

**OXFORD CAMBRIDGE AND RSA EXAMINATIONS
AS GCE**

F964/02

HISTORY A

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

TUESDAY 14 MAY 2013: Morning

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

MODIFIED ENLARGED

Candidates answer on the Answer Booklet.

OCR SUPPLIED MATERIALS:

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

OTHER MATERIALS REQUIRED:

None

READ INSTRUCTIONS OVERLEAF

INSTRUCTIONS TO CANDIDATES

- **Write your name, centre number and candidate number in the spaces provided on the Answer Booklet. Please write clearly and in capital letters.**
- **Use black ink.**
- **Read each question carefully. Make sure you know what you have to do before starting your answer.**
- **Answer BOTH SUB-QUESTIONS from ONE Study Topic.**

INFORMATION FOR CANDIDATES

- The number of marks is given in brackets [] at the end of each question or part question.
- The total number of marks for this paper is 100.
- This question paper contains questions on the following five Study Topics:
 - The Origins and Course of the French Revolution 1774–95 (pages 4–9)
 - The Unification of Italy 1815–70 (pages 10–15)
 - The Origins of the American Civil War 1820–61 (pages 16–20)
 - Dictatorship and Democracy in Germany 1933–63 (pages 21–25)
 - The USA and the Cold War in Asia 1945–75 (pages 26–31)
- You should write in continuous prose and are reminded of the need for clear and accurate writing, including structure of argument, grammar, punctuation and spelling.
- The time permitted allows for reading the Sources in the one Study Topic you have studied.
- In answering these questions, you are expected to use your knowledge of the topic to help you understand and interpret the Sources, as well as to inform your answers.
- Any blank pages are indicated.

THE ORIGINS AND COURSE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION 1774–95

**Study the five Sources on the Revolutionary Situation
1788–9, 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 how
serious the danger of revolution was in 1788. [30]**

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

**Use your own knowledge to assess how far the
Sources support the interpretation that economic
factors were the main cause of unrest in France by
May 1789. [70]**

[TOTAL: 100 MARKS]

THE REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION 1788–9

SOURCE A: A Parisian writer and journalist assesses the political unrest in the capital.

Though there is talk of unrest in some poorer areas and there have been some radical ideas and writing which has influenced some of our educated people, rioting is not possible in Paris. The police, two regiments of guards, the king's bodyguard, the fortresses which ring the capital together with the countless individuals whose interest links them with the royal court at Versailles make the chance of a serious rising altogether remote. Paris has had more than a century of peace; unrest finds no rallying point. Most citizens of the capital have never given any thought to politics. Their kings rule as they please. The instinct of the Parisians is that the little more liberty they might obtain is not worth fighting for.

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Louis-Sebastian Mercier, *Paris Scenes*, 1788

SOURCE B: Louis XVI's brothers express their concern to him about growing agitation.

Sire, the state is in peril. A revolution is being prepared; it is being brought about by the stirring up of minds. Political writings have been published during the Assembly of Notables and new political demands drawn up by various provinces and cities. The disastrous growth of this agitation means that opinions which previously would have been seen as treason, today seem reasonable and just. These all prove that there is a new spirit of disobedience and scorn for the laws of the state.

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**Memoir of the Princes of the Blood to Louis XVI,
12 December 1788**

SOURCE C: The US Ambassador sends a report home about the developments in France since the American War of Independence.

The American war seems to have awakened the thinking part of the nation from the sleep of despotism in which it has sunk. The press has begun to write about political rights. Conversation has taken on a new freedom. Politics has become widely discussed by both men and women. A very extensive party has been formed called the Patriots who, aware of the abuses of the government under which they live, long for chances to bring about reform. The reformers comprise literary men, the middle class and the young nobles. The King was forced into reform by public agitation and promised the calling of the Estates General.

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Thomas Jefferson, Report to the US Secretary of State, 8 January 1789

SOURCE D: An aristocrat looks back at the situation in France before the Revolution.

