

OXFORD CAMBRIDGE AND RSA EXAMINATIONS
AS GCE
F964/02
HISTORY A
European and World History Enquiries

Option B: Modern 1774–1975

TUESDAY 22 JANUARY 2013: Morning

DURATION: 1 hour 30 minutes
plus your additional time allowance

MODIFIED ENLARGED 18pt

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 4–9)
 - The Unification of Italy 1815–70 (pages 10–15)
 - The Origins of the American Civil War 1820–61 (pages 16–21)
 - Dictatorship and Democracy in Germany 1933–63 (pages 22–27)
 - The USA and the Cold War in Asia 1945–75 (pages 28–33)
- 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 Divisions in France in 1793,
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
reasons for counter revolution in 1793. [30]**

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

**Use your own knowledge to assess how far the
Sources support the interpretation that economic
distress was the main reason why France was so
divided in 1793. [70]**

[TOTAL: 100 MARKS]

DIVISIONS IN FRANCE IN 1793

SOURCE A: A peasant describes the origins of revolt in a region of northern France.

Gentlemen and Brothers, the inhabitants of Thouare-sur-Loing have taken up arms only because they were forced to do so. The inhabitants had no intention of revolting because they were too peaceful for such an enterprise. The young men simply wanted to hold an assembly to ask the government not to send men to the national army, and so make the poverty of the countryside even worse. They heard the news that a troop of National Guard was on their way from Nantes to seize them by force and, since no-one was armed, they rushed around to find weapons. In addition, the decree on religious freedom is one of the principles of the revolt, because the people consider that to give them priests whom they do not want is a denial of freedom. Everyone, from aristocrats to ordinary citizens, is demanding the return of the non-juror priests.*

5

10

15

*Declaration of the people of Thouare-sur-Loing,
21 March 1793*

* non-juror priests: members of the clergy who had refused to take the new oath of allegiance to the State, as laid down in the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. They are also referred to as refractory priests.

SOURCE B: The widow of an aristocrat in a region of western France recalls the outbreak of revolt in April 1793.

In La Vendée the peasants revolted and came to M. Sapinard de Bois-Huguet. They asked him to be their general. He told them: 'I have been horrified by the crimes committed by the revolutionary barbarians and the distress they have brought to the countryside. I would prefer to perish leading you in combat for my God and King.' The brave peasants argued that they could never submit to a government which had cast out their priests and imprisoned their king. 'We have been deceived', they said, 'why send these constitutional priests? They are not the priests who have attended our fathers on their deathbeds and we do not wish them to baptize our infants.'

20
25
30

Madame de Sapinard, Memoirs, 1823

SOURCE C: A leading *Sans-Culotte* newspaper in Paris urges action against the internal enemies of the Revolution.

The Sans Culottes need bread. Let regiments of ten thousand of them be formed in each *département*. First let them gather in the harvest of the big farmers and let it be transported to a storehouse for the people's needs. Our patriots will attack the merchants of Marseilles, Bordeaux, Nantes and Lyons. Their shops will be emptied out. They will be forced to bring prices down. We should know how to destroy these worthless exploiters fighting for the tyrants and make them eat our dust and know true liberty.

35

40

Jacques-René Hébert, Le Père Duchesne, April 1793

SOURCE D: A radical Jacobin defines the enemies of the Revolution in his newspaper, 'The Friend of the People'.

The aristocrat is anyone who misses the Old Regime and disapproves of the Revolution. He wishes to send money to the émigrés and spreads news that he knows is false. He does not go to priests who have taken the Oath to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. He does not glory in the title and the Cap of Liberty of the Sans Culottes. He despairs of the Revolution's triumphs. He has not helped the poor but patriotic people. His money should be taken to defend the Republic.

45

50

Jean-Paul Marat, The Definition of the Moderate, in L'Ami du Peuple, May 1793

SOURCE E: In a debate in the Convention, the Paris city prosecutor urges measures to bring social justice.

Legislators, the great mass of citizens have one wish: 'the means to live and the force of the law to obtain it'. Create a revolutionary army, followed by a tribunal to strike down counter-revolutionary plots and end their authors' days with a single blow. Order the army to end selfishness and greed and to carry banners saying 'Peace to men of all good will, war against those who bring famine, protection of the weak, war against tyrants.'

