



**ADVANCED SUBSIDIARY GCE
HISTORY**

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

F964/02

Candidates answer on the Answer Booklet

OCR Supplied Materials:

- 8 page Answer Booklet

Other Materials Required:

None

**Friday 16 January 2009
Afternoon**

Duration: 1 hour 30 minutes



INSTRUCTIONS TO CANDIDATES

- Write your name clearly in capital letters, your Centre Number and Candidate Number in the spaces provided on the Answer Booklet.
- Use black ink. Pencil may be used for graphs and diagrams only.
- Read each question carefully and make sure that you know what you have to do before starting your answer.
- 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 the Course of the French Revolution 1774–95 (page 2–3)
 - The Unification of Italy 1815–70 (page 4–5)
 - The Origins of the American Civil War 1820–61 (page 6–7)
 - Dictatorship and Democracy in Germany 1933–63 (page 8–9)
 - The USA and the Cold War in Asia 1945–75 (page 10–11)
- Answer **both sub-questions** from **one** Study Topic.
- 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 the Course of the French Revolution 1774–1795

Study the five Sources on The Main Revolutionary Events of 1789, 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 B and C.

Compare these Sources as evidence for the unrest in the French provinces in the summer of 1789. **[30]**

(b) Study all the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that the **main** motive for revolutionary activity in 1789 was economic. **[70]**

[Total: 100 marks]

The Main Revolutionary Events of 1789

Source A: A leading politician of the Third Estate responds to the instruction of Louis XVI for the representatives in the Estates General to disperse, and stresses their political responsibility.

Let us ask ourselves what purpose brought us from every part of France to the Estates General. We are the people's envoys, let us stay and fulfil our mission with courage. We swore an oath to give the French people their rights. The authority of being the elected representatives of the people pushes us forward to demand a new constitution.

Emmanuel Sieyès, speech, 23 June 1789

Source B: The local assembly of the Dauphiné region complains to the National Assembly about unrest.

The fear of bandits has spread everywhere. There is a general terror throughout the province. News has come of the burning of the chateau of Vaux; the bandits went on to the chateau of Montferra. The chateau of Césagrès has been looted and stripped with the aid of carts; everything was taken right down to the hinges of the doors; the thieves took money and the local villagers were accomplices to the looting, mingling with the bandits. Troops from Lyon killed thirteen of the bandits and nineteen were taken prisoner. They will be executed for their disgraceful crimes. 5
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Letter from the Estates of Dauphiné to the National Assembly, 31 July 1789

Source C: The Duke d'Aiguillon was a liberal noble who was supporting a group of deputies from Brittany in their attempt to end feudal rights. Here he is addressing the National Assembly

In several provinces the people in general have formed a kind of league to destroy chateaux, lay waste fields and to seize the records of feudal dues. They attempt to throw off a burden which has weighed on them for so many centuries. So we must acknowledge that these acts can be excused given the humiliations which the people have suffered. The farmers groan under the barbarous remains of the feudal laws. I hope that the National Assembly will decree that taxes shall be levied equally on all citizens. Also that all feudal and seigneurial rights may be purchased by the peasants if they so desire, considering that they are a heavy burden which harms agriculture and desolates the countryside.

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The Duke d'Aiguillon, Motion Concerning Individual Privileges, 4 August 1789

Source D: A reforming member of the National Assembly calls for religious toleration, suggesting the importance of political issues.

Protestants have done everything for the nation, and the nation treats them with ingratitude. They serve it as citizens, yet they are treated as outcasts. It is not just tolerance that I demand, but Liberty! Difference of opinion is not a crime. I demand for French Protestants, for all the kingdom's non-Catholics, that which you demand for yourselves: Liberty and equal rights. I demand it for the Jews. I demand that you include this article in the Declaration of Rights: 'Every man is free to have his own opinions, every citizen has the right to practise his religion'.

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Jean-Paul Rabaut Saint Etienne, speech in the Assembly, 23 August 1789

Source E: A modern historian links the unrest in Paris to economic hardship.

