JA/

General Certificate of Education June 2010

AS History 1041

HIS1N

Unit 1N

Totalitarian Ideology in Theory and Practice,

c1848–c1941

Final



Mark schemes are prepared by the Principal Examiner and considered, together with the relevant questions, by a panel of subject teachers. This mark scheme includes any amendments made at the standardisation meeting attended by all examiners and is the scheme which was used by them in this examination. The standardisation meeting ensures that the mark scheme covers the candidates' responses to questions and that every examiner understands and applies it in the same correct way. As preparation for the standardisation meeting each examiner analyses a number of candidates' scripts: alternative answers not already covered by the mark scheme are discussed at the meeting and legislated for. If, after this meeting, examiners encounter unusual answers which have not been discussed at the meeting they are required to refer these to the Principal Examiner.

It must be stressed that a mark scheme is a working document, in many cases further developed and expanded on the basis of candidates' reactions to a particular paper. Assumptions about future mark schemes on the basis of one year's document should be avoided; whilst the guiding principles of assessment remain constant, details will change, depending on the content of a particular examination paper.

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Generic Introduction for AS

The AS History specification is based on the assessment objectives laid down in QCA's GCE History subject criteria and published in the AQA specification booklet. These cover the skills, knowledge and understanding which are expected of A Level candidates. Most questions address more than one objective since historical skills, which include knowledge and understanding, are usually deployed together. Consequently, the marking scheme which follows is a 'levels of response' scheme and assesses candidates' historical skills in the context of their knowledge and understanding of History.

The levels of response are a graduated recognition of how candidates have demonstrated their abilities in the Assessment Objectives. Candidates who predominantly address AO1(a) by writing narrative or description will perform at Level 1 or Level 2 depending on its relevance. Candidates who provide more explanation – (AO1(b), supported by the relevant selection of material, AO1(a)) – will perform at high Level 2 or low-mid Level 3 depending on how explicit they are in their response to the question. Candidates who provide explanation with evaluation, judgement and an awareness of historical interpretations will be addressing all 3 AOs (AO1(a); AO1(b): AO2(a) and (b) and will have access to the higher mark ranges. AO2(a) which requires the evaluation of source material is assessed in Unit 2.

Differentiation between Levels 3, 4 and 5 is judged according to the extent to which candidates meet this range of assessment objectives. At Level 3 the answers will show more characteristics of the AO1 objectives, although there should be elements of AO2. At Level 4, AO2 criteria, particularly an understanding of how the past has been interpreted, will be more in evidence and this will be even more dominant at Level 5. The demands on written communication, particularly the organisation of ideas and the use of specialist vocabulary also increase through the various levels so that a candidate performing at the highest AS level is already well prepared for the demands of A2.

CRITERIA FOR MARKING GCE HISTORY:

AS EXAMINATION PAPERS

General Guidance for Examiners (to accompany Level Descriptors)

Deciding on a level and the award of marks within a level

It is of vital importance that examiners familiarise themselves with the generic mark scheme and apply it consistently, as directed by the Principal Examiner, in order to facilitate comparability across options.

The indicative mark scheme for each paper is designed to illustrate some of the material that candidates might refer to (knowledge) and some of the approaches and ideas they might develop (skills). It is not, however, prescriptive and should only be used to exemplify the generic mark scheme.

When applying the generic mark scheme, examiners will constantly need to exercise judgement to decide which level fits an answer best. Few essays will display all the characteristics of a level, so deciding the most appropriate will always be the first task.

Each level has a range of marks and for an essay which has a strong correlation with the level descriptors the middle mark should be given. However, when an answer has some of the characteristics of the level above or below, or seems stronger or weaker on comparison with many other candidates' responses to the same question, the mark will need to be adjusted up or down.

When deciding on the mark within a level, the following criteria should be considered *in relation to the level descriptors*. Candidates should never be doubly penalised. If a candidate with poor communication skills has been placed in Level 2, he or she should not be moved to the bottom of the level on the basis of the poor quality of written communication. On the other hand, a candidate with similarly poor skills, whose work otherwise matched the criteria for Level 4 should be adjusted downwards within the level.

