

# Mark Scheme Summer 2007

GCE

GCE History (6523)

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## General Instructions on Marking

### Principles of Assessment

Examiners are encouraged to exercise their professional discretion and judgement in the assessment of answers. The schemes that follow are a guide and may at times be inapplicable to answers that tackle questions in an unusual, though acceptable, manner. Where examiners find it necessary to adapt the mark scheme to the needs of such answers, written comments should make clear the basis on which such decisions were made.

Examiners should at all times mark positively rather than negatively, i.e. reward candidates for what they know and understand rather than penalising them for what they do not know or understand. Examiners should bear in mind that the examination is designed for a wide ability range and should therefore make full use of the whole range of marks available.

### Marking of Questions

#### (a) Levels of response

The mark scheme provides an indication of the sorts of answer that might be found at different levels. The exemplification of content within these levels is not complete. It is intended as guide and it will be necessary, therefore, for examiners to use their professional judgement in deciding both at which level a question has been answered and how effectively points have been sustained. Candidates should always be rewarded according to the quality of thought expressed in their answer and not solely according to the amount of knowledge conveyed. However candidates with only a superficial knowledge will be unable to develop or sustain points sufficiently to move to higher levels.

In assessing the quality of thought, consider whether the answer:

- (i) is relevant to the question and is explicitly related to the question's terms
- (ii) argues a case, when requested to do so
- (iii) is able to make the various distinctions required by the question
- (iv) has responded to all the various elements in the question
- (v) where required, explains, analyses, discusses, assesses, and deploys knowledge of the syllabus content appropriately, rather than simply narrates.

Examiners should award marks both between and within levels according to the above criteria. This should be done in conjunction with the levels of response indicated in the mark schemes for particular questions.

At the end of each answer, examiners should look back on the answers as a whole in the light of these general criteria in order to ensure that the total mark reflects their overall impression of the answer's worth.

## Maps and diagrams drawn by candidates

A map or diagram which relates directly to the set question, which is substantially accurate and which suggests (e.g. by location of places and boundaries) firmer historical understanding of the subject matter than is shown by the candidate's written work alone should receive credit. Analytical links indicated in such a way in a final hurried part of an answer should be given credit.

Where one word or single phrase answer is appropriate to answer a sub-question, candidates should not be penalised for using note form. If you encounter the use of note form in a sub-question which requires extended writing, treat it on its merits. Unintelligible or flimsy notes will deserve little, if any, credit. If an answer consists of notes which are full and readily intelligible, award it the appropriate conceptual level but go to the bottom end of that level.

## Consistency

Examiners should apply a uniform standard of assessment throughout their marking once that standard has been approved by their Team Leader. They should not try to find extra marks for candidates. It is the duty of an examiner to see that the standard of marking does not vary in any particular area of the mark range.

## Spread of marks

Undue 'bunching' of marks is very undesirable. In particular, examiners should not hesitate to give high marks, and should go up to the maximum if it is deserved.

## Quality of written communication

The marking of the quality of written communication is embedded within the levels of response of some questions. It forms one of the considerations for deciding reward within a level.

## Deciding on the mark point within a level

1. The first stage is to decide the overall level and then whether the work represents high, mid or low performance within the level. The overall level will be determined by the candidate's ability to focus on the question set, displaying the appropriate conceptual grasp. Within any one piece of work there may well be evidence of work at two, or even three levels. One stronger passage at level four, would not by itself merit a level four award - but it would be evidence to support a high L3 award - unless there were also substantial weaknesses in other areas.
2. Where the mark range for a level exceeds 5, the level has been divided into 3 sub-bands, high mid and low. To decide which sub band to award within a level the following factors should be taken into account:
  - the range and depth of coverage of issues
  - the amount and accuracy of supporting information
  - the consistency with which the standard is maintained throughout the work.

In each case, the mid point of the mid mark band should be considered first and any move up or down from that should only be made if there is evidence in the work to support such a move. A move from the key mark point in a sub-band will be justified if the work has qualities to be considered for the next band up or down.

### 3. Assessing quality of written communication

QoWC will have a bearing if the QoWC is inconsistent with the communication descriptor for the level in which the candidate's answer falls. If, for example, a candidate's history response displays mid level two criteria but fits the level three QoWC descriptors, it will require a move from the key mark point. In that case the quality of written communication will raise the award of marks to the top of the mid level two sub-band. In the case of a borderline candidate, QoWC inconsistent with the 'history' level will raise or lower the candidate into the next sub-band. In exceptional circumstances, *i.e.* where the quality of written communication is clearly better, or worse, than that indicated in the main generic mark scheme by more than one overall level, a larger downward or upward adjustment might be justified, across sub-levels or even *into the next level down or up, where the candidate has first been placed in the low or high band of a level.*

## Unit 3 (6523) Mark Scheme

### Generic Level Descriptors

#### Awarding marks at key mark points and within level sub-bands

- Level descriptors provide the first stage of assessment, i.e. deciding on the appropriate level.
- Using the level descriptions for each question, decide first on the level into which any given response falls.
- If the response is clearly within a particular level, go to the key mark point of the mid band.
- Work up or down from the key mark point according to:
  - the range and depth of coverage
  - amount and accuracy of supporting information
  - the consistency with which the standards are maintained
  - the Quality of written communication.
- If the answer is perceived as being of a higher or lower standard than would be expected for a mid-point response, always go first to the key mark point of the high or low band relevant to the level.
- Reserve the bottom mark of each band for the border line responses.

(a) Target: Analysis of key issues (AO1a and AO1b)

(20)

Level	Band	Key Mark Point
Level 1 (1-6 marks)	Low (1-2 marks)	2
	Mid (3-4 marks)	4
	High (5-6 marks)	6
Level 2 (7-16 marks)	Low (7-9 marks)	8
	Mid (10-12 marks)	11
	High (13-16 marks)	15
Level 3 (17-20 marks)	No Bands	19

**Level Descriptors** provide the first stage of assessment, i.e. deciding on the appropriate level. The bottom mark is designated as a borderline mark - if in doubt between the levels award the bottom marks of the higher level.

**Level 1 Simple Statements**

Simple statements giving information about the topic indicated by the question. Material will be partial but relevant, and there will be some accurate reference. Writing will be simple and comprehensible. There may be some evidence of basic organisation. Frequent syntactical and spelling errors are likely to be found.

(1-6)

**Level 2 Developed statements**

Developed statements giving information in some detail about the topic indicated by the question. Material will be selected for its relevance to the question, but links and significance may be implicit rather than explicit as in L3. For low marks within the range, brief or generalised development may be offered, but for 10 marks and above there will be some precise exemplification. The range of material offered may also be limited to two or three relevant statements depending on the extent to which they are developed. Writing will begin to show some coherence and organisation, but may be disjointed and poorly organised overall. Spelling and syntax will be generally secure.

(7-16)

**Level 3      Developed explanation**

Developed explanation of aspects and elements of a situation as indicated by the question. At this level, material should be detailed and candidates should be able to draw out the implications of the material they are selecting, i.e. to indicate reasons for its selection and establish its relationship to the question and/or to other elements in the situation. Range will be reasonable (at least two or three statements depending on depth of support) but a 'balanced' response cannot be demanded in the time allowed. Writing will show some degree of both control and direction, but these attributes may not be maintained throughout the answer. Meaning will be conveyed serviceably, although some syntactical and/or spelling errors may be found.

(17-20)

**(b) Target:    AO1a and AO1b: Reaching a judgement**

(40)

Level	Band	Key Mark Point
Level 1 (1-8 marks)	Low (1-3 marks)	2
	Mid (4-6 marks)	5
	High (7-8 marks)	8
Level 2 (9-20 marks)	Low (9-13 marks)	11
	Mid (14-17 marks)	15
	High (18-20 marks)	19
Level 3 (21-35 marks)	Low (21-25 marks)	23
	Mid (26-30 marks)	28
	High (31-35 marks)	33
Level 4 (36-40 marks)	No bands	39

**Level Descriptors** provide the first stage of assessment, i.e. deciding on the appropriate level. The bottom mark is designated as a borderline mark - if in doubt between the levels award the bottom marks of the higher level.

**Level 1      Simple Statements**

Simple statements about the topic indicated by the question. The treatment is likely to be generalised, material will be partial but there will be some accurate reference. Writing will be simple and comprehensible. There may be some evidence of basic organisation. Frequent syntactical and spelling errors are likely to be found.

(1-8)

**Level 2      Developed statements**

Developed statements, which offer predominantly accurate material about the topic indicated by the question. At this level, analysis will be implicit rather than fully expressed. For low marks within the level the supporting material may be generalised, but at 13 marks and above there will be some accurate exemplification. Writing will begin to show some coherence and organisation, but may be disjointed and poorly organised overall. Spelling and syntax will be generally secure.

(9-20)

- Level 3**      **Developed explanation**  
Developed explanation to support the judgment invited by the question. The evidence selected should be accurate and reasonably precise and detailed, and arguments should be adequately supported. The response will offer reasonable range as well as depth but coverage of issues and events cannot be exhaustive in the time allowed. High marks within the level require coverage of major elements of the situation, i.e. a balanced response, but candidates should not be penalised for failing to cover a particular factor unless it is clearly central to the question. Analysis will predominate over narrative but there may be periodic loss of focus. Progression within the level will be defined by both range/depth of material and the extent to which analytical links are developed in the process of making the invited judgement. Writing will show some degree of both control and direction, but these attributes may not be maintained throughout the answer. Meaning will be conveyed serviceably, although some syntactical and/or spelling errors may be found. (21-35)
- Level 4**      **Sustained argument**  
Sustained argument, which focuses exclusively on evaluation and judgment and which supports the arguments made with detailed and precisely selected information. As at Level 3, expect both range and depth, with all main factors considered, but coverage cannot be exhaustive. Writing will be controlled and coherent, although some stylistic misjudgements may be found. However, the candidate who can analyse historical phenomena of some complexity will also be able to convey that analysis in logical, well-structured ways. Occasional syntactical and / or spelling errors may be found. (36-40)

6523A - Paper 3A Mark Scheme  
Religion and Monarchy in Tudor and Stuart Times

Option I - A Very English Reformation: the Church and Henry VIII, 1529-47

1

(a) *What was the significance of the Act in Restraint of Appeals of 1533?*

(20)

**Indicative Content**

This question invites analysis of the Break with Rome in the 1530s. General description of the contents of the Act or the background will not rise beyond level 2. Better responses will set the Act in the context of Henry setting out and elaborating ideas of royal supremacy and the difficulties of the relationship with Rome. Good responses will analyse the Act in detail and evaluate the significance of its provisions. The statement that no cases involving Englishmen should be heard outside England and that 'in law divine' the English church was sufficient was directly practical in giving Henry what he wanted in terms of divorce. Other clauses prevented effective retaliation and made it possible for the King to punish those who did not conform. Finally, the Act had a clearly propagandist purpose in justifying and explaining. "This realm of England...is an empire" implied a return of usurped authority and the dissolution of a thousand-year bond with Rome. The best answers will assess the relative importance of terms or examine their short - and long - term significance.

