

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

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

TUESDAY 22 MAY 2012: Afternoon
DURATION: 1 hour 30 minutes
plus your additional time allowance
MODIFIED ENLARGED

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 4–8)
 - The Unification of Italy 1815–70 (pages 9–14)
 - The Origins of the American Civil War 1820–61 (pages 15–20)
 - Dictatorship and Democracy in Germany 1933–63 (pages 21–26)
 - The USA and the Cold War in Asia 1945–75 (pages 27–32)
- 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 Role of the Nobility in Bringing About the French Revolution, and then answer BOTH sub-questions.

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

1 (a) Study Sources A and B.

Compare these Sources as evidence for the role of the nobility in French society by 1789. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that the nobles were primarily responsible for bringing about the revolutionary situation by late June 1789. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

THE ROLE OF THE NOBILITY IN BRINGING ABOUT THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

SOURCE A: The King's brother expresses the view of some nobles about their privileges at the Assembly of Notables called to reform taxation.

The great noble families are both the support of the people and of the monarchy. The presidency of all assemblies should be reserved for the superior order. The people should be separated from the upper orders by the reservation of dignity and power to the nobles. Equality is fine in republics such as that of America. It can also work in despotism, but not in France. Is it not right that when the nobleman fights, the priest celebrates mass, the magistrate judges and the minister governs, there should be privileges given to them over the rest of society?

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The Count of Artois, in the Declaration of the Committee of Nobles, February 1787

SOURCE B: A revolutionary pamphlet expresses middle class discontent about noble privilege.

The nobility is a foreigner in our midst because of its civil and political privileges. All departments of the government have fallen into the hands of a noble caste that dominates the law, the Church and the army. As a result of the spirit of brotherhood, nobles always prefer each other to the rest of the nation. Their power is total; in every sense of the word, they reign. It is not the King who reigns, but the aristocracy of the court, the head of the vast aristocracy which overruns every part of France. The aristocracy is fighting against reason, justice, the People and the King.

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Emmanuel Sieyès, What Is the Third Estate?,
January 1789

SOURCE C: An English visitor blames the King for the decision to merge the three Estates.

The whole business is over and the revolution complete. The King has been frightened by the mobs into overturning his own decision to keep the Estates separate and by writing to the presidents of the Estates of the nobility and clergy requiring them to join the Third Estate. Because of this step he will never know where to stop or what to refuse; he will find that his position will be a spectator without power. However, the joy this decision caused among the people was huge.

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Arthur Young, Journal, 27 July 1789
(Published in 1793)

SOURCE D: A leading military commander in 1789, who later emigrated, reflects on the causes of the Revolution.

The most striking of the country's troubles was the chaos in the finances, the result of years of extravagance, intensified by the expense of the American War of Independence, which had cost the state over 12 million livres. No-one could think of any remedy. The worst of the abuses were the arbitrary system of taxation, the cost of collection and the irresponsible defence of privilege by the richest sections of society. This extended from the great and influential men of the realm, to the privileged orders, to the provinces and to the towns, so the burden of taxation fell on the least wealthy part of the nation.

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Marquis de Bouillé, Memoirs, 1823

SOURCE E: A nobleman who observed the events of June 1789 blames the nobility for the Revolution.

While at Versailles, I saw the meeting of the Tennis Court and the taking of the oath by members of the Third Estate. The next day the rebels held a meeting in the parish church. Two nobles joined them, the first to desert and betray their order. On 25 June 1789 several bishops and half of the clergy joined the Third Estate and a minority of nobles, numbering 45, also went over. These unworthy nobles, who betrayed their class and deserted their comrades should be regarded as the chief factors in the miseries of our unhappy country. Their names should be handed down to posterity and doomed to be despised by the whole nobility of France. It was on 27 June that the final union of the three orders took place. The complete downfall of the nobility and the Monarchy should be dated from that day.

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The Count d'Espinchal, Journal, published in 1820

THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY 1815–70

Study the five Sources on Restoration Italy, 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 threats to Austrian power in Italy after the Vienna Settlement. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that there was little chance of Italian unification being achieved in Restoration Italy between 1815 and 1846. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

RESTORATION ITALY

SOURCE A: A conservative Piedmontese diplomat at the Vienna peace talks expresses various concerns about the position of Italy after the Treaty of 1815.

Poor Italy has fallen into a deplorable abyss. Even the present arrangements agreed here at Vienna will be difficult; so, for example, the acquisition of Genoa presents dangers to Piedmont, separated as they are by ingrained hatred. In conversation with a Russian diplomat I spoke of the 'Italian spirit' which is active at the moment. He replied: 'Yes, Monsieur, but this spirit is a great evil for it may spoil the arrangements made for Italy'. We agreed we ought to be aware of the dangers of constitutions. The frightful revolution in Italian affairs which we witnessed before 1815 is only a prelude to another.

