

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

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

THURSDAY 19 MAY 2011: 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, centre number and candidate number in the spaces provided on the answer booklet. Please write clearly and in capital letters.**
- **Use black ink.**
- **Read each question carefully. Make sure 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 11–17)
 - The Origins of the American Civil War 1820–61 (pages 18–23)
 - Dictatorship and Democracy in Germany 1933–63 (pages 24–29)
 - The USA and the Cold War in Asia 1945–75 (pages 30–35)
- 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 1774–95

Study the five Sources on the Storming of the Bastille, 1789 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 B.

Compare these Sources as evidence for the reasons for the attack on the Bastille. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that the storming of the Bastille was a triumph for liberty. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

THE STORMING OF THE BASTILLE, 1789

SOURCE A: A Paris newspaper comments on popular fears on the day before the Storming of the Bastille.

The people were already suffering, and now they believed that fifty thousand men, six cannon, six thousand plunderers and six princes were supposed to be waiting to turn the city upside down on Monday (13 July). The members of the States General were to be massacred, the houses of Parisians burned to the ground, the public libraries burned, and the Palais Royal* plundered, devastated and annihilated. They believed that the enemies of the revolution had everything ready – torches, daggers, gallows and lists of those to be killed.

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Louis Beragner, Point du Jour, 16 July 1789

*** The Palais Royal = the centre of radical political oratory and meetings in Paris**

SOURCE B: A major revolutionary figure explains the events of 14 July 1789 in a provincial newspaper article.

It was widely believed that the Constituent Assembly was threatened, the most holy of laws were to be altered; the capital was to be besieged and conquered; preparations had been made by extreme royalists for a civil war, even for the terrible slaughter of all known or suspected friends of the people. It was thought that two hundred years of public and private oppression, which involved political and fiscal injustice and feudal repression by the nobles would be crowned with the most horrible conspiracy against the people known in world history. Only that led the people to rise up.

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***Comte de Mirabeau, Courrier de Provence,
19 July 1789***

SOURCE C: This radical pamphlet offers a favourable view of the events of 14 July 1789.

VICTORY! VICTORY! An army gathered in twenty four hours has its cannon and its heroes! And the Bastille has been taken! Serene and blessed liberty, for the first time, has at last been introduced. Would you have believed that these people who like to sing and laugh could have had such courage and bravery? They were like Hercules and the heroes of the ancient world. I saw those brass gates, which seemed to fear only the end of the world, fall under the blows of their axes. With them fell tyranny and despair. And my humble foot trod those vaults in which the thunder of kings rumbled only yesterday. This glorious day must amaze our enemies, and finally usher in for us the triumph of justice and liberty. The world can never be the same after this.

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The Triumph of the French People, 30 July 1789

SOURCE D: A royalist lawyer who was present in Paris on 14 July 1789 offers a view on the nature and significance of the events.

The day was merely one of rioting. The worst elements of the capital were out of control and intent on plunder and violence. From one moment to the next, the people of Paris turned into a tribe of cannibals. Those who called themselves the conquerors of the Bastille marched around the various districts of the capital with the signs of their victory. Good Lord, what trophies of victory were these! Heads on spears, horrible to behold, opened the march. Under the speared head of poor de Launay* a panel was fastened that read ‘disloyal traitor to the people’.

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Etienne Montjoye, pamphlet, 1791

*** The Marquis de Launay = the Governor of the Bastille**

SOURCE E: A Catholic and conservative newspaper article published in France at the time of the centenary of the Revolution offers a view on the significance of the events of 14 July 1789.

There is little cause for celebration. The fourteenth of July 1789 in itself and in its consequences was a day of disorder, of rebellion and mass drunkenness, a day of vileness and lies, a day of broken oaths, a day of military disobedience, and treason; a day of plundering, heated barbarity and cannibalism. In short it signified the amnesty of all crimes and the actual beginning of a revolutionary epoch that was correctly called the Terror. It brought about more violence and more disgrace.

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A Lesson from the Past, 14 July 1889

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THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY 1815–70

Study the five Sources on The Causes and Outcomes of the 1859 War against Austria 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 A and B.

