is for the Church, and how the churches are overflowing with people, perhaps you would not be so discontented.

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Victor Emmanuel II, letter, February 1855

SOURCE D: The French ambassador in Turin informs his government of the outcome of talks he had held with Cavour, Prime Minister of Piedmont, during which he had expressed French concerns about criticism made about Napoleon III in the Piedmontese press.

I urged that the press laws be modified so as to end the constant attacks on the Emperor but stressed we would leave him entirely free to choose the best moment to legislate. Cavour argued that newspapers in Piedmont had no influence at all and it was not worth limiting the freedom of the press. His own political past, his lifelong principles, his alliance with Rattazzi and, above all, his fear of lowering his own popularity help explain this attitude. Cavour's position is seriously weakened as a result of elections last month which showed a strong shift to the Right. I know that the King will support us.

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*Prince de La Tour d'Auvergne, official despatch,
December 1857*

SOURCE E: The author was an eminent liberal and the owner of a Catholic journal in England. In an essay on Cavour, who had died the month before, he assesses the impact of the policies of Piedmontese governments on the liberty of individuals and the Catholic Church.

Cavour's policy was directed to the greatness of the State, not to the liberty of the people. 50
He considered the State as all-powerful and individual rights as subject to its supreme authority. In 1850 the Prime Minister, d'Azeglio, declared that ecclesiastical reforms were exclusively the responsibility of the State. 55
The Church resisted the arbitrary authority by which the changes were introduced more than the reforms themselves. Freedom was not a characteristic of Piedmont as it was in other countries. Her governments and laws were extremely hostile to the Church and liberty. 60

Lord Acton, The Rambler, June 1861

THE ORIGINS OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR, 1820–61

Study the **FIVE** Sources on The Nullification Crisis, 1832–33 and then answer **BOTH** sub-questions.

It is recommended that you spend two thirds of your time in answering part **(b)**.

3 (a) Study Sources A and B.

Compare these Sources as evidence for the right of South Carolina to nullify the Tariff Law. [30]

(b) Study all the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that the Nullification Crisis threatened the existence of the United States. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

THE NULLIFICATION CRISIS, 1832–33

SOURCE A: Although he insisted on keeping his authorship secret, the Vice-President elect expresses his views on the Tariff Law and explains nullification for the benefit of the legislators of South Carolina.

The system is a threat to the liberty of the country. We want free trade: the Tariff impoverishes us. The Constitution was formed by the will of the States so it follows that no authority is higher than theirs to decide whether their rights are breached and what is the proper remedy. The General Government cannot interfere without violating the Constitution. We recommend further time for the General Government to repeal the obnoxious Tariff and so prevent the necessity of the State exercising its legitimate veto. We also hope that the new President will restore the pure principles of our Government.

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*J.C. Calhoun, The South Carolina Exposition,
19 November 1828*

SOURCE B: During a long debate in the Senate with Senator Hayne of South Carolina, a Senator for Massachusetts argues against the theory of nullification.

The Constitution is not the creature of the State governments. The people erected this government. It is written in the Constitution that the laws of the United States are supreme, the laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding. A Nullifying Act of a State legislature is unlawful. How does South Carolina expect to nullify the beneficent Tariff without bloodshed? Direct collision is the unavoidable result for to resist the execution of a law is treason which the United States could not ignore. A broken Union will be a land of civil feuds! Liberty *and* Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!

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Daniel Webster, speech, January 1830

SOURCE C: The people of South Carolina formally declare their opposition to the revision of the Tariff Law in June 1832.

***We, the people,* do declare the Tariff is null and void and not binding upon this State. This Ordinance prevents the enforcement of the Tariff within the limits of the State from the first day of February, 1833. 30**

***We, the people,* do further declare that we will not submit to force on the part of the Federal Government to reduce this State to obedience. We will consider any act to enforce the Tariff to be null and void, as inconsistent with the longer continuance of South Carolina in the Union: that the people of this State will proceed to organise a separate Government. 35**

The Convention of South Carolina, Ordinance of Nullification, 24 November 1832

SOURCE D: The President of the United States denounces the Ordinance of Nullification and explains how he intends to deal with the crisis.