1

(b) *How serious a threat to Henry VIII was the Pilgrimage of Grace?*

(40)

**Indicative Content**

This question invites candidates to reach a judgement on the seriousness of the threat of the Pilgrimage of Grace. At level 2 candidates are likely in the main to describe the leading events and personalities of the rising with limited exemplification and implicit analysis. Better responses will examine and evaluate the strength of the rebel force. Candidates might include the size of the force, the qualities of the gentry leading it, the area of disaffection and its crusading character. Against this should be set the weaknesses of the Pilgrimage - the mixture of grievances represented, the divisions among the rebels over secular issues and the naivety and limitations of men like Aske. At level 3 candidates will weigh strengths and limitations so as to throw light on "serious...threat". Good answers will bring the ruthlessness and determination of the King and his aristocratic supporters into the equation. The range and depth of the substantiation (perhaps with relevant local examples), the consideration of all major factors, an evaluation of their relative importance and above all the quality of critical judgement in a conclusion are among the qualities sought for level 4.

2

- (a) *Describe the stages by which the Dissolution of the Monasteries was carried out.*

(20)

**Indicative Content**

Candidates will need to explain the process of dissolution perhaps starting with what Wolsey had achieved by 1529 and certainly including the dissolution of the smaller monasteries in 1536 and the destruction of those remaining in 1538 - 40. Those who offer a partially descriptive account will stay at low level 2. Better responses will define "stages" by attaching explicit significance to key events by possibly linking them to the changing motivation of Henry and Cromwell in order to explain timing and scale. Neither the king nor his minister intended the 800 institutions to disappear at the start of 1535 when Cromwell initiated the visitation of the monasteries. The Act of March 1536 which saw some 300 houses disbanded was a spectacular money grab and can be compared to the piecemeal but massive changes between 1538 and 1540. The best answers will categorise the "stages" by linking different elements or explain the relative importance of certain events and individuals over others. Cromwell's tidy approach to management in attacking the surviving houses in 1538 on learning of their dispersing their wealth and discussion of pre-planning if related to particular events could be cited at level 3.

2

- (b) How far do the religious policies pursued in the years 1529 - 47 suggest that Henry VIII's religious beliefs were consistent?

(40)

**Indicative Content**

The focus of this question is the religious outlook of Henry VIII expressed publicly and privately. At level 2 candidates may respect the chronological scope of the question but are likely to focus on "policies" rather than "beliefs" in a descriptive fashion and on the dissolution of the monasteries and latterly chantries. Better answers will relate the "policies" as revealed in the Break with Rome and the anticlericalism to the "beliefs". There was much that was traditional and orthodox about a King who saw himself as the guardian of his kingdom's morality, who prided himself on his theological learning and who never gave up the main tenets of his faith. Secure level 3 work will make "consistent" central to an evaluation of ideas and actions. Henry did change his mind on details and arrived at an amalgam of his own in which transubstantiation and clerical celibacy mingled with radical views in seeking a 'middle way' that even Cranmer disputed. He allowed Edward to be educated by Protestant tutors. Yet he permitted an 'official' reaction against Protestant ideas when in 1539 he allowed Norfolk to pilot the Six Articles Act through Parliament, a stance confirmed in the King's Book of 1543. The best candidates will chart the seesawing of the 1540s between evangelicalism and traditionalism and may relate it to public manifestations of paranoiac tendencies exhibited as Henry became peevish and unpredictable. There were savage oscillations as the physical agony took hold and able candidates will expose and exploit the contradictions. To the end Henry lamented religious dissension and thereby showed "consistency".

## Option II - Crown, Parliament and Conflict in Early Stuart England, 1603-29

3

(a) *Why was the Great Contract of 1610 a failure?*

(20)

### Indicative Content

The focus of the question is on a specific measure and it invites a causal analysis of why Crown and Parliament failed to reach agreement. Level 2 answers are likely to offer a description of the Great Contract and a mainly narrative account of how it came to be dropped by the time Parliament reassembled in October 1610 or to see the "failure" from only one perspective. They can reach level 3 by exploring both viewpoints. The Commons calculated that, however imaginative was Salisbury's scheme, the arithmetic would likely disadvantage them and profit the Court and the Scots. While the Crown's discretionary powers threatened property and freedom of speech. To James I any likely gain would make little impact on a debt of £600,000 and loss of patronage would disadvantage courtiers as well as himself. Some may appreciate that the passage of the Contract would have prevented the king from expanding his revenue from customs and thus impede his freedom of action. The best candidates are likely to contextualise, setting the scene on the scale of the problem, noting Parliament's awareness that the European trend was to absolutism if kings were independent of parliaments and appreciating the Crown's astuteness in avoiding a fixed income in an age of inflation. Alternatively the project may be seen as doomed by mutual mistrust.

- 3  
(b) *How far did the foreign policies of James I and Charles I in the years 1621 - 29 have the support of Parliament?* (40)

### **Indicative Content**

The Question is focused on the relations of James I and Charles I with their Parliaments in a specific period of tension and difficulty over foreign policy. At level 2 candidates are likely to provide narratives of the leading events of these nine years. They will cover James' efforts to restore the Palatinate as well as pursuing his ideals of peace and fostering international harmony by means of the elusive Spanish match but ending in war. Where James pursued peace without success, Charles pursued war with equally frustrating results. His policy of alliance with France and naval war against Spain within two years lay in ruins and saw England sliding into war with France in 1627. Commentary on the role of Parliament during these events should raise answers into level 3. Thus James was frustrated by the 1621 Parliament's calling for intervention well beyond what it was willing to finance and its dissolution meant that he could not back any threat with the reality of military force. By contrast Charles and Buckingham mobilised a 'patriotic coalition' in both Houses but although Charles was beloved by the war party he failed to secure the confidence and the financial support of Parliament. He blamed Buckingham's failure in war on Parliament's tightness with funds, raised money without consent, was forced to accept the Petition of Right in return for funds. The embarkation on personal rule meant the end of war. Better candidates will point to general factors across both reigns which affected "support". Thus friction was inevitable as foreign policy was regarded as lying within the royal prerogative. Nor was either House aware of how expensive war had become in the 1620s due to the 'military revolution' in Europe. Hence the paradox of successive parliaments calling for war but refusing to grant adequate funding, and good candidates might cite the 1625 Parliament only voting two subsidies until it knew more of the war envisaged. There is room for the best candidates to draw comparison between the two kings with James being overtaken by events but understanding England's military and financial limitations when it came to continental war. This and cognizance of the structural weaknesses that militated against aggressive foreign policy were insights denied to Charles who also lacked his father's ethical distaste for war. Both managed Parliaments badly and found conditions imposed instead of moneys granted. Strained loyalties of subjects as a result of funding war was a European phenomenon for kings but in England Parliament was unusually vigorous and could demand war in advance of royal volition. So tensions were inevitable but were aggravated by the talent of both James and Charles for making poor decisions.

4

(a) *In what ways was James I an obstacle to financial reform in the years 1614 - 25?*

(20)

#### **Indicative Content**

The focus of the Question is the later years of the reign of James I and the responsibility of the king for the limited success of reforms proposed by Treasurers Suffolk and Cranfield. Candidates can enter level 2 with description of reforms - cutting military spending, controlling Household expenditure, increasing Impositions, attacking waste, accurate accounting, eliminating corruption and reducing pensions. Better answers will examine James' role for new systems could only have worked with the co-operation of the king. Yet James was a spendthrift monarch with a carefree attitude and a lack of knowledge of and interest in finance. His generosity to those he loved and notably to Scots in gratuities and pensions was an "obstacle". Moreover he had a family and two other royal households to maintain. Certainly to the majority of the political nation the extravagance of the king was to blame for adverse financial circumstances and he appointed men like Cranfield who did not want wholesale reform of a system from which he himself profited. The best candidates might question the use of "reform" because only a tightening of the existing system was proposed and no lasting improvement was possible. Or they might identify the constraints on the king of deep structural problems in the system he inherited or the impact of persistent inflation. Yet James' extravagance was a major "obstacle" to reform and made a bad situation worse.

4

(b) *How far were the problems faced by Charles I in the years 1625 - 29 of his own making?*

(40)

#### **Indicative Content**

This Question invites analysis of the "problems" experienced by Charles I in the early years of his reign and his own responsibility for them. At level 2 there will be answers which describe Charles' actions and major events linked implicitly or weakly to "problems". Explicit commentary will carry answers into level 3 but more secure work will identify clear problems and evaluate Charles' responsibility as against his inheritance and other forces at play. A thematic approach will lead to an answer structured around religion, finance, the management of Parliament, foreign policy and favourites. Charles upset the delicate balance of the Jacobean Church by his strong support for Arminian clergy and the promotion of Laud in 1628 alarmed zealous Protestants. Disenchantment with Charles on the part of Parliament was furthered by his collection of tonnage and poundage but finance was an inherent problem and Parliament increasingly made the grant of supply conditional. Charles' laconic tendency made it difficult for the Lords and Commons to know him but his aggressive actions, impatience and apparent duplicity were offensive. A bellicose foreign policy was dangerous in the context of the 1620s but many in the Commons were complicit and then refused to grant Charles adequate means to fund the war it supported. If the main problem of 1625 - 29 was a gradual breakdown of trust between the King and Parliament, a leading source of mistrust was Charles' choice of advisers and his adherence to Buckingham did considerable damage. On the range and development of such "problems" will depend progress through level 3. Good candidates will offer reasoned judgements on "of his own making" which include the effects of Charles' personality and political style. Although he started as a moral and popular monarch, Charles' emotional view on divine right, his aloofness, self-righteousness, reluctance to compromise and over-sensitivity made more difficult the solution of some "problems" and aggravated others.