Compare these Sources as evidence for French intentions in Italy. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that the creation of the Kingdom of North Italy was due MAINLY to the support of France. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

THE CAUSES AND OUTCOMES OF THE 1859 WAR AGAINST AUSTRIA

SOURCE A: In a letter to King Victor Emmanuel II, following a secret meeting with Napoleon III of France at Plombières, the Prime Minister of Piedmont summarises the policy the Emperor agreed to adopt in support of Piedmont.

The Emperor said he had decided to support Piedmont with all his power in a war with Austria, provided the war could be justified in diplomatic circles and in the eyes of European and French public opinion. He agreed that Austria should be driven out of Italy totally. The Emperor stated Austria would have to be isolated so that she was our sole opponent. That is why he thought it important that the grounds for war should not alarm other continental powers. Better still if they were also popular in England. France will provide 200,000 troops needed for war.

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C. Cavour, letter, 24 July 1858

SOURCE B: In view of the accounts that had circulated since his meeting with Cavour the previous summer, Napoleon III writes to Queen Victoria to clarify what was discussed at Plombières.

In confidential talks with Piedmont, I made it clear that I had always felt warmly to Italy but that my first duty was to my country and its interests; that France had always been opposed to the exclusive influence of Austria in Italy; that Piedmont might rely upon our vigorous support if attacked by Austria. Since last November rumours of war have spread unchecked. There is nothing in our relations with other foreign powers to justify such fears. On the other hand for the last month I have received urgent appeals from the King of Piedmont to move troops to the Alps in case he is attacked by the Austrians.

Napoleon III, letter, 14 February 1859

SOURCE C: An English political cartoon called the 'Giant and the Dwarf' comments on the war in northern Italy between Austria and the Franco-Piedmontese alliance. The figure on the left represents Napoleon III who addresses the other figure, representing Victor Emmanuel II, with the words, 'Bravo, my little fellow! You shall do all the fighting and we'll divide the glory!' Victor Emmanuel II is shown as a tiny figure covered in battle wounds. He is carrying a huge sword and pointing towards a battle. Napoleon III is shown as a large elegantly-dressed figure casually smoking as he talks.



THE GIANT AND THE DWARF

A cartoon in Punch, 11 June 1859

SOURCE D: The French Foreign Minister states the French view of developments in the Central Duchies.

Piedmont is claiming to be the protector of the Assemblies which now exist in central Italy. It is wrong to repudiate contractual obligations once you have gained from them. So, the terms agreed at Villafranca, at the same time as they gave Lombardy to Piedmont, allow the sovereigns of the central Italian states to return to their thrones with their old rights intact. The two things are connected. If Piedmont opposes the return of these sovereigns, or she considers annexing central Italy, that would nullify the cession of Lombardy.

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Count Walewski, letter, 12 October 1859

SOURCE E: The King of Piedmont pays tribute to those responsible for recent achievements in an address to the Parliament in Turin.

In a short space of time an invasion has been repelled. Lombardy has been freed thanks to the glorious exploits of our heroes; and central Italy has been delivered thanks to the remarkable courage of its inhabitants. Today the representatives of right and of the hopes of the nation are assembled about me. Out of gratitude to France for the services she has rendered to Italy some sacrifice was necessary. I have made that one which costs most to my heart. I have agreed to the reunion of Savoy and Nice to France.

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Victor Emmanuel II, speech, 2 April 1860

THE ORIGINS OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR 1820–61

Study the five Sources on Abraham Lincoln and Slavery 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 D and E.

Compare these Sources as evidence for reactions to the election of Lincoln as President. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that Lincoln intended to end slavery. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND SLAVERY

SOURCE A: At the State fair in Springfield, Lincoln, a Representative for Illinois, expresses his views on slavery.

I understand that it is very difficult to get rid of slavery. My first impulse would be to free all the slaves and send them to Liberia, to their native land. This may be possible in the long term but its sudden execution is impossible. What then? Free them and make them politically and socially our equals? My own feelings will not admit of this and we well know that those of the great mass of whites will not. Systems of gradual emancipation might be adopted but I understand the reluctance of our brethren in the South to do this.