The talk in Paris was of hanging from lampposts everyone called an aristocrat. There were persistent economic difficulties. After falling somewhat in late July and August 1789 the price of bread began to climb again, and supplies became irregular. Grain riots began to be reported around the city. By mid-September rowdy groups of women were stopping grain convoys. Guards were placed on bakers' shops. By 4 October Paris believed that there were counter-revolutionary plans to starve the capital. Crowds of women set off for Versailles dragging cannon. Seven thousand invaded the National Assembly and called for bread. An enraged mob broke into the palace. Late in the morning of 6 October the King announced that he would go with the crowds to Paris

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William Doyle, The Oxford History of the French Revolution, 1989

The Unification of Italy 1815–70

Study the five Sources on The Revolutions of 1820–21 and 1831 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 failure of the revolt in Piedmont in 1821. **[30]**

(b) Study all the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that the revolutions in Italy in 1820–21 and 1831 left the nationalist cause without hope. **[70]**

[Total: 100 marks]

The Revolutions of 1820–21 and 1831

Source A: One of the leaders of the revolt in Piedmont of 1821 draws conclusions about his conspiracy and events in Turin.

Charles Albert, the regent in whom the nation trusted, introduced a constitution similar to that adopted by the Neapolitan parliament and won popular affection. However, he then betrayed our plans by his subsequent inaction, and then by his unworthy flight. His successor called for Austrian help which led to the defeat of brave rebel forces at Novara from which they could not recover. Let the Austrians beware; Italy is conquered but not subdued. Oh Italians! If we must bear these chains let us at least keep our hearts free. The setting free of Italy will occur; the signal has been given.

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S. di Santarosa, The Piedmontese Revolution, 1821

Source B: The author recalls a day in his youth whilst walking with his mother in Genoa, in April 1821, just after the Piedmontese revolt had been crushed. Here, he describes the impression made upon him by the revolutionaries when they were trying to sail from the town.

The distressed revolutionaries sought help to cross to Spain where the revolution was still triumphant. The local people were moved by their plight and some proposed to the leader of the uprising, Santarosa, that he should organise a new resistance in Genoa but he rejected the proposition. That day I realised that we Italians could and ought to struggle for the liberty of our country. Those refugees had been betrayed: the new King, Charles Felix, had asked for Austrian aid, parts of the Piedmontese army had supported the Austrians at Novara and the rebel leaders had not made an effort to resist.

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G. Mazzini, Life and Writings of Giuseppe Mazzini, 1864

Source C: A civil servant from the Austrian province of Lombardy writes to the Austrian Chancellor, Count Metternich, explaining his assessment of public opinion in Italy.

The spirit of revolution is so strong in the fantasy of a few fools that they dream of Italian nationality and the creation of an all-Italian kingdom. Even Napoleon I never went so far. That giant has now fallen and no political circumstance can ever make such a dream come true. The whole nobility, the whole clergy and all the rich middle classes recognise that their prosperity and prospects depend on the power of the Austrian Empire. Most Lombards support Austria, first out of interest, secondly because recent political disturbances have caused widespread disillusionment with any kind of change.

P. de Capitani, letter, 1832

Source D: A prominent revolutionary analyses the failings of the revolutions of 1820–21 and 1831.

Initially the revolutions were brilliant; boldly undertaken and successfully carried out. Then they lost impetus, became uncertain and fearful; and the masses remained inert, indifferent and without faith in the future. The failure of these revolutions was a failure of leadership. They lacked leaders strong in faith and willing to sacrifice to harness the ideals stirring amongst the masses. They lacked leaders with knowledge of politics, faith in themselves and the masses they were leading. They lacked leaders with revolutionary tactics, a logical spirit and the secret which rouses millions to the defence of the cause.

G. Mazzini, On Liberty in Italy, 1832

Source E: An artist, novelist and politician recalls his experiences of the 1820s and early 1830s in Milan. Of moderate political views, he preferred to achieve change peacefully rather than by violence.