6523B - Paper 3B Mark Scheme  
Reform and its Impact in Nineteenth Century Britain

Option I - Parliamentary Reform, 1815-50

- 1  
(a) *In what ways did the 1832 Reform Act challenge the power of the landed classes?* (20)

**Indicative Content**

The Question invites a causal analysis of the effects of the Great Reform Act on the power of a particular social group. Candidates can reach level 2 by describing the passage of the Act and its main terms, but linkage will not be explicit. For progress through level 2 and into level 3 a range of the Act's provisions will be selected and developed so as to throw light on "challenge the power". Clauses abolishing rotten and nomination boroughs and thereby reducing the patronage and influence of the Crown and the Lords will be cited along with those increasing electoral "numbers" and industrial influence in boroughs. Statistical support will be credited. The enhanced role of the Commons is also relevant. Good candidates in seeking balance will note that the Act was the work of Whig grandees, that the landed classes still dominated the counties (possibly citing the Chandos Clause), that they were still represented in the Commons and that landed property was still at the core of the political system. They might also differentiate short- and long-term "challenges".

- 1  
(b) *How far does economic hardship explain popular pressure for parliamentary reform in the years 1815 - 30?* (40)

**Indicative Content**

The question invites the evaluation of one causative factor relative to a range in a complex situation which changed over a period of 15 years. At level 2 candidates will describe the "economic hardship" from 1815 occasioned by the end of the war, a series of poor harvests, a rising population and the more general disruptive effects of industrialisation. This lasted until the early 1820s and the return of rural and urban unrest following a bad harvest will be noted. For level 3 candidates will establish a relationship between the "hardship" and the "popular pressure". After 1815, and more in the provinces than in London, there was popular support for radical demands for representation of towns like Manchester and a call for political rights to secure a parliament which would repeal minority legislation like the Corn Laws. Better candidates will observe that the return to prosperity in the 1820s acted as a solvent of popular discontent. They will evaluate the differing dynamics in comparing the earlier and 1829 - 30 periods of pressure and note how they involved particular social groups and political interventions. Good candidates as well as establishing the relationship with "popular pressure" will set the economic factor against a wider set of forces at play in 1829 - 30 notably the effects of the Catholic Emancipation crisis, the Swing Riots, the July Revolution and industrial downturn. This was exploited again by radicals but now organised in Political Unions and, most significantly, by leading Whig politicians inside the 'establishment' of the landed classes. A summative judgement which seeks to evaluate the essential relationship and to weigh the effects of various factors in a conclusion will be characteristic of the best work.

- 2  
(a) *What impact did the resignation of Lord Liverpool have on the Tory Party in the years 1827 - 30?*

(20)

#### **Indicative Content**

The Question requires candidates to evaluate the effects of Lord Liverpool's resignation from office following a stroke in February 1827 until the advent of a Whig government in November 1830. Candidates can reach level 2 if they provide a narrative account of the successive ministries of Canning, Goderich and Wellington even if the link to events to an emerging crisis in the Tory party is tentative. Better work will focus on the qualities of Liverpool whose absence precipitated the fragmentation of the party. The integrity, fairness and cool judgement made for ministerial stability and can by better candidates be compared with the disruptive effect of Canning and the capacity for alienation of the politically incompetent Wellington. Liverpool's ability to conciliate diverse colleagues and to accommodate younger and more liberal talent had given his ministry a reforming image which contrasts with Wellington setting his face firmly against parliamentary reform in November 1830 and the dire effects this had on the party. Moreover, Liverpool had kept Catholic Emancipation an 'open question' and avoided the rifts which the Irish crisis occasioned including the paradoxical situation of the ultra Tories supporting parliamentary reform. The best candidates will illustrate how the differences he had bridged became open points of controversy and let in the Whigs in 1830 but note the build-up of forces for change which had not been assuaged by Liverpool's essentially negative stance.

- 2  
(b) *How far did the 1832 Reform Act ensure continuity in the nature of government in Britain?*

(40)

#### **Indicative Content**

The focus of this Question is the political consequences of the Great Reform Act and candidates are invited to evaluate to what extent they maintained continuity in the nature of government. At level 2 the emphasis will be on describing the terms of the Act and even how it came to be passed. Level 3 answers will select the more conservative provisions but the analysis of the electoral system will only implicitly relate to "the nature of government". Better answers will focus on the main components of the constitution - the Crown, the Lords and the Commons - and demonstrate "continuity". Apart from the loss of nomination boroughs, the powers of the Crown were unfettered most notably in choosing ministries. The "interests" of the landed classes continued to be expressed and they dominated the counties, the Chandos Clause actually strengthening landlord influence over tenants. The Commons' social composition changed little, some pocket boroughs survived and in 1867 it still contained some 400 representatives of the landed interest as substantial property was required to stand as an M.P. and voting was open until 1872. Thus "property and intelligence" still dominated government. Only 142 of 658 seats were redistributed, the South predominated and although the electorate increased by a half, ownership of property was at the core of the franchise. Good candidates will prioritise results for their effect on government and the most critical will challenge the notion of "continuity", perhaps adopting a longer term perspective. A preponderant Commons representing numbers as well as interests had triumphed over Crown and Lords as elections even in the 1830s demonstrated, and the middle classes could not be kept junior partners nor the working classes kept out indefinitely.

Option II - Responding to Reform: Party and Policy in the Age of Gladstone and Disraeli, 1867-85

3

(a) *What was Disraeli's contribution to the Reform Act of 1867?*

(20)

**Indicative Content**

This Question invites causal analysis of the passage of the Reform Act of 1867. Candidates can reach level 2 by describing the passage of the Act and/or its terms but more secure work will focus on the role of Disraeli in both respects. The initiative behind the Bill will be analysed and the key part played by Derby identified. Disraeli's strategic as well as tactical intentions will be clarified and it emphasised that these changed in the course of the debates as new possibilities presented themselves. Good work will enter into some detail to demonstrate how Disraeli kept Tory backbenchers onside and how he bid for sufficient Liberal and Radical support to secure the Bill's passage. The tactical dexterity of outbidding Gladstone's amendments and the results for the Act of accepting Hodgkinson's Amendment which enfranchised compounders will be evaluated. The best answers will offer a summative evaluation of Disraeli's contribution to this seminal measure which was arguably more pregnant in its consequences than the Great Reform Act of 1832.

3

(b) *How far was the unpopularity of Gladstone's First Ministry by 1874 caused by the reforms it had introduced?*

(40)

**Indicative Content**

This Question invites candidates to reach a judgement on the growing unpopularity of a great reforming ministry. At level 2 candidates will describe a range of reforming measures and possibly foreign and Irish affairs and make assertions about the unpopularity of the ministry which resulted in disarray and in a clear Conservative majority. For level 3 candidates will identify the measures of "reform" and analyse them to demonstrate "unpopularity", with whom and to what effect. The range of "reforms" covered, the depth of treatment and the specific relevance to the degree of unpopularity will determine progress through level 3. The reforms which aroused the most opposition were the Irish Bills, the Education Act of 1870, the abolition of the purchase of army commissions, the Trade Union reform of 1871 and the Licensing Act of 1872. Better candidates will detect a chronological pattern of Gladstone losing middle and working class votes simultaneously and then making compromises to the frustration of both militants and moderates or they will attach relative unpopularity to measures. Good candidates might in summation quote Disraeli to the effect that a ministry which "harassed every trade, worried every profession..." was over-active and bound to incur some unpopularity. Or they might point to an effective and renascent opposition which exposed and exploited weaknesses and mistakes, notably on the floor of the House of Commons.

- 4  
(a) *In what ways did the Ballot Act of 1872 and the Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Act of 1883 tackle the abuses associated with elections?* (20)

**Indicative Content**

The Question invites evaluation of the effectiveness of two pieces of legislation aimed at removing violence, bribery and corruption from the electoral process following the 1867 Reform Act. Candidates can reach level 2 by rehearsing the provisions of the measures which introduced a secret ballot and limited the amount of money and the number of paid parliamentary workers at the disposal of candidates even if reference to "abuses" is implicit. Progress through and beyond level 2 will depend on more explicit linkage and the clear identification of "abuses". The Ballot Act reduced rowdiness and street theatre and eventually prevented employers and landlords from threatening workers and tenants. The Corrupt Practices Act was more effective and reduced officially recorded election expenses (by 75% in 1885) and petitions complaining about corruption fell abruptly. Range and development of themes, perhaps enhanced by local illustration, will determine entry into level 3, but good candidates will show critical awareness. With respect to the Ballot Act they might note that bribery could now come from both political sides in mutual ignorance and it was extensive in certain boroughs in 1880. Further limitation to effectiveness might be that on the one hand old habits died hard and on the other that 700,000 new voters in 1867 ruled out large-scale 'treating'.

