

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

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

**THURSDAY 10 JUNE 2010: Afternoon**  
**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 4–7)**
  - **The Unification of Italy 1815–70 (pages 8–13)**
  - **The Origins of the American Civil War 1820–61 (pages 14–18)**
  - **Dictatorship and Democracy in Germany 1933–63 (pages 19–23)**
  - **The USA and the Cold War in Asia 1945–75 (page 24–27)**
- **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 Problems of the Monarchy by 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 C and D.**

**Compare these Sources as evidence for class divisions in France by 1789. [30]**

**(b) Study all the Sources.**

**Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that finance was the main problem of the French monarchy by 1789. [70]**

**[Total: 100 marks]**

## THE PROBLEMS OF THE MONARCHY BY 1789

**SOURCE A:** This cartoon shows the unpopularity of financial reform among the members of the Assembly of Notables called in 1787. The monkey (Calonne) presides over the animals (the members of the Assembly).



[The monkey is standing behind a counter and is writing. Ducks, geese and turkeys are standing in front of him. The monkey is saying, 'My dear governed ones, I have called you to know with what sauce you would like to be eaten.' They reply: 'But we don't want to be eaten at all'.]

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*Anonymous engraving, 1787*

**SOURCE B:** The American ambassador to the Court of Louis XVI comments on financial problems.

The lack of money has in fact been beyond the French government's ability to solve. The government published a decree suspending all repayments of capital and reducing interest payments to 12 *sous* in the *livre*, the rest to be paid with certificates. It will probably alert the public to the necessity of a change to their constitution. It is a remarkable proof of the total incompetence of a single head of state to govern a nation well when, with a revenue of six hundred millions, the King is led to a declared bankruptcy and to stop the wheels of government because of shortage of money.

*Thomas Jefferson, report, 18 August 1788*

**SOURCE C:** In the *cahier* of two districts near Le Mans there appear various grievances. The *cahiers* were lists of grievances and concerns drawn up, by order of the King, in preparation for the meeting of the Estates General in May 1789.

We beg the King to remove from the clergy the liberty of taxing itself, wanting it to be taxed in the same way as the Third Estate. We likewise desire that all nobles be taxed in the same way, and other privileged people as well. There is a postmaster who farms many fields for which he is not made to pay the land tax. He should be included in the taxes of the Third Estate. The Estates General should concern itself with the salt tax and it would be desirable for it to be reasonable in price.

*Cahier of the electoral districts of Écommoy and Mansigné, 1 March 1789*

**SOURCE D: While awaiting execution in 1793, a leading revolutionary figure reflects on the causes of the Revolution.**

Conditions in France were ripe for a democratic revolution when Louis XVI came to the throne. The two privileged orders that still retained control of the government were ruined through their taste for luxury. 30  
The third estate had produced enlightened thinkers and acquired enormous wealth. The people were kept down only by their habit of obedience. For royal power to remain intact would have required a tyrant or a great statesman on the throne. Louis was neither. He 35  
had neither the character nor the talents to control an agitated nation in a situation which cried out for reform.

*Jean Jacques Barnave, Memoir, 1793*

**SOURCE E: A modern historian summarizes problems facing the French government by 1789.**

In 1778 Louis XVI went to war to protect the newly-created United States. It was a spectacular success, but France made no territorial gains. The war had 40  
been paid for largely by new loans. By 1786 there was a financial crisis. It was not that France lacked the resources to survive as a great power. It was rather that many of those resources were locked up by the system of government, the organization of society 45  
and the culture of what revolutionaries would soon be calling the *ancien régime*.

*W. Doyle, The French Revolution:  
A Very Short Introduction, 2001*

## THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY, 1815–70

**Study the five Sources on The Intellectuals and Their Different Attitudes to Unity 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 C.**

**Compare these Sources as evidence for attitudes towards Italian unification. [30]**

**(b) Study all the Sources.**

**Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that before 1847 it was expected that the fate of Italy would be determined by the people. [70]**

**[Total: 100 marks]**



## **THE INTELLECTUALS AND THEIR DIFFERENT ATTITUDES TO UNITY**

**SOURCE A:** An extract from the writing of a Tuscan radical and the founder of a secret society. Here he reveals the influence of the French Revolution of 1789 on his thinking about the future of Italy.