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J. de Maistre, despatches, 1815

SOURCE B: In a report to the Emperor, Francis I, the Austrian Foreign Minister, later Chancellor, assesses the political situation in Italy basing his view on the intelligence provided by an Italian spy.

A revolutionary movement is not to be feared in Piedmont. Several secret fraternities excite discontent in Italy. Their designs, resources and relations to each other and to foreign nations are all points for us to consider for the dangers to the peace of Italy they may form. However, they lack leaders of character and all means of organising revolutionary action. Divided amongst themselves, the best way of preventing any of them from becoming too powerful is to leave them to themselves. Yet, as opponents of the existing order they may be easily led to disturb the peace if they are ever united by the prospect of Italian independence.

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Prince Metternich, memorandum, 3 November 1817

SOURCE C: The Governor of Lombardy reports his views on the situation in the Italian peninsula to Prince Metternich.

Whatever the outcome of the present unrest in Naples 25
I cannot see any immediate peril, especially in the
Papal States and Piedmont. Yet there is danger, as our
Italian possessions are guaranteed by physical force
alone. The nobility and clergy have lost all friendly
feeling towards us. The middle classes are too liberal 30
to like an undemocratic government. The Lombards
will always refuse to accept Austrian forms of
government which they loathe and which undermine
their attachment to the Empire. The Emperor prefers
that his Italian peoples should not be subjected to 35
laws unsuited to their needs.

Count Strassoldo, memorandum, 29 July 1820

SOURCE D: A Piedmontese aristocrat who lived much of his early life in Milan, Rome and Florence and who became Prime Minister of Piedmont, 1849-52, recounts a recent conversation with Charles Albert, King of Piedmont.

D'Azeglio: 'Pope Gregory is old and failing: at his death something big will happen. It is a matter of urgency to find a way out of the cycle of revolution, Austrian intervention and further oppression. The more intelligent people of Italy are persuaded that without the force only Piedmont can provide nothing can be done.'

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Charles Albert: 'They can be assured that when the opportunity arises, my life, my children's lives, my treasure, my army, all shall be given in the cause of Italy.'

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A great and splendid hope flew before me as I left the palace.

M. d'Azeglio, Journal, 12 October 1845

SOURCE E: Whilst living in Paris the future Prime Minister of Piedmont reflects on Italian affairs since 1815.

The settlement imposed on Italy by the Congress of Vienna was flawed. However, the unfortunate risings of 1820 and 1821 and those organised after 1830 were easily suppressed. Active power resides in the middle and upper classes, both of which have conservative interests to defend. The subversive doctrines of Young Italy have taken little hold among those who have an interest in maintaining the social order. The history of the last thirty years proves that military or democratic revolutions can have little success in Italy. The fatherland needs the support of monarchs with roots deep in the national soil.

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C. Cavour, Revue Nouvelle, 1 May 1846

THE ORIGINS OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR 1820–61

Study the five Sources on Sectional Tensions between 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 A and D.

Compare these Sources as evidence for the discontent of the South. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that the South was to blame for the sectional divide. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

SECTIONAL TENSIONS BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH

SOURCE A: A Senator for South Carolina, and a long-serving champion of Southern rights, warns of the dangers to the Union in his last speech in the Senate during the debate on the Compromise of 1850.

The North has absolute control of the Government and, to date, the interests of the South have been sacrificed to those of the North. The positions of the two sections on the relationship between the two races of the South are as opposite as they can be, made increasingly hostile since the first organised movement to abolish slavery was started by Northern fanatics. There should be no difficulty in providing justice and protection for the South and improving the Government. There is only one solution. The responsibility for saving the Union rests on the North.

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J.C. Calhoun, speech, 4 March 1850

SOURCE B: Preston Brooks, a Southern Congressman, is shown assaulting Charles Sumner, a Northern Senator, at his desk in Congress. Sumner has been knocked to the floor and Brooks is beating him with a cane. Sumner has a pen in one hand and on a piece of paper in his other hand is the word 'Kansas'. Some politicians in the background are looking on in approval and preventing others from intervening. The cartoon is called 'Southern Chivalry – Argument versus Clubs'.



SOUTHERN CHIVALRY – ARGUMENT VERSUS CLUBS

A New York newspaper, cartoon, May 1856

SOURCE C: In addressing a public meeting in Rochester, New York State, a leading Northern Senator and persistent critic of slavery, reflects on the prospects for the Union.