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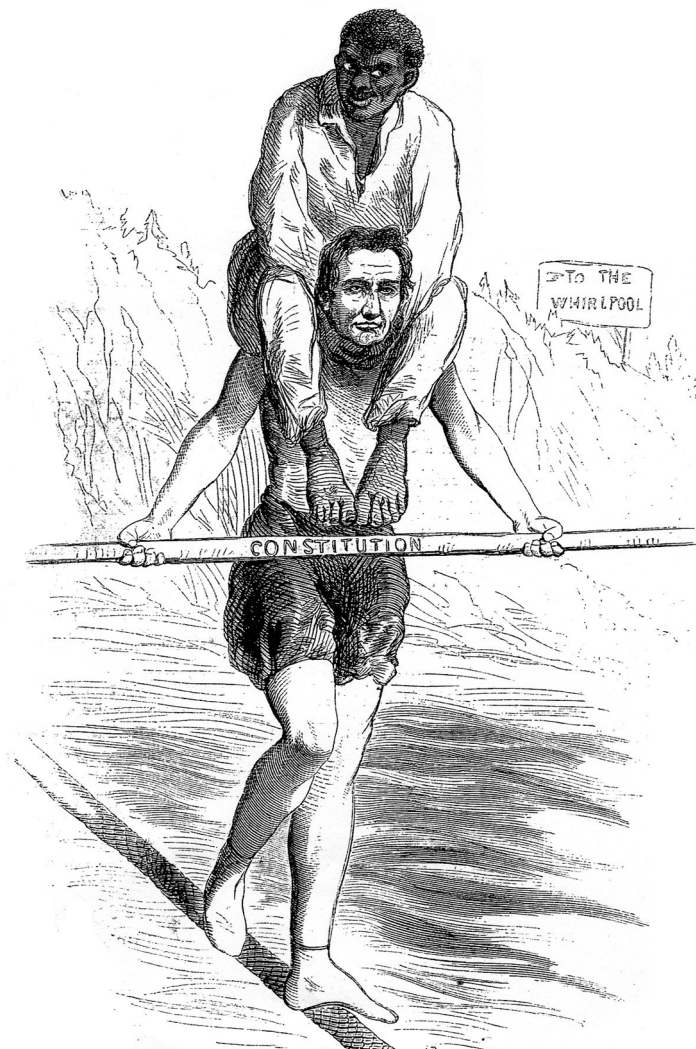
Abraham Lincoln, speech, 4 October 1854

SOURCE B: Having made more than sixty speeches during his campaign for a seat in the Senate, including seven debates with his rival opponent, S. Douglas, Lincoln reviews his campaign in his final address to his friends.

The legal right of the Southern people to reclaim their fugitives I have constantly admitted. The legal right of Congress to interfere with their institution in the States I have constantly denied. Circumstance is the only difference between us and them. If the Missouri Compromise could be restored and the whole slavery question replaced on the old ground of toleration by necessity where it exists, with unyielding hostility to the spread of it, I would gladly agree that Judge Douglas should never be out, and I never in office. 15 20

Abraham Lincoln, speech, 30 October 1858

SOURCE C: A cartoon called ‘The Coming Man’s Presidential Career’. The cartoon shows Lincoln carrying an African-American slave as he crosses Niagara Falls on a tightrope. The word ‘Constitution’ is printed on the pole being held by Lincoln to help him balance. There is a sign on the river bank behind Lincoln saying ‘To The Whirlpool’. The magazine in which this cartoon appeared supported Douglas in the presidential campaign of 1860.



THE COMING MAN’S PRESIDENTIAL CAREER

Harper’s Weekly, cartoon, 25 August 1860

SOURCE D: In an open letter to the citizens of New Orleans, who had invited him to state his position publicly, the defeated Northern Democrat candidate in the Presidential election of 1860 expresses his views on the condition of the country.

