

**OXFORD CAMBRIDGE AND RSA EXAMINATIONS
AS GCE**

F964/02

HISTORY A

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

WEDNESDAY 13 MAY 2015: Afternoon

**DURATION: 1 hour 30 minutes
plus your additional time allowance**

MODIFIED ENLARGED

Candidates answer on the Answer Booklet.

OCR SUPPLIED MATERIALS:

**12 page Answer Booklet (OCR12)
(sent with general stationery)**

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 Course of the French Revolution
1774–1795 (pages 4–9)**

The Unification of Italy 1815–1870 (pages 10–15)

**The Origins of the American Civil War 1820–1861
(pages 16–21)**

**Dictatorship and Democracy in Germany 1933–1963
(pages 22–27)**

**The USA and the Cold War in Asia 1945–1975
(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.

Any blank pages are indicated.

The Origins and Course of the French Revolution 1774–1795

Study the five Sources on the Political Situation following the end of the Terror and then answer BOTH sub-questions.

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

1 (a) Study Sources B and C.

Compare these Sources as evidence for the reasons for unrest in 1795. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that by 1795 revolution was no longer popular. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

The Political Situation following the end of the Terror

SOURCE A: In one of a series of agreements in La Vendée in Spring 1795, peasant rebels and the Thermidorian Government bring the civil war to an end.

Peace and harmony will take the place of the horrors of civil war and all its accompanying disasters. Your property and your persons will be held sacred by the law. Peace is made for the happiness of all. We must now think of the common benefits from free and safe passage of all roads, freedom of markets and trade, all hitherto prevented by war. We consent and agree to the peace settlement to give the Convention the means of forming a stable government which will bring happiness to France.

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Peace agreement at La Prevalayé, 21 April 1795

SOURCE B: The radical Parisian insurgents state their case to the Convention during the Prairial rising of May 1795.

The people consider that the Thermidorian Government has inhumanely allowed them to die of hunger. The Thermidorian Government is unjust and tyrannical and arrests people who have the courage to claim their rights to bread. Such a terrible government will last as long as we are weak and obey it. Rebellion is the most sacred of rights, the most essential of duties, a necessity for all our people and all those who are oppressed. The people demand the abolition of the Thermidorian Government which ruins, starves and enslaves the people. We demand a return to the Constitution of 1793.

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Declaration, Insurrection of the People to Obtain Bread and Recover their Rights, 20 May 1795

SOURCE C: In a debate in the Convention, a representative from a regional department comments on the Prairial revolt.

Today we are on the verge of making peace with the allied powers. That is what the agitators want to prevent. They want us to tear ourselves apart once more. I can see nothing in this but the fury of royalists, the fury of refractory, non-juror priests* who will not breathe easily until they do so over the corpses of republicans and the ruins of the fatherland. They ask for the Constitution of 1793: we want it as well, but it must be made to work. People, I beg you in the name of liberty do not dishonour the glory of the Revolution. Do not make five years of hardship and sacrifice useless!

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***refractory, non-juror priests: those priests who refused to swear a public oath of loyalty to the Constitution.**

François Louis Bourdon, speech, May 1795

SOURCE D: Louis XVI's brother, the Duke of Artois, who had proclaimed himself Louis XVIII, appeals to the French people.

You proved faithless to your God and that God, justly offended, has made you feel the weight of his anger. You have changed bloodthirsty tyrants whom you hated for hypocritical tyrants whom you despise. They conceal their weakness beneath apparent mildness but have the same ambition as the previous rulers of the Terror. That reign of terror has ended, but it has been replaced by the disorders of anarchy. Less blood is shed in France, but there is greater misery. In short, your slavery has only changed its form and your disasters have been made worse.

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Louis XVIII, Declaration of Verona, 24 June, 1795

SOURCE E: A member of the Convention, who had served in the Assembly of 1789–1791 and been part of the Revolutionary Committee on Public Education, gives his reaction to the fall of Robespierre and expresses his views on the future.

All hearts were opened to the sweetest hopes following Thermidor in 1794. It was like venturing forth from a tomb and being reborn to life. France was no longer barred from the list of civilised nations. It was then that one had pride in being French. Our glory was evident. We had taken up arms in the noblest cause – liberty; and for the holiest of rights – independence from tyranny. Our victories had never oppressed other peoples. The Revolution had brought down the nobles and raised the middle classes and people were drawn together. Paris once again became the centre of fashion and taste.

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Antoine-Clair Thibaudeau, Memoirs of the Convention and Directory, 1824

The Unification of Italy 1815–1870

Study the five Sources on Revolutions 1820–1849 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 revolutionary activity in the Italian peninsula. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that government repression was the main reason for the failure of revolutionaries in Italy from 1820 to 1849. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

Revolutions 1820–1849

SOURCE A: The chief minister to Ferdinand I, King of Naples and Sicily, advises the king on the danger of revolutionary groups.