Two radically different political systems operate: one resting on slave labour, another on the labour of free men. Hitherto the two systems have existed in different States but side by side within the American Union. Increase of population, new transport networks and more internal trade is rapidly bringing the States into a higher and more perfect social unity. These antagonistic systems are coming into closer contact, and collision results. It is an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces and it means that the United States will sooner or later become either entirely a slave-holding nation or entirely a free-labour nation.

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W.H. Seward, speech, 25 October 1858

SOURCE D: After unanimously adopting an Ordinance of Secession, the South Carolina Convention presents its arguments for doing so.

The Northern States have deliberately refused for years to fulfil their constitutional obligations. As a result South Carolina has no obligation to the Constitution. The Government has acted against the interests of the South. Northern States have denounced the institution of Slavery as sinful; they have permitted the establishment of societies whose object is the end of slavery; they have encouraged slaves to leave their homes; they have incited insurrection. On the 4 March, when a sectional party will take possession of the Government, the guarantees of the Constitution will no longer exist and the equal rights of the States will be lost.	25 30 35
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**Declaration of the Causes of Secession,
20 December 1860**

SOURCE E: The newly elected President emphasises his confidence in the Union, respect for the rights of both sections and their mutual dependence.

The property, peace and security of no section are endangered by the incoming administration. I hold that the Union of the States is perpetual. If a minority will secede they make a precedent which in turn will divide and ruin them. One section of our country believes slavery is right and should be extended while the other believes it is wrong and ought not to be extended. Physically we cannot separate. We cannot build an impassable wall between our respective sections. We are not enemies but friends. Though passion may have strained, it must not break, our bonds of affection.

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Abraham Lincoln, inaugural address, 4 March 1861

Dictatorship and Democracy in Germany 1933–63

Study the five Sources on Life in the German Democratic Republic 1953-63, 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 D.

Compare these Sources as evidence for the attitudes of the German Democratic Republic to expressions of discontent. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that life for the people in the German Democratic Republic improved from 1953 to 1963. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

LIFE IN THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC 1953-1963

SOURCE A: The East German Government outlines its reaction to protests by construction workers in East Berlin.

Measures taken by the government of the German Democratic Republic to improve the situation of the population have been answered by fascist elements in West Berlin with serious disruptions to order in the democratic sector of Berlin. The unrest is the work of fascist agents of foreign powers and their accomplices from the German capitalist monopolies. These forces are dissatisfied with the obvious democracy in the German Democratic Republic, which is organising improvements in the situation of the workers.

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Statement by the Government of the GDR, June 1953

SOURCE B: A journalist from West Germany writes about a visit to Stalinstadt, a new town in East Germany.

The town consists of several living complexes, each for around 4000 to 6000 people, built in various different architectural styles, forming a harmonious whole with green spaces and community buildings. **15**

Stalinstadt is not only the youngest town in the Republic, it is also a town of youth. One third of the population is made up of children under the age of fifteen. The cheerful hordes of children that one meets hopping and skipping about wherever one goes **20**

are, incidentally, like everyone else in this country, very cheerful in appearance, well-nourished and nicely dressed. Kindergartens, after-school centres, comprehensive schools, technical apprenticeship schools and institutes of further education are all **25**

provided.

Die Zeit, article, 30 June 1961

SOURCE C: A West German journalist writes about the difficulties in planning holidays in the German Democratic Republic.

It is a stroke of luck for those from the GDR if they can spend their holidays where they choose. Most vacation trips are organised by the communist Free German Trade Union Federation. It can give out only 1.26 million vouchers for the whole of 1963, even though it has 6.3 million members. Holidays are still relatively inexpensive and meals are generally good and holiday makers are spared the usual food supply problems. The lodgings leave a lot to be desired as most of them consist of one bed in a room for three. It is rare for families to be able to travel together and it is considered inappropriate to give vouchers to unemployed husbands or wives.

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Tagesspiegel, article, 23 May 1963

SOURCE D: Communist leaders in Leipzig react to a riot by young people in the German Democratic Republic.

**Our social order will combat all influences and
manifestations of Western non-culture. The growing
number of Beatles groups with American names
and a Western musical repertoire has nothing in
common with progressive life ideals. We support
modern, civilised dance music, and are not against
snappy rhythms, but we decidedly oppose groups
that violate all principles of morality and ethics. These
groups perform barefoot and half-naked, carrying out
bodily contortions to agitating rhythms to bring the
young people to a state of ecstasy and tempt them to
excesses. Other results are the rowdy behaviour of
young people in public.**

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**Report, Some Issues Facing Youth Work,
October 1963**

Source E: A West German newspaper editor writes about life in the German Democratic Republic in the 1950s and early 1960s.

