

OXFORD CAMBRIDGE AND RSA EXAMINATIONS
AS GCE
F964/02
HISTORY A

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

MONDAY 23 JANUARY 2012: Afternoon
DURATION: 1 hour 30 minutes

SUITABLE FOR VISUALLY IMPAIRED CANDIDATES

Candidates answer on the Answer Booklet.

OCR SUPPLIED MATERIALS:

8 page Answer Booklet
(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 1774–95 (pages 4–7)**
 - **The Unification of Italy 1815–70 (pages 8–13)**
 - **The Origins of the American Civil War 1820–61 (pages 14–19)**
 - **Dictatorship and Democracy in Germany 1933–63 (pages 20–23)**
 - **The USA and the Cold War in Asia 1945–75 (pages 24–29)**
- **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 Failure of the Constitutional Monarchy and then answer BOTH sub-questions.

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

1 (a) Study Sources D and E.

Compare these Sources as evidence for attitudes towards the monarchy. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that the end of the Constitutional Monarchy was largely the fault of Louis XVI himself. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

THE FAILURE OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY

SOURCE A: This English reporter comments on the future of the Constitutional Monarchy.

It appeared that the King intended to escape to Metz, where the chiefs of the counter-revolutionary émigrés are. As soon as the royal family had been brought back to Paris, the King and Queen were put under a strong guard. The mob showed every sign of violence and hooted the Queen. The grand aim of the National Assembly of France is no doubt to remove their king and put an end to all royal authority. This done, it will probably follow that some future chief gaoler of Paris will then, at the head of the army, declare himself Protector of the Realm and rule the deluded people with a rod of iron which for the sake of popularity will be called a Democracy. 5 10

Article, The Times, 30 June 1791

SOURCE B: The King explains his support for the Constitution to his brothers in exile.

Civil war presents no other advantages but horrors and a continuation of discord. It should be set aside and I should try once more the sole means remaining to me, namely the junction of my will to the principles of the Constitution. I realize all the difficulties of governing a large nation in this way – indeed I will say that I realize it is impossible. But refusing the Constitution would have brought about war. In the end, public opinion will change, and I considered that I would be going towards a better order by my acceptance of the Constitution than by my refusal. 15 20

Louis XVI, letter, 27 September 1791

SOURCE C: The King defends himself against criticism of his use of the royal veto in a letter to the Count de Breteuil, his former chief minister and who was, in 1791, his personal diplomatic representative in exile in Switzerland.

The cruel law against the émigrés forced me to make use of the veto: the necessity of this has never been recognized by a large part of the nation. But the extremists are always trying to undermine me. They have passed the detestable law on refractory priests. I have only used the resources of the constitution to defend justice, but the people regard the émigrés as the greatest danger, and the surest way my enemies have of making me unpopular is to present me as being in league with their plans.

Louis XVI, letter, 14 December 1791

SOURCE D: The radicals of the Paris Sections (electoral districts) demand that the King should be suspended.

We shall not retrace for you the crimes of Louis XVI, his bloodthirsty projects against the city of Paris, his love of priests and nobles, the oaths he has violated so many times right up to the moment when a cowardly flight opened the citizens' eyes. The people forgave him, but to forgive is not to forget. Now armed enemies threaten our territory, and it is to avenge Louis XVI that the foreign tyrants wish to destroy the citizens of France. As long as we have a king, liberty cannot grow.

Petition to the Legislative Assembly, 3 August 1792

SOURCE E: Louis XVI is accused of disloyalty to the Constitution.

The French nation accuses you, Louis, of tyranny, therefore destroying liberty. You swore an oath to the Constitution which you have not kept. On 14 September 1791 you pretended to accept the Constitution: your speech proclaimed your intention of upholding it, yet you were working for its overthrow even before it was complete. Your brothers are enemies of the state and have rallied émigrés to their banner. You did not repudiate them.

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From the speech of the President of the National Convention at the trial of the King, January 1793

THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY 1815–70

Study the five Sources on Italy and the Crimean War 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 C.

Compare these Sources as evidence for the potential effects of the Crimean War on Italy. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that the Crimean War offered only a limited opportunity to advance the cause of Italian unification. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

ITALY AND THE CRIMEAN WAR

SOURCE A: The British minister at Turin comments on the significance of the Crimean War for Italy.