In Italy the hub of revolutionary spirit is to be found in schools and universities. Nearly all the professors in the universities corrupt the students, who have always been the first to come out against the sovereign. The police should continue to keep close control over the various revolutionary groups. The Carbonari are the most widespread and evil-intentioned enemies of Altar and Throne. It is certain that the revolutionary rabble, even in its humiliation and defeat, is hatching new plots. This is the moment to terrify and to throw into dismay the treacherous revolutionary rabble which is now organised like a profession and trade.

Prince of Canosa, memorandum, 1822

SOURCE B: The author, who had been a professor, journalist, soldier and politician, and who also played a leading role in the Tuscan Revolution of 1848–9, recalls his experience of Young Italy.

From Naples and Piedmont the Carbonari spread to Tuscany, though without causing any open disturbance. After the 1830 revolution in France, revolutionaries in many central Italian cities came together wherever they could meet. In February 1831, after the revolutions in Modena and Bologna, some Tuscan liberals organised themselves into a new brotherhood known as Young Italy. They were concerned solely with discussing the way forward. Like other earlier political societies, Young Italy was a coalition of potential revolutionaries divided in their opinions on politics and religion. Stories of thousands of combatants were based on hearsay.

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G Montanelli, *Memoirs of Tuscany, 1814 to 1850*, published in 1853

SOURCE C: A priest, exiled from Piedmont, who advocated a federal state led by the Pope, comments on the record of revolutions in Italy.

Italy seems politically sterile in her revolts. Some great men were produced by her revolutions but, standing alone, they were not understood; they lived abandoned or even persecuted and died without achievement. Even more painful, they were dragged along by the crowd, unable to dominate it, obeying it and conniving in its faults and misdeeds. Even great and select men are prone to give in to the influence of the masses. Therefore, those who want to make the Pope an instigator of violent revolutions are mistaken.

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Vincenzo Gioberti, On the Moral and Civil Primacy of the Italians, 1843

SOURCE D: A resident of Milan, writing to a friend in Piedmont, describes the situation in Lombardy.

Events are being provoked by the brutality of the police and the ferocity of Radetsky. Four months ago I could never have believed that hatred could spread everywhere so quickly. The police are desperate, and we are expecting them to confiscate arms. Two months ago the existing list of arms' permits in each province had to be sent to the Milan police. Gunsmiths are under continual surveillance and must declare the names of whoever buys arms. The army of spies has been doubled. People live in continual fear of being arrested even on the slightest excuse. We rely on Piedmont to save us.

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L Torelli, letter, February 1848

SOURCE E: An English writer, who was a resident of Florence, 1848–9, comments on the attitudes and actions of Italians during the revolutions of those years.

If they have at Rome such a republic as we have had in Florence, imposed by a few bawlers and brawlers on the silent and cowardly, the sooner it goes to pieces the better. If the Romans are in earnest they may resist eight thousand Frenchmen. My faith in all Italians is, however, nearly tired out. I don't believe they are men at all, much less heroes and patriots. We have had two revolutions here at Florence; Grand Duke out, Grand Duke in. The bells in the church rang for both. Revolutionaries first planted a tree of liberty close to our door and then they pulled it down. 50 55 60

Elizabeth Barrett Browning, letter, 30 April 1849

The Origins of the American Civil War 1820–1861

Study the five Sources on Slavery in the Territories 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 B and C.

Compare these Sources as evidence for attitudes to slavery in the Territories. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that there was a conspiracy to extend slavery into the Territories. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

Slavery in the Territories

SOURCE A: A Congressman for Georgia, and later the Vice-President of the Confederate States, explains his reasons for supporting the annexation of Texas to the House of Representatives.

The acquisition of Texas will give additional power to the southwestern section in the national councils. For this purpose I want it. It is not because I desire to see an extension of the ‘area of slavery’, as some have said its effects would be. I am no defender of slavery itself. If the annexation of Texas was for the sole purpose of extending slavery where it does not exist I should oppose it. But slavery already exists in Texas. My object is the political advantages it will secure, preserving a proper balance between the different sections of the country.

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Alexander H Stephens, speech, 1845

SOURCE B: Representatives of nine of the fifteen slave States, agree their response to the Compromise of 1850.

