

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

Thursday 20 January 2011
Morning

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 the 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 10–12)
- 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 Financial Problems of France Between 1774 and 1787 and 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 views of Necker's financial policies. **[30]**

(b) Study all the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that the failure of Louis XVI's ministers was the **main** reason for continuing financial problems between 1774 and 1787. **[70]**

[Total: 100 marks]

The Financial Problems of France Between 1774 and 1787

Source A: At the start of his reign, the newly appointed Controller General of Finance advises Louis XVI of the need for financial reform.

Sire, I give three ideas for your consideration.

No increase of taxes.

No new loans.

No bankruptcy.

You must reduce expenditure to leave twenty million *livres* every year to pay off debts. **5**
Without this, the first cannonball that is fired in a war will lead to a public bankruptcy. The people may be helped by the improvement of agriculture, by the suppression of abuses in tax collecting, and by a more equal distribution of the taxes, but without economies in spending, no reform will be possible.

Turgot, letter, 14 January 1774

Source B: The leading financial adviser to the King urges the publication of the royal accounts in order to give lenders confidence during France's involvement in the War of American Independence.

Publishing the accounts would also allow the people to study the situation of the finances. **10**
This could improve public confidence. A reason for the financial stability of England is public knowledge about the state of official finances. Each year this is presented to the Parliament and then it is printed. All the lenders regularly know about government income and spending. In France, however, the state of finances has always been a mystery. A more frank attitude would increase Your Majesty's wealth and prevent injustice. What is **15**
there to fear from such a report if Your Majesty reduces expenditure to meet income, and guarantees the loans from lenders?

Necker, Account to the King, 1781

Source C: A conservative politician who took over from Necker in 1781 attacks the former minister in a public memorandum addressed to the King and the French people.

Monsieur Necker has only obtained just and striking criticism on the improper and costly ways he borrowed money. He will not succeed in convincing the French people that he represents their only guarantee of sound finance. He will only worry people by suggesting that the government is spending too much. The English only publish accounts because they are a worried and selfish people. To do this in France is to insult French patriotism. In fact, the French are sentimentalists, confident and entirely devoted to their kings. Everything will be lost in France, Sire, if Your Majesty allows His ministers to imitate the English way of finance.

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Count de Vergennes, Memorandum against Necker, 1781

Source D: Louis XVI's Controller-General of Finances, Calonne, informs the Assembly of Notables which he had persuaded the King to summon, of plans to reform in 1787.

The projects which the King intends to impart to you are plans for the public good. There will be a general land tax covering the whole kingdom on a proportion of all produce, and everyone will pay, even the crown. It is proposed to abolish the *corvée** and to convert this harsh duty to a monetary contribution distributed more justly. There will be many reforming measures such as internal free trade with customs houses removed to the frontiers. There will also be a uniform tariff, and, taking the needs of commerce into consideration, the suppression of several taxes which are harmful to industry and the reduction of the burden of the *gabelle***.

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Calonne, speech, February 1787

* *corvée* = forced labour on public highways

** *gabelle* = the salt tax

Source E: A modern historian doubts Louis XVI's commitment to financial reform.

On his installation as Controller at the end of the American war in 1783, Calonne found out that of 600 million *livres* in annual revenue, 176 million were committed in advance, 250 million taken in paying interest on debts and 390 million in paying off existing debts. Calonne borrowed money on all sides. In 1785 the King spent 137 million in debts to unnamed people. It was apparent that he was sinking borrowed money into the parasitic round of court life and compromising financial stability.

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François Furet, Revolutionary France 1770–1880, published in 1988

The Unification of Italy 1815–70

Study the five Sources on The Outcome of the Revolutions of 1848–49 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 **D** and **E**.

Compare these Sources as evidence for the peace negotiations between Austria and Piedmont following the battle of Novara, March 1849. **[30]**

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

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that Piedmontese ambition was the **main** reason for the failure of the revolutions of 1848–49. **[70]**

[Total: 100 marks]

The Outcome of the Revolutions of 1848–49

Source A: A deputy holding federalist and republican views, explains his concerns about the demands of Piedmont in the Venice Assembly which, nonetheless, accepted Charles Albert as their King.

The revolution in Venetia is at risk! If Piedmont should come into possession of Lombardy and Venetia it is possible that she would treat these provinces as conquered territory. What Italy truly needs is that Piedmont act generously. It is in Piedmont's interests not to dominate if she does not wish to be dominated. Venetia has much to learn from Piedmont, and Piedmont can gain from the other parts of Italy, so long as she seeks not to absorb Italy into herself but to make herself more Italian. Venice should define very clearly the conditions on which she will yield.