55
60

Chaumette, Speech, September 1793

THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY 1815–70

Study the five Sources on The Extent of Unity, 1861–70 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 B.

Compare these Sources as evidence for the difficulties in governing the Southern regions. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that prospects of creating a fully united Italy were good from 1861 to 1870. [70]

[TOTAL: 100 MARKS]

THE EXTENT OF UNITY, 1861–70

SOURCE A: A former Prime Minister of Piedmont, who had always opposed the annexation of Naples, expresses his concerns about the situation in Naples in a confidential letter to Matteucci, a friend and politician.

We need sixty battalions to hold southern Italy down, and even they seem inadequate. Whether brigands or not, nobody wants us there. You say, give them universal suffrage but in the South people do not want anything to do with the political system. Our principles and policies must be wrong. The Neapolitans must tell us what they want. We Italians have a right to make war against those who wish to keep the Austrians in Italy, but we cannot preserve the same hostility towards those Italians who reject union with us. I think we have no right to use guns on them.

5

10

M d'Azeglio, letter, 2 August 1861

SOURCE B: In an address to the Italian Parliament the former commander of Italian forces in Sicily assesses the situation on the island.

The revolution of 1860 led to the outbreak of violence and brigandage. This was due to the increase in family feuds, the escape of 10,000 prisoners from jail whom Garibaldi could not recapture and our introduction of conscription which created a dangerous class of deserters who took to the hills. The courts are ignored: the notorious criminal underworld is in charge. A little improvement can be seen but this will be temporary unless overwhelming force is applied and Parliament acts positively. Time and the right measures will bring the desired result in Sicily; peace and unity with Italy.

15

20

25

General Govone, speech, 3 December 1863

SOURCE C: With the Austrians still in possession of Venetia, Garibaldi attempts to enthuse his force of volunteers at Brescia to take the fight to the enemy.

The priests are on the Austrian side which explains why the foreigners have so many spies. Brigandage is supported from Rome and so diminishes the reputation of our national cause. Most of the peasants are learning to hate Italy. They look upon our free and rejuvenated nation as against the priests and so against God. Our women must urge our youth to join courageous volunteers like you. They will see their beloved ones back and we will all have contributed to national liberation. We are entrusted with the honourable mission of regenerating Italy. Heads up, men of destiny!

30

35

G Garibaldi, proclamation, 20 August 1866

SOURCE D: A distinguished professor of history and a highly respected politician considers the state of the nation following the war with Austria in 1866 and charts the way forward.

Every man must set his hand to a new war of internal conquest. Italians are ready for any sacrifice in the national interest. Everywhere people are asking how we can reorganise the country. Nothing will happen if the government expects wonders from people who cannot read, or if the country believes that some mysterious new system will suddenly emerge to save us. By instructing the new generation, and supported by the lessons of our late revolution, we will make Italy truly civilised once again. By sheer enthusiasm we have in a remarkably short time created Italy.

40

45

P Villari, 'Whose fault is it?', September 1866

SOURCE E: An English political cartoon entitled 'Italy in Rome' comments on the entry of Italian forces into Rome on 20 September. The figure on the right, representing Pope Pius IX, is clutching a large key to his chest. He addresses the other figure, representing Victor Emmanuel II of Italy, with the words, 'I must surrender the sword, my son; but I keep the keys!' (Church Power). Victor Emmanuel is wearing a crown and holding a sword on which is written 'Temporal Power' (State Power). Behind the king are lines of soldiers who are standing to attention.



A cartoon in Punch, 1 October 1870

THE ORIGINS OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR, 1820–61

Study the five Sources on Slavery versus Free Labour 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 C.

Compare these Sources as evidence for views about slave and free labour. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that slavery was an efficient and profitable system of labour.

[70]

[TOTAL: 100 MARKS]

SLAVERY VERSUS FREE LABOUR

SOURCE A: A poster advertising an auction in Savannah, Georgia, of slaves owned by a Southern planter who had just died, lists them by name, age, expertise and price.

Sale of Slaves

This Prime Lot will be taken to the Fair Grounds two days previous to the Sale, so that they may be inspected by prospective buyers. On account of the low prices listed below, they will be sold for cash only.