The aristocracy were poor and were only distinguished from other classes by tax exemptions and privileges which were burdensome to the state and annoying to the people. They had kept little of their old dignity, and the lower classes hated and were jealous of them. In Paris and other towns the middle classes were superior in wealth, talent and personal merit to the aristocracy. The middle classes knew they were superior, but they felt humiliated. They saw themselves as excluded from the higher positions in the church and state, which were dominated by the aristocracy.

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Marquis de Bouillé, Memoirs, 1821

SOURCE E: A modern historian considers the importance of social and economic unrest in the spring of 1789.

In the countryside, the agitation centred on the destruction of seigneurial dues, which the poor harvests had made even more unpopular. In the ‘pre-Revolution’ in March-April 1789, there was urban and rural unrest. In the towns of Marseilles, Aix, Toulon and Arles there were uprisings against the price of grain. There were revolts against the local authorities. Very soon the countryside was affected. The economic and social crisis was the background to the meeting of the Estates General. It focused the discontents of the Revolution.

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Michel Vovelle, The Fall of the French Monarchy, 1787–1792, published in 1984

THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY 1815–70

Study the five Sources on The Role of Mazzini 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 D.

Compare these Sources as evidence for the attitudes of Italians to unification. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that Mazzini inspired the nationalist cause in Italy. [70]

[TOTAL: 100 MARKS]

THE ROLE OF MAZZINI

SOURCE A: A Piedmontese aristocrat, and Prime Minister of Piedmont, 1849–52, recalls his experiences of the early 1830s in Milan.

Young Italy was an evil influence on Italy. Its political principles were absurd, its methods were wrong, and its leaders, while in a place of perfect safety, sent to the scaffold gullible fools whose heads were sacrificed not to regenerate Italy, but to serve the vain ambitions of their leaders. Knowing the perfect futility of Young Italy I rejected the whole thing. I believed it necessary to form the Italian mind if we want Italy to be one nation, and when once it is formed we shall indeed be able to say, ‘Italia fara da se’*. 5 10

* ‘Italia fara da se’: ‘Italy will do it alone’

M d’Azeglio, Recollections, 1867

SOURCE B: The founder of Young Italy confides in Nicola Fabrizi, a veteran of the failed Mazzinian uprising in Piedmont of 1834, in exile in Malta.

I knew Italians would promise to act but would do nothing. They are prepared to be defeated one by one. The only way to rouse them is to first have money, draw up a plan, then tell them to act. You need an organisation, one that can create illusions and inspire confidence. This was the whole aim of my work with Young Italy but a rising does not look likely. Italians will never come together to create a united country. There is nothing left for me but to write a curse on Italians.

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G Mazzini, letter, 15 February 1844

SOURCE C: An English historian assesses the regard with which Mazzini was held, especially in Rome, during the Republic of 1849, in which he was a major leader.

Throughout the Peninsula, groups of young men had been roused by Mazzini's appeal to devote their lives to their country. Mazzini's virtue was such that those who looked on him and heard his voice felt the divine in the man. He persuaded the people of Rome to behave admirably, though in the more distant provinces, removed from his personal influence, the ability of Mazzini's government to enforce order was weaker. Following the fall of Rome Mazzini walked the streets freely despite the charge that, according to his enemies, he had exercised so hateful a tyranny over the people. The French, knowing how much he was loved, dared not arrest him. 25 30

GM Trevelyan, *Garibaldi's Defence of the Roman Republic*, 1928

SOURCE D: Former disciples of Mazzini write to him explaining their growing disagreement with his views and methods.