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N. Tommaseo, speech, 4 July 1848

Source B: The Belgian envoy in Rome reports on the response of the people and the Pope to the war in north Italy against Austria.

The words *Italian independence* are on everyone's lips here but no one is willing to make any sacrifice to achieve it. People are reluctant to enrol as soldiers and everyone is opposed to extra taxation to pay for war against the Austrians. It is Italy herself which, now as always, has raised almost insurmountable obstacles to emancipation. These obstacles are antagonism between provinces and towns, no patriotic discipline and the lack of united action. Some, such as the Pope, have recently abandoned the Piedmontese army when it alone was facing the common enemy.

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Count de Liedekerke, despatches, September 1848

Source C: An early Italian socialist and professional soldier who fought with Italian forces against the Austrians in 1848 gives an account of the war in northern Italy.

By April 1848 Charles Albert had both strength and prestige whereas the enemy, lacking resources and spirit, was reduced to passive defence. But the King squandered his good fortune and annexed just Lombardy. Meanwhile the Austrian commander had secret agents at work in Turin, he opened up roads and regrouped without interference from Piedmont. Its army was worn out by living in the open and demoralised by inaction. When the Austrians emerged from Verona, Charles Albert attacked with part of his army and was defeated. Piedmont defied Austria again, yet, without any plan, it met predictable and irreversible defeat at Novara. 15
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Carlo Pisacane, The War in Italy, 1848–49, published in 1850

Source D: The Austrian general, whose forces defeated Piedmont at the battle of Novara, explains the subsequent armistice terms discussed between himself and the Piedmontese to the Chancellor of Austria, Prince Schwarzenberg.

Because of the utter untrustworthiness of Charles Albert we made the conditions severe and he abdicated. The new King, Victor Emmanuel, consented to the reduction of his army to a peace footing but wishes Alessandria, the key fortress in Piedmont, to be occupied equally by our troops and his. He intends to suppress radicals in Piedmont but believes our occupation of the *whole* of the fortress would lose the loyalty of the army, the people and parliament. I agreed. If we do not win the confidence of the new King and help him maintain his dignity we have no guarantee of peace in the future. 25

Field Marshal Radetsky, letter, 26 March 1849

Source E: The British Ambassador in Turin informs Palmerston, the British Foreign Secretary, of his views on relations between Piedmont and Austria before the conclusion of a peace treaty.

The recent campaign shows how well informed Radetsky was of Piedmontese affairs, how correctly he estimated the military situation and the likely success of his invasion of Piedmont. Austrian hatred of the late King was so great they will be lenient with his son, hoping to make Piedmont a puppet to Austria. So they agreed that Victor Emmanuel needed an army capable of preserving order in Piedmont. The King was prepared to consider my advice that the joint occupation of Alessandria should be discussed further. Undoubtedly, the Austrians want to restrict the King. I hope England and France will act to resist oppression. 30
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C. Abercromby, despatches, April 1849

The Origins of the American Civil War 1820–61

Study the five Sources on The Missouri Compromise 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 **B**.

Compare these Sources as evidence for the debate on the admission of Missouri to the Union. [30]

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

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that the Missouri Compromise was inadequate as a solution to the problem of slavery in the Territories. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

The Missouri Compromise

Source A: Days before agreement was reached on the admission of Missouri to the Union, a Senator for North Carolina writes to the Governor of the same State expressing his assessment of the situation.

The prevention of slavery into Missouri has occupied Congress for some weeks. This all-important contest has produced a frenzy approaching madness in the Northern States. Those who are opposed to this unconstitutional restriction on Missouri do not expect her to be admitted into the Union, unless some concession shall be agreed on the Louisiana Purchase. A considerable majority in the House of Representatives favour excluding slavery there. All that we, from the slave-holding States, can do is to rescue from these fanatics a considerable portion of Louisiana by consenting that slavery be prohibited in the northern portion of the Purchase.

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M. Stokes, letter, 27 February 1820

Source B: In one of his many letters to his father, a member of the House of Representatives from New Hampshire expresses his views on the conditions of the admission to the Union of Missouri as a State, one day after Congress had agreed terms.

Though we have lost Missouri we have imposed the restriction on the Territories which is a great gain. You can hardly imagine the rage which prevailed here on this subject. It was seriously proposed by leading Southerners that if we succeeded in prohibiting slavery in Missouri that they would leave the Union so perhaps we ought not to regret that it ended in compromise. The diversity of opinion in our part of the country surprises me more than the union of the slaveholders. They were reluctant to compromise but were compelled to surrender this or lose the whole.