Criteria for deciding marks within a level:

- The accuracy of factual information
- The level of detail
- The depth and precision displayed
- The quality of links and arguments
- The quality of written communication (grammar, spelling, punctuation and legibility; an appropriate form and style of writing; clear and coherent organisation of ideas, including the use of specialist vocabulary)
- Appropriate references to historical interpretation and debate
- The conclusion

June 2010

GCE AS History Unit 1: Change and Consolidation

HIS1N: Totalitarian Ideology in Theory and Practice, c1848–c1941

Question 1

01 Explain why the policies adopted by Stalin in the 1920s differed from Marxist theory.

(12 marks)

Target: AO1(a), AO1(b)

Generic Mark Scheme

Nothing written worthy of credit.

- 0
- L1: Answers will contain either some descriptive material which is only loosely linked to the focus of the question or some explicit comment with little, if any, appropriate support. Answers are likely to be generalised and assertive. The response will be limited in development and skills of written communication will be weak.
- L2: Answers will demonstrate some knowledge and understanding of the demands of the question. They will either be almost entirely descriptive with few explicit links to the question or they will provide some explanations backed by evidence that is limited in range and/or depth. Answers will be coherent but weakly expressed and/or poorly structured.
 3-6
- L3: Answers will demonstrate good understanding of the demands of the question providing relevant explanations backed by appropriately selected information, although this may not be full or comprehensive. Answers will, for the most part, be clearly expressed and show some organisation in the presentation of material.
 7-9
- L4: Answers will be well-focused, identifying a range of specific explanations, backed by precise evidence and demonstrating good understanding of the connections and links between events/issues. Answers will, for the most part, be well-written and organised.

10-12

Indicative content

Note: This content is not presciptive and candidates are not obliged to refer to the material contained in this mark scheme. Any legitimate answer will be assessed on its merits according to the generic levels scheme.

Answers should include a range of reasons as to why Stalin's policies, for example NEP, then collectivisation/industrialisation, and the Cult of Lenin, differed from Marxist theory:

- NEP was capitalist, allowing private ownership of industry and private trade in grain. It led to the creation of a new urban bourgeoisie and kulaks in the countryside
- Socialism in One Country also focused on the pragmatic needs of the USSR but it facilitated economic recovery until 1927, and rejected the internationalism of Marxism

('Workers of the world unite'), focusing on the needs of the USSR rather than spreading socialism

- The Cult of Lenin raised one man above others, in contrast to the Marxist dictatorship of the proletariat. Stalin deified Lenin through his funeral speech, the Lenin Enrolment, Foundations of Leninism etc. He also benefited from this reverence himself as the 'Lenin of Today'
- The Second Revolution forced economic change from above, as the political system determined the economic system, in contrast to Marxist theory.

To reach the higher levels, candidates will need to show the inter-relationship of the reasons given, or prioritise the reasons, for example arguing that Stalin's adaptations were partly the result of continuing Lenin's policies, as the fundamental adaptation was the forced October Revolution which meant Russia skipped from the stage of feudalism to the stage of socialism, missing out the stage of capitalism.

02 How far was Stalin's victory in the power struggle between 1924 and 1929 the result of the popularity of his policies? (24 marks)

Target: AO1(a), AO1(b), AO2(b)

Generic Mark Scheme

Nothing written worthy of credit.

0

- L1: Answers may either contain some descriptive material which is only loosely linked to the focus of the question or they may address only a part of the question. Alternatively, there may be some explicit comment with little, if any, appropriate support. Answers are likely to be generalised and assertive. There will be little, if any, awareness of differing historical interpretations. The response will be limited in development and skills of written communication will be weak.
- L2: Answers will show some understanding of the focus of the question. They will either be almost entirely descriptive with few explicit links to the question or they may contain some explicit comment with relevant but limited support. They will display limited understanding of differing historical interpretations. Answers will be coherent but weakly expressed and/or poorly structured. 7-11
- L3: Answers will show a developed understanding of the demands of the question. They will provide some assessment, backed by relevant and appropriately selected evidence, but they will lack depth and/or balance. There will be some understanding of varying historical interpretations. Answers will, for the most part, be clearly expressed and show some organisation in the presentation of material. 12-16
- L4: Answers will show explicit understanding of the demands of the question. They will develop a balanced argument backed by a good range of appropriately selected evidence and a good understanding of historical interpretations. Answers will, for the most part, show organisation and good skills of written communication. 17-21
- L5: Answers will be well-focused and closely argued. The arguments will be supported by precisely selected evidence leading to a relevant conclusion/judgement, incorporating well-developed understanding of historical interpretations and debate. Answers will, for the most part, be carefully organised and fluently written, using appropriate vocabulary.