It is *believed* that the election of Mr Lincoln means that his policy *will* endanger the slaveholding States. Southern States should insist that existing laws be retained; nor do we require any additional legislation on this subject. As a minority in both houses of Congress and with the Supreme Court against them, Mr Lincoln's party will not have the power to change the laws. Some look upon the election of Lincoln as a pretext for revolution but to those determined to maintain the Union, so long as their liberties are protected by it, the election of Lincoln presents no just cause for disunion.

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S.A. Douglas, letter, 13 November 1860

SOURCE E: Following the election of Lincoln, a Senator for Georgia advises the people of Georgia on how to redress their grievances.

We have wrongs and we intend to redress them through the sovereignty of Georgia; on this, the state is unanimous. It seems all look to secession for redress. Delay no later than 4 March next year. The avowed object of Lincoln is ultimately to abolish slavery in the States. The repeal of laws hitherto passed by the Abolition States would not redress wrongs: they would re-enact them next year. Do this: offer in Congress amendments to the Constitution which will give you full security for your rights. If they intend to stop this war on your property, the Republicans will adopt such amendments at once: if not, secede.

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R. Toombs, letter, 13 December 1860

Dictatorship and Democracy in Germany 1933–63

Study the five Sources on Post-War Germany 1945–1949 then answer BOTH sub-questions.

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

4 (a) Study Sources A and B.

Compare these Sources as evidence for views concerning the economic policies in the German zones. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that the occupying powers acted in German interests from 1945 to 1949. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

POST-WAR GERMANY 1945–1949

SOURCE A: The American Secretary of State, speaking in Stuttgart, explains his government's plans for the future of Germany.

The USA is firmly of the belief that Germany should be administered as a single economic unit and that zonal barriers should be completely destroyed so far as economic life in Germany is concerned. The American government has formally announced that its intention is to unify the economy of its own zone with any or all the other zones. So far, only the British government has agreed. If complete economic unification cannot be secured we shall do everything in our power to secure maximum unification.

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James Byrnes, speech, September 1946.

SOURCE B: The Military Governor of Berlin gives the Soviet view of the situation in Germany.

Western currency reform is against the wishes and interests of the German people. The separate currency reform completes the splitting of Germany. It is a breach of the agreement made at Potsdam that Germany would be treated as an economic unit. The Western powers claim it is impossible to agree on a four-power currency reform for the whole of Germany. But this is just an excuse. The introduction of two currencies in Europe will mean that trade relations will be destroyed. Inter-zonal trade will in practice become trade between two separate states since two different currencies will be used.

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Marshal Sokolovsky, speech, 18 June 1948

SOURCE C: In addressing the representatives of the Western powers, the Chancellor of the Federal Republic recognises the importance of Allied aid in German recovery in the three Allied zones after 1945.

The disaster of the Second World War left behind a Germany almost totally destroyed. Our cities were in ruins. Economic life was largely smashed. All vestiges of a government had ceased. The very souls of men had suffered such injuries that it seemed doubtful whether a recovery would ever be possible. During the four years following 1945, power was largely vested in the occupying powers. It was only step by step that limited power to make decisions was given back to German authorities. It is fitting to acknowledge gratefully that the German population was saved during these trying years from starvation by allied help. They supplied food which at that time could not be purchased with the proceeds of German exports. It was this help which made possible the start of reconstruction.

Konrad Adenauer, speech, 21 September 1949

SOURCE D: A Communist newspaper published by the Red Army in Germany comments on the establishment of the German Democratic Republic.

The constitution of the German Democratic Republic will introduce a new phase in German post-war development. Germany leaves a status of occupation and enters the status of sovereignty. It was the intention of the Potsdam agreement to give back its independence to a democratic Germany. Thus, the democratic Germany will take the first step towards the restoration of its sovereignty, independence and freedom. The undemocratic Germany at Bonn, the rump Germany of the war-mongers, of the arms manufacturers and large estate owners will continue hopelessly in enduring occupation and economic dependence.

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Daily Outlook, article, October 1949

SOURCE E: A modern historian writes about post-war developments in Germany.