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W. Plumer, letter, 4 March 1820

Source C: In a secret meeting with fellow Southern politicians in Congress, a leading Senator for South Carolina expresses his disillusionment with the Missouri Compromise.

Many hailed the Missouri Compromise as a permanent adjustment that would prevent future conflicts; but others feared it might lead to the break up of the Union. For many years the subject of slavery in the Territories ceased to agitate the country. However, with the annexation of Texas the compromise line was extended westwards. Now, with the acquisition of lands from Mexico, the excitement between North and South over slavery in the Territories is more intense than ever. The North no longer respects the Missouri Compromise line; they are determined to exclude slavery from all the Territories of the United States.

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J.C. Calhoun, The Southern Address, January 1849

Source D: In campaigning for a seat in the state legislature, Abraham Lincoln proclaims his opposition to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the Kansas-Nebraska Act, in a public address in the town hall of Peoria, Illinois.

The repeal of the Missouri Compromise is wrong. It is wrong in its direct effect, letting slavery into Kansas and Nebraska, and wrong in principle, allowing slavery to spread to every other part of the wider world. The Nebraska Bill is urged as a great Union-saving measure. Yet, before the Bill came upon us, all was peace and quiet. It seems to me that there was nothing out of which the slavery agitation could have been revived except the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. With its repeal we are in the midst of a new crisis the like of which we have never seen before.

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Abraham Lincoln, speech, 16 October 1854

Source E: A radical Republican and historian from Massachusetts, who was active in the politics of the 1850s and 1860s, assesses the impact of the Missouri Compromise.

In the Missouri struggle, freedom and slavery grappled for mastery. Freedom lost and slavery won. Freedom became timid, hesitating, yielding; slavery became bolder, more aggressive and more dominating. Freedom retreated from one lost position to another; slavery advanced from conquest to conquest. Several years of unresisted despotism of the Slave Power followed the establishment of the Missouri Compromise. The dark spirit of slavery swayed the policy of the republic. Yet despite the surrender of the Missouri Compromise, there were a few who kept the faith of the Founding Fathers and bravely fought to stop the spread of slavery.

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H. Wilson, History of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America, 1872

Dictatorship and Democracy in Germany 1933–63

Study the five Sources on Resistance to the Nazi Regime 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 popularity of the Nazis. **[30]**

(b) Study all the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that the Gestapo was the main reason for the lack of resistance to the Nazi regime. **[70]**

[Total: 100 marks]

Resistance to the Nazi Regime

Source A: Based on information coming out of Germany, an opposition party in exile assesses the appeal of the Nazi regime for the youth of Germany.

Youth is still in favour of the regime: the novelty, the drill, the uniforms, the fact that school and the parental home take second place compared with the community of young people. Many believe they will find job opportunities through the persecution of Jews and Marxists. For the first time the peasants are associated with the state through the SA and the Hitler Youth. The new generation has never had much use for education and reading. Now, nothing is demanded of them. The lads have been turned into such fanatics that they believe in nothing but their Hitler. 5

Social Democratic Party, Sopade report, 1934

Source B: A former British wartime Prime Minister reports his views on public attitudes in Germany.

As to Hitler's popularity, especially among the youth of Germany, there can be no manner of doubt. The old trust him; the young idolise him. It is not the admiration accorded to a popular leader. It is the worship of a national hero who has saved his country from utter sorrow and shame. It is true that public criticism is forbidden in every form. That does not mean criticism is absent. I have heard the speeches of prominent Nazi orators freely condemned. But not a word of criticism or disapproval have I heard of Hitler. 10

David Lloyd George, The Daily Express, 17 November 1936

Source C: The Gestapo in Dusseldorf explains the activities of two left-wing political parties and the difficulty of monitoring them.

From 1936 to 1937 the SPD [Socialist Party] has worked mainly by setting up cells in factories, sports clubs and other organisations. Since the former SPD members carry out 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. In 1938 we shall have to devote particular attention to illegal activity in the factories. Trusted agents have been infiltrated into several big factories in my district who have already provided proof that the KPD [Communist Party] and the SPD are carrying out conspiratorial work jointly. 15
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Gestapo, report, 1937

Source D: A schoolboy during World War II recalls the attitude of himself and a group of his friends to the Hitler Youth and Hitler.