22-24

Indicative content

Note: This content is not presciptive and candidates are not obliged to refer to the material contained in this mark scheme. Any legitimate answer will be assessed on its merits according to the generic levels scheme.

Candidates should be able to make a judgement by balancing points which suggest Stalin's victory was because of the popularity of his policies, with regard to the two key policy debates (over the future of the revolution and the development of the economy), against other points which suggest it was not the popularity of his policies.

Factors suggesting it was the popularity of Stalin's policies might include:

- Socialism in One Country put the needs of the USSR first, as well as showing faith in the country and socialism's ability to meet the challenges of economic development and protection. The policy enabled him to defeat Trotsky in 1924 and start to marginalise his rival
- Stalin's commitment to NEP until 1927 enabled him to defeat the United Opposition of Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev. The policy was a continuation of the work of Lenin and it appeared to be working as the Soviet economy recovered in the mid 1920s. It secured the support of the peasantry and much of the party
- Stalin's abandonment of NEP and adoption of collectivisation and rapid forced industrialisation enabled him to defeat Bukharin. It won him the support of party radicals like Kirov, Kaganovich and Ordzhonkidze, and of the party rank and file who were increasingly disgusted with the capitalist NEP.

Factors suggesting it was not the popularity of Stalin's policies might include:

- Trotsky's weaknesses and mistakes: Trotsky was feared as an ambitious man with the backing of the Red Army of 5 million. He was an ex-Menshevik, Jewish, intellectual. Zinoviev, Kamenev and Stalin therefore formed the Troika to defeat Trotsky in 1924, which was the first stage in Stalin's victory in the power struggle. It was this fear of Trotsky that led Zinoviev and Kamenev to argue that Stalin should not be removed as General Secretary, which had been Lenin's directive in his Political Testament
- other rivals errors and mistakes: Zinoviev and Kamenev were Jews and 'October Deserters', whilst their attack on Trotsky made them appear indecisive – a former ally; Bukharin fought in the party though his strength lay with the peasants and the Trades Unions; commitment to NEP meant he lacked credibility as a Marxist
- Stalin was the beneficiary of the Lenin Legacy: benefited from Lenin's 1921 Ban on Factionalism – no criticism once PC had voted for something or the leadership decreed it; this allowed Stalin to attack the United Opposition and the Right Opposition as acting contrary to the will of Lenin; Lenin Enrolment, funeral speech, 'Foundations of Leninism' all tied Stalin to Lenin
- Stalin's powers as General Secretary: linkman between Politburo and government, access to party-files, recorded and conveyed information, most crucially by ensuring Trotsky failed to attend Lenin's funeral, right to appoint, remove and transfer top 5,500 officials in USSR, including the regional secretaries meaning Stalin could make sure delegates to the Party Congress backed him. Stalin ensured the appointment of six Stalinists to the 1926 Politburo.

Good answers are likely to show an awareness that Stalin's control of the party made his policies irrelevant, defeating his opponents with party cards rather than policies. Alternatively, it might be argued that Stalin had a genuine feel for what the party/masses wanted and it was this that made his policies successful. Some answers may argue that Stalin's policies were entirely a tool to defeat opposition in the power struggle.

03 Explain why racism became a more important part of Italian Fascism in the 1930s.

(12 marks)

Target: AO1(a), AO1(b)

Generic Mark Scheme

Nothing written worthy of credit.

0

- L1: Answers will contain either some descriptive material which is only loosely linked to the focus of the question or some explicit comment with little, if any, appropriate support. Answers are likely to be generalised and assertive. The response will be limited in development and skills of written communication will be weak.
- L2: Answers will demonstrate some knowledge and understanding of the demands of the question. They will either be almost entirely descriptive with few explicit links to the question or they will provide some explanations backed by evidence that is limited in range and/or depth. Answers will be coherent but weakly expressed and/or poorly structured.
- L3: Answers will demonstrate good understanding of the demands of the question providing relevant explanations backed by appropriately selected information, although this may not be full or comprehensive. Answers will, for the most part, be clearly expressed and show some organisation in the presentation of material.
 7-9
- L4: Answers will be well-focused, identifying a range of specific explanations, backed by precise evidence and demonstrating good understanding of the connections and links between events/issues. Answers will, for the most part, be well-written and organised.