The Piedmontese see little hope of resolving the Italian Question without the support of England and France. A declaration of war by Piedmont in support of England would enable Austria to enter the war against Russia. Piedmont would be given Lombardy and Venetia with Austria compensated with the Danube provinces and the Crimea. Piedmont would then be strong enough to crush every attempt at revolution. This would qualify Piedmont to sit at the peace conference where she would be on England's side in the settlement. Strengthening Northern Italy by establishing a constitutional government there, would thus secure the stability of Europe and commence the solution of all the Italian questions.

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Sir James Hudson, report, 24 October 1854

SOURCE B: Written as a note for himself and his foreign minister in the latter stages of the Congress of Paris, the French Emperor reveals his vision for Italy.

The area that is the greatest threat to European peace is Italy because its political structure is unsatisfactory. Either a revolution or war is needed to alter its structure – two fatal extremities. Nonetheless, an Italian Confederation might be set up, under the nominal leadership of the Pope. An assembly, appointed by the various Italian states, could meet in Rome and discuss matters of common interest, without any change to existing borders. Austria, by reason of its territories in the north, would be a member of this Italian Confederation. Each state would have one representative for every one million inhabitants.

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Napoleon III, memorandum, March 1856

SOURCE C: Following the signing of the Treaty of Paris on 30 March, Cavour presents to the Powers the concerns of the government of Piedmont about the terms of the treaty.

The Piedmontese government regrets that the Congress did not concern itself with the affairs of Italy, especially as Piedmont's intervention was critical to the outcome of the war. Disturbed within by revolutionary passions, foreign occupation on her borders and threatened by the possible extension of Austrian power, Piedmont's position is uncertain. This state of things will excite England and France on account of the sympathy they have for Piedmont and the real danger it presents for Europe. Piedmont is the only State in Italy able to contain the revolutionary spirit and Austrian influence. If Austria continues to dominate Italy she would have a predominant influence in Europe which England and France would not wish or permit.

The Government of Piedmont, Note to England and France, 16 April 1856

SOURCE D: Cavour expresses his concerns to Napoleon III about the consequences of any delay in the outbreak of hostilities against Austria.

Postponing the war, as Your Majesty is suggesting, would have grave disadvantages. After the Congress of Paris we were able to persuade the National Society to put its hopes in Piedmont, upheld and encouraged by France. These hopes have survived for three years and have made even the fiercest hotheads contain their passion. But can they be maintained for another year? Once wearied by fruitless waiting they may turn to the senseless agitation of the Mazzinians. With any revolutionary activity in Italy the plan, so admirably built up by Your Majesty, would be ruined.

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C. Cavour, letter, 17 September 1858

SOURCE E: A historian on international relations in the nineteenth century assesses the outcome of the Crimean War on Piedmont and later developments in Italy.

At first, the Piedmontese government had hopes of some territorial gain from the conference. Cavour produced several complex plans but they gained no support from any of the powers and had no chance of success. On 8 April, Cavour and the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Clarendon, made speeches attacking Austrian dominance of Italy and the general misgovernment there. Yet, they brought no immediate benefit to Piedmont. The later success of Cavour was only made possible by the isolation and relative weakness of Austria.

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M.S. Anderson, The Eastern Question, 1966

THE ORIGINS OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR 1820–61

Study the five Sources on The Economies of the North and South 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 D.

Compare these Sources as evidence for the economic interests of the North and South. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that the economic tension between the North and South was based on conflicting views on slavery. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

THE ECONOMIES OF THE NORTH AND SOUTH

SOURCE A: Writing in a newspaper, the Governor of South Carolina justifies his support for States' Rights and the nullification of the tariff.

I have always looked to the present contest with the government as a battle by which, if the Southern States succeed in defeating the government, the South would be safe. By the doctrines 'of the general welfare' the federal government proposes to tax our industry for the benefit of the industries of the other sections of this Union. It proposes to appropriate the common treasure to make roads and canals for them. If conceded, the same doctrines would authorise the federal government to secure the liberty of our slaves, by establishing colonisation offices in our State and transportation to Liberia afterwards. 5
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J. Hamilton, Jr, Charleston Mercury, September 1830

SOURCE B: A Congressman representing Ohio expresses his disappointment with the reduction of the tariff in the Senate by a majority of one vote with both Senators from the new State of Texas voting for repeal.

**By reducing the tariff the cotton-growing interest of the South may benefit from free trade. In order to strike down the vital interests of the North – 15
their industry – they must extend the slave-holding territory. Their political power was extended by the annexation of Texas, which the friends of free labour failed to rally against on behalf of northern interests, and now we see the consequences. The interests 20
of the free States have been sacrificed with the reduction of the long-standing tariff and will not be regained until the North realises its rights, its honour and its political duties.**

J.R. Giddings, speech in the House of Representatives, 1846

SOURCE C: At a public meeting in Buffalo, New York, a leading Northern Senator explains his preference for free labour rather than slavery.