My best friend and I had a deep dislike of vulgar mob rule. The two of us founded a group to oppose the Hitler Youth at our boarding school. We also discussed what would happen if the war was lost. There were seventeen of us and the seventeenth was a Gestapo agent. At the end of 1943 we were arrested. My friend had written criticisms against Hitler. For example on one occasion he wrote, 'This war will never be ended unless an assassination attempt on Hitler succeeds'. And, as a seventeen year old will do, he added, 'When Hitler is hanged I will personally walk barefoot from Potsdam to Berlin to help pull on the rope'. 25

Wolf-Jobst Siedler, interview, 1946

Source E: Living in Offenbach under the Nazi regime a German explains why the Communist Party, of which he was a member, did not actively oppose the Nazis.

We organised no resistance during the entire period. It would have been perilous for everyone concerned. It was very clear to me that the Nazis would last some time, and so it proved. I still believe today that this decision was correct. If we had acted differently we would have sacrificed many people. The people who now say they engaged in resistance against the Nazis mainly distributed leaflets. Well, we did not think there was much point in all that leafleting. 30

Heinrich Galm, I Always Was a Rebel, 1981

The USA and the Cold War in Asia 1945–75

Study the five Sources on The Early Course of the Korean War 1950–51, and then answer **both** sub-questions. You will need to turn over for Source E.

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 reasons why General MacArthur was dismissed as Commander of the United Nations forces in Korea. [30]

(b) Study all the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that America had little influence on the early course of the Korean War between October 1950 and April 1951. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

The Early Course of the Korean War 1950–51

Source A: A cartoon published in a British newspaper shows the Indian Prime Minister, Nehru, representing some countries participating in the United Nations army in Korea, warning that crossing the 38th parallel will alienate Communist China, shown as an observer. United Nations forces are depicted as a young woman, sitting beside MacArthur in a jeep driven by an American general.



Caption: 'What the United Nations do next will be watched by the Eastern peoples and in the long run will decide the future of Western influence in Asia'.

David Low, Daily Herald, 3 October 1950

Source B: The British Minister in Beijing informs the Foreign Office about reports of a conversation between the Chinese Foreign Minister and the Indian ambassador.

Chou En-lai informed the Indian ambassador that if 'American' armed forces crossed the 38th parallel, the People's Government of China would send troops across the frontier to participate in the defence of North Korea. Chou said this action would not be taken if only South Korean troops were to cross the 38th parallel. The Indian ambassador told me that in this context 'American' force means the same as United Nations troops. Chou added that he would accept no settlement of the Korean problem to which China was not a party.

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British Embassy, telegram, October 1950

Source C: In a book serialised in a popular American magazine, MacArthur's military secretary at the time of the Korean War explains MacArthur's frustrations at the limitations placed upon him in November and December 1950.

MacArthur ordered bombing of bridges over the Yalu River, ignoring instructions to stay well clear of Soviet and Manchurian borders. He hotly disagreed when the Joint Chiefs of Staff suggested he hold his line short of the Yalu, because of Chinese intervention. Their suggestion was prompted by the views of other United Nations countries involved and British fears that MacArthur might involve the west in a large-scale war with Communist China. Angry about his forces' defeat by the Chinese, MacArthur defended himself sharply, blaming the enormous limitations on his operations caused by selfish European interests. He criticised both the United Nations' 'limited war' policy and Truman's administration, who were trying hard to reassure uneasy allies.

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Major General Courtney Whitney, MacArthur's Rendezvous with History, 1955

Source D: The President of the Republic of South Korea makes a plea to President Truman to expand the war and roll back the international borders of communism, rather than accept Mao Zedong's peace initiative.

You can still save the situation by arming us. If we lose this opportunity, China and North Korea will destroy all our forces and our anti-communist civilians. Worse, far-reaching effects will follow for you from the great leaders who courageously undertook to check communist aggression in North Korea. They will all lay the blame on you, and Soviet puppets all over the world will triumph and rejoice. The United Nations will never prevent another World War. Arm the Koreans and allow them to use guerrilla tactics. Authorize MacArthur to use even the atom bomb to check communist aggression. A few bombs on Moscow alone will shake the Communist world.

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Syngman Rhee, letter, 10 January 1951

PLEASE TURN OVER FOR SOURCE E

Source E: On the day he relieved General MacArthur of his Supreme Command of U.N. troops in Korea, the President explains his decision to the American people in a televised address.

I believe we should limit the war to Korea for these vital reasons: to make sure that the precious lives of our fighting men are not wasted, to see that the security of our country and the free world is not needlessly jeopardised and to prevent a Third World War. A number of events have made it evident that General MacArthur did not agree with that policy. I have therefore considered it essential to remove him so that there would be no doubt or confusion as to the real aim of our policy.

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Harry S. Truman, speech, 11 April 1951

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