There are people under the impression that our present liberty and independence are in great measure owing to the activities of secret societies earlier in the century. They do not understand that terrorism inspired such horror that even now men are only just beginning to be less frightened of liberty, and to prefer it to despotism. Therefore, violence did not hasten but, on the contrary, delayed our liberation. In Milan young men denounced the Austrians but only a few took part in activities against them, the purpose of which they did not even know themselves.

M. d'Azeglio, Recollections, 1867

The Origins of the American Civil War 1820–61

Study the five Sources on The Origins of Abolitionism 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 E.

Compare these Sources as evidence for opinions on 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 campaign for the abolition of slavery failed to win popular support in America before 1850. **[70]**

[Total: 100 marks]

The Origins of Abolitionism

Source A: In an address to the Colonization Society, the man who later founded The Liberator newspaper and became one of the leaders of the Anti-Slavery Society presents his views about the rights of slaves.

The claims of slaves are as strong as those of any American. A very large proportion of our coloured population were born on our soil and therefore entitled to all the privileges of American citizens. It is their country by birth not adoption. This monstrous inequality, slavery, should no longer be tolerated. Suppose that the slaves were white. Would you shut your eyes to their sufferings? You would say they are white and in bondage and ought immediately to be set free. Slavery cannot be abolished without a struggle: we must expect a collision with many a heartless being. 5

W. L. Garrison, speech, 4 July 1829

Source B: A 'missionary' for the Anti-Slavery Society, who travelled around the country trying to gain support for the campaign to end slavery, writes to his wife about his experiences in Hartford, Connecticut.

In the hall were a good number of decent intelligent people mixed with about twenty white savages. The latter made such a noise I could not be heard so we moved to a private house. There we formed an abolition society of about 40 members whilst the mob was swearing they would never accept such a society. The next day about 300 ruffians assembled, each one with a club in his hand. A noble band of fearless women arrived for the meeting as planned but the mob was threatening and insisted I leave the town immediately and never return. 10

M. Robinson, letter, 25 January 1837

Source C: A Southern Senator explains why he proposed that Congress should refuse to consider petitions from abolitionist societies.

Slavery will continue to benefit both races if not disturbed by the fierce spirit of abolition. I feel obliged to speak freely as the honour and interests of those I represent are involved. Existing relations between the two races in the South, against which these blind fanatics are waging war, are good. Emancipation would not satisfy these fanatics: they would next demand for Negroes social and political equality with whites and we would soon find the present conditions of the two races reversed. They and their northern allies would be the masters and we the slaves. 20

J. C. Calhoun, speech, 1839

Source D: A former slave who escaped from the South in 1833 recounts his experiences of life in the North in the following ten years.

In various ways we were treated as though we were a race of men below the whites. But the abolitionists boldly stood up for us and through them things are much changed for the better. We begin to feel that we are on the same footing as our fellow citizens. During the struggles we were indebted to some well-known abolitionists especially Quakers as they always took our part against abuse. A host of American friends have nobly stood up for the rights of the coloured man but they did so in the midst of scorn and anger. 30

M. Grady, Life of a Slave, 1843

Source E: This Northern newspaper expresses its views on slaves and the abolition of slavery.

Abolitionists talk twaddle. Colonization is to be the great cure of Negro slavery in this country or it remains uncured. You may free the slave in the South, but he will continue to be seen as a slave in both North and South. His shackles are only to be cast off by returning to the land of his forefathers. The prejudice that surrounds him here burns as fiercely as the fires of a volcano which cannot be put out. We would therefore remove the black man from its influence, instead of encouraging him to break it down by an insolent attitude towards those who are his intellectual superiors. 35

Editorial, Newspaper in West Chester, Pennsylvania, 1849

Dictatorship and Democracy in Germany 1933–63

Study the five Sources on the The Work of the Gestapo in Nazi Germany from 1933 to 1945 and then answer **both** the 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 effectiveness of opposition to the Third Reich. **[30]**

(b) Study all the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that the Gestapo and the other security services were able to control the German population **mainly** because they were 'all seeing and all knowing.' **[70]**

[Total 100 marks]

The Work of the Gestapo in Nazi Germany from 1933 to 1945

Source A: An agent of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) describes the Gestapo's use of block wardens.