***Resolved*, that the slaveholding States will not submit to any law imposing restraints upon the rights of masters to move with their property into the Territories of the United States. 15**

***Resolved*, that the Territories of California and New Mexico should be divided between the sections of the Union so that the rights of both sections be secured. We are ready to adopt the line of 36 deg. 30 min. in return. 20**

***Resolved*, that the Wilmot Proviso, which excludes slavery in lands taken from Mexico, is degrading to the Union. The termination of this controversy without any disruption to the nation is the paramount duty of Congress. 25**

The Nashville Convention, Resolutions, 10 June 1850

SOURCE C: Six of the most prominent abolitionists in the country express their concerns about the Kansas-Nebraska Bill and the importance of action to block it.

We condemn this bill as part of an atrocious plot to convert a vast unoccupied region into a dreary region of tyranny, inhabited by masters and slaves. It means the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the most important of measures limiting slavery. 30

The dearest interests of freedom and the Union are in imminent peril. No apology can be offered for the extension of slavery into the Territories. Let everyone protest, by whatever means, against this enormous crime. For ourselves, we shall resist it by speech and vote. Even if overcome in the impending struggle, we shall not submit. 35

**The Appeal of the Independent Democrats,
19 January 1854**

SOURCE D: The politician who was instrumental in securing both the Compromise of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, defends his belief in popular sovereignty whilst campaigning for re-election as Senator for Illinois.

Mr Lincoln is alarmed that, under the Dred Scott decision, slavery will go into all the Territories. With or without that decision, slavery will go where the people want it. Why has slavery not obtained a foothold in Kansas? Simply, because a majority of her people oppose slavery. Thus you see that under the principle of popular sovereignty, slavery has been kept out of Kansas, even though for the first three years they had a Legislature in that Territory favourable to it. Who does this slavery agitation benefit except the Republican politicians, who use it as their means to gain office?

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Stephen A Douglas, speech, 16 July 1858

SOURCE E: A radical Republican and historian from Massachusetts, who was active in the politics of the 1850s, condemns the extension of slavery into the Territories.

The Slave Power was dedicated to making slavery the predominating national interest. This was evident from the time of the Texas plot. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise was a deliberate and direct assault upon freedom. Slavery and not popular sovereignty was the object of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. The Dred Scott decision and the Lecompton constitution revealed the real character of the ‘sovereignty’ involved showing no regard for the popular will. All these developments were examples of the shameless duplicity of those who had planned and engineered that astounding fraud of slave power.

H Wilson, History of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America, 1872

Dictatorship and Democracy in Germany 1933–1963

Study the five Sources on The Churches under the Nazis and then answer BOTH sub-questions.

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

4 (a) Study Sources B and C.

Compare these Sources as evidence for the religious situation in Germany in 1937–1938. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that Christianity had no place within the Nazi state. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

The Churches under the Nazis

SOURCE A: Roman Catholic bishops in Bavaria explain their view about the Nazi regime to their clergy and congregations.

Nothing could be further from our intentions than to adopt a hostile attitude towards the present government. For us, respect for authority, love of Fatherland and the fulfilment of our duty to the state are matters, not only of conscience, but of the will of God. We will always require our faithful to follow this command. The Fuhrer can be certain that we Bishops are prepared to give all moral support to his historic struggle against Bolshevism. We will not criticise things that are purely political. What we do ask is that our holy Church be permitted to enjoy her God-given rights and her freedom.

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Public statement, December 1936

SOURCE B: Government officials give an account of events in a Catholic school in a village in western Germany.

The fact is that thirty to forty villagers got into the unlocked school on the night of 6 January 1937 to hang the crucifix back in its old place. The witness explicitly advised them that the crucifix had been taken down by the order of the government and that the break-in would constitute a breach of the peace if they defied the order. Nevertheless, the accused, with the help of a ladder which he fetched, hung the crucifix right up beside the picture of the Fuhrer, which had been put in this newly assigned place. Everyone then left the school. On 9 January 1937 the local court ordered a prison sentence for the accused.

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Official report, 1937

SOURCE C: The Protestant Confessing Church outlines the situation in southern Germany, following visits made there.

Christians in Germany face an enemy, who is difficult to get to grips with, yet is clearly fighting everywhere against Christianity. The trend is towards a slight reduction in church-going. In many areas the events put on by the State youth organisation take less and less account of Parish Church services and so youth is losing the habit of going to church regularly. In schools there is a reduction in religious instruction and in technical colleges it has been removed from the core curriculum. Many people believe that they cannot do anything against the new forces and so give up.

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Report, 1938

SOURCE D: The Bishop of Münster gives a sermon about the government's mercy-killing programme.

When I learnt of the intention to transport patients from Marienthal Provincial Asylum to kill them, I brought a formal charge at the State Court in Münster, which read as follows: 'According to information I have received, a large number of patients from Marienthal are to be transported to the Eichberg Asylum as so-called "unproductive national comrades". They will then soon be deliberately killed, as is generally believed has occurred with transports from other asylums. Such an action is not only contrary to the moral laws of God and Nature, but is also punishable by death under article 211 of the Nazi Penal Code.'

