

ADVANCED SUBSIDIARY GCE**HISTORY**

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

F964/02

Candidates answer on the Answer Booklet

OCR Supplied Materials:

- 8 page Answer Booklet

Other Materials Required:

None

Monday 8 June 2009**Morning****Duration: 1 hour 30 minutes****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. Pencil may be used for graphs and diagrams only.
- Read each question carefully and make sure that you know what you have to do before starting your answer.
- Do **not** write in the bar codes.

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 (page 2–3)
 - The Unification of Italy 1815–70 (page 4–5)
 - The Origins of the American Civil War 1820–61 (page 6–7)
 - Dictatorship and Democracy in Germany 1933–63 (page 8–9)
 - The USA and the Cold War in Asia 1945–75 (page 10–11)
- Answer **both sub-questions** from **one** Study Topic.
- 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.
- This document consists of **12** pages. Any blank pages are indicated.

The Origins and the Course of the French Revolution 1774–1795

Study the four Sources on Internal Changes and the Impact of War, 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 B and D.

Compare these Sources as evidence for contemporary views of the Revolution in the period from 1793 to 1794. **[30]**

(b) Study all the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that harsh measures were introduced during the Terror **mainly** in order for France to protect itself from its enemies. **[70]**

[Total: 100 marks]

Internal Changes and the Impact of War

Source A: A law passed by the Convention gives the government the right to arrest those who could be a threat to the Revolution.

All suspect persons shall be placed under arrest. The following are considered suspect persons. Those who by their conduct, their connections, their remarks, or their writings show themselves to be the enemies of liberty. Also, former nobles, all of the wives, husbands, fathers, mothers, sons and daughters, brothers and sisters, or agents of the émigrés who have not consciously shown their attachment to the Revolution. The civil and military tribunals can, if necessary, order the arrest and imprisonment of suspects. Persons may be arrested even if there are no grounds for accusation. People may also be arrested who have previously been acquitted. 5

The Law of Suspects, 17 September 1793

Source B: The leading member of the Committee of Public Safety expresses his view of what the Revolution's laws and aims should be.

Towards what goal do we move? The peaceful enjoyment of liberty and equality; the reign of that eternal justice in which laws are not engraved in stone, but in men's hearts. Let France become the model for all free nations, the glory of all free peoples, the support for those who are oppressed. What kind of state can bring about these marvels? Only government that is democratic or republican, in which the sovereign people, guided by laws they have made do all they can do themselves and the rest through their representatives. But what is the fundamental principle of democratic government? 10
Virtue; I speak of the public virtue that is the love of the fatherland and its laws. This love necessarily embraces love of equality. You must at the same time fight the tyrants of Europe, maintain 1,200,000 men under arms and the government must deal with all the problems left to us by our enemies. How do we achieve this? Only through Virtue. 15

Maximilien Robespierre, Report on the Principles of Public Morality, speech to the Convention, 5 February 1794

Source C: A leading radical member of the Committee of Public Safety reports to the Convention, urging the confiscation of the property of the enemies of the Republic.

How long must we be fooled by enemies at home? How long must we allow our foreign enemies to benefit from our weakness? Spare the aristocracy and you will bring about fifty years of trouble. You must be daring! Our enemies cannot resist for long. I am without mercy to the enemies of the nation. A Republic must have powerful laws. The foreigner wants to rule over us by discord, so we must imprison our enemies and their supporters. Return war for war! Destroy traitors and celebrate liberty. Your Committee recommends this decree: the goods of persons recognized as enemies of the Revolution will be confiscated for the profit of the Republic. Those persons will be detained until the declaration of peace and then banished for ever. 20
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Antoine St. Just, Report Concerning Prisoners, 26 February, 1794

Source D: A lawyer who published accounts of trials both before and after the Revolution criticizes revolutionary justice during the Terror between 1793 and 1794.

Oh my country! What crimes have been committed within your borders! Will those who come after us believe that the French have built a vast number of prisons after having toppled the Bastille? Will they believe that our public places were drowned in the blood of our best citizens? In what depths of misery have monsters plunged the French people to satisfy their madness and ambition? Can those who come after believe that France groaned under Robespierre's abominable tyranny? Robespierre dealt the most terrible blows to public morale and to all social institutions. 30
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Nicholas des Essarts, Famous Trials Judged since the Revolution, published in 1796

The Unification of Italy 1815–70

Study the five Sources on The Aims of Cavour 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 E.

Compare these Sources as evidence for Cavour's views on constitutional government. [30]

(b) Study all the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that Cavour's priority was to promote the interests of Piedmont rather than the unification of Italy. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

The Aims of Cavour

Source A: Written shortly after the death of Cavour, a close friend comments on the political views and power enjoyed by Cavour from the time he became Prime Minister of Piedmont in 1852.