- 4  
(b) *How effective in practice was the domestic legislation of Disraeli's Second Ministry, 1874 - 80?* (40)

**Indicative Content**

This Question invites candidates to reach a judgement on the legislative achievement of a very busy ministry which compressed nine major measures into 1874 - 76 and thereafter ran out of steam. Within level 2 candidates will treat, probably chronologically, a number of measures in descriptive terms. Entry into level 3 will depend on coverage of a good range of laws and development in terms of commentary on "effective" and supporting detail. Better candidates will structure their work around, for example, the notions of apparently effective and really effective. The legislation which failed to fulfil expectations included the Intoxicating Liquors Act, the consolidated Factory Acts, the Merchant Shipping Act, the Rivers Pollution Act and the Food Adulteration Act. Good candidates will evaluate and prioritise the progress made in each case and weigh the extent and the effects of disappointment. The more solid achievements were in the realms of Trade Unions, Public Health, Education and London Water. The ambitious Artisans' Dwellings Act had much promise but limited application. The best answers will compare the lists in terms of problems addressed, ambitions achieved, numbers affected and political damage done. Cases can be made out for both 'suet pudding' in-filling and for social harmony and racial survival.

6523C - Paper 3C Mark Scheme  
Depression, Opportunity and the Expansion of Welfare in Britain, 1919-64

Option I - Conflict, Depression and Opportunity: British Society between the Wars, 1919-39

- 1  
(a) *Why was there a boom in house building in the 1930s?*

(20)

**Indicative Content**

This Question invites causal analysis of the factors making for the growth of, after motor vehicles, the most rapidly growing (at rates of over 5%) industry of the inter war years. Candidates can reach level 2 by describing housing policies relevant to the 1930s namely the Greenwood Act 1930 which saw by 1939 275,000 slum dwellings demolished or closed and 265,000 houses or flats built to replace them and the Housing Acts of 1935 and 1936 which specified standards of crowding. The legislative breakthroughs, however, belonged to the 1920s in both public and private sectors and twice as many houses were built by private enterprise as by local authorities in the 1930s. Better answers will examine the economic context and an inherited 'housing shortage' and focus on demand as well as supply. The range and development of reasons will determine progress into level 3. An increasingly affluent clientele included higher paid manual workers with limited family size - for repayment of £1 per week was sufficient for a 3-bedroom house in the burgeoning suburbs - associated particularly with the new industries in the south and the east. The boom was facilitated by low interest rates and the vast expansion of building societies. On the supply side of the equation was the ready supply of low-cost labour in a depressed decade and the low cost of materials in deflationary times. Good answers will weigh the leading factors in relative terms.

- 1  
(b) *How far was the General Strike of 1926 caused by the stubbornness of all those involved?*

(40)

**Indicative Content**

This Question invites evaluation of the roles of Miners' Leaders, Mine Owners, T.U.C. and Baldwin Government in the complex interplay of forces which produced a landmark in industrial relations. At level 2 candidates will produce accounts, in whatever complexity, of the complicated chain of events reaching back to 1921 if not to 1919. For level 3 candidates will need to impose a pattern on the material and venture an argument even if rather passively and within a chronological format. The quality of the commentary and the evidence and its capacity to elucidate "stubbornness" will determine passage through level 3. Good candidates might adopt a thematic approach which analyses the responsibility of each participant in turn and ranges over the evidence in search for substantiation. The context included intractable problems of coal mining with a long history, expensive exports in a competitive market and a time when Government and T.U.C. were moving to collision over industrial relations. The interplay of circumstances inflamed tensions in the coal industry and chance factors such as the Daily Mail incident could have explosive effects. In personifying "stubbornness" Miners' Leaders seemed to be chosen for their obstinacy, Mine Owners' stupidity was well attested by Lord Birkenhead, the T.U.C. was wracked with guilt and used the Strike as a weapon to impose negotiations (then surrendered) and the Government was prepared, in part vengeful and dogged in its refusal to negotiate while the Strike continued. The best candidates will note that there were divisions within each camp with Churchill eager to demonstrate military strength and Pugh, Thomas and Bevin far from the rabid reds of their enemies' imaginations. They will allot blame in relative terms in the context of 1926 in seeking to evaluate "how far".

2

(a) *In what ways did mass media entertainment change in the inter-war years?*

(20)

### **Indicative Content**

This Question invites candidates to describe the changes as part of what amounted to mass media revolution in the years 1919 - 39. For level 2 at least two of four possible mass media - namely Cinema, Wireless, Popular Music and the Printed Word - will be selected and progress through the level will depend on development by way of illustration and focus on the concept of "change". Better candidates will be aware of entertainment antecedents, of the increased time and means available for leisure and of the appeal to particular social groups. Technology saw the birth of radio to revolutionise home entertainment. The BBC was formed in 1922 and funded by some 9 million licensees by 1939. Although the cinema predated World War One technological change afforded sound, colour and big screens by 1928 and the 1930s was the 'golden age' of cinemas. By 1939 they were selling 20 million tickets each week. Music in the home was radically changed by the growing popularity of the gramophone and its appreciation extended to an increasingly affluent and leisured mass audience through musical shows and dance halls although there was continuity through the music hall. The Printed Word had a long history but its "mass" audience could be related to improvements in education after 1918 and the increasing attractiveness and cheaper production of newspapers, magazines, children's comics like the Beano and novels, some in the form of Penguin paperbacks from 1935. The best candidates will offer some measure of relative "change".

2

(b) *To what extent was Britain divided into two unequal nations during the 1930s?*

(40)

### **Indicative Content**

This Question invites candidates to consider the effect of economic depression in the 1930s in exaggerating social and economic differences. At level 2 candidates will describe the differentiated North - South economy and show some awareness of differences in living standards. For level 3 engagement is sought with the concept of "two unequal nations" and analysis will predominate over description. On the negative side candidates will examine the highly concentrated and localised declining staple industries which accounted for a third of the insured workforce and the effects of economic depression. Cotton experienced the most spectacular collapse and shipbuilding the most severe depression. The social effects of unemployment encompassing living standards in terms of income, housing, diet and health will be analysed. Better candidates will treat separately the quality of life for family members. In the interests of balance they will examine the South and Midland locations of new industries like electrics and motor vehicles which were more flexibly located, less concentrated and more geared to an expanding home market. The social effects of relative affluence will be analysed. Good candidates will note exceptions to the rule like Halifax and the separate phenomenon of London, and guard against over simplification so as to show, for example, that the main growth occurred in the tertiary sector. The best candidates will debate the criteria for evaluating "unequal" and set against the notion of "two nations" Priestley's identification of three and Orwell's "economically...certainly two nations, if not three or four".

## Option II - Britain in the Age of the Welfare State, 1945-64

3

(a) *Why did the Labour Party win the General Election of 1945?*

(20)

### Indicative Content

This Question invites causal analysis of the General Election of July 1945 which returned 393 Labour to 197 Conservative M.P.s in a landslide Labour victory. Entry into level 2 can be gained for narrative accounts or for limited analysis which covers only one of the major contenders. Progress through the level will depend on range and balance in the factors addressed. The Conservative manifesto stressed the need for continuity under Churchill particularly in international issues and had little to offer on planning and social reform. Labour's 'Let Us Face The Future' manifesto indicated a clear and coherent domestic programme of public ownership and improved social services. Churchill's smear campaign to frighten voters backfired and Attlee's modest approach they found more endearing. The Conservatives blamed Churchill's turning the election into a popular plebiscite and he blamed poor constituency organisation. Good candidates will dig behind programmes and campaigns for deeper factors. The result of the election is seen by some as a judgement on pre-war mismanagement and on the 'men of Munich'. Alternatively, Labour had clear assets in its leaders having shown their mettle in wartime government, its correspondence with wartime collectivism, planning and egalitarianism and hence its appeal beyond the old working class core and to former Liberal voters.

3

- (b) *How far did the legislation passed by the Labour and Conservative Governments in the years 1945 - 64 improve the quality of life of British people?*

(40)

### **Indicative Content**

This Question invites candidates to reach a judgement on the relative factors making for improvement in the "quality of life", itself a term open to elastic definition, over a lengthy period of 'consensus' politics. The focus is government "legislation". At level 2 candidates will describe the work of Labour Governments 1945 - 51 and Conservative Governments in the 'thirteen years' - 1951 - 64, probably in chronological order. Linkage to "quality of life" will be implicit or assertive. Better candidates will impose a pattern on the measures and structure the answer around themes relevant to "quality of life". Commentary will be explicit and there will be awareness of other forces at play as progress is made through level 3. Government activity in the realms of the economy, the welfare state, health, housing and education can be related to "quality of life". All governments made full employment a priority and a post-war boom was continued by Conservative Governments which cut income tax and the bank rate to promote expansion (although there were inflationary pressures and stop-go progress) - economic growth was 2%-3%, inflation 3%, unemployment under 2%. The result was a rise in general affluence for the bulk of the population and sharply rising living standards in the 1950s were reflected in the growth of personal savings and ownership of washing machines, refrigerators, television sets (90% in 1964 from 5% in 1950) and motor cars (8m. from 2m.). The welfare state ensured a national minimum, a new standard in pensions, child allowances, and above all a free and universal National Health Service to eliminate grosser forms of ill health which had blighted so many working class families. In housing Labour by 1951 had built 1 million new and ½ million temporary homes and repaired even more and created New Towns. By Treasury subsidies, relaxing land control and easing mortgage facilities Macmillan exceeded his target of 300,000 new homes per year, at first mainly public housing but by 1964 over 50% were built by the private sector. The 1959 Housing Act increased the stock of rented properties. Progress in education was less radical but as the 1944 Act took effect more opportunities were opened notably to a meritocracy. Good candidates will define "quality of life" and relate the concept to particular social groups - the working classes gained hope and a new pride but material benefits went relatively more to the skilled and the middle class. And government intervention was more effective in some areas of life than in others. Technological change, dietary improvement, cultural innovation and enhanced leisure opportunities were independent of government action but affected the "quality of life".