5

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Age</i> | <i>Remarks</i> | <i>Price</i> |
|-------------|------------|------------------------------|--------------|
| Lunesta | 27 | Prime Rice Planter | \$1,275.00 |
| Violet | 16 | Housework and Nursemaid | 900.00 |
| Minda | 27 | Cotton, Prime Woman | 1,200.00 |
| Flementina | 39 | Good Cook, Stiff Knee | 400.00 |
| Dorcas | 25 | Seamstress, Handy in House | 800.00 |
| Bessle | 69 | Infirm, Sews | 250.00 |
| Infant | 1 | Strong Likely Boy | 400.00 |
| Virgil | 21 | Prime Field Hand | 1,100.00 |
| Tom | 40 | Rice Hand, Lame Leg | 750.00 |
| Noble | 11 | Handy Boy | 900.00 |
| Abe | 27 | Prime Cotton Hand | 1,000.00 |
| Tennes | 29 | Prime Rice Hand and Coachman | 1,250.00 |

10

15

20

25

A poster, 22 September 1852

SOURCE B: New York businessman who had lived in Virginia at frequent intervals since 1843, relates his observations of slave labour there compared to free labour in the North.

The free labourer thinks of how he can complete his task most efficiently. The more intelligent and earnest his labours, the richer are his rewards. Slave labour is exactly the opposite. It is little more than brute force. It is amazing how little a slave, or group of slaves, will accomplish in a given time. Their lack of skill and ingenuity – except in avoiding work – are painful to observe compared with the spirit of free labourers. The slave is without motive. His needs are provided for, he can make no provision for old age, he has no voice.

30
35
40

H Parker, New York Daily Times, 7 April 1853

SOURCE C: A Southern planter, sociologist, lawyer and a spokesman for the slave interest, assesses the comparative value of slave and free labour.

In large factories, free labourers work separately, and monotonous employment makes them automatons. On large farms, where slaves work together, labour is at least twenty times more productive as when one acts alone. In free society the employer robs the labourer. The slave shares the profits of the farm despite his indolence and lack of skill, and is exempt from the cares of the free labourer. All admit that, overall, slaves are better off than free labourers. The products of the South – cultivated by slaves – are far more useful than those of free labour. This region feeds and clothes a great part of mankind.

45

50

G Fitzhugh, The Failure of Free Society, 1854

SOURCE D: The editor of a journal published in Philadelphia, produced by the Free Soilers, comments on the States of Ohio, where Free Soilers enjoyed strong support, and Kentucky to demonstrate the effects of free labour in the former and slave labour in the latter.

Look at Ohio, teeming with inhabitants, its soil loaded with every kind of agricultural wealth, its people engaged in every kind of employment. It abounds with numberless happy homes, and with all the trophies of civilisation. It exhibits the magic effect of free labour. Look at Kentucky, with equal and superior natural advantages. It was populous when Ohio was a slumbering forest, but which in all the elements of progress, is now left very far behind its young rival. This shows how slave labour hinders the development of wealth.

55

60

*The North American and United States Gazette,
article, 1856*

SOURCE E: Many employers in the South were prepared to hire slaves as labourers from their owners, rather than cheaper white labourers, because it was fashionable and prestigious to do so. Here, a Southerner explains the effects of this practice.

Black slave labour is far less productive. Yet when hired out is better paid than free white labour. 65

We found sober, energetic white men engaged in agriculture on \$7 per month (including board only) but black slaves, who were slow and careless, were hired out on adjacent farms for \$10 per month 70

(including board but also medicine and clothing). In the free States employment is about 100% higher there than in the slave States. Poverty, ignorance and superstition are the leading characteristics of the non-slaveholding and labouring whites of the South. Pitiable, indeed, is their condition. 75

HR Helper, Compendium of the Impending Crisis in the South, 1860

DICTATORSHIP AND DEMOCRACY IN GERMANY 1933–63

Study the five Sources on The Berlin Wall 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 B.

Compare these Sources as evidence for the situation in Germany in 1961. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that pressure from outside Germany led to the building of the Berlin Wall. [70]

[TOTAL: 100 MARKS]

THE BERLIN WALL

SOURCE A: The Warsaw Pact countries explain the threat West Germany poses to them.