The supervision is now so well organised that members of illegal movements can hardly meet in people's flats any more. Every staircase now has an informer. This 'staircase ruler' as one might call him, runs around with all sorts of forms, inquires about family matters and tries to find out about everything under the sun. He is supposed to talk to housewives about prices and food shortages, he pushes into people's homes, he is supposed to find out what newspapers people read, what their lifestyle is like, etc. These block wardens then have to send in regular reports to their party office.

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SOPADE report, May 1937

Source B: A Gestapo report from Dusseldorf comments on continuing Communist and Socialist opposition.

Communist propaganda is having some success in factories. Many workers only mumble in response to the German salute. The shifting about of workers within the various factories only makes surveillance more difficult and makes it easier for workers to be indoctrinated by Communist activists. It is a similar story with SPD agents. They operate in factories, sports clubs and other organisations. Since the former SPD members carry on propaganda only by word of mouth, it is very difficult to get hold of proof of their illegal activities which would be usable in court. They are too clever and have been trained for too long. The solidarity among them is still strong.

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Gestapo report for the year 1937

Source C: The Stuttgart branch of the Security Service [SD] orders SD and Gestapo agents to increase their surveillance of the population.

To ensure that the attitudes of all sections of the population are under continuous observation every agent must seize every opportunity through casual conversation within his family, in his circle of friends and above all at places of work to find out about popular opinion. Agents must hold conversations with people in trains, particularly commuter trains, in shops, hairdressers, newspaper kiosks, at government offices where ration books are issued. Employment exchanges, town halls, markets, pubs, canteens, etc all offer numerous opportunities for this task. These opportunities are all too often neglected.

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SD report, October 1940

Source D: Maria Kraus denounces her neighbour to the Gestapo.

Ilse Totzke is a resident next door to us in a garden cottage. I noticed her because she is of Jewish appearance. She never responds to the German greeting ['Heil Hitler'], her attitude seems to be anti-German. She always favoured France and the Jews. Now and then a woman of about 36 years comes and she is of Jewish appearance. To my mind Miss Totzke is behaving suspiciously. I thought she might be engaged in some kind of activity which is harmful to the German Reich.

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Gestapo report, 1940

Source E: A modern historian points out the small numbers of Gestapo officials in Germany during the 1930s.

The widespread view is that the effectiveness of the Gestapo rested on the 'large army' of spies and paid informers at the disposal of local officials. It is true that the citizen never felt far from the gaze of the Nazis, whether in public, at work or even in the home. However, this sense of being watched could not have been due to the sheer physical presence of Gestapo officials. Membership of the Gestapo was in fact remarkably small. There were around 30,000 officials in the whole of Germany. The city of Essen had 43 Gestapo officials to cover a population of about 650,000.

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Robert Gellately, The Gestapo and German Society 1933–1945, 1990

The USA and the Cold War in Asia 1945–75

Study the five Sources on the Origins of the Korean War 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 attitudes of the USA and the USSR towards intervention in Korea. **[30]**

(b) Study all the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that the Korean War was made possible **only** because of the Cold War rivalry between the USA and the USSR. **[70]**

[Total: 100 marks]

The Origins of the Korean War

Source A: A North Korean commander and later Defence Minister comments on the prospects of liberating South Korea. The current civil war in China allowed him to train soldiers.

Korea will soon be ours. At present there is not a single unit in the communist United Democratic Forces now driving the Kuomintang from Manchuria that does not have my troops in it. At the end of the Manchurian campaign these troops will be seasoned, trained veterans. When the Americans and the Russians withdraw, we will be able to liberate Korea immediately. We will use our friends in the South to aid us. We will start a civil war we can win. We have many sympathisers and supporters in the South, ready to rise up, support and help us to overthrow their hated rulers. 5

Choe Yong-Gon, Intelligence Report, May 1947

Source B: A Soviet official reports on the appeal made by Kim Il Sung of North Korea for the support of the USSR.