(a) *Why did a youth culture emerge in Britain from the mid - 1950s?*

(20)

**Indicative Content**

This Question invites causal analysis of a cultural phenomenon of the 1950's and 1960's. At level 2 candidates will lack a clear perception of "youth culture" or they will interpret it narrowly. Progress through level 2 and into level 3 will depend on range of aspects of youth culture identified and the extent of their development and illustration. The context of war fostered an earlier sense of independence from adults and a new assertive conception of the working class, and the baby boom produced a 20% rise in the number of teenagers in the population by the 1960s. Full employment contributed to a more affluent and consumer-orientated society and a teenage demand which was cultivated and exploited commercially. Technological change provided affordable record players, radios, television sets ( independent television with advertisements from 1955), vinyl discs and a variety of 'teen' magazines promoting new commercial products designed specifically for this new market. The welfare state fostered healthier and more rapidly maturing young people. Good candidates will debate the more controversial causes such as the importation of a pop culture from the USA, the rise in the school leaving age, sartorial iconoclasm and the relaxation of Victorian moral codes. The best will attach relative weighting to the several factors and perhaps challenge the notion of "youth culture" for there was much that was traditional about life for young people in different social milieux and inside as well as outside of cities.

(b) *How significant for the health of the population in the years 1948 - 64 was the creation of a National Health Service?*

(40)

### **Indicative Content**

This Question invites candidates to evaluate the impact of the National Health Service created in 1948 on the health of the nation relative to the effects of other changes. At level 2 candidates will describe the relatively dramatic way in which Bevan brought to birth this service, the most revolutionary aspect of the welfare state, and the scale and nature of its operations. Progress into and through level 3 will depend on relating the activities of the NHS to specific improvements in the "health of the population". Statistical evidence substantiating the scope and the scale of the enterprise - in the first year treating 8.5 m. dental patients, dispensing 5.2 m. spectacles and 187 m. prescriptions - will attest to the need and the enormous burden of ill health stored up before its creation. Better candidates will show how its non-contributory and universal nature made it popular and accessible to the "population" and how its comprehensiveness and focus on supply addressed a multiplicity of health needs. The NHS overhauled the work of general practitioners, dentists, opticians, hospitals and local authorities, ensured a more equitable distribution of services and focused on the great working class population centres. By 1951 it was spending a staggering £400 million, almost four times the estimated cost, as a measure of the problems it was tackling and the improvement it was making. Good candidates will note its limitations in terms of efficiency and effectiveness, the effects of charging from 1951 and that health was already improving as a result of wartime measures. The best candidates will set the nation's health in a wider context and weigh the work of the NHS against other contributors. Full employment and improved working conditions fostered a sense of optimism and reduced inequalities while rising affluence reduced poverty, improved diets, gave access to labour-saving devices and refrigerators in the home and increased leisure time and facilities. Improvements in housing led to better heating, protection against the elements and more space (the proportion of households living at more than 1.5 persons per room halved). And improvements in education raised awareness of health issues, extended the physical activity in young people and began to tackle the causes rather than the effects of poor health.

## Option I - War and the French Revolutionary State, 1792-1815

1

(a) *Why did Napoleon introduce the Code Napoleon?*

(20)

**Indicative Content**

This Question invites a multi - causal approach to the most permanent and arguably greatest achievement of the Napoleonic period. Candidates can reach level 2 with description of the Civil Code promulgated in 1804, which implicitly addresses Napoleon's motivation for it clearly bears his stamp. Better answers will offer a range of specific reasons and the best will assign them relative importance from both long- and short-term perspectives. In practical terms the Code aimed at reconciling conflicting groups to the regime and it became an important foundation stone of national unification. There would be less likelihood of counter - revolution as the Code gave fixed legal title to those who had purchased property confiscated from the crown, the church and émigrés. It marked the end of feudalism and the confused legacies of the past and gave France a social charter which combined ancien regime custom with revolutionary innovations. In completing the work of the Revolution the Code consolidated in law its social gains of equality before the law, careers open to talent, religious toleration and economic freedom. All subjects were given equal rights under laws which were universal, rational and secular in keeping with Enlightenment aspirations. In preventing any return to the ancien regime Napoleon preserved the gains of the bourgeoisie. The best candidates will focus on Napoleon's particular contribution for although the drafting was left to experts, he intervened to ensure the secularisation of the law, notably the provision for civil marriage and divorce. The Code strengthened the family and Napoleon's stamp was put on conservative provisions which enhanced the authority of fathers and husbands. Candidates should be given credit for writing on the Criminal, Commercial and Penal Codes.

1

- (b) *How important was international co-operation in explaining the defeats which Napoleon suffered in the years 1812 - 14?*

(40)

### **Indicative Content**

This Question invites an evaluation of the factors which contributed to the military defeats of Napoleon from the Russian campaign in 1812 to his abdication in 1814. In answers at level 2 Napoleon will predominate as his defeats in the Peninsula, Russia, Germany and France are recounted. Level 3 answers will focus on the stated factor and therefore not on Napoleon but on his enemies. Progress through the level will depend on the quality of the information and analysis as between its components of "international co-operation". The diplomacy of Metternich and Castlereagh at Chaumont was crucial in producing a Fourth Coalition which was distinguished by all four Powers taking the field simultaneously for the first time and binding themselves to fight to the end with no separate peace negotiations. The role of British gold in the form of subsidies as a binding agent for the alliance was significant ( and accounted for 10% of British expenditure on the wars). "Co-operation" extended to the military field and resulted in a combined and modernised force of 600,000 men ( e.g. the work of de Tolly in Russia) under able commanders like Kutusov, Blucher and Wellington who worked together more closely. Moreover co-operation led to an agreed strategy of avoiding Napoleon himself and attacking his subordinates, a strategy which is said to have accounted for French losses of c 100,000. The best answers will weigh the stated factor against alternative explanations which will be kept in check but which could include Napoleon's own physical and moral decline, nationalist resistance in Europe, the effects of the Russian debacle and the exhaustion of French resources ( not least by naval blockade).

2

(a) *Why was Napoleon's Italian campaign of 1796 - 97 so successful?*

(20)

### Indicative Content

This Question invites causal analysis of Napoleon's first successful military campaign which set him on the road to political power and which demonstrated the basic principles for his later and more famous campaigns. Candidates can reach level 2 by providing a narrative account of the campaign where reasons for success will be implicit. The Army of Italy first conquered Piedmont, then Lombardy after defeating Austrian defenders at Lodi (1796) and Rivoli (1797) and then all of Northern Italy whose conquest was signalled by the treaty of Campo Formio in October 1797. This ended the First Coalition and began France's expansionist foreign policy which ended in 1815. Better candidates will explore behind the events for reasons, and their range and development will determine progress into level 3. The campaign was not won by superior numbers as the Army of Italy, something of a Cinderella, was inferior in size (38,000) to its opponents the Piedmontese (25,000) and Austrians (30,000 veterans). What distinguished Napoleon was his ability to divide and defeat his enemies separately in an unrelenting constant offensive. And he concentrated his forces. Mobility and surprise were two additional factors in Napoleon's success and they were based on fine marching and tactical flexibility. Above all Napoleon had an exceptional gift for inspiring devotion in his men and Lodi was a psychological turning point for both the general and the armies. Good candidates will illustrate this art of war by reference to particular events and the best will weigh its various components and compare them with the weaknesses of Napoleon's enemies. Austrian and Piedmontese forces were uncoordinated and they were led by elderly and orthodox officers, thus giving the French numerical advantage at any given battle. The Austrians always advanced in isolated corps and were defeated from a central position before they could join.

2

(b) *How far did Napoleon's policies promote Liberty and Equality in France in the years to 1815?*

(40)

### Indicative Content

This Question invites candidates to reach a judgement on the application of the two greatest principles of 1789 to Napoleon's France. Candidates can reach level 2 by describing the measures and institutions in which the principles were embodied but they will avoid the evaluation demanded by "how far" or treatment will be imbalanced. Better answers will show how Equality was fostered by the Code Napoleon marking the end of the privileged France of the ancien regime and by careers opened to talent exemplified by Napoleon himself. It was also furthered by an apparently democratic political system, by economic liberalism and by an improved if incomplete education system. The best candidates will relate Equality to particular groups in society and note how men were favoured over women and the bourgeoisie over peasants and urban workers. Liberty was more elusive and although it was proclaimed in the Code and in politics it suffered in the façade of representative institutions, in the use of education and propaganda as mechanisms of control and in the return of a hierarchy. More directly candidates can identify the suppression of Liberty in Fouché's police state, in conscription and in the controls imposed by a state constantly at war. There was, however, compared to the previous regime, more freedom in matters of religion and economics. The best candidates in evaluating these abstract concepts and weighing the one against the other might establish connections in their together fostering unity and national pride (Fraternity) and contradictions in the implications for Liberty of the imposition of Equality.

## Option II - Bismarck and the Unification of Germany, c. 1848-71

3

(a) *Why did the King of Prussia appoint Bismarck as his Minister-President in 1862?*

(20)

### Indicative Content

This Question invites causal analysis of a crucial episode in the story of German unification but primarily narrative approaches will struggle to move through level 2. The events began with King William's determination to reform the decrepit army revealed in the partial mobilisation of 1859. His radical proposals met with objections from the liberal majority in the Landtag on political as well as financial grounds, a constitutional crisis ensued and von Roon advised the King to grant Bismarck an appointment with a view to appointing him Minister - President. Better candidates will analyse and prioritise within a range of reasons identified. A biographical factor could be Bismarck's ability as a diplomat, and his apprenticeship at Frankfurt, St. Petersburg and Paris will be cited. Better candidates will cite his record as a strong and courageous defender of royal prerogative in the counter-revolution after 1848, for he was appointed as a tough politician who would rule in defiance of parliament. A key factor then is the strength of the opposition, for repeated elections had displaced moderates with more determined liberals who formed the intransigent Progressive Party in 1861 and blocked the budget (and faced a mere 15 Conservative opponents). Crucial also is the King's relationship with Bismarck. In his interview Bismarck declared his unswerving loyalty and his willingness to ignore parliament and thus his appointment was emotional rather than constitutional in that Bismarck made his appointment one of personal fealty. The best candidates will point to Bismarck's lack of qualification for anything but the most desperate situation - he was noted for his eccentricity, his dogmatism, his proneness to accident and his lack of ministerial experience - and to his appointment as the act of desperation of a defeated King.