The out-dated world of the GDR has its sentimental charm, yet it has also modern drawbacks. A dismal grey marks most of the cities; feeble street lamps cast a dim light. Everywhere there are avenues called Stalinallee, built in the Moscow wedding-cake style. Not just East Berlin, but also Dresden and Magdeburg have these monstrosities. Everywhere they build in prefab* patterns with standardised rows of houses springing up and even the post-Stalinist buildings are monotonous and bleak.

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Marion Donhoff, Travels to a Distant Land, 1964

*** prefab: houses built quickly and cheaply using prefabricated packs**

THE USA AND THE COLD WAR IN ASIA 1945–75

Study the five Sources on The Conduct of the Vietnam War 1969–72, 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 war strategies of both sides between 1969 and 1970. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that both sides wished to continue fighting the war between 1969 and 1972. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

THE CONDUCT OF THE VIETNAM WAR 1969–72

SOURCE A: The US President assures the American public that he plans to bring a speedy end to the Vietnam War.

If the USA abandoned the South Vietnamese our long-term hopes of peace for the world would be in danger. We cannot break our promises. If Hanoi were to succeed in taking over South Vietnam by force, a peace now would threaten a bigger war later. To achieve a settlement which allows the South Vietnamese people to freely decide their own political future, we are willing to withdraw our forces on a specific timetable. We ask that North Vietnam withdraw its forces from South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, into North Vietnam, according to their timetable. The American people must unite behind a generous and reasonable peace offer.

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Richard Nixon, address from the White House,
14 May 1969

SOURCE B: Communist party leaders in South Vietnam explain the strategy of their newly created Provisional Revolutionary Government, a rival to the Thieu regime in Saigon.

The Americans' withdrawal of 25 000 troops is the heaviest failure ever known in the U.S. imperialists' history of aggression. They have been forced to de-escalate the war step-by-step and adopt the policy of Vietnamisation*. To accelerate the collapse of the puppet army and government, we should promote political support for a general offensive and uprising. We should deal with our weaknesses by strengthening our guerrilla forces, improving the efficiency of our main forces and ensuring supply routes are able to transport materials to the front line.**

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Central Office for South Vietnam, circular marked 'absolutely secret', July 1969

*** Vietnamisation: the upgrading of South Vietnamese forces so that they could take over the burden of fighting from the Americans.**

**** puppet: South Vietnamese troops and officials acting under American direction.**

SOURCE C: The leader of the Communist government in North Vietnam writes to senior staff of the South Vietnamese communist party after the US invasion of Cambodia.

Nixon admits that our liberation army is strong, sufficiently supplied and has high morale. Our political forces are training in the countryside and cities. The political struggle movement has developed strongly in the cities, particularly in Saigon. We have struck back at the enemy's 'pacification' and Nixon's administration now believes that 'Vietnamisation' may fail. After US troops invaded Cambodia, Congress became more opposed to Nixon. American allies in Cambodia are weak militarily, economically and politically. Our aim is to politicise the peasants to win victory for the Cambodian revolution. We control the mountains along the Ho Chi Minh Trail, ensuring a strong strategic corridor. We aim to liberate the people of Cambodia and Laos.	25 30 35
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Le Duan, letter, July 1970

SOURCE D: The US National Security Adviser negotiates with the leader of the North Vietnamese delegation at the Paris peace talks.

Kissinger: We have accepted the principle of total withdrawal and presented a schedule for this. We believe if you agree to do the same there can be a rapid end to the conflict. Our key objective is a political solution that reflects the will of the South Vietnamese people and allows them to determine their future without outside influence. We will accept the outcome of the political process agreed between us. **40**

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Thuy: Our view is that the Saigon administration established by the USA is not truly democratic and cannot organise fair elections. **50**

Kissinger: We cannot allow the Saigon government to be replaced before elections are held.

**Henry Kissinger and Xuan Thuy, official transcript,
7 September 1970**

SOURCE E: After the start of the North Vietnamese spring offensive, the US President and his National Security Adviser discuss the situation in a taped conversation in the Oval Office.

Nixon: US air attacks on the North must take out power plants, any remaining petrol, the docks and the dikes – will that drown people? 55

Kissinger: That will drown about 200 000 people.

Nixon: Well, no, no, no, no, no, no. I'd rather use a nuclear bomb. Have you got that ready?

Kissinger: Now that, I think, would just be, uh, too much, uh – 60

Nixon: A nuclear bomb, does that bother you? I just want you to think big, Henry, for Christ's sake!

Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger, 25 April 1972

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