If some of the symbols of our society derive from the French Revolution it is because France uttered the first cries of Universal Liberty and the first vigorous protests against the crimes of Nobles, Priests and Kings. This great example inspired others including revolutionary spirits in Italy recently. But the courage which destroys was not accompanied by the wisdom which rebuilds. Political revolutions are useful to nations only in so far as they are undertaken with popular views and are directed towards that point of social perfection which true justice requires, that is, the freedom and wellbeing of all. 5 10

*F. Buonarrotti, Notebook, 1824*

**SOURCE B: A former member of the Carbonari and the founder of Young Italy outlines the purpose and methods of the organisation he established from exile in the south of France.**

**Young Italy is convinced that Italy can make herself one nation through her own efforts. The failure of past attempts was due to the poor leadership of the revolutionary parties. Joined in association, Italians have the capacity to make Italy once again a great nation of free and equal men. Young Italy is Republican because monarchy means the repression of the masses who alone have the strength to save us. Young Italy is Unitarian because without unity of religious belief and administrative organisation there is no unity. The means of fulfilling the aims of Young Italy are Education and Revolution.**

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***G. Mazzini, General Instructions for the Members of Young Italy, 1831***

**SOURCE C:** The author was a priest exiled from Piedmont for his radical views. Here he presents his views on the unification of Italy.

Italy contains within herself, above all through religion, all the conditions required for national and political Risorgimento, and that to bring this about she has no need of revolutions and still less of foreign invasions. We have the real principle of Italian unity in the Papacy because it is a power organised by God. 25  
A political confederation under the Pope would increase the strength of the various princes without damaging their independence and would put the strength of each at the disposal of all. It is madness to think that Italy, divided for centuries, can be united 30  
into a unitary state. 35

*V. Gioberti, On the Moral and Civil Primacy of Italians, 1843*

**SOURCE D: A Lombard academic, who campaigned for practical economic and social improvements in Italy addresses a congress of Italian scientists in Milan. His journal was read by most of the intellectual elite.**

**For many generations in Turin, Parma, Rome, Naples, Sicily, signed contracts and customary rights based on ancient and modern laws will continue. Whoever ignores this love of the individual country in Italy will always build on sand. Two states alone, the American and Swiss federations, show the way for Italy. They rest on the consensus of the masses and they leave to all their peoples the enjoyment of their special rights, the leadership of the men they trust, the practice of their traditional ideas, a just pride in their sovereignty. These are as dear to peoples as they are to rulers.**

**40**

**45**

***C. Cattaneo, extract from a lecture, 1844***

**SOURCE E: A Piedmontese aristocrat, statesman and historian presents a conservative view of the way ahead.**

**At the present time all power is in the hands of the princes. The actions of the princes become the actions of the nation. But if the peoples can do nothing without the princes, the princes can do nothing without the peoples. Democracy may continue to be the fear of the police and the hope of secret societies but it cannot be considered as part of the foreseeable future. Since the creation of Piedmont the worthy house of Savoy has upheld the Italian cause often by confronting Austria: should this example be imitated in future or avoided?**

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***C. Balbo, On the Hopes of Italy, 1844***

## **THE ORIGINS OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR, 1820–61**

**Study the five Sources on The Fugitive Slave Law 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 C.**

**Compare these Sources as evidence for attitudes to fugitive slaves. [30]**

**(b) Study all the Sources.**

**Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 was unworkable. [70]**

**[Total: 100 marks]**

## THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW

**SOURCE A:** Opponents of slavery warn those at risk of being detected as fugitive slaves to be alert.

### **CAUTION!!**

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**Colored people of Boston, one and all,  
You are hereby respectfully CAUTIONED and  
advised, to avoid conversing with the  
Watchmen and Police Officers of Boston.**

5

**For since the recent order of the Mayor and  
Aldermen, they are empowered to act as  
KIDNAPPERS and Slave-Catchers,**

**And they have already been actually employed  
in kidnapping, catching and keeping slaves.**

10

**Therefore if you value your liberty, and the  
welfare of the fugitives among you, Shun them  
in every possible manner, as so many hounds  
on the track of the most unfortunate of your  
race.**

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**Keep a sharp look out for KIDNAPPERS, and  
have TOP EYE open.**

**APRIL 24 1851.**

*The Anti-Slavery Society, poster, 24 April 1851*

**SOURCE B:** At a meeting in New York City, organised by the Anti-Slavery Society, a prominent American poet and writer expresses his views on the Fugitive Slave Law.

The Fugitive Slave Law showed that the sense of right had faded and gone out. We should not forgive the clergy for taking the immoral side nor the judiciary if it sides with the slave owner. Liberty is the oppressed Lady whom true knights must rescue and save. 20

The Fugitive Slave Law unglued the eyes of men and the Nebraska Bill leaves us staring. The Anti-Slavery Society will gain many members; in the years ahead the people of the Free States and, I am sure, at last the Slave States will join it. 25

*Ralph Waldo Emerson, speech, 7 March 1854*

**SOURCE C:** A newspaper, whose editor opposed slavery, reports on events in Boston two days after the arrest of Anthony Burns, a fugitive slave. His trial the day after resulted in his return to his owner in Richmond, Virginia.