The governor of South Carolina has recommended the raising of an army to carry secession into effect. No violence against the Tariff has yet been committed but such a state of things is hourly anticipated. I intend to do my duty to ‘faithfully execute’ the laws and warn the citizens of South Carolina, who have been deluded into opposing the laws, that the course they are urged to take is one of ruin and disgrace. Force may be necessary but if blood should fall upon our land it will not be due to any offensive act by the United States.

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Andrew Jackson, Proclamation to the People of South Carolina, 10 December 1832

SOURCE E: In proposing a compromise on the Tariff, a Senator for Kentucky assesses the intentions of South Carolina and expresses his views on nullification.

Let us have peace and become once more united as a band of brothers! Across the continent nullification has been put down more effectually than by a thousand armies – by the irresistible influence of public opinion. Not a voice beyond the single state of South Carolina has been heard in favour of the principle of nullification. A State whose heroes fought glorious battles for the Union must desire to remain in the Union. How would she survive out of the Union? I say it is utterly impossible that South Carolina ever desired to become a separate and independent State.

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Henry Clay, speech, 12 February 1833

Dictatorship and Democracy in Germany
1933–1963

Study the **FIVE** Sources on the Nazi Regime and the Churches and then answer **BOTH** sub-questions.

It is recommended that you spend two-thirds of your time answering part **(b)**.

4 (a) Study Sources D and E.

Compare these Sources as evidence for the effectiveness of the Nazi regime's attack on the Churches. [30]

(b) Study all the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that the Churches were willing collaborators with the Nazi regime. [70]

[Total 100 marks]

THE NAZI REGIME AND THE CHURCHES 1933–45

SOURCE A: The Catholic Church states its attitude to the Nazi regime shortly after Hitler comes to power.

The whole German nation in all its various parts, including the Catholic Church, have been summoned to cooperate and build a new order. We completely agree with Reich Chancellor Hitler that we must first become an internally unified nation of German men and women. The Church must put aside everything which divides us in order, once more, to become a nation which believes in honour, cleanliness and loyalty.

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Letter circulated by the Catholic Schoolteachers' Association, March 1933

SOURCE B: A leading member of the Catholic Centre Party comments on the Party's support of the Nazis in the vote for the Enabling Law.

Was this vote right? It may be doubted, although the law would have been passed even if the Centre Party had voted against it or abstained. If we had voted against it we would, given the current mood of the Nazis, probably have been smashed at once. All civil servants belonging to our party would have been dismissed. All collaboration with the Nazis and any possibility of influencing their policies would have been out of the question. But what if this attempt fails? What if the Nazis want to destroy our Catholic organisations, our Catholic youth clubs or our freedom of worship?

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Karl Bachem, speech, March 1933

**SOURCE C: Catholic bishops from Bavaria
express concern over recent Nazi
attacks on Church practices.**

**After the deplorable fight carried on by the
Marxists and communists against Christianity and
the Church, we welcomed with gratitude the Nazis' 25
claims to support positive Christianity. However,
we observe with sorrow how Nazi Party members
tend to remove themselves from Christian belief
and ignore the programme of the Führer. Men with
considerable influence and power are mounting 30
a full-scale attack on us. They are seeking to rid
Germany of the Catholic Church. Nothing could
be further from our intentions than to be hostile
to or oppose our present government. The Führer
can be sure that we bishops are prepared to give 35
all moral support to his historic struggle against
Bolshevism. What we do ask is that our holy
Church be permitted to enjoy her God-given rights
and freedom.**

***Extract from the Bavarian Catholic bishops'
pastoral letter, December 1936***

SOURCE D: Leading ministers of the Protestant Church report to their superiors on relations between the Church and the Nazi regime in Bavaria.

The year 1938 seems to have brought a series of difficulties which have a negative impact on the general attitude of the parishes. The work of our ministers has become much more difficult than before. The danger which threatens our parishes is that of being ground down and paralysed by the National Socialists. Most teachers have given up on religious instruction since it has been removed from the core curriculum. State youth organisations take less and less account of religious and spiritual matters. The regime is putting obstacles in the way of religious instruction. The population, and above all, young people are losing the habit of going to church.

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Report, 1938

SOURCE E: Official Nazi reports comment on the attitudes and behaviour of the Christian Churches during wartime.