The governments of the Western Powers, by encouraging the arming of Western Germany, grossly violate the international agreements envisaging eradication of German militarism and preventing its revival in any form. They are smuggling their agents into the German Democratic Republic, recruiting spies and inciting hostile elements to organise sabotage and to provoke disturbances in the GDR. The government bodies and the military concerns of the Federal Republic make some unstable elements in the GDR leave for Western Germany, through deceit, bribery and blackmail. 5 10

*Communique issued by the Warsaw Pact,
13 August 1961*

SOURCE B: The GDR Council of Ministers outlines its reasons for building the Berlin Wall.

The imperialist policy being carried out by the Bonn government under the cloak of anti-Communism is a continuation of the Fascist imperialism of the Third Reich. The Adenauer Government is systematically preparing for a civil war with the German Democratic Republic. The West German revanchists* and militarists are abusing the peaceful policy of the USSR and the Warsaw Treaty states on the German question. They intend to damage, not only the German Democratic Republic, but also other Socialist states by means of rampant, hostile propaganda, by enticing people and by sabotage. Reliable safeguards and effective control must be ensured on the borders with West Berlin in order to block subversive activities.

15
20
25

*revanchists: those seeking revenge for the post-war division of Germany and the revival of a united German state.

Decree, 13 August 1961

SOURCE C: The West German Chancellor considers the reasons for the GDR's building of the Wall.

The other states in the Eastern bloc demanded that the GDR eliminate its weakness and insecurity. 30
Every day mass flight of people from the Eastern zone showed the world the pressure under which its citizens lived, as well as the fact that they were denied the right of self-determination, recognised throughout the world. We continue to feel close ties 35
to Germans in the Soviet zone and East Berlin. They are and remain our German brothers and sisters. The Federal Government holds unswervingly to the goal of German unity in freedom.

Konrad Adenauer, Press Statement, August 1961

SOURCE D: An American academic explains that the East German government was bound to take some decisive action over Berlin.

| | |
|---|--|
| West Berlin was intolerable to the communist East because it was a glittering outpost of capitalism. Even worse was the comparison between the individual liberties in West Berlin and the regimented, tight police controls in the East. This was what led 300 000 East Germans each year to disappear into West Berlin and to be flown out to West Germany. Mostly they were young, talented, educated and professional people; a drain which could not be endured indefinitely. West Berlin also contained the greatest combination of espionage agencies ever assembled in one place. It was an almost unbelievable windfall for the West to be able to pursue all the missions of modern intelligence, including sabotage, 110 miles deep into the enemy's territory. | 40 45 50 55 |
|---|--|

D F Fleming, The Cold War and its Origins, 1961

SOURCE E: A modern British journalist, who had worked in both Moscow and Washington, gives an account of Russian and American attitudes.

Khrushchev wanted a peace treaty to settle the borders of Eastern Europe and to recognise the sovereignty of Eastern Germany. Western forces would have to renegotiate their access to Berlin with a new and sovereign East German government. This was a sticking point for Kennedy, amounting to recognition of a permanent division of Germany and letting down his West German allies. Later Khrushchev announced that planned Soviet defence cuts had been cancelled, leading to East Germans flooding into West Berlin. Kennedy addressed the American people, showing the beleaguered Berlin on a map and increased the armed forces.

60
65

Martin Walker, The Cold War and the Making of the Modern World, 1994

THE USA AND THE COLD WAR IN ASIA 1945–75

Study the five Sources on US Policies in Asia 1945–50, 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 D.

Compare these Sources as evidence for the extent of US involvement in China in the period from 1945 to 1950. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that the USA did little to protect mainland Asia from the spread of Communism in the period from 1945 to 1950.

[70]

[TOTAL: 100 MARKS]

US POLICIES IN ASIA 1945–50

SOURCE A: In a public press release, the President of South Korea clarifies comments he had made one week earlier, which had been misreported in the US press.