**I have seen slavery in the slave States and freedom 25
in the free States. I know too well the evils of the
former to be willing to spare any effort to prevent
their return. Suppose that fifty years ago New York,
like Virginia, had clung to slavery: where would be the
Erie Canal, the imperial New York Central Railroad, the 30
steamers which crowd this harbour of Buffalo? Where
your ingenious artisans and above all your merry
agricultural labourers? Go ask Virginia to show you
her people, canals, railroads and cultivated acres. Her
silence is your expressive answer. 35**

W.H. Seward, speech, 19 October 1855

SOURCE D: One week after the election of Lincoln as President, a Senator for Georgia addressed the legislature of his state expressing his views on the economic relationship between the North and South.

Since the very first Congress the Northern States misused its powers for sectional advantage. They have received a monopoly of the ship-building business and tariffs as protection for every trade they pursue at the expense of the cotton States. In the last Congress they brought in the most atrocious tariff ever – forging a coalition of protectionists and abolitionists united in a joint raid against the South. In addition, 90% of public expenditure is spent in the North: the Treasury is a perpetual fertilising stream to them and their industry and a suction-pump to drain away our wealth and dry up our lands.

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R. Toombs, speech, 13 November 1860

SOURCE E: In a key address to a Convention at Savannah, the first Vice-President of the Confederacy reflects on past and present tensions between North and South.

The old thorn of the tariff, the cause of so much irritation in the old body politic, is now removed. Our opposition was based on the cost of imported goods caused by the tariff which was used by the Treasury to pay for improvements elsewhere. Questions relating to slavery were the immediate cause of the recent split and present revolution. The cornerstone of our new government is the great truth that the Negro is not equal to the white man, that slavery is his natural condition, determined by the Creator.

A. Stephens, speech, 21 March 1861

Dictatorship and Democracy in Germany 1933–63

Study the five Sources on Women in Nazi Germany 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 A and E.

Compare these Sources as evidence for Nazi beliefs about the role of women. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that Nazi policies regarding women were based on the interests of the state, rather than the welfare of the women themselves. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

WOMEN IN NAZI GERMANY

SOURCE A: A Nazi organisation outlines the basic principles behind its policies towards women.

We desire the renewal of the woman's role as the preservers of marriage, motherhood and the family, blood and race, youth and nationhood. The whole education of women within the nation and the state must be organised in terms of their tasks as mothers. We regret, however, the false paths of the international women's movement because it has, as its basis, the attempt to compete with men. The result of this is that women have lost those characteristics that are the source of female strength.

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Organisational Guidelines of the National Socialist Womenhood, 1932–3

SOURCE B: The Minister of the Interior issues instructions about the employment of female teachers and civil servants.

I consider it fundamentally right that, in the event of males and females being equally qualified for employment in the public service, the male applicant should be given preference. But in certain fields, namely in the sphere of youth welfare and that of tuition, the needs of the service require the employment of women as civil servants and teachers. A succession of complaints prompts me to state that female married civil servants and teachers can only be dismissed if their economic maintenance seems permanently secured.

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Wilhelm Frick, official guidelines, 5 October 1933

SOURCE C: The highest court in the country justifies the reform of the Marriage Law.

If the question is whether a divorced wife who is entitled to maintenance should be expected to earn her keep, the answer can no longer depend on whether or not the woman was employed during the marriage. It must now consider the position of the employed woman in the whole social structure of the nation and the current view of work as a duty to the national community. In many cases the partner on whom the responsibility for payment lies has other claims to satisfy, apart from his obligations to his divorced wife.

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Supreme Court, report, 1938

SOURCE D: In an article for a magazine, an American journalist comments on the results of the Nazi policies.

The law of June 1933 states frankly that the intention is to relieve unemployment by eliminating women workers. What are the results of this crusade? How many women workers did the Fuhrer send home? According to the statistics of the German Department of Labour, in June 1936 there were 5 470 000 employed women, or 1 200 000 more than in January 1933 when Hitler came to power. The vigorous campaign against the employment of women has not led to their increased domesticity or security, but has been effective in squeezing them out of better positions into other types of labour with long hours and miserable wages.

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Judith Grunfeld, The Nation, March 1938

SOURCE E: Hitler gives his views on the role of women in discussion with his inner circle.