Without ceasing to be liberal and constitutional, and to be supported by the majority, Cavour's policy became more exclusively Italian. It was imposed upon Parliament who obeyed him as a master rather than followed him as a leader. Faith in Cavour spread far and wide. Such faith on the part of a nation, which looked to him for the accomplishment of its destinies, effectively undermined political parties. The constitution was reduced to a mere machine. He opposed street demonstrations, convinced that in the great enterprise for which Italy was preparing, it was desirable to avoid the errors of 1848–49 among which were the actions of disorderly mobs.

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W. de la Rive, Reminiscences of the Life and Character of Count Cavour, 1862

Source B: A journalist in Paris comments on the mood in France to events unfolding in Italy.

The King and Cavour are determined to drag France into war with Austria. The great design which Piedmont places above all other considerations is her own territorial expansion and the creation of a strong monarchy in the north of Italy. To this everything is made subservient. In pursuit of this favourite scheme Cavour has damaged his prestige among thinking people in England and elsewhere. He has declined in the estimation of the French public to the character of a vulgar aggressor. Only in the French army is there any support for war.

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A journalist reporting to The Times in London, 2 March 1859

Source C: The Piedmontese military Chief of Staff describes Cavour's meeting with Victor Emmanuel II, King of Piedmont, on the day that the armistice of Villafranca was signed, following which Cavour resigned.

Cavour refused to accept a prolonged armistice unless the whole of northern Italy was liberated. He dismissed Napoleon's view that we ought to be only too pleased to get Lombardy. Cavour argued that promises ought to be kept. He threatened to encourage a revolution rather than leave the work half done. I could not blame him. For years he had worked hard to form an independent Kingdom of Italy and now he saw his labours frustrated. Cavour wished to carry on the war alone but 1848 was too fresh in our memories, and, as military men, we declined the responsibility.

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A report, July 1859

Source D: Writing to Ricasoli, the new leader of Tuscany, Cavour informs him that Garibaldi had landed in Sicily and expresses his uncertainty about how the Piedmontese government should respond to this development.

We could not have stopped Garibaldi from making war on the King of Naples. This may be good; it may be bad. If we had tried to restrain him by force he would have become a real domestic problem. We cannot support him openly, nor can we encourage private efforts on his behalf. We have decided not to allow any more sailings from Genoa but also not to prevent the despatch of arms and ammunition, provided they are despatched secretly. There are disadvantages in the ambiguous line we are taking but I cannot work out any other policy that doesn't have even greater dangers.

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C. Cavour, letter, 16 May 1860

Source E: Following the collapse of the Bourbon monarchy in Naples, Cavour justifies to the Piedmontese Senate Piedmont's intervention in the Papal States.

By seizing the direction of political events in southern Italy, the King and his government prevented our wonderful Italian movement from degenerating; they prevented the factions which did so much harm in 1848–49 from exploiting the emergency conditions in Naples after its conquest by Garibaldi. Caught between liberal Italy in the north and revolutionary Italy in the south, we had to intervene in the Papal States. We had to stop any conflict which might divert our national movement or arouse revolutionary passions. In central Italy we have imposed ourselves in order to establish constitutional government based on the popular will.

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C. Cavour, speech, October 1860

The Origins of the American Civil War 1820–61

Study the five Sources on The 1850 Compromise and Slave Power 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 views about the 1850 Compromise. **[30]**

(b) Study all the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that southern interests were unrestricted during the period from 1850 to 1860. **[70]**

[Total: 100 marks]

The 1850 Compromise and Slave Power

Source A: A prominent Senator for New York and critic of slavery argues against the Compromise of 1850.

The Constitution of the United States asserts sovereignty to be, not in the separate states, but in the people. This Compromise gives complete dominance in the slave states and the Constitution to the institution of slavery which, in fact, is inferior to the institution of freedom. You may separate slavery from South Carolina, and the United States will still remain; but if you undermine freedom there the United States will cease to exist. As stewards of the land bestowed upon us by the Creator of the universe we must discharge our trust to secure the most happiness.

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W. Seward, Speech in the Senate, 11 March 1850

Source B: A Senator of Kentucky, and the author of a series of resolutions first introduced in January 1850, urges their acceptance by the Senate in his final speech to the house.

Not a single provision in this Compromise is a violation of the Constitution of the United States. Let us pass this great, comprehensive and healing system of measures to reunite this Union. I believe it deals unjustly with no part of the Republic, that it saves the honour of the states, and, saves the interests of all quarters of the country. I believe it is the dove of peace which will restore harmony to all the corners of this divided land. Shall any man oppose the onward march of a great nation? If defeated the consequences to our beloved country will be disastrous.