A crowd numbering up to ten thousand persons, assembled in the square about the Court House to protest against the arrest of Burns. The Mayor warned the multitude, as good and peaceable citizens, to quietly go to their homes, adding that US troops were ready to preserve the public peace. He insisted that the laws of the city, the State and the United States should be maintained. This paper has learnt that the US Marshall in Boston has been directed by Washington to have this fugitive slave trial put through promptly and the law carried out to the letter. 30  
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*The Massachusetts Spy, report, 31 May 1854*



**SOURCE D: A newspaper in Staunton, West Virginia, reports on the working of the Fugitive Slave Law in the North and the trial of Myers, an agent of a slave owner in Maryland, who was arrested and tried for kidnapping.**

**Has the Fugitive Slave Law been carried out by the Northern States? Our answer is to be found on the statute book of at least three of the Northern States. Also, the recent case of Myers shows that even the conservative state of Pennsylvania has virtually nullified the law. The Court of Pennsylvania has no right to decide whether the fugitive slaves returned by Myers were not lawfully held in bondage. But the lawyers for Myers failed to demonstrate the monstrosity of such a position. The jury found Myers guilty and he was sentenced to eight years imprisonment!**

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***The Vindicator, report, 3 February 1860***

**SOURCE E: The out-going President expresses his view that the Fugitive Slave Law should be upheld on constitutional grounds.**

**The acts of different State legislatures to defeat the Fugitive Slave Law violate the Federal Constitution and are, therefore, null and void. The validity of this law has been established over and over again by the Supreme Court of the United States. Should the next President fail to uphold this law he will do great injury to nearly one half of the States of the Union. Let us trust that the State legislatures will repeal their obnoxious enactments. The Southern States, standing on the basis of the Constitution, have the right to demand justice from the States of the North.**

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***James Buchanan, State of Union Address,  
3 December 1860***

**DICTATORSHIP AND DEMOCRACY IN GERMANY**  
**1933–1963**

**Study the five Sources on Youth and Education Policies from 1933 to 1963 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 B and D.**

**Compare these Sources as evidence for the success of policies on youth and education between 1933 and 1963. [30]**

**(b) Study all the Sources.**

**Use your own knowledge to assess how far the sources support the interpretation that the Nazis and the German Democratic Republic pursued the same aims towards youth and education. [70]**

**[Total 100 marks]**

**POLICIES ON YOUTH AND EDUCATION FROM  
1933 TO 1963**

**SOURCE A: Hitler comments on his policies for young Germans.**

In my great educative work I am beginning with the young. You are magnificent. With you I can make a new world. My teaching is hard. Weakness has to be knocked out of you. A violently active, dominating, brutal youth is what I am after. You must be indifferent to pain. There must be no weakness or tenderness in it. I will have no intellectual training. Knowledge is ruin to my young men. Our young people learn to think and act as Germans, to serve the State and the community and to fight class and status barriers. 5 10

*A speech to German boys, December 1938*

**SOURCE B: A former League of German Maidens [BDM] leader recalls the impact of the Hitler Youth movements on young Germans.**

The Hitler Youth became the instrument used by the regime to prepare young people for war and war work. However, there was a great deal of good and ambitious education in the Hitler Youth. There were groups who learned to act in a masterly way. We told stories, danced and practised handicrafts, and in these fields regimentation was often less strict. But the idea of a competition to glorify the fighters and the heroes often banished the element of thinking and meditation, even from musical activities, and the development of the creative imagination was stifled. 15 20

*Melita Maschmann, Account Rendered, 1963*

**SOURCE C:** In the introduction to the new law on the education and training of young people, the East German government sets out its aims.

**A younger generation which is educated, physically sound, strong and progressive is the safeguard for a democratic and peace loving Germany.**

**The constitution of the German Democratic Republic has created the basic preconditions for a democratic education and development of German youth.** 25

**The principles embodied in it protect all young people from exploitation. They guarantee the intellectual, professional and physical development of youth and its participation in the life of the State and society.** 30

**They lay it down that youth should be trained in the spirit of peace, of friendship between peoples, of true democracy and genuine humanity, as active citizens of the new democratic society.** 35

***GDR Youth Law 1950***

**SOURCE D: An East German Security Police [Stasi] report comments on the behaviour of senior students at a school in Dresden.**

**Investigations were carried out by the Ministry For State Security. It was established that the political and ideological situation at this school is to be classified as highly unsatisfactory and that this provides favourable conditions for enemy activities. 40**  
**The majority of students demonstrate the effects of strong western influences; constantly listen to NATO radio stations, wear western style clothing, listen to western pop music and dance music. The conditions which have made such hostile activities in the school possible - inadequate work of the Party, failures on the part of the education service and failures to take appropriate security measures - must be addressed. 45**