**You are deceived in thinking the people will unite
against foreign domination. You think people are
behind you but few are prepared to act. The people
do not want a revolution. They depend on their social
superiors and not on revolutionary organisations.
These fatal delusions have lost the allegiance of
most republicans. We still share your political views
but your errors explain why you lose prestige and
followers. We do not ask you to remain idle and waste
the strength you contribute to the cause; only that
you will stop agitating for action until the people are
ready.**

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A Bertrani, G Medici, E Cozens, letter, January 1858

SOURCE E: A Republican member of the Italian Parliament presents the argument for allowing Mazzini, officially a rebel, to be allowed to return to Italy. The debate ended with the decision to refuse Mazzini a seat in Parliament following his most recent election victory.

It was Mazzini who gave us the idea and hope that Italy singlehanded could defeat the tyrants who ruled her and become a strong nation. Some young men who shared his hopes welcomed the message though for them it meant persecution, death or exile. Here 50
is a man who is old and infirm whose only regret is that he may die before Venice is Italian. He does not complain of the filthy slanders put upon him by a vile press. Will you let him die overseas in a foreign country, laid to rest by foreign hands? 55

F Guerrazzi, speech, 21 March 1866

THE ORIGINS OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR, 1820–61

Study the five Sources on The Kansas-Nebraska Disputes 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 E.

Compare these Sources as evidence for views on the rights of the people of new lands to adopt slavery or not. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that the dispute over Kansas and Nebraska was a threat to the Union. [70]

[TOTAL: 100 MARKS]

THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA DISPUTES

SOURCE A: In Weston, Missouri, one of the State's Senators speaks out against any restriction of slavery in Nebraska.

American citizens should be able to go where they please and carry their property with them, including their Negroes. Will you permit the vermin of the North to come into Nebraska and take those fertile prairies, run off with your Negroes and depreciate the value of your slaves here? Your rifles will free you from such neighbours and secure your property. You will go in there if necessary with bayonets and with blood. We will repeal the hateful Missouri Compromise. I would sooner see the whole of Nebraska in the bottom of Hell than see it as a Free State. 5 10

DR Atchison, speech, November 1853

SOURCE B: A newspaper in Detroit, Michigan, explains its reasons for supporting the Nebraska Bill.

If Congress has imposed restrictions upon Nebraska while a Territory, they are not binding upon her as a State. The terms of the Bill are perfectly in keeping with the principles of States rights. If any portion of the South demands more than is granted in this plan of settlement the demand is preposterous. The Bill for Nebraska, like the Compromise Measures, is common ground upon which all sections can meet. It forever sets at rest a divisive question – the doctrine of the right of the people of new States of the Union to pass their own laws and make their own regulations. 15 20

The Free Press, article, 13 January 1854

SOURCE C: A newspaper in Charleston, South Carolina, expresses its concerns about the consequences of the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill the previous month.

Leading journals in the North are bitter and seething with resentment at the Nebraska Bill which they consider a gross betrayal of faith. They proclaim the renewal of war to the death upon the South and her institutions. It will be impossible to execute the Fugitive Slave Law except by a resort to force. The peace which the South promised herself as the return for so much concession is at an end. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise has made the abolitionists stronger than ever. The Democratic Party and the Whigs have been split.

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The Charleston Mercury, article, 3 June 1854

SOURCE D: An English political cartoon comments on the conflict in 'Bloody' Kansas, 1856. It is entitled 'The American Twins, or North and South'. Both men are wearing striped trousers and have a band labelled 'union' joining them. The figure on the left represents the Southern states, where most people favoured the extension of slavery into Kansas. He is holding a dagger in his right hand and a pistol in his left hand. The figure on the right represents the Northern states, where the majority opposed the introduction of slavery into Kansas. He is looking determined as he restrains the figure on the left by grabbing his throat with one hand and the pistol with the other.



THE AMERICAN TWINS, OR NORTH AND SOUTH

A Punch cartoon, 27 September 1856

SOURCE E: At Freeport, in the second of the Lincoln-Douglas debates, Douglas, Lincoln's opponent for State senator for Illinois, the sponsor of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, addresses the question of the extension of slavery into new lands.