Although the young are still staying away, more and more people are going to church. 55
There are unanimous reports that both Catholic and Protestant Churches are engaging in exceptionally heavy activity. In comparison to the Party, the Churches today still have much manpower at their disposal. In their weekly reports Party organisations have repeatedly emphasised that both Churches, but especially the Catholics, are in today's fateful struggle one of the main pillars of negative influence upon public morale. This is despite our attempts to restrict religious teachings. 60 65

Gauleiter reports, June 1943

THE USA AND THE COLD WAR IN ASIA 1945–75

Study the **FIVE** Sources on American Policies in Asia 1945-1950, and then answer **BOTH** sub-questions.

It is recommended that you spend two-thirds of your time in answering part **(b)**.

5 (a) Study Sources C and E.

Compare these Sources as evidence for US strategies for the military security of Asia between 1945 and 1950. [30]

(b) Study all the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that US policy in Asia was weak in the period between 1945 and 1950. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

AMERICAN POLICIES IN ASIA 1945–1950

SOURCE A: A Senator, well known for consistently voting against American military involvement in foreign wars, gives his views on the USA in the role of ‘world policeman’.

With the strategic location of airfields from the Philippines to Alaska off the coast of Asia, from Alaska to the Azores in the South Atlantic, we can drop, at a moment’s notice, atomic bombs on any spot on the world’s surface and return to our base. With vision, guts and plenty of bombs, ultra-modern planes and strategically located airbases, the United States can outlaw wars of aggression. The United Nations exists to stop war, with the atomic bomb in the hands of the United States as a concealed weapon, for use only when the bandit goes berserk.

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***Senator Edwin Johnson, speech to the US Senate,
28 November 1945***

SOURCE B: Mao Zedong gives his view of the policies of the USA and USSR, in a newspaper interview with an American journalist working in China.

The USSR defends world peace and prevents US reactionaries dominating the world. Its existence makes it absolutely impossible for reactionaries in America and the world to achieve their ambitions. That is why the US reactionaries hate the USSR and dream of destroying it. The atom bomb is a paper tiger, which the US reactionaries use to scare people. It looks terrible, but in fact it isn't. Though the atom bomb is a weapon of mass slaughter, the outcome of a war is decided by the people, not by new types of weapon. **15**
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Mao Zedong, interview with Anna Louise Strong, August 1946

SOURCE C: The US Secretary of State gives a speech to the press declaring his strategy in case of an attack in Asia by communist forces.

What is our policy for the military security of the Pacific area? Firstly, we must keep Japan secure. 25
We must hold the defensive perimeter from Alaska to Japan and beyond. The USA would not tolerate an attack on the Philippines. The security of other Asian areas cannot be guaranteed against military attack. Should such an attack occur, initially we 30
rely on the people attacked to resist it, and then upon the entire civilized world under the United Nations Charter. It is wrong to become obsessed with military considerations in Asia. Important as they are, there are other pressing problems. 35

***Dean Acheson, speech to the National Press Club,
12 January 1950***

SOURCE D: The Premier and Foreign Secretary of Communist China comments to the Chinese News Agency in Beijing on American support for Taiwan.

The whole world knows that the American government, in attempting to annex China, has supported the Nationalists in a large-scale civil war, denying the Chinese people any opportunity to live in independence and peace. The American government supplies the Nationalist bandits with aircraft to bomb mainland China. Acheson asks the Chinese people: ‘Why don’t you request American aid?’ But from personal experience, the Chinese people realise what American so-called ‘aid’ means. It means death for millions, the loss of national freedom and rights. Asian affairs will be settled by the Asian peoples themselves, and must never be interfered with by American imperialists on the other side of the Pacific.

Zhou Enlai (Chou En-lai), 18 March 1950

SOURCE E: President Truman announces the measures taken in response to the North Korean invasion of South Korea on 25 June 1950.

In South Korea, the Government forces, which were armed to prevent border raids and to preserve internal security, were attacked by invading forces from North Korea. The UN Security Council called upon the invading troops to cease hostilities and to withdraw to the thirty-eighth parallel. This they have not done. I have ordered United States air and sea forces to give South Korea troop cover and support. This attack makes it plain beyond all doubt that Communism has passed beyond stirring up revolution to conquer independent nations, and will now use armed invasion and war.

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*Harry S. Truman, announcement in Congress,
27 June 1950*

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