***Information concerning a School in Dresden.  
March 1962***

**SOURCE E: A modern historian comments on the progress of university education in the GDR during the 1950s.**

**By the mid 1950s one of the basic aims of East German policy had been achieved; the promotion of equal educational opportunity. Fifty three percent of university students in the GDR were from the working class, in contrast to only four percent in West Germany. However, there was a lack of freedom of choice for study. East German students gained little experience of general debate and the tolerance of alternative points of view. Young people learnt to become outward conformists. The government's aim was to produce obedient subjects rather than intellectually active citizens.**

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*Mary Fulbrook, History of Germany 1918–2000, the Divided Nation, 2002*

## **THE USA AND THE COLD WAR IN ASIA 1945–75**

**Study the five Sources on The USA and South Vietnam 1954–1965, 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 A and C.**

**Compare these Sources as evidence for the problems faced by the Diem regime of South Vietnam. [30]**

**(b) Study all the Sources.**

**Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that the USA's support for independence was the MAIN reason for its growing involvement in South Vietnam between 1954 and 1965. [70]**

**[Total: 100 marks]**



## THE USA AND SOUTH VIETNAM 1954–1965

**SOURCE A:** The American President writes to the President of the Republic of South Vietnam, expressing his support for the new South Vietnamese government.

The Geneva Accords cause us grave concern for the future of Vietnam, temporarily divided by an artificial military grouping, weakened by a long, exhausting war and faced with external enemies and internal collaborators. We have fulfilled your recent requests for aid in the formidable task of moving several hundred thousand loyal Vietnamese citizens away from areas ruled by a communist ideology they hate. I am glad that the United States is able to assist this humanitarian effort.

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*Dwight Eisenhower, letter to Ngo Dinh Diem,  
23 October 1954*

**SOURCE B:** In a speech to the American Friends of Vietnam, a Democrat Senator, who later became President, states his views on US support for South Vietnam.

Vietnam represents the cornerstone of the free world in south-east Asia. Burma, Thailand, India, Japan, the Philippines, Laos and Cambodia are among those whose security would be threatened if the red tide of communism overflowed into Vietnam. Its independence is crucial to the free world in fields other than the military. Its economy is essential to the economy of all south-east Asia, and its political liberty inspires all those seeking liberty throughout the world. The fundamental principles of American foreign policy depend on a strong and free Vietnam.

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*John F. Kennedy, speech, June 1956*

**SOURCE C:** The American President writes to Diem, promising to increase American aid for the South Vietnamese regime.

Our indignation has grown at your reports of the deliberate savagery of the Communist program of assassination, kidnapping and random violence. The campaign of terror, now being waged against your people and your government, is supported and directed from outside by the authorities at Hanoi. They have thus violated the terms of the Geneva Accords to ensure peace in Vietnam. We shall promptly increase our assistance to protect your people and preserve their independence. We shall also seek to persuade the Communists to end their violence.

*John F. Kennedy, letter, December 1961*

**SOURCE D:** In a telegram to Secretary of State Dean Rusk, the American Ambassador to Vietnam gives his views on the generals' coup to overthrow Diem.

We follow a course from which there is no respectable turning back: the overthrow of the Diem government. US prestige is already publicly committed to ending the war, and the war cannot be won under a Diem administration. His regime has alienated the educated civil and military class, not to mention the American people. We should urge the Generals to move promptly. Discontent with the regime has produced an explosive situation that might lead to a pro-communist government. If we fail to fulfil our responsibility, our reputation will be lost. I realise this involves a very substantial risk of losing Vietnam and American lives. I would never propose it if I felt we had a reasonable chance of holding Vietnam with Diem.

*Henry Cabot Lodge, telegram, 29 August 1963*

**SOURCE E: President Johnson explains why the USA continued to be involved in Vietnam after the assassination of Diem.**

**We have a promise to keep. Since 1954 every American President has offered support to South Vietnam. We have helped to build and defend its independence. To dishonour that promise and abandon this small, brave nation to its enemies, and the terror that must follow, would be an unforgivable wrong. We are there to strengthen world order. Around the globe are people whose well-being rests partly on believing they can count on us if attacked. To leave Vietnam to its fate would shake their confidence in the value of America's word. Do not think for a moment that retreat from Vietnam would bring an end to conflict. The battle would be renewed in one country and then another. The appetite of aggression is never satisfied.**

**50**  
**55**  
**60**

*Lyndon B. Johnson, speech, 1965*



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