10-12

Indicative content

Note: This content is not presciptive and candidates are not obliged to refer to the material contained in this mark scheme. Any legitimate answer will be assessed on its merits according to the generic levels scheme.

Answers should include a range of reasons as to why racism became a more important part of Italian Fascism in the 1930s:

- Italy's empire was expanded after 1935 to include Abyssinia as well as Libya, Eritrea and Somaliland. There was a belief in the superiority of Aryan Italians, confirmed by legislation prohibiting relations between Italians and Africans
- the increasing Nazi influence (Rome-Berlin Axis 1936, Italy joining the anti-Comintern Pact 1937 and involvement in Spain, acquiescence in the Anschluss 1938, Pact of Steel 1939) led to discriminatory measures against Jews from September 1938
- intellectual justification from the Manifesto of Racist Scientists in July 1938
- the goal of war created concerns about the loyalty of racial aliens

To reach the higher levels, candidates will need to show the inter-relationship of the reasons given, for example, they might include links between the events of the 1930s and the inherent racism and anti-Semitism in Italy that fascism now conceptualised.

04 How successful was Mussolini's regime in crushing cultural diversity in Italy in the years 1923 to 1940? (24 marks)

Target: AO1(a), AO1(b), AO2(b)

Generic Mark Scheme

Nothing written worthy of credit.

0

- L1: Answers may either contain some descriptive material which is only loosely linked to the focus of the question or they may address only a part of the question. Alternatively, there may be some explicit comment with little, if any, appropriate support. Answers are likely to be generalised and assertive. There will be little, if any, awareness of differing historical interpretations. The response will be limited in development and skills of written communication will be weak. 1-6
- L2: Answers will show some understanding of the focus of the question. They will either be almost entirely descriptive with few explicit links to the question or they may contain some explicit comment with relevant but limited support. They will display limited understanding of differing historical interpretations. Answers will be coherent but weakly expressed and/or poorly structured. 7-11
- L3: Answers will show a developed understanding of the demands of the question. They will provide some assessment, backed by relevant and appropriately selected evidence, but they will lack depth and/or balance. There will be some understanding of varying historical interpretations. Answers will, for the most part, be clearly expressed and show some organisation in the presentation of material. 12-16
- L4: Answers will show explicit understanding of the demands of the question. They will develop a balanced argument backed by a good range of appropriately selected evidence and a good understanding of historical interpretations. Answers will, for the most part, show organisation and good skills of written communication. 17-21
- **L5:** Answers will be well-focused and closely argued. The arguments will be supported by precisely selected evidence leading to a relevant conclusion/judgement, incorporating well-developed understanding of historical interpretations and debate. Answers will, for the most part, be carefully organised and fluently written, using appropriate vocabulary.

22-24

Indicative content

Note: This content is not presciptive and candidates are not obliged to refer to the material contained in this mark scheme. Any legitimate answer will be assessed on its merits according to the generic levels scheme.

Candidates should be able to make a judgement by balancing points which suggest the Fascist regime did successfully crush cultural diversity against other points which suggest it was not successful.

Answers may draw on a broad range of examples and cultural diversity can be interpreted to include anti-Semitism and racial diversity, relations with the Catholic Church, the arts and the intellectual community, education, the family and leisure.

Factors suggesting cultural diversity was successfully crushed might include:

- the Lateran Treaties saw the Catholic Church give up any claim to rule beyond the Vatican City and agreed that the state could object to the appointment of Archbishops and Bishops on political grounds
- university professors were forced to swear an oath of loyalty to the regime or lose their post, and all but eleven did so; the historian-philosopher Benedetto Croce lost all university positions and saw his books removed from university and school syllabuses.
- sixty academics became members of the 'Academy', chosen by Mussolini, including the composer Puccini. Their artistic integrity was compromised in this way
- education was tightly controlled. Schoolteachers were forced to join the Fascist Party and wore uniforms to work. 'Fascist Culture' became a compulsory subject, and Italian history, literature and the study of Latin was introduced in to all schools. 'History' was taught through a single text book
- Fascist Youth Organisations demanded oaths of loyalty to Mussolini. By 1937 there were seven million members of the Balilla
- adult leisure time was controlled ensuring commitment to the state. 4 million members of the Dopolavoro by 1939
- anti-Semetic measures from 1938 included ejection of Jews who had settled after 1919, refusal of state employment, confiscation of property and bans on inter-marriage
- destruction of Arab/African culture in Italian colonies, with policies of depopulation and genocide
- destruction of Slav and German culture in Istria and the Tyrol, with policies of Italianisation.