- (b) *How far do economic developments explain the emergence of Prussian political leadership of Germany by 1867?*

### **Indicative Content**

This Question invites candidates to reach a judgement on the importance of the economic factor in Prussia's obtaining of the political leadership of Germany following her victory in the Austro - Prussian War of 1866. Candidates can reach level 2 by describing Prussia's economic advantages, but linkage with politics and war will be implicit. A chronological approach would examine Prussia's gain of the economically advanced areas of Saxony and the Rhineland in 1815, the development of the Zollverein and cooperation with other German states in the growth of railways and banking. Better candidates will give primacy to the political implications of economic growth at a specific time. As railway building stimulated coal and iron production the economy began to grow rapidly from the mid-1850s and entered into a boom in the 1860s (mines in the Saar valley were state-run). Large-scale investment in capital goods production, centralised production and technical innovation directly strengthened the Prussian state. As well as providing leverage over satellite economies (by 1860 the Zollverein tied virtually all of non-Austrian Germany to Prussian leadership) such an economy could move soldiers and military supplies quickly and design and mass produce new weapons (notably artillery which would revolutionise warfare). Moreover, the financial benefits would stave off popular discontent at extra military expenditure and win the support of economic elites. The best candidates will focus on "by 1867" and reach a judgement on the economic relative to other factors which underpinned Prussia's political leadership. Prussia had other advantages. Her compact territory and lack of regional tensions made for central control and the basing of serving and reserve soldiers on home territory (unlike Austria). The best primary education system in Europe provided the level of schooling necessary to adopt the breech-loading rifle (ensuring discipline and conservation of ammunition). After the Crimean War Austria was isolated, she could not afford to innovate militarily, her military elite was resistant to change and she lacked a railway network and a domestic military industry. The best informed candidates might share with Kennedy the view that economic strength is the key to political and military power and show how the military balance had shifted very sharply to Prussia in a very short time. Although Bismarck's diplomacy might be cited as a further factor, neither he nor Moltke knew about the military turn-about and he can be judged very lucky.

4

- (a) *What did the revolutions of 1848 - 49 in Germany reveal about the weaknesses of those pressing for greater German unity?*

(20)

#### **Indicative Content**

This Question invites analysis of the failure of German revolutionaries in 1848 - 49 to create a national state at the time of European revolutions. Candidates can reach level 2 by describing the failure of the National Assembly which was elected in May 1848 to solve the 'German Question' before it was dispersed by military force in June 1849. Progress into level 3 will depend on candidates extrapolating and developing a range of "weaknesses". Several of their weaknesses were common to European Liberals - their tendency to talk rather than act, their limited outlook (75% from the academic or professional bourgeoisie) and their fear of threats from the radicals who proposed more practical solutions. The issue of "German unity" exposed deeper failings. They were reluctant to appoint a leader and when finally offered it over a year after the revolutions broke out, Frederick IV of Prussia refused 'to pick a crown from the gutter'. They also placed an almost naive trust in the princes who stood to lose their thrones if a German national state were created. Nor could they agree on the geographical extent of the new state and accepted the existing frontiers of the Confederation which included substantial non-German minorities. Over this 'nationalities issue' they were fatally exposed. Their impotence was revealed by their failure to rescue Germans in Schleswig from Denmark, they hypocritically refused to aid fellow nationalists in Poland and they applauded the bombardment of Prague by Austria without seeing the implications for themselves. It also proved impossible for them to resolve the issue of Austria or Prussia - Austrian deputies took the grossdeutsch position and Prussian deputies took the kleindeutsch stance - and by the time they opted for the latter the counter revolution was advancing in both states and the King of Prussia refused for fear of war with Austria. The best candidates will identify wider factors which doomed the nationalists to failure - the particularism of a semi-feudal society which was 70% peasant, the control of the military by the kings and the hostility of Europe.

- (b) *How far were the miscalculations of its enemies responsible for Prussia's successes in diplomacy and war in the years 1865 - 70?*

(40)

#### **Indicative Content**

This Question invites candidates to reach and support a judgement on the factors which contributed to Prussia's remarkable diplomatic and military successes in the Austro-Prussian and the Franco-Prussian Wars. The focus is the miscalculation of Austria and France but this will be weighed against other forces at play in better answers. Level 2 can be reached by description of events from the conclusion of the Danish War to the defeat of the French at Sedan in September 1870 or by limited analysis which treats only one "enemy". Progress through level 3 will depend on balance and the quality of the analysis and substantiation of enemy "miscalculations". Better candidates will show how Austria mishandled the aftermath of the Danish War by permitting the withdrawal of the Diet, by supporting Augustenburg and by breaching the Convention of Gastein. Austria also entered the crisis without allies, she miscalculated the military balance and she lost the waiting game when she began to mobilise in March 1866. Napoleon III also miscalculated the balance of power and in the diplomatic preparation for war, he blundered over Luxemburg and the issue of compensation, he allowed strong advisers like Gramont to overplay the French hand in brinkmanship over the Spanish marriage candidature and he too misjudged the military situation. The best candidates will include as wider factors the post-Crimean international and the economic contexts. Bismarck's diplomatic mastery, as well as in preparing the ground for both confrontations, lay in exploiting the "miscalculations" of his enemies to the best advantage of Prussia. But his enemies should not be condemned nor he credited for awareness of the rapid shift in the military balance, for as late as 1860 a Prussian victory over Austria would have been improbable.

6523E - Paper 3E Mark Scheme  
A Nation Challenged and Reconfigured: the USA in the 19<sup>th</sup> and Early 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries

Option I - A Disunited Nation: the USA c.1820-1865

- 1  
(a) *In what ways did the outcome of the Mexican War create tensions over slavery in the USA in the years 1848 - 50?* (20)

**Indicative Content**

This Question invites analysis of the results of the victory of the USA in the war against Mexico in 1846 - 48. Candidates can reach level 2 by providing a narrative of events from the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo to the Compromise of 1850, which makes implicit reference to the issue of slavery. Better candidates will show how this very successful war won for the USA a vast area and how the dispute over the introduction of slavery into the annexed lands aroused tensions. The context of the dormancy of the slavery issue since the Missouri Compromise of 1820 will be explored but the focus will be on how possession of California and what became Nevada, Utah, New Mexico and Arizona led to sectional divisions. The importance of the Wilmot Proviso 1846 in crystallising sectarian feeling - it was opposed by every Southern Democrat and all but two Southern Whigs - and acting as a rallying call for anti-slavery forces when it failed to pass the Senate will be emphasised. Slavery was now the central issue - it divided Northerners from Southerners, preoccupied Congress, threatened the unity of the main political parties and led to the creation of a new Free Soil Party. The election of Taylor in 1848 led to the Compromise of 1850 but it left both sides unhappy and now they were agitated. The best candidates will show how the "tensions" were not just over slavery per se but involved wider economic and constitutional issues. By 1850 the debate had moved to secession and the sectional crisis of 1848 - 50 is seen as a dress rehearsal for 1860 - 61.

- 1  
(b) *How far was the victory of the North in the Civil war due to superior military leadership?* (40)

**Indicative Content**

This Question invites candidates to reach a supported judgement on the relative importance of the factors that contributed to the victory of the Union over the Confederacy with particular reference to issue of military leadership. Candidates can reach level 2 with descriptive accounts of the leading campaigns with implicit reference to qualities of generalship. Better candidates will isolate, analyse and illustrate the military factor. The Confederacy in Lee and Jackson outshone the Union generals in the early stages but their over-aggression and focus on Virginia dissipated forces and allowed the Union to win the West and ultimately the war. For the North McClellan was a disappointment but in Grant, Sherman and Sheridan the Union possessed men of great ability. They were superior to the Confederates in working to a clear strategy. Grant, supreme commander from 1864, brought moral courage and a strategy of total war to all rebel states and he had the tactical skill to implement it. Sherman's marches through Georgia and the Carolinas dealt the South serious logistical, political and psychological blows. Good candidates will explore the political dimension of leadership. Lincoln was superior to Davis and he ensured a peaceful and prosperous home front, won the moral high ground with confiscation and emancipation measures, warded off foreign interference and found a way to peace. The best work will weigh the stated factor against wider influences. Victory for the North ultimately depended on its enjoying superior resources in an unevenly matched contest and they will be evaluated in military supply, manpower and economic terms (the Union blockade of the South was in the long term effective). However, Confederate morale collapsed mainly because its armies were beaten on the battlefield.

**Indicative Content**

This Question invites an analysis of issues involved in the background and passage of the Missouri Compromise, which followed the first serious outbreak of bitter dispute over the issue of slavery. Candidates can reach level 2 by describing events from Missouri's application for admission to the Union in 1818 through Tallmadge's proposed amendment to the Compromise itself in 1820. This involved Missouri's admission as a slave state provided that there was no slavery north of 36.30 and that Maine was admitted as a free state. Any reference to "issues" will be implicit. For progress into level 3 a range of "issues" will be identified and developed. The central issue was the spread of slavery for if it took root in the lands of the Louisiana Purchase the ideals and way of life of the South would predominate in the USA. Southerners bristled at the implied attack on their social system and on their economy. The demand for cotton fastened the plantation economy on the South and the burden fell on the 1/3 black portion of its population. In the furious debates which ensued Northerners bitterly attacked slavery as an evil which ought not to be allowed to spread. The Compromise also involved the numerical balance in both Houses of Congress and the moral and humanitarian aspects of the question were less important than the political. Since the North outstripped the South in population it had a sizeable majority in the House but the Senate was evenly divided into 11 free and 11 slave states. So which section controlled the federal government in the future determined whether slavery was introduced into Missouri. The Compromise also involved the constitutional "issue" of the right of Congress to interfere with slavery inside a state. The best candidates will see how the Missouri crisis brought home to leading Americans the alarming potentialities of sectional disputes and relate this to the explosive growth in population, territory and economy (the population of the trans-Appalachian region more than doubled and 5 new states entered the Union in the decade before 1820). Candidates adopting a longer term perspective will appreciate that although the slavery extension issue was shelved until the Mexican War in 1846, the Southern consciousness and determination to defend slavery had been strengthened and the issue was in no way resolved.