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Count Clemens August von Galen, sermon, 3 August 1941

SOURCE E: The leading Nazi bureaucrat, who was close to Hitler, gives his view on relations between Nazism and Christianity.

National Socialist and Christian concepts are irreconcilable. The Christian churches build upon man's ignorance, and are endeavouring to keep the greatest possible number of people in a state of ignorance. National Socialism, on the other hand, rests on scientific foundations. We National Socialists demand of ourselves that we live as naturally as possible, that is to say in accord with the laws of nature. We must refuse to strengthen existing Christian denominations or to sponsor new ones.

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Martin Bormann, internal memorandum, 7 July 1941

The USA and the Cold War in Asia 1945–1975

Study the five Sources on The Overthrow of Diem and US Policy in Vietnam 1962–1964, 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 A and B.

Compare these Sources as evidence for the difficulties faced by the Diem Government in South Vietnam. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that the USA wished to distance itself from the problems of South Vietnam from 1962 to 1964. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

The Overthrow of Diem and US Policy in Vietnam 1962–1964

SOURCE A: The US Senate Majority leader, spokesman for the Democrats, reports to the US President the findings of his mission to Vietnam.

Diem's difficulties remain unchanged despite billions of dollars being spent. Rumours of financial corruption persist. Outside the cities, Vietnam is insecure and run largely by the Vietcong. The Saigon government still seeks acceptance by the ordinary people in large areas of the countryside. Diem's previous energizing role has passed to his brother, Nhu, who manipulates political power and is beyond control. The only alternative is full scale war by the US against the guerrillas and neo-colonial rule in South Vietnam. That I most emphatically do not recommend. The primary responsibility rests with the Vietnamese.

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Mike Mansfield, report, 18 December 1962

SOURCE B: The newly appointed US ambassador to Saigon reports to the US Secretary of State on the deteriorating situation in South Vietnam.

We are now following a course of action from which there is no respectable turning back: the overthrow of the Diem government. The war cannot possibly be won under a Diem administration. Neither Diem nor any member of his family can gain the support of the Vietnamese educated class or the American people. Recently they have alienated these people to an incalculable degree. I realise that Diem's removal involves a very substantial risk of losing Vietnam. I would never propose it if I felt there was a reasonable chance of holding Vietnam with Diem.

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**Henry Cabot Lodge, cable to Dean Rusk,
29 August 1963**

SOURCE C: With President Kennedy's approval, the National Security Council issues instructions to the US Ambassador to Saigon in light of an imminent military coup to overthrow President Diem.

5 October: President Kennedy agrees that no active encouragement should be given to a coup. It is urgent to build secret contacts with possible alternative leadership. It is essential this effort is totally secure and fully deniable. 25

9 October: While we do not wish to stimulate a coup, we should not give the impression the USA would hinder a change of government. We would not deny economic and military assistance to a new regime if it appeared capable of increasing military effectiveness, ensuring popular support to win the war and improving working relations with the USA. 30
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Top secret telegrams sent from the NSC via the CIA to Henry Cabot Lodge, October 1963

SOURCE D: In light of Diem's overthrow and US postponement of withdrawal from South Vietnam, the Central Committee of the Vietnam Workers' Party in Hanoi decides to intensify its support for the Vietcong in South Vietnam.

The US imperialists used Diem to achieve three objectives: to establish their neo-colonialist policy by repressing the national liberation movement; to build up military bases to attack our side; to stop communism spreading throughout Southeast Asia. Since Diem's assassination, the Americans may bring in many more troops to fight. They may do so if they believe that the North will not react strongly or that the people of the USA and the world will not oppose this. We must increase our forces in South Vietnam to speed up the collapse of their puppet troops and achieve a swift victory.

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Vietnam Workers' Party resolution, December 1963

SOURCE E: In the midst of a highly contested Presidential election campaign, a congressional resolution grants President Johnson effective war powers in the Southeast Asian region.

Naval units of the Communist regime in Vietnam, in violation of the UN charter and international law, have deliberately and repeatedly attacked US naval vessels lawfully present in international waters, so creating a serious threat to international peace. 50

These attacks are part of a deliberate and systematic campaign of aggression that the Communist regime in North Vietnam has been waging against its neighbours. 55

The USA is assisting the peoples of Southeast Asia to protect their freedom and has no territorial, military or political ambitions in that area. 60

Congress supports the determination of the President, as Commander-in-Chief, to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against US forces and to prevent further aggression.

The Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, 7 August 1964

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