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H. Clay, Speech in the Senate, 22 July 1850

Source C: In a speech intended as a direct response to the views of Douglas, the architect of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, a member of the House of Representatives expresses his reservations about the Act.

The repeal of the Missouri Compromise is wrong in principle and also because of its direct effect of letting slavery into Kansas and Nebraska. I hate it because it deprives our country of its just influence in the world and enables the enemies of free institutions to taunt us as hypocrites. The Kansas-Nebraska Act is urged as a great Union-saving measure. Much as I hate slavery I would consent to the extension of it rather than see the Union dissolved. But I must believe that the means I employ have some adaptation to this end. To my mind Nebraska has no such adaptation. 15

A. Lincoln, Speech at Peoria, Illinois, 16 October 1854

Source D: A newspaper editorial accuses the North of hostility to the South in the past and expresses widespread anxieties about the future.

The North has robbed us of our property, they have ignored the decrees of the Supreme Court, they have invaded our states and killed our citizens and declared their determination to exclude us from the Territories. They have capped these insults by electing Lincoln as President which indicates their intention to subjugate the South and complete the ruin of her social, political and industrial institutions. For the sake of peace the South has compromised until she can compromise no farther, unless she is willing to compromise away her character, political equality, social and individual interest. 25

The New Orleans Daily Crescent, 18 November 1860

Source E: A radical Republican and historian from Massachusetts, who was active in the politics of the 1850s and subsequently vice-president in the second administration of President Grant, assesses the strength of Slave Power before 1860.

The years after the annexation of Texas and the Compromise have no parallel for the intensity and disastrous results of the slavery struggle. Thinking men saw that an evil agency was at work: they called it Slave Power. They saw that there existed a commanding power in the land which made its influence everywhere felt. Slave-masters dictated principles, shaped policies, made Presidents, judges of the Supreme Court and Congressmen. Then, with the election of Lincoln in 1860, they were beaten and their cherished policy of slavery-expansion was halted. This marked the end of an epoch in the history of Slave Power. 30

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

Dictatorship and Democracy in Germany 1933–63

Study the five Sources on the Building of the Berlin Wall in 1961 and then answer **both** the sub-questions.

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

4 (a) Study Sources A and C.

Compare these Sources as evidence for the aims of the Western powers towards the German Democratic Republic. **[30]**

(b) Study all the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that in building the Berlin Wall the German Democratic Republic was **mainly** concerned to prevent the fleeing of East Germans to the West. **[70]**

[Total 100 marks]

The Building of the Berlin Wall, 1961

Source A: The East German leader Walter Ulbricht justifies the building of the Berlin Wall.

This is an anti-fascist protection wall. Counter-revolutionary vermin, spies, profiteers, human traffickers, prostitutes, spoiled teenage hooligans and other enemies of the people's democratic order have been sucking on our workers' and peasants' Republic like leeches and bugs on a healthy body. Naturally they would have liked to continue sucking the blood and life force from our people, but if one does not combat the weeds they will smother the young seed. This is why we have sealed the cracks in the fabric of our house and closed the holes through which the worst enemies of the German people could creep. 5

From an article in the East German newspaper, Neues Deutschland, August 1961

Source B: The East German leader Walter Ulbricht implies his intentions for West Berlin to two British MPs.

Ulbricht said that no one could fly over or enter East German national territory without a visa from East Germany. Such visas would not be given to 'undesirables'. Foreign airlines would not be allowed to overfly the East German territory without a special agreement. He did not think that Tempelhof [in West Berlin] would be a suitable airport for Berlin, but if its use was continued there would have to be East German control there. 10

A report to the British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan after two Conservative MPs met Ulbricht at the Leipzig Trade Fair, East Germany, September 1961

Source C: A Soviet newspaper gives an explanation for the building of the Berlin Wall.

The Western powers in Berlin use it as a centre of subversive activity against the GDR. In no other part of the world are so many centres of espionage to be found. These centres smuggle their agents into the GDR for all kinds of subversion: recruiting spies, sabotage, provoking disturbances. The government presents all working people of the GDR with a proposal that will securely block subversive activity so that reliable safeguards and effective control will be established around West Berlin, including its border with democratic East Berlin.

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Isvestia, October 1961

Source D: A former West Berliner describes in his memoirs how easy it was for those from the West to buy cheap goods in East Berlin in the late 1950s.