Factors suggesting that cultural diversity continued, that is, it was not successfully crushed might include:

- Mussolini promised the Catholic Church that its independence would be respected. In 1925, he married his wife Rachelle in a church in Milan. Catholicism was confirmed as the State religion by the Lateran Treaties and religious education would take place in all primary and secondary schools
- the very existence of the Catholic Church undermined fascism's totalitarianism and respect for the Pope diluted reverence for II Duce
- furthermore, Catholic organisations and the values of the church came into conflict with Fascism. In 1931 the Pope opposed Mussolini's attempts to suppress Catholic Action, a Catholic leisure organisation, calling Fascism a 'pagan ideology'. The Pope also objected to the creed of the Fascist Balilla and the introduction of anti-Semitic measures, declaring, 'Spiritually, we are all Jews'
- Croce continued writing, publishing his History of Italy which criticised fascism as the break in Italian history
- limited racial discrimination until the late 1930s. Mussolini stated in 1932, 'Anti-Semitism does not exist in Italy'
- Significant resistance to Italianisation from Slavs and Germans, both passive and active, through terrorist bombings.

Good answers are likely to show an awareness that there were different responses to the different types of cultural difference within Italian society, contrasting the toleration of the

Catholic Church for practical reasons with the hard line taken against different ethnic groups, incuding ultimately Jews.

Question 3

05 Explain why Nazi ideology was both Nationalist and Socialist. (12 marks)

Target: AO1(a), AO1(b)

Generic Mark Scheme

Nothing written worthy of credit.

- L1: Answers will contain either some descriptive material which is only loosely linked to the focus of the question or some explicit comment with little, if any, appropriate support. Answers are likely to be generalised and assertive. The response will be limited in development and skills of written communication will be weak. 1-2
- L2: Answers will demonstrate some knowledge and understanding of the demands of the question. They will either be almost entirely descriptive with few explicit links to the question or they will provide some explanations backed by evidence that is limited in range and/or depth. Answers will be coherent but weakly expressed and/or poorly structured.
- L3: Answers will demonstrate good understanding of the demands of the question providing relevant explanations backed by appropriately selected information, although this may not be full or comprehensive. Answers will, for the most part, be clearly expressed and show some organisation in the presentation of material. 7-9
- L4: Answers will be well-focused, identifying a range of specific explanations, backed by precise evidence and demonstrating good understanding of the connections and links between events/issues. Answers will, for the most part, be well-written and organised.

10-12

Indicative content

Note: This content is not presciptive and candidates are not obliged to refer to the material contained in this mark scheme. Any legitimate answer will be assessed on its merits according to the generic levels scheme.

Answers should include a range of reasons as to why Nazi ideology was both Nationalist and Socialism:

- the initial statement of Nazi ideology, the 25 Point Programme of 1920 was authored mainly by Drexler and Hitler. Strasser was also responsible for one point. This meant there were a variety of different goals, including both nationalist and socialist ideas
- the Party was created by and aimed to appeal to the broad range of German workers; it sought to protect small shopkeepers and workers from foreigners and Jews
- the context of the 1920s and 1930s meant all mainstream parties were at least partially nationalist, given the nationwide desire to overturn the Treaty of Versailles and restore German greatness

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- the party was divided in the 1920s because of a lack of centralised authority. The centralisation of power in the person of Hitler was accepted because the party programme was kept vague enough to allow both nationalism and socialism
- the concept of Volksgemeinschaft provided the intellectual link between the two ideas.

To reach the higher levels, candidates will need to show the inter-relationship of the reasons given, for example, appreciation that Nazi ideology was in many ways incoherent anyway, or that Hitler offered very limited specific policies other than the desire for power.

06 How far was the appeal of Nazi ideology responsible for the success of the Nazi Party in national elections in the years 1930 to 1932? (24 marks)

Target: AO1(a), AO1(b), AO2(b)

Generic Mark Scheme

Nothing written worthy of credit.