- (b) *How important was the emergence of a new Republican Party in increasing tensions between North and South in the years 1854 - 61?*

### **Indicative Content**

This Question invites candidates to reach a supported judgement on the effects of a major change in the nature of American politics and its effect on relations between North and South relative to other factors causing an "increase in tensions" in the years up to the outbreak of Civil War in 1861. Candidates can reach level 2 by describing the main political events of these years but reference to their effects on "tensions" will be implicit. Progress in level 3 will depend on firm foundations being laid in the rise of a Republican Party by 1856 and its effects. American political parties were loose coalitions but concessions to the South since 1850 and the sectional controversy revolving around the Kansas -Nebraska Act of 1854 led to political realignment and the coalescing of 'anti - Nebraska' groups under the name 'Republican'. It was a sectional, ideological party capable of winning mass support and it combined opposition to the spread of slavery on moral grounds with support for 'free labour' which appealed to the independent farmer and the small businessman. It contained mainly former Whigs but also ex-Democrats and antislavery radicals who wanted complete abolition. Thus the Whig party finally disappeared and the Democrats had become Southern orientated. Political stability had been upset and two mass parties created heading for confrontation on a sectional basis and this led to the spread of secessionism. The "tensions" thereby created had produced an almost anarchic state by 1860 - 61. Good candidates will weigh this new Party against other sources of tension. The appearance of a nativist Know - Nothing Party also acted as a solvent of political stability and a succession of weak and/or poor Democrat Presidents in the 1850s exacerbated anger over slavery (via measures like the Fugitive Slave Act and the Kansas-Nebraska Act). All aggravated the political fragmentation. The best candidates will relate these political events to the "tensions" created by the violence and bloodshed which erupted in Bleeding Kansas, the fanaticism exemplified by John Brown and the economic slump of 1857.

## Option II - Promise and Performance: FDR and the New Deal in the USA, 1933-45

- 3  
(a) *In what ways did the Tennessee Valley Authority improve the lives of Americans in the states it served?* (20)

### Indicative Content

This Question invites candidates to evaluate the effects of one of the best known and most admired achievement of the New Deal - described as state socialism - on the lives of Americans living in the 7 states it served. Candidates can reach level 2 by describing in detail the public works project which covered 80,000 square miles but linkage to "improve the lives" will be implicit. For better candidates economic advantage will be central for it affected poor states at a time of depression and was the only planning agency created by the New Deal. Most visible were the 20 dams which controlled flooding. Jobs were provided by tree planting and fertilizer production and they, along with modernised farming techniques, promoted efficient agriculture. The social as well as economic aspects of "lives" was revolutionised by hydroelectric plants associated with the dams and the region was opened to the manifold benefits of "modern" electricity-based civilisation. TVA power even facilitated atomic research at Oak Ridge. Good candidates will treat "improve" critically to encompass quality of life as well as standards of living. Arthur Morgan's utopian project attempted pioneering work in providing model towns, recreational lakes, land reclamation, afforestation, rehousing, education and library bookmobiles. This spectacular innovation had the capacity to transform lives. The best and most critical candidates might express reservation at the TVA's failure to attract industry and the relative exclusion from its benefits of poor farmers and blacks.

- 3  
(b) *How far, by 1939, could the New Deal be regarded as a failure* (40)

### Indicative Content

This Question invites candidates to evaluate the effects of the New Deal and to offer a judgement on its relative failure. Candidates can reach level 2 by describing the activities of New Deal agencies in the undifferentiated way of a list and will show how it set the USA on the road to recovery as much as the disappointment engendered. In agriculture, farmers' incomes doubled, the NRA shortened hours, raised wages and recognised trade unions and the Wagner Act introduced a new attitude to organised labour. The WPA financed new building projects and social security benefits were extended to the unemployed and the aged. Better candidates will focus on failures and impose a pattern on the material and good candidates will structure answers around themes. For the economy as a whole unemployment remained high at 9 million in 1939 and the commitment to deficit spending was late and tentative. Manufacturing output slipped back again in 1938, the NRA failed to inject sufficient spending power, the NIRA did some damage and large corporations proved impervious to fragmentation. Work provided by the WPA (We Piddle Around) was menial. In agriculture there was still surplus production in 1939, too many people still lived on the land and recovery programmes offered little to marginal farmers, sharecroppers and labourers. Spending on relief was inadequate both under FERA and the states and work relief never reached 40% of the unemployed. Social security penalised the old and the dependent, the Federal Government built only 180,000 houses and little was done to help minorities. Good candidates will weigh degrees of failure and relate them to particular social groups. The best will offer more holistic analysis where overall success and failure is evaluated and they will establish criteria for success and failure. Despite its many successes, including the political dimension, economic prosperity had not been restored by 1939 and its critics would see the New Deal as a 'holding operation' at an appallingly high financial cost.

**Indicative Content**

This Question invites analysis of the reasons the New Deal had limited effect in improving the lot of Blacks and Native Americans between 1933 and 1939. Candidates can reach level 2 by describing the measures and their effects in helping racial minorities but reference to "limited impact" will be implicit and there is likely to be imbalance as between the two groups. Blacks did derive benefit from relief and recovery programmes and the fact that huge numbers idolised FDR and voted Democrat, notably in the Presidential election of 1936, testifies to some feeling of benefits from the New Deal. Under Commissioner John Collier community ownership of land, tribal self-government and education were promoted among Native Americans and they had access to a wide range of alphabet agencies. Better candidates will offer a range of reasons for both groups to feel under protected and indeed neglected. To explain why blacks suffered twice the unemployment of whites candidates could point to their displacement by whites from menial jobs previously reserved for them and often as the last in they were first to be out. Southern politicians were important supporters of the New Deal and crucial to the Democratic Party and this led to displacement by the AAA and discrimination by the NRA where codes permitted lower payment than whites. Racism was more overt in the CCC so blacks were not encouraged to join and open segregation faced those who did. No civil rights legislation was passed, anti-lynching bills were defeated and this was the most severely criticized dimension of the New Deal. FDR did more for Native Americans than previous Presidents but a major problem, even for Collier, was understanding their culture as exemplified by the introduction of secret ballots against their preference for tribal councils. Government lacked a clear strategy and was divided between encouraging traditional ways on the one hand and assimilation on the other. Powerful corporations were able to exploit natural resources on reservation land. The "limited impact" also related to the magnitude of the problem at a time of pressing demands from many quarters. The best candidates will show appreciation of the contextual constraints of deeply entrenched poverty and prejudice, and people torn between two cultures.

- (b) *How far was the second phase of the New Deal after 1935 a response to opposition towards, and criticism of, Roosevelt's policies?*

(40)

**Indicative Content**

This Question invites candidates to reach and support a judgement on the factors that led to a leftward shift in thinking after 1935 and a flurry of measures concerned more with Reform than with Relief and Recovery. Level 2 can be reached by describing the legislation or the "opposition and criticism" but at level 3 they will be linked and explained. Better candidates will analyse the stated causal factor and weigh it against other forces at play in motivating FDR. The "criticism" came from both Left and Right, from assorted visionaries and demagogues notably Dr. Townshend, Father Coughlin and Governor Huey Long and the "opposition" came from the Supreme Court. This can be related to the flood of measures intended to undo the damage done by the Supreme Court's rulings on unconstitutionality (of NRA and AAA), to expand the role of government, to bolster small businesses and trade unions against big corporations, to apply a system of social security and to further relief and recovery through the WPA. Good candidates will evaluate "opposition and criticism" to alternative but connected explanations as the politically astute FDR sought to cut the feet from under opposing forces. The Second New Deal grew piecemeal in response to a becalmed economy with 11 m. still unemployed leading to expressions of discontent from the rural underprivileged, the elderly, the urban middle class and poor whites. The 1934 elections had produced a more radical House of Representatives and a Farmer - Labour Party demanded urgent change. FDR was keen to retain the initiative by a move to the left. Moreover the President was stung by criticism from wealthy business interests on the right. The most perceptive candidates will note that much of the legislation was already in preparation and that it owed more to the Congress than to the President when reaching a judgement.

6523F - Paper 3F Mark Scheme  
Life in Authoritarian Regimes: Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia in the 1930s

Option I - Life in Hitler's Germany, 1933-39

- 1  
(a) *In what ways did educational policies reflect Nazi priorities in the years 1933 - 39?* (20)

**Indicative Content**

This Question invites candidates to analyse educational policies in order to determine the degree to which they were shaped by Nazi aims and philosophy. Candidates can reach level 2 by describing the education system and the changes the Nazis wrought in control, teaching, the curriculum and the nature of schools. Better candidates will root their answers in clearly identified Nazi priorities and link them to the policies. The ultimate aim of a New Order that would survive for a thousand years implied the indoctrination of young people in the principles and ethos of National Socialism. This involved removing control of education from the Länder and its centralisation under a Reich Ministry, the "reconditioning" of the teaching profession in the NSLB (97% membership by 1936 and 1/3 joined the Party) to the exclusion of the politically unreliable and Jews, and the reshaping of the curriculum. The Nazis emphasised character-building and physical fitness more than intellect and knowledge and hence the devotion of 15% of curricular time to PE, the reduction of a 6-day teaching week to 5 to create more time for sport and a broader definition of education as something which could be extramural and encompass labour camps. A 'consciousness of being German' was fostered by the study of German language and literature and History had a special role in inculcating German nationalist spirit. The creation of a pure racial community was enhanced by the study within Biology of ethnic classification, population policy and eugenics. In order for the Reich to be led a variety of elite schools - Napolas, Adolf Hitler Schools and Ordensburgen - were created and emphasis here was on para-military activity and character-building. Good candidates will prioritise the priorities.