In my opinion the people of a Territory can, by lawful means, exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a State constitution. Slavery cannot exist anywhere unless it is supported by local police regulations. These can only be established by the local legislature and if the people are opposed to slavery they will elect representatives who will by unfriendly legislation effect a change. No matter what the decision of the Supreme Court may be on the question, the right of the people to make a slave Territory or a free Territory is perfect and complete under the Nebraska Bill.

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SA Douglas, speech, 27 August 1858

Dictatorship and Democracy in Germany 1933–63

Study the five Sources on Hitler and the German State 1933–34 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 C and E.

Compare these Sources as evidence for Hitler's methods from 1933 to 1934. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that Hitler relied on consent to consolidate his power from 1933 to 1934. [70]

[TOTAL: 100 MARKS]

HITLER AND THE GERMAN STATE 1933–34

SOURCE A: Hitler outlines his programme shortly after being appointed as Chancellor by Hindenburg.

The National Government will regard it as its first and supreme task to restore to the German people unity of mind and will. It will preserve and defend the foundations on which the strength of our nation rests. It will take under its firm protection Christianity 5
as the basis of our morality, and the family at the heart of our nation. It will bring back to our people the consciousness of its racial and political unity. It will declare merciless war on spiritual, political and 10
cultural attitudes which do not respect our great past and pride in our old traditions.

**Adolf Hitler, Appeal to the German People,
31 January 1933**

SOURCE B: The newspaper, which was the official voice of the Nazi party, outlines how opposition was discouraged.

On Wednesday the first concentration camp will be opened to accommodate 5000 prisoners. Here all Communist and Social Democrat officials who endanger state security will be interned together as their continued stay in state prisons has proved too great a burden. Experience has shown that these people cannot be granted their freedom as they continue to show unrest when released. We must adopt these measures to ensure state security. The Police and Ministry of the Interior are convinced that they are thus acting in the national interest and that these measures will have a calculated effect on the whole nation.

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Der Volkischer Beobachter (People's Observer),
21 March 1933

SOURCE C: A member of a liberal, legal family describes the ceremony in the old royal garrison church in Potsdam in 1933, where Hitler pledges allegiance to the traditions and values of the past prior to the convening of the Reichstag.

The procession of Hindenburg, the government and the MPs goes past a solid line of cheering millions. It has been marvellously staged by the master-producer, Goebbels. The radio announcer almost weeps with emotion. Then Hitler speaks. It cannot be denied that he has grown in stature. A true statesman seems to be developing. The government's declaration is marked by notable moderation. Not a word of hatred for the opposition and not a word of racial ideology are heard. The old Field Marshal shakes hands with the World War corporal. The corporal makes a deep bow. Nobody can escape the emotion of the moment. Even father is impressed. Mother has tears in her eyes.

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Erich Ebermeyer, account, 21 March 1933

**SOURCE D: An opposition party reports on
 reactions to the Night of the Long
 Knives in June 1934.**

**A small businessman in East Saxony told me that he
and his colleagues see Hitler, even now, as an utterly 40
honourable man who wants the best for the German
people. When I tried to explain to him that Hitler bore
the responsibility for all the murders, he said, ‘Still,
at least he has got rid of the Marxists’. Reports from
different parts of Bavaria are unanimous that people 45
are expressing satisfaction that Hitler has acted so
decisively. He has produced fresh proof that he wants
decency in public life.**

German Social Democratic Party in exile, report, 1934

**SOURCE E: Hitler looks back on how he achieved
 power in 1933.**

**I considered it of the highest importance that I should
take over the Chancellorship legitimately with the 50
blessing of the Old Gentleman (Hindenburg). For
it was only as constitutionally elected Chancellor,
obviously, that I could overcome the opposition of all
other political parties. If I had seized power illegally,
the army would have been a dangerous breeding 55
ground for something in the nature of the *putsch*
Rohm later attempted. I very quickly realised that
the Old Gentleman called upon me to accept the
Chancellorship only because he could see no other
way out of the political stalemate. 60**

Adolf Hitler, Table-Talk, 1942

THE USA AND THE COLD WAR IN ASIA 1945–75

Study the five Sources on Vietnam 1954–60, 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 C and E.

