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Wednesday 18 May 2016 – Afternoon

AS GCE HISTORY A

F964/02 European and World History Enquiries
Option B: Modern 1774–1975

Candidates answer on the Answer Booklet.

OCR supplied materials:

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

Other materials required:

None

Duration: 1 hour 30 minutes



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.
- Do **not** write in the bar codes.

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 2–3)
 - The Unification of Italy 1815–70 (pages 4–5)
 - The Origins of the American Civil War 1820–61 (pages 6–7)
 - Dictatorship and Democracy in Germany 1933–63 (pages 8–9)
 - The USA and the Cold War in Asia 1945–75 (pages 10–11)
- 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.
- This document consists of **12** pages. Any blank pages are indicated.

The Origins and Course of the French Revolution 1774–95

Study the five Sources on The Constitution of 1791 and then answer **both** sub-questions.

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

1 (a) Study Sources **B** and **C**.

Compare these Sources as evidence for the problems facing the Legislative Assembly. [30]

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

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that the Constitution of 1791 stood little chance of maintaining stability in France. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

The Constitution of 1791

Source A: The wife of a member of the Constituent Assembly records her feelings about the prospect of a new Assembly under the new Constitution of 1791.

All our politicians are trying to earn our respect. From the eighty three departments of France comes the cry 'A new Assembly!' That should encourage the new body to display the real grandeur we expect. We are going to elect new legislators, the hope of our country. Everyone is expecting to see wise men arriving from the depth of the country, no priests and no unrealistic intellectuals, but virtuous people who despise wealth.

5

Madame Julienne, Journal of a Middle Class Woman during the Revolution, 1791–93

Source B: A Royalist member of the Legislative Assembly recalls his impression of the new body when it met in 1791.

The Legislative Assembly met in very unfavourable circumstances. The King had been kept as a prisoner after his return from Varennes and re-established on his throne only after swearing to uphold the Constitution. The new Assembly was entirely inexperienced, made up of lawyers, literary men and amateur philosophers. Its destiny was to work evil, especially through its crude and ridiculous principles. Many members of the Constituent Assembly realised their mistake. If they had not voted to exclude themselves from the elections to the new Assembly, they would have brought experience and talent to it and would have been able to safeguard the Crown and the nation.

10

Vicomte de Vaublanc, Memoirs, published in 1857

Source C: A member of the Constituent Assembly with links to politicians on the Right in the Legislative Assembly of 1791 recalls political divisions.

The Orleanist faction joined with the republicans. To promote the ambitions of the Duke of Orleans, they lent the extremists support and money. Too weak to attack the Constitution directly, the Orleanists promoted unrest and denounced the King and his ministers. The public was taken in by this agitation and began to lose faith in the Constitution itself. Those who supported the Constitution and the King were divided. The party known as the Girondins had no interest in the form of government provided they were in control and could gain money and jobs. They joined the republicans initially, waiting to see whether it would be in their interests to join the King's party. 15
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The Marquis de Ferrières, Memoirs, published in 1822

Source D: A liberal aristocrat who had become commander of the National Guard recalls the situation in autumn 1791.

The émigrés were unanimous in their desire for an invasion of France, and worked endlessly to engage foreign monarchs to help them, being certain that counter-revolution would follow. However, the King and Queen hesitated. The Queen especially would have agreed to work for rescue by the armies of Austria or even Prussia. But she was held back by her reluctance to owe any obligation to the King's brother, whom she had never liked. 'The Count of Artois would become a hero!', she exclaimed with bitterness. 25

The Marquis de La Fayette, Memoirs, published in 1837

Source E: The King urges his brother to return from exile

The Revolution is now finished; the Constitution is completed; France wills it. I will maintain it. The welfare of the monarch now depends on the Constitution being sustained. The Constitution has conferred rights on you, but it has attached to them one condition, that you return to France. You ought to lose no time in coming home. Believe me, brother, and do not have any doubts about my liberty. I can act freely. Prove to me that you are my brother and a Frenchman by returning. Your proper place is by my side. Your absence gives an excuse for those who are our enemies and want to keep France in a state of agitation. 30

Louis XVI, letter, 11 November 1791

The Unification of Italy 1815–70

Study the five Sources on The Role of Austria in Italy 1820–66 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 **E**.

Compare these Sources as evidence for the hostility of Italians to the Austrians. [30]

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

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that Austria relied solely upon repressive measures to maintain its power in the Italian peninsula. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

The Role of Austria in Italy 1820–66

Source A: The government in Vienna outlines the duties of the police and secret service in Venice.