For a Westerner, a beer in a pub in East Berlin cost just a quarter or a third of what you had to pay in the West. We Westerners could visit a hairdresser for a few coins. For a handful of change we could spend an evening at the State Opera in East Berlin, or the Berliner Ensemble Theatre. For next to nothing we could go into state-owned stores and buy records or books. East Berlin was a shopping paradise, a kind of duty-free port. The only thing was, you mustn't let yourself be caught with these low priced goods on your way back into West Berlin.

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Joachim Trenkner, Coca Cola schmecks nach Berlin, 2004

Source E: A modern historian offers explanations for the building of the Berlin Wall.

Officially the East German government argued that the Wall was designed to stop the aggressive infiltration and political undermining of the GDR by West German and American agents. However, there can be little doubt that the refugee problem lay at the heart of the matter. The daily departure of ever larger numbers of East Germans to the West amounted to a blood-letting which ultimately threatened the economic and political stability of Ulbricht's government. Up to the end of 1960 some 2.5 million people had abandoned all their belongings and fled. Many of the male refugees were highly skilled workers or academically trained white-collar specialists.

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V. R. Berghan, Modern Germany, 1982

The USA and the Cold War in Asia 1945–75

Study the five Sources on the Tet Offensive 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 D.

Compare these Sources as evidence for the impact of the Tet Offensive on American domestic opinion. **[30]**

(b) Study all the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that the Tet Offensive of 1968 was a turning-point in the Vietnam War. **[70]**

[Total: 100 marks]

The Tet Offensive 1968

Source A: North Vietnamese officers issue orders ahead of the planned Tet Offensive of 1968.

An offensive and uprising will take place in the very near future. We will mount stronger attacks on towns and cities, in co-ordination with the widespread movement in the rural areas. The enemy will be thrown into utmost confusion. This is a golden opportunity to liberate hamlets and villages but also an opportunity to liberate district centres, provincial capitals and South Vietnam as a whole. Our victory is close at hand. Our Party has carefully judged the situation. We must act fast. Make use of the people immediately in sabotage and in raid operations. The masses should go on strike. 5

Directive from Province Party Standing Committee to District and Local Party Organs on Forthcoming Offensive and Uprisings, 1 November 1967

Source B: An American broadcaster delivers his report after the Tet Offensive of 1968.

We have been too often disappointed by the optimism of the American leaders, both in Vietnam and Washington. They may be right, that Hanoi's winter-spring offensive has been forced by the Communist realization that they could not win the longer war of attrition, and that the Communists hope that any success in the offensive will improve their position for eventual negotiations. Yet it seems now more certain than ever that the bloody experience of Vietnam is to end in a stalemate. For every means we have to escalate, the enemy can match us. To say that we are closer to victory today is to believe, in the face of the evidence, the optimists who have been wrong in the past. 10

Walter Cronkite, broadcast on CBS Television, 27 February 1968

Source C: An unnamed officer in the North Vietnamese Army comments on the Tet Offensive of 1968.

When the Tet Offensive was over, we and the Vietcong didn't have enough men to fight a major battle, only to make hit-and-run attacks on enemy posts. So many men had been killed that morale was very low. We spent a great deal of time hiding in tunnels, trying to avoid being captured. We experienced quite a few desertions and many of our people drifted back to their homes. We were surprised the Offensive had any success at all; we felt we had lost. But we were told the Americans felt as if they had lost.

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North Vietnamese Army Records, 1979

Source D: A CIA official reflects on the impact of the Tet offensive on American society.

The media has fixed not on the successes of US forces and their Southern allies but on the initial successes of the Vietcong. Too much has been made of events in Saigon, the Government Palace, the airport, the US embassy, rather than of our successes elsewhere. It looks as though the Vietcong has suffered badly. But the media, especially the TV, are presenting everything as a big American defeat, like that of the French at Dien Bien Dhu. The images of Tet have won out and have proved decisive, especially among the powerful liberal groups and the young. Opinion has been turned against the War effort and it shows; it is affecting the leadership, the government, the Senate. Anti-War protest is growing.

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Intelligence Briefing, Summer 1968

Source E: A modern historian comments on the significance of the Tet Offensive of 1968.

The unpopularity of the Saigon government explains the success of the NLF in infiltrating Saigon and other government-held towns in early 1968, without the people there warning the government. The NLF* launched a surprise offensive ('Tet') that carried them into the heart of Saigon. The offensive was beaten back, but it demonstrated that all the enormous firepower delivered on Vietnam by the United States had not destroyed the NLF, its morale, its popular support, its will to fight. It caused a reassessment in the American government, and more doubts among the American people. In the United States the anti-war movement now grew fast.

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* National Liberation Front

H. Zinn, A People's History of the United States, 2003

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