In a sense NATO can be seen as a replacement for the former Grand Alliance. Its first task was to break the Berlin Blockade, which it did quite literally with flying colours. The Soviets could only watch in silent fury. By that time preparations for the creation of a separate West German Republic were well advanced. Reluctant German leaders had been tempted to hold out for a united Germany but the Berlin Blockade removed their hesitations. It was perhaps inevitable that the Soviets would respond in kind. The memory of a united Germany receded ever more rapidly into the past.

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Norman Davies, Europe a History, 1996

THE USA AND THE COLD WAR IN ASIA 1945–75

Study the five Sources on The Escalation of the Vietnam War 1965, 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 B and C.

Compare these Sources as evidence for problems the USA might face in increasing its military presence in Vietnam in 1965. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that in 1965 the USA had more to gain than to lose from escalating its military presence in Vietnam. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

THE ESCALATION OF THE VIETNAM WAR 1965

SOURCE A: On a visit to South Vietnam when the US base at Pleiku was attacked on 6 February, President Johnson's National Security Advisor suggests a policy of reprisals.

The situation in Vietnam is deteriorating and, without new US action, defeat seems inevitable. The international prestige and influence of the USA are directly at risk. There is no way of passing the burden to the Vietnamese themselves or negotiating our way out of Vietnam. All the Washington team here agree with my judgement, that the policy of regulated and continuing reprisal is the most promising course available. Yesterday's attack provides a viable springboard for this reprisal policy and for forming a new government for South Vietnam. The situation may be at a turning point.

McGeorge Bundy, memorandum, 7 February 1965

SOURCE B: President Johnson's Under-Secretary of State advises against US military escalation in Vietnam.

South Vietnam is losing the war to the Viet Cong, whom we cannot beat or force to the conference table on our terms, no matter how many hundred thousand troops we send. While our forces only advise South Vietnam, the struggle will remain a civil war. Once we send substantial numbers of fighting troops, the USA will be seen to fight many of the South Vietnamese, who are directed from North Vietnam and backed by Soviet and Chinese resources. Our troops will suffer heavy casualties in hostile countryside and we will have begun a humiliating, irreversible process. We should try to find a way out of Vietnam.

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George Ball, memorandum, 1 July 1965

SOURCE C: In an address to a conference of local communist leaders, the Head of the Hanoi Politburo states his views on the threat posed by US military escalation in Vietnam.

American soldiers cannot stand the weather and don't know the battlefield. Their supply base is distant and sends resources worldwide. They hesitate to send more troops because they fear that being bogged down in a lengthy war will lose them markets and support from the American people and their allies. The Soviet Union has sufficient atomic strength that if the US imperialists used the atom bomb, they would be committing suicide. To defend against the Americans broadening the warfare in the South or North, we must destroy the puppet troops, create the opportunity to advance and completely defeat US imperialism.

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Le Duan, speech, 8 July 1965

SOURCE D: The American Secretary of Defense advises President Johnson on troop requirements and policy for Vietnam, five months after the start of the US bombing campaign.

Forces for 1965 should be brought up to 175,000, and it should be understood that we may need to send perhaps 100,000 more men in early 1966. They will be used to defend their own bases, to assist the security of neighbouring areas, to help Vietnamese forces retain key areas and population centres. They will begin with nuisance raids, opening and securing selected lines of communication. After the main Viet Cong units are destroyed, the South Vietnamese must re-establish the Program of Rural Reconstruction to counter continuing Viet Cong terror and subversion.

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Robert McNamara, Memorandum, 20 July 1965

SOURCE E: In a later conversation with his biographer, President Johnson explains his reasons, in February 1965, for limiting the US bombing campaign to particular targets.

Our bombs were my political resources for negotiating peace. They were carrots to get South Vietnam to remove corruption, showing our deep commitment. They were also sticks, pressuring North Vietnam to stop its aggression against the South. By choosing targets, I could keep personal control of the war. If China reacted to our slow escalation by threatening retaliation, we'd ease off the bombing. But a total assault on the North would end our control – essential for preventing World War III – for that would be rape rather than seduction. Then there would be no turning back. The Chinese reaction would be instant and total.

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Doris Kearns, Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream, 1976

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