Compare these Sources as evidence for the situation in South Vietnam under Diem. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that US support for Diem aided the development of an independent democracy in Vietnam between 1954 and 1960. [70]

[TOTAL: 100 MARKS]

VIETNAM 1954–60

SOURCE A: The US President explains to President Diem requirements for the use of US military and economic aid to South Vietnam, shortly after the French defeat and the Geneva peace settlement.

Vietnam has been temporarily divided by an artificial military grouping, weakened by a long, exhausting war and faced with external enemies and their subversive collaborators within. We offer aid to assist the Government of Vietnam in undertaking needed reforms. We hope that such aid will contribute effectively toward an independent Vietnam with a strong government. Such a Government would be so responsive to the national aspirations of its people, so enlightened in purpose and effective in performance, that it would be respected both at home and abroad and discourage any who might wish to impose a foreign ideology on your free people. 5 10

Dwight D. Eisenhower, letter, 1 October 1954

SOURCE B: President Eisenhower and his senior security advisers discuss ways to contain communism in Vietnam after the Geneva Accords.

The President observed that we wanted a Vietnamese force that would support Diem, but not at a cost of \$400 million a year. Admiral Radford replied that a US advisory group of 342 military personnel were in Vietnam to train the native forces. An effective police force was needed under Diem's command. The President said if we didn't do something very quickly, Diem would be down the drain with no replacement in sight. He suggested we spend millions of dollars to produce the maximum number of Vietnamese military units on which Prime Minister Diem could depend to sustain himself.

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National Security Council report, 22 October 1954

SOURCE C: In a public address to the US Council on Foreign Relations in New York, the President of South Vietnam reflects on his achievements.

Vietnam inherited a bankrupt political system, crumbling economy, empty treasury and disorganised administration. It was plagued with armed sects. Nearly one million refugees arrived from the North, where Communism had been implanted by the Geneva Accords. The task of creating an independent, modern state seemed almost hopeless. Yet we have achieved independence without being engulfed by anarchy. We have preserved the peace without sacrificing our reconquered independence. We are building a free economy. We shall achieve unification without abandoning freedom. We have restored political stability, internal and external security. American aid has had complete success in Vietnam.

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Ngo Dinh Diem, speech, 13 May 1957

SOURCE D: In a report sent to Hanoi, the senior leader of the Communist Central Office for South Vietnam advises the North.

The USA and Diem have used armed force to terrorise and repress the mass movement demanding independence, democracy, peace and reunification. They have launched a series of ‘Denounce Communists’ campaigns using armed forces to arrest, murder and torture those trying to establish communist party structures. They take vengeance, steal property, extort money, shoot and murder people without trial, ignoring the law. The weak Diem regime has relied on military force to suppress our movement in South Vietnam. We, after completely liberating the North, unwisely retreated from our military struggle to a defensive posture.

Le Duan, On the Situation in South Vietnam,
January 1959

SOURCE E: A group of eighteen patriotic, non-communist South Vietnamese businessmen, some of them ex-government ministers, publically express their disappointment at the failure of the Diem government to bring unity and democracy. They were all subsequently arrested and imprisoned.

When the Geneva settlement brought peace, people saw you, Diem, as the man to fulfil their hopes. South Vietnam gained moral encouragement and foreign aid from the free world. Her fertile soil and fishing surpluses should have ensured victory over the north, ensuring liberty and happiness. Today, the National Assembly imposes the government line; continuous arrests fill the jails; public opinion and the press are silenced and the popular will is trampled in anti-democratic elections. Political parties and religious sects have been eliminated, but new groups oppress the people without protecting them from communism. People want freedom, democracy and the right to express themselves without fear.

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The Caravelle Manifesto, April 1960

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