- 1  
(b) *How far was priority given to preparation for war in the economic policies of the Nazi regime?*

(40)

### **Indicative Content**

This Question invites candidates to reach a judgement on the relative importance of factors determining Nazi economic policies with particular respect to preparation for war. Candidates can reach level 2 by describing economic policies from 1933 but writing on Autarky and Rearmament will have more relevance to "preparation for war" (implicit at this level) than that on Recovery and solving the crisis of unemployment which is likely to predominate. Better candidates will note that "priorities" changed in 1936 but accept the rearmament that was proceeding under Schacht. Analysis of the Four Year Plan under Göring with increasing intervention in the economy and a grandiose drive for autarky will be central to evaluation of the stated factor. Good candidates will weigh and relate "preparation for war" to other factors and note that few economic issues were unrelated in a command economy. Thus rearmament would soak up the unemployed which was an early priority but it would disrupt Schacht's plan for prosperity by means of production for consumption and export. Choosing Guns before Butter led to shortages of consumer goods, high direct and indirect taxes, the manipulation of savings, lower wage rates and artificially high food prices and so conflicted with the "priority" of a high and improving standard of living. "Preparation for war" involved continuity between Schacht and Göring in terms of Autarky but from 1936 its priority was raised and innovative methods applied which good candidates will relate to other priorities. Industry became dominated by cartels, state debt trebled and competition for resources produced inflationary pressures. The interconnection between the several priorities in the economy will be appreciated by the best candidates and they will note continuities as well as changes. The balance of payments deficit and the shortage of resources (and Göring fell well short of targets in oil, rubber and arms production) predated preparation for war on a major scale from 1936.

2

(a) *In what ways did Nazi policies attempt to strengthen the family?*

(20)

#### Indicative Content

This Question invites candidates to examine the ways in which the Nazis attempted to strengthen the family as the core unit of the 'people's community'. Candidates can reach level 2 by describing the role of women in German society but reference to the family and to means will be implicit. Better candidates will focus on the family per se and its importance in Nazi ideology as the key to the stability of the state. A range of methods for strengthening the family will be analysed. Propaganda assigned a special sphere to women and stereotyped their role as mothers and helpers and stressed their responsibility as a national service to propagate healthy racial stock. Anti - feminism and devotion to the three K's were also themes developed by Goebbels' Ministry. More practically, incentives were offered to encourage large families including generous benefits and tax incentives for mothers. Divorce was simplified so that wives could re-marry and bear more children and worthy families were supported by a network of welfare and health services. Political life and the professions were also closed to women and instead they were encouraged to care for their homes and husbands, not least in indoctrination in the education system. Good candidates will weigh the relative importance of the reasons offered. The best might note that the family itself was subordinate to the racial community, that economic necessity reversed the decline in female employment from 1936 and that single women were also encouraged to breed outside of the family.

2

(b) *To what extent did Nazi policies towards the Jews become more brutal and extreme in the years 1933 - 39 ?*

(40)

#### Indicative Content

This Question invites candidates to reach a judgement on the degree to which the central aspect of Nazi racial policy was radicalised with particular respect to its "brutality and extremism". Candidates can reach level 2 with descriptions of developing anti - Semitic policy but attention to the key concepts will not be explicit. Progress through level 3 will depend on the range and depth of responses and although good work will treat separately "brutal" and "extreme" a chronological approach with relevant commentary will be acceptable ( not least to avoid repetition). From 1933, and unlike any other social policy, the anti-Semitic provisions of Nazi policy were enacted into law (perhaps to divert the public from the need for real reform) and so hard evidence is at the candidate's disposal. The Civil Service Law of 1933 and Gleichschaltung excluded Jews from occupations and enrolment into secondary schools and universities was restricted, the legalistic approach being relatively "extreme" in comparison with other minorities. The Nuremberg Laws of 1935 saw the climax of the legalistic policy as it introduced a system for segregating an alien minority. In 1938 a new wave of anti-Semitic legislation forced Jews to leave the country and segregated those who remained. The Kristallnacht Pogrom and the heavy fine imposed on the community in November 1938 was "policy" officially sponsored by Goebbels and halted by Göring. After this local restrictions encompassing theatres, swimming pools, parks and signage became national laws. So far as "brutal" is concerned at a non-official level physical assaults and acts of humiliation began in 1933 and continued sporadically. But for the Berlin Olympics of 1936 the rank and file were controlled. The Nuremberg Laws spawned discriminatory legislation and more overt brutality at regional and local levels and from April 1938 threats, blackmail and open violence forced Jews to sell businesses, houses and valuables at a fraction of market value. Kristallnacht unleashed an orgy of destructiveness and murder - 100 deaths, attacks on 10,000 businesses and 20,000 deported to concentration camps - partly the 'policy' of local party organs and the SA. Good candidates will strike a balance as between the two facets of racial policy and note the relationship between the two and their operation on official and non-official levels both locally and nationally.

## Option II - Life in the Soviet Union, 1928-41

3

- (a) *In what ways did Stalin use the arts to celebrate the social and economic achievements of the Soviet Union in the 1930s?* (20)

### Indicative Content

This Question invites candidates to analyse how culture was a central element in the construction of Stalin's new order. Candidates can reach level 2 by describing how official art was used to express approval of social values and economic achievements in a way appreciated by the public. Progress through the level will depend on a range of the arts - literature, painting and sculpture, music, drama, radio, cinema - being addressed and exemplified and the degree to which "celebrate" is linked to "achievements" and developed. In social realism official art was didactic and heroic in order to 'truthfully depict our life' (Stalin) and illustrate the 'heroic present' (Gorky). The arts were used for propaganda and control. They were also employed to eliminate unacceptable attitudes and opposition and to extol "social and economic achievements". Paintings were of a Stalinist utopia in which the industrial transformation - 'great deeds of socialist construction' - was simplified and made accessible to the masses. Novels such as Ostrovsky's 'How The Steel Was Tempered' celebrated reconstruction and graced libraries, workers' clubs and likbez points. RAPP and the Union of Writers were intended to mobilise authors for socialist construction, notably success in the Five Year Plans. In music the classics were restored and Shostakovich attacked for failing to arouse proletarian spirits. Radio and cinema combined entertainment with instruction and mobile units reached the peasants and, along with poster art, lauded the revolution in the countryside. Popular theatre groups toured and portrayed - in works like 'Five Year Plan In Four Years' - daily life for clear propaganda effect. Good candidates will address "social" as well as "economic" in the interests of balance and show how control of literature, architecture and painting was used to support a Marxist view of family life and the changing position of women.

3

- (b) *“Collectivisation of agriculture was a complete success for Stalin”. How far do you agree with this judgement?*

(40)

### **Indicative Content**

This Question invites candidates to reach and support a judgement on a controversial proposition. Candidates can reach level 2 by describing the collectivisation process but evaluation will be implicit and limited in scope. After the 1928, harvest quotas were enforced on kulaks and in 1929 class warfare was declared as ‘officials’ set out to ‘liquidate them as a class’. In 1930 a halt was called but after a good harvest the offensive was resumed and by mid-1931 50% were collectivised. 1932-33 saw famine but after a good harvest in 1933 taxation was used to drive the 9 million peasants remaining outside them into kolkhozes and sovkhoses. Better candidates will establish criteria against which to measure “success” by examining Stalin’s intentions. Chronology can help to establish a link between collectivisation and industrialisation and its success in producing grain for the industrial workforce - Stalin’s starting point in late 1927-28 was a critical shortage of grain in the cities - and for export in return for foreign capital will be evaluated and hopefully informed by statistics. The removal of the kulaks in order to facilitate grain procurement can be treated as a separate economic aim. A political use of collectivisation was to remove class enemies ( and supply the gulags with labour) and to spread socialist control to the countryside for the Bolsheviks had always considered the peasantry ‘ an awkward class’. Good candidates will find themselves taking issue with the proposition in the question. The transformation of agriculture, from small scale peasant farms based on animal power and human muscle to large scale mechanised collectives was Stalin’s most ambitious and least successful project. The speed and brutality with which it was implemented had catastrophic effects for Soviet agriculture as production declined and animal numbers fell by between half and two thirds. The collectives were grossly inefficient because the peasants cajoled into them were utterly demoralised. Collectivisation was almost universally perceived as a second serfdom by country folk - it imposed state economic exploitation and denied farm workers civil and economic rights afforded to industrial workers - and this explains why Ukrainian and southern Russian peasants initially welcomed the Nazi invaders in 1941. The question invites critical analysis and debate.

4

(a) *In what ways did Soviet policies in the 1930s seek to strengthen the family?*

(20)

#### **Indicative Content**

This Question invites candidates to examine the ways in which the USSR attempted to reinstate and strengthen the family at the centre of social policy. Candidates can reach level 2 by describing the role of women in Soviet society but reference to the family and to means will be implicit. Better candidates will set the scene by explaining the effects of the liberal experimentation of the Bolsheviks on the family and they will focus on the family per se as an institution and its importance in Soviet ideology. A range of methods for strengthening the family will be analysed. In order to create a stable society and expand the birth rate Stalin used propaganda to portray the ideal family as large, harmonious and hard-working, motherhood as a socialist duty and parental care as the model environment. In 1934 the law was used to rehabilitate old-fashioned marriage and to make divorce more difficult. Homosexuality was criminalised in 1934 and abortion outlawed in 1936. The right to choose to bear children in law was removed. Culture and the arts were employed to contrast socialist love with sexual licence and to depict mothers as heroic socialist models. Honours were publicly bestowed. Good candidates will weigh the relative significance of the methods proffered and note the contradiction between the ideal family and the portrayal of the emancipated 'new woman' as hero-worker in a classless society.

4

(b) *How far did military priorities dictate the nature and pace of the Five Year Plans in the years 1928 - 41?*

(40)

#### **Indicative Content**

This Question invites candidates to reach a supported judgement on the factors responsible for the Five Year Plans, with particular respect to military and defensive preparation. Candidates can reach level 2 by describing the four Plans but linkage with the military priority will be implicit. Better candidates will make explicit reference to the "military priority", will show an awareness of the chronological parameters and will make the effects of militarization central. For Stalin war was something imposed by capitalism and he linked modernisation to the military ability to defend as early as the First Five Year Plan in 1928. The critical turning point was during the second Five