0

- L1: Answers may either contain some descriptive material which is only loosely linked to the focus of the question or they may address only a part of the question. Alternatively, there may be some explicit comment with little, if any, appropriate support. Answers are likely to be generalised and assertive. There will be little, if any, awareness of differing historical interpretations. The response will be limited in development and skills of written communication will be weak.
- L2: Answers will show some understanding of the focus of the question. They will either be almost entirely descriptive with few explicit links to the question or they may contain some explicit comment with relevant but limited support. They will display limited understanding of differing historical interpretations. Answers will be coherent but weakly expressed and/or poorly structured. 7-11
- L3: Answers will show a developed understanding of the demands of the question. They will provide some assessment, backed by relevant and appropriately selected evidence, but they will lack depth and/or balance. There will be some understanding of varying historical interpretations. Answers will, for the most part, be clearly expressed and show some organisation in the presentation of material.
- L4: Answers will show explicit understanding of the demands of the question. They will develop a balanced argument backed by a good range of appropriately selected evidence and a good understanding of historical interpretations. Answers will, for the most part, show organisation and good skills of written communication. 17-21
- L5: Answers will be well-focused and closely argued. The arguments will be supported by precisely selected evidence leading to a relevant conclusion/judgement, incorporating well-developed understanding of historical interpretations and debate. Answers will, for the most part, be carefully organised and fluently written, using appropriate vocabulary.

22-24

Indicative content

Note: This content is not presciptive and candidates are not obliged to refer to the material contained in this mark scheme. Any legitimate answer will be assessed on its merits according to the generic levels scheme.

Candidates should be to make a judgement by balancing points which suggest the appeal of Nazi ideology was responsible for the success of the Nazi Party in national elections in the years 1930 to 1932 against other points which suggest it was not the appeal of Nazi ideology which was responsible for success.

Factors suggesting that the appeal of Nazi ideology was responsible for the success of the Nazi Party in national elections in the years 1930 to 1932 might include:

- the initial Nazi electoral breakthrough in September 1930 was based on support in the north German plain from small farmers. Nazi nationalist, socialist and anti-Semetic ideas offered protection for German farmers from Jewish banks, cheap foreign imports and the loss of land
- support for nationalist ideas was evident throughout the period, but the Nazis were able to increasingly win support from the other right-wing, nationalist protestant parties, namely the DDP, DVP and the DNVP as they were untainted by failure.
- their anti-Communism attracted support from the middle class who feared revolution would be a consequence of the economic crisis.
- the belief in the Führerprinzip offered strong government in place of 15 chancellors in 14 years.

Factors suggesting that the appeal of Nazi ideology was not responsible for the success of the Nazi Party in national elections in the years 1930 and 1932/other factors were important might include:

- the Wall St Crash, October 1929 led to mass unemployment as US companies and their government withdrew \$1,430 million of investment, refused to buy German exports and demanded repayment of loans. 2 million u/e in 1930 rose to 5.9 million in 1932. Mittelstand feared loss of status and slipping into the lower classes
- successive governments lost support because of their failure to solve the economics problems – Müller's coalition collapsed over disagreements about cutting expenditure, Bruning waited for u/e to blow itself out. Those on the left turned increasingly to the communists, those on the right to the Nazis
- the growth of communist support aided the Nazis, who offered protection from communism and socialism, both physically from the SA and ideologically in terms of rejection of redistribution of the wealth and workers rights
- the appeal of strong government was because it evoked the Kaiserreich, rather than being attractive because of a belief in the Nazi ideology of the Fuhrer
- practical appeal of the Nazis: jobs for the u/e and school-leavers, protection from large Jewish business for small shopkeepers
- unity, discipline and order. Image enhanced by the SA and party rallies e.g. 200,000 at the 1930 rally
- modern, dynamic, charismatic leadership offering a rebirth of a great Germany. Enhanced by propaganda (Hugenberg's media empire used to give exposure, Fuhrer Over Germany campaign) and Hitler's personality (young, charismatic, brilliant orator).

Good answers may show an awareness of the different scale of success in September 1930, July 1932 and November 1932 (and even in the Presidential Election and run-off in April/May 1932) and that therefore different factors were more important at different times. Anti-Semitism, for example, was used extensively where it already existed, and played down where it would not be popular.