I detest women who dabble in politics. And if their dabbling extends to military matters, it becomes utterly unendurable. In no local political section of the party has a woman ever had the right to hold even the smallest post. It has therefore been said we were a party who regarded women only as a machine for making children, or else a plaything. That is far from the case. I attach a lot of importance to women in the training of youth and that of good works. But gallantry forbids one to give women an opportunity of putting themselves in positions which do not suit them. Everything that entails combat is exclusively men's business. There are many other fields in which one must rely on women; organising a house for instance.

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Adolf Hitler, Table-Talk, January 1942

THE USA AND THE COLD WAR IN ASIA 1945–75

Study the five Sources on US Involvement in Indochina 1945–54, 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 the situation in Indochina. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that US opposition to French colonialism was the main reason for American involvement in Indochina between 1945 and 1954. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

US INVOLVEMENT IN INDOCHINA 1945–54

SOURCE A: Two months after Truman's presidency began, the State Department reports to the War Department concerning French colonial officials resuming power in Indochina.

As the war ends, political conditions in Indochina will be unstable. Indochinese independence groups, which have been resisting the Japanese, may oppose the restoration of French control. Independence sentiment in Indochina increases in strength. French policy there will prioritise its economic interests and its prestige as a great power. Many of the French see the need for concessions to ensure local support and avoid unfriendly US opinion. The USA recognises French sovereignty over Indochina, but favours a general policy allowing colonial peoples an opportunity for increased participation with the goal of eventual self-government.

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US policy paper on post-war Asia, 22 June 1945

SOURCE B: Senior US national security advisers report to President Truman on the situation in Indochina.

Threatening aggression against Indochina is one phase of communist plans to seize south-east Asia. In 1945 Ho Chi Minh seized control of the Indochinese nationalist movement. He has directed guerrilla raids against French installations and lines of communication. A determined opponent, he manufactures effective weapons locally, receives arms supplies from outside sources and can disrupt any area in Vietnam. US policy is that the French must not re-establish colonial rule, but instead satisfy the nationalist aspirations of the Indochinese people. They must establish and support leaders capable of attracting non-communist nationalists presently supporting Ho Chi Minh. The USA must prioritise its security interests in Indochina.

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National Security Council report 64, 27 February 1950

SOURCE C: Using the name ‘Din’, the leader of the Viet Minh publishes a pamphlet explaining his views on the deepening US involvement in Indochina.

Since America interfered in Korea, they have supplied the French in Vietnam with airplanes, boats, trucks and napalm bombs. The French now face a dilemma: either their American ‘allies’ take their place, or they refuse supplies and are defeated by the Vietnamese. American companies control the oil, rubber and other natural resources of our country and US goods swamp the market. The Vietnamese people do not let anyone enslave them. The brilliant example of the People’s China inspires us. Can the US interventionists, who were drummed out of China and now suffer heavy defeats in Korea, conquer Vietnam? Of course not!

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Ho Chi Minh, The Imperialist Aggressors Can Never Enslave the Heroic Vietnamese People, 4 April 1952

SOURCE D: Eisenhower's Secretary of State addresses the Overseas Press Club in New York to warn of a potential 'domino effect' in south-east Asia.

Those fighting for Ho Chi Minh have largely been trained and equipped in communist China. They receive increasing supplies of artillery and ammunition through the Soviet-Chinese communist bloc. The communists in Indochina use nationalistic anti-French slogans to win local support. But if they achieved military or political success, they would certainly subject the people to a cruel communist dictatorship taking its orders from Beijing and Moscow. The tragedy would not stop there. If the communist forces won uncontested control over Indochina, the same pattern of aggression would follow against other free peoples of the area.

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John Foster Dulles, 29 March 1954

SOURCE E: The US President writes to the British Prime Minister on his fears regarding the situation in Asia, three weeks before the start of the Geneva conference.

I am sure that, like me, you anxiously follow the daily reports of the gallant fight put up by the French at Dien Bien Phu. If Indochina becomes communist, the consequent power shift throughout Asia and the Pacific could have disastrous effects on our and your global strategic position. Thailand, Burma and Indonesia would fall to communism. The threat to Malaya, Australia and New Zealand would be direct. The offshore island chain would be broken. Japan, deprived of non-communist markets, food and raw materials, might be forced to accommodate the communists, who could then combine Asian manpower and natural resources with the industrial potential of Japan.

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Dwight Eisenhower, letter to Winston Churchill, 4 April 1954

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