1. Seek out plots which endanger the safety of the monarchy.
2. Investigate unions, associations, corporations and secret societies.
3. Monitor anyone who exercises a major influence on public feeling.
4. Keep a watch on newspapers, pamphlets, books or pictures, especially those of a political nature. 5
5. Close control over all branches of public administration and the official and domestic behaviour of individual employees.
6. Ensure that imperial orders and laws are carried out.
7. Monitor the activities of foreign officials.
8. Gather information on public affairs in foreign states bordering Italy and the states of Italy. 10
9. Spy on foreign subjects.
10. Check private correspondence.

The Imperial Chancellery, orders, 1820

Source B: A Lombard civil servant working for the Austrians in Milan, writes to Metternich expressing his concerns about Austrian rule in Lombardy.

National self-esteem is shocked today. Why is every important fortress garrisoned by people from other Austrian provinces? You are disliked as conquerors. You are disliked because you appoint magistrates and administrators who know nothing about this country. In Vienna there is not a single post of any standing held by an Italian. Since our young men are discouraged and since an official career is closed to them, some of them become rebels. It was another great mistake to dismiss from the Governor's court a number of ladies – the youngest ones – as the young gentlemen followed suit. 15

P de Capitani, letter, 1832

Source C: A close relation of the Austrian Emperor, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, explains the dilemma he faced in March 1848.

I had not received a request to join my forces with those of Austria, and anyhow this could not have been done; there was no way of moving them there. Nor did the Austrians offer their troops to Tuscany to suppress the revolution here; indeed, Austria was in no position to send any troops. Tuscan neutrality was impossible. I thought of my family links, and the dangers to my dynasty if Tuscany entered the war in the north. I thought about the anarchy into which Tuscany was descending. I proclaimed war with Piedmont against Austria because of the popular enthusiasm for it. 20
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Leopold II, Memoirs, published in 1861

Source D: The Austrian commander in Lombardy expresses his opinion about Austrian policy in Lombardy to the Austrian Emperor.

I am convinced that it is high time to stop giving favours to a country which all too often abuses them. It is necessary to let the country feel the power of Austria. This can only be done by the removal of the wealth of the rich who use it to make trouble. I am convinced that the revolutionaries and their leaders will ask for mercy and that the government will be lenient with them. The aim of my letter is, therefore, to beseech Your Excellency, to set aside any thought of mercy and let justice run its course completely. 30

Field Marshall Radetsky, letter, 13 April 1849

Source E: A young doctor from England, who joined Garibaldi's volunteers, recalls his experience of the fighting against Austria in the war of 1866.

All men, of every rank, many of them mere boys, were motivated by a burning desire to free their country from Austrian rule. Italians were often cruel in their treatment of Austrian prisoners. But, the Italians were fighting against Austrians who had occupied their country by force, had shot hundreds of their bravest for the smallest political offences, had imprisoned many for long years in loathsome dungeons and had even publicly flogged their women and children. With the horrors of 1848–9 in Milan and Venice still in their memories, it is small wonder that the only treatment they accorded to the Austrians was extermination. 35

H Shinglewood Taylor, Memoirs, published in 1920

The Origins of the American Civil War 1820–61

Study the five Sources on how events from 1820 led to increasing Sectional Tensions then answer **both** sub-questions.

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

3 (a) Study Sources **D** and **E**.

Compare these Sources as evidence for views about the abolition of slavery. [30]

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

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that the issue of States' rights was the main reason for increased tension between the Sections. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

How events from 1820 led to increasing Sectional Tensions

Source A: Writing to his father, a member of the House of Representatives from New Hampshire explains the concerns of many Southern politicians, days before agreement was reached on the admission of Missouri to the Union.

Many Southern politicians, and particularly the Virginians, talk deliberately of a separation of the States. Besides this business of Missouri, they complain that the Federal Government is increasingly claiming more power. They mention the establishment of the Bank and the tendency of the Supreme Court to find in favour of the Federal Government in disputed cases with the States. The State of Virginia is at this very moment before the Supreme Court, on the legality of State lotteries, and if the decision goes against Virginia, it means to resist the judgement. Ohio also has a serious quarrel with the Court. 5

W Plumer, letter, 2 February 1821

Source B: A leading southern politician expresses his views about the Nullification Crisis to a colleague with a similar outlook.

I consider the Tariff the symptom rather than the real cause of the present unhappy state of things. The truth can no longer be disguised that slavery has placed the Southern States in opposition to the majority of the Union. If the rights of the States are not protected, the Southern States must, in the end, be forced to rebel or submit to have slavery abolished and so be reduced to wretchedness. The denial of the right of the state to order its own affairs is more alarming than all other causes of the present discontent. 10

John C Calhoun, letter, 11 September 1830

Source C: A lawyer, who served in the senate of the state of Alabama, compliments Daniel Webster on his famous speech ten days earlier during the Compromise debates in the Senate in Washington.

It is a consolation to every honest man to know that we yet have statesmen like yourself who are able to look above the little local jealousies so common with most of our lesser politicians whose sole object seems to be to foster unpleasant sentiments between North and South. A separation of the States would be madness. Where could we draw a line between North and South? It does seem to me, when Mr Calhoun talks of peaceable secession he is either mad or wishes to be President of the South.

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W G Jones, letter, 17 March 1850

Source D: The politician who was instrumental in securing both the Compromise of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 urges peace and harmony during his campaign for re-election as Senator for Illinois.

I am opposed to sectional agitation, which produces nothing but strife and disunion. Slavery can only be abolished by leaving a State free to form and regulate its institutions in its own way. Under that principle the Union has been preserved so far and slavery has disappeared from six of the original slaveholding States. The moment Abolition Societies were organised throughout the North, preaching a violent crusade against slavery, the Southern States became defensive. A line was drawn between North and South which created a barrier to further emancipation. Mr Lincoln proposes to keep up this sectional agitation. Can the Union endure under such a policy?

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Stephen A Douglas, speech, 16 July 1858

Source E: A former president of the United States outlines the tensions between the Sections before 1861. He was from Pennsylvania and had won the election of 1856 with the support of all but one of the Southern States as well as five other States.

The Constitution does not give Congress power to interfere with slavery in the States yet the time of Congress was wasted in violent debates on slavery. Whilst the South threatened disunion unless the agitation ceased, the North dismissed such threats. It became evident that the country was rapidly splitting in two. Among the proud people of the South there were those as fanatical in advocating slavery as were the abolitionists of the North in denouncing it. Did the followers of John Brown not appreciate that the attempt to remove by force of arms what they regarded as sinful would result in conflict?

30

James Buchanan, Mr Buchanan's Administration on the Eve of the Rebellion, 1866

Dictatorship and Democracy in Germany 1933–63

Study the five Sources on Propaganda in Nazi Germany 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 how great a problem opposition was for the Nazis in 1933. [30]

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

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that the Nazis relied on mainly persuasion more than force to win support. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

Propaganda in Nazi Germany

Source A: The Minister for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda outlines his aims at his first press conference as Minister.

I view the first tasks of the new Ministry as being to establish coordination between the Government and the whole people. If this government is determined never to give way, then it has no need of the power of the bayonet. In the long run we will not be content with having 52 per cent of the people behind it and with terrorising the other 48 per cent. We see the most immediate task as winning over the 48 per cent. It is not enough for people to be more or less reconciled to our regime. We want to work on people until they have capitulated to us. 5

Joseph Goebbels, speech, 15 March 1933

Source B: The official Nazi Party reports on the first concentration camp.

The first concentration camp will be opened on Thursday to accommodate five thousand prisoners. Here all Communist and, where necessary, Social Democrat, officials will be interned. Experience has shown that these people cannot be granted their freedom as they continue to agitate and cause unrest when released. We must adopt these measures in order to ensure state security. The Ministry of the Interior is convinced that it is acting in the national interest and that these measures will have the desired effect upon the whole nation. 10

Völkischer Beobachter, 21 March 1933

Source C: The Ministry of Education issues some instructions to the press.

Photos showing members of the Reich government at dining tables in front of rows of bottles must not be published in future, particularly since it is known that several members of the Cabinet do not drink. Ministers take part in social events for reasons of international etiquette and for strictly official purposes, which they regard merely as a duty and not as a pleasure. Recently, because of the great number of photos, the utterly absurd impression has been created among the public that members of the government are living it up. News pictures must therefore change in this respect.

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Statement at a Press Conference, 1935

Source D: The Gestapo in Düsseldorf reports on some measures of censorship.

All bookstores and libraries were subjected to examination between September and November 1936, with reference to the list of harmful and undesirable literature. In the region of Düsseldorf, thirty-eight searches for forbidden literature took place during the period of this report and 37040 volumes were confiscated. All literature found in these actions was handed over to the security office in Berlin. It will be destroyed under the supervision of the State police.

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Report, 15 February 1937

Source E: A local paper in the Frankfurt region reports on One-pot Sunday.

For the last time in the Winter Relief Programme of 1938/9 the German people are observing One-pot Sunday*. Once more they will show the world that German Socialism involves not words and slogans but deeds. This is an appeal to all national comrades asking for a One-pot contribution. It goes without saying that every family will give a contribution. But since it is the last One-pot Sunday, the German people expect that every National Comrade will increase his contribution, since it is the last time the collector will be calling. For one should not show one's gratitude to the Führer for his great work with words, but rather one must show through deeds that one wants to help the Führer make the German people great and strong.

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*One-pot Sunday occurred once a month during the winter and families were expected to have only one dish for their main meal and donate what they saved to collectors who called for their contribution.

Neu-Isenburger Anzeigebblatt, 11 March 1939

The USA and the Cold War in Asia 1945–75

Study the five Sources on the Tet Offensive 1968, and then answer **both** sub-questions.

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

5 (a) Study Sources A and D.

Compare these Sources as evidence for communist objectives in the Tet Offensive 1968. [30]

(b) Study all the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that the Tet Offensive 1968 was well planned and successful. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

The Tet Offensive 1968

Source A: The leader of the Vietnamese Communist Party in Hanoi explains the key objectives of the Tet offensive to his communist South Vietnamese allies.

Remember that our greatest and most important objective is to conquer and keep the countryside. We must strike at the enemy's brain, heart and arteries by destroying their bases, stores, means of transport and communications. We must stretch the enemy and deal crushing blows. Then our thrust must aim at the cities. We must combine the spearheads of our shock force with the uprisings of the masses in cities and adjacent rural areas. When the enemy is forced to withdraw into the towns, we will have the conditions to mobilise the countryside to revolt and gain control of vast rural areas. 5

Le Duan, letter, 18 January 1968

Source B: A television newscaster reports to the American public on the ongoing crisis of the Tet Offensive.

We have been disappointed too often by the optimism of American leaders in Vietnam and Washington, to continue to believe their assurances that there is light at the end of the tunnel. They may be right that the Tet offensive was forced on Hanoi by the realization that they could not win the war of attrition, and that any success of their offensive will improve the communists' position for eventual peace negotiations. It is now more certain that the bloody experience of Vietnam will end in a stalemate and that our only options are real give-and-take negotiations or a terrible escalation. 10

Walter Cronkite, CBS News broadcast, 27 February 1968

Source C: As part of extensive consultation on Vietnam War strategy, US officials record a discussion between the Secretary of Defense and the US President on the impact of the Tet Offensive.

Clark Clifford: It came as a great shock that the Vietcong-North Vietnamese had the strength and skill to mount the Tet offensive as they did. They struck 34 cities, made strong inroads in Saigon and Hue. They definitely affected the countryside. When we increase our forces, they increase theirs from a vast supply of equipped and trained men. We add more, they always match us. Thieu's response to the Tet offensive is to request more US troops. We seem to have a bottomless pit – higher US casualties and no end to the fighting.

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President Johnson: Send only 20 000 more men. Tell the South Vietnamese to do more fighting and give them the best equipment possible.

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Clark Clifford and Lyndon B Johnson, White House records, 4–5 March 1968

Source D: South Vietnamese Communist party leaders assess the impact of the Tet Offensive in a report to the North Vietnamese Communist Party in Hanoi.

A month of continuous offensives and simultaneous uprisings have annihilated almost one-third of the enemy's troops, attacked their nerve centres and liberated wide areas of the countryside.

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However, we still have many deficiencies and weak points: we have not killed enemy commanders; our organised support among the people was not broad or strong enough; our propaganda failed to provoke army defections to the people's side.

South Vietnam Communist Party report, late March 1968

Source E: The President makes a televised address to the American public giving his response to the Tet offensive.

The Tet attack failed in its principal objectives. It did not make the elected South Vietnamese government collapse or shatter its army. It did not produce a 'general uprising' in the cities or give control of any city. They took very heavy casualties. However, they forced the South Vietnamese and their allies to move troops from the countryside into the cities. They caused widespread disruption and suffering, and made half a million people refugees. So, tonight, hoping that this action will lead to early talks, I am taking the first step to de-escalate the conflict. Accordingly, I shall not seek, and will not accept, the nomination of my party for another term as president.

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Lyndon B Johnson, address from the White House, 31 March 1968

END OF QUESTION PAPER

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