The Northern army is insufficiently strong to carry out successful and rapid operations against the South. Even taking into account the help which will be rendered to the Northern army by the partisans and the population of South Korea it is impossible to count on a rapid victory. Moreover, a drawn-out civil war is disadvantageous for the North both militarily and politically. It is inadvisable that the North begin a civil war now. An attack on the South would be correct only if the Northerners could count on ending the war quickly. This is not the case. 10

Grigorii Tunlun, message to the Soviet Foreign Ministry in Moscow, September 1949

Source C: The leader of the Soviet Union replies to a request from North Korea, offering support to Kim Il Sung.

I received your report. Comrade Kim Il Sung must understand that such a large matter in regard to South Korea such as he wants to undertake needs large preparation. The matter must be organized so that there would not be too great a risk. Tell Kim that I am ready to help him in this matter. It is possible that Kim needs our technical assistance and some number of Soviet specialists. We are ready to help. 15

Joseph Stalin, message to the Soviet ambassador in North Korea, January 1950

Source D: The United States Secretary of State, writing later, explains the reasons for the North Korean attack on South Korea.

It seemed close to certain that the North Korean attack had been mounted, supplied, and instigated by the Soviet Union and that it would not be stopped by anything short of force. If South Korean forces proved unequal to the job, only American military intervention could do it. Plainly, this attack was an open, undisguised challenge to our internationally accepted position as the protector of South Korea, an area of great importance to the security of American-occupied Japan. Therefore, we could not accept the conquest of this important area by a Soviet puppet. 20 25

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

Source E: A modern historian explains the reasons for the start of the Korean War after the US Army had left the South and the Soviet Army left the North in 1949.

Each of the leaders of North and South wanted a unified country under his own rule and resented the artificial division forced upon the country. They began a propaganda war against each other and there were frequent border incidents. On 25 June 1950 North Korea invaded the South with a modern, Russian-equipped army. It is still not known for certain who ordered this attack and why. Was it a show of strength by Stalin towards the United States? – or even, as one American strategist has suggested, to show China his power over some Asian Communists? Did Kim Il Sung alone decide to launch the attack, thinking that America's back was turned? Did Syngman Rhee, feeling abandoned by the United States, deliberately provoke an attack to bring his powerful protector rushing back? 30 35

H. Ward, World Powers in the Twentieth Century, 1978



Copyright Acknowledgements:

Question 1:

Sources A-D From L Mason et al, *The French Revolution*, Houghton Mifflin, 1998
 Source E From W Doyle, *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*, pp.121-121, Oxford University Press, 1990

Question 2:

Source A-C The Making of Italy, 1796-1866, DM Smith, Palgrave Macmillan, 1988, reproduced with permission of Palgrave Macmillan
 Source D Extract from SJ Woolf, *The Italian Risorgimento*, p.44, Longman, 1969
 Source E Extract from M Clark, *The Italian Risorgimento*, p.106, Longman, 1998

Question 3:

Source A From WL Garrison, *Address to the Colonisation Society*, www.teachingamericanhistory.org, accessed 4 January 2008
 Source B Adapted from M Robinson in a letter to his wife, E Robinson, www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk, accessed 14 January 2008
 Source C Extract from R Burley, *Documents in American History II*, pp.140-143, Oxford University Press, 1944
 Source D From M Grandy, 'Life of a Slave', in H Thomas, *The Slave Trade*, Phoenix, 2006
 Source E Adapted from a newspaper in West Chester, Pennsylvania, 1854. Cited on www.slavenorth.com, accessed 14 January 2008

Question 4:

Source A-C From J Noakes, *Nazism 1919-1945, Volume Two: State, Economy and Society 1933-1939*, University of Exeter Press, 2000
 Source D From C Hinton et al, *Weimar and Nazi Germany*, p.205, Hodder Murray, 2000
 Source E From R Gellately, *The Gestapo and German Society*, p.44, Clarendon Press, 1991

Question 5:

Sources A-D From SH Lee, *The Korean War, 1950-1954*, Longman, 2001
 Source E From H Ward, *World Powers in the Twentieth Century*, Heinemann, 1985

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