The division of Korea between the USA in South Korea and the USSR in North Korea was made between those two powers without our knowledge. We expect the USA to stand by and help us deal with the grave threat against Korea and all Asia by the aggressive forces of Communism. We suggest three solutions: the formation of a Pacific pact similar to NATO; a mutual defence agreement between the USA and Korea alone or jointly with other nations; a public pledge by the USA to defend a reunited, democratic, independent Korea in line with President Truman's policy against Communist aggression elsewhere.

Syngman Rhee, 16 May 1949

SOURCE B: The Joint Chiefs of Staff of the Army dismiss the idea of maintaining US troops in South Korea contrary to the imminent withdrawal schedule agreed by the U.N.

To apply the Truman Doctrine to Korea would require enormous effort and vast expenditures far out of proportion to the benefits to be expected. Korea is of little strategic value to the USA. Use of our military force in Korea would be ill-advised and impracticable considering our heavy international obligations. To introduce a US military task force to protect the 38th parallel at the request of the South Korean government might lead to major military involvement. The US will complete withdrawal of its occupation forces from South Korea on 30 June 1949.

15

20

25

Top secret memorandum for the Department of State, 27 June 1949

SOURCE C: In his memoirs, the US Secretary of State refutes McCarthyite criticisms of the Truman administration's weak policies which had allowed China to fall to Communism in October 1949.

Chiang Kai-shek*'s National Government did not fail because of inadequate American aid. Our military observers reported corruption which fatally sapped its powers of resistance. Its leaders proved incapable, its troops lost the will to fight, and its government lost popular support. The Communists, on the other hand, through ruthless discipline and fanatical zeal, portrayed themselves as guardians and liberators of the people. The Nationalist armies did not have to be defeated; they disintegrated. History has proved again and again that a regime without faith in itself and an army lacking morale cannot survive the test of battle. 30 35

Dean Acheson, Present at the Creation: My Years in the State Department, 1969

*Chiang Kai-shek's Chinese name was Jiang Jieshi

SOURCE D: The Premier and Foreign Minister of Communist China comments to the Chinese News Agency in Beijing on US involvement in the Far East since 1945.

The whole world knows that the US government, in attempting to annex China, supported Chiang Kai-shek in fighting a large-scale civil war, denying the Chinese people any opportunity to live in independence and peace. The US government supplies Chiang's bandits in Taiwan with aircraft to bomb mainland China. It uses similar methods to support its puppets, Bao Dai and Syngman Rhee, to undermine national independence movements in Vietnam and South Korea. The Asian peoples will settle their own affairs, and must never be interfered with by Acheson and the American imperialists on the other side of the Pacific.

40
45
50

Chou En-lai, newspaper interview, 18 March 1950*

***Chou En-lai's Chinese name was Zhou Enlai**

SOURCE E: In his memoirs, President Truman explains the reasons why the USA supported a policy of 'hot' war in Korea after the Communist North attacked the South in June 1950.

I remember when the failure of democracies to act against aggressors encouraged them. Communism in Korea acted like Hitler and the Japanese twenty years earlier. I felt certain that if South Korea was allowed to fall, Communist leaders would be emboldened to override nations close to our shores. Countries adjacent to the USSR would lose confidence if we took no action to protect a country established with our support and confirmed in its freedom of action by the United Nations. The foundations and principles of the United Nations were at stake unless this unprovoked attack on the free nation of Korea was dealt with firmly and successfully.

55
60

Harry S Truman, Years of Trial and Hope, 1965

END OF QUESTION PAPER

BLANK PAGE

BLANK PAGE

Copyright Information

OCR is committed to seeking permission to reproduce all third-party content that it uses in its assessment materials. OCR has attempted to identify and contact all copyright holders whose work is used in this paper. To avoid the issue of disclosure of answer-related information to candidates, all copyright acknowledgements are reproduced in the OCR Copyright Acknowledgements Booklet. This is produced for each series of examinations and is freely available to download from our public website (www.ocr.org.uk) after the live examination series.

If OCR has unwittingly failed to correctly acknowledge or clear any third-party content in this assessment material, OCR will be happy to correct its mistake at the earliest possible opportunity.

For queries or further information please contact the Copyright Team, First Floor, 9 Hills Road, Cambridge CB2 1GE.

OCR is part of the Cambridge Assessment Group; Cambridge Assessment is the brand name of University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate (UCLES), which is itself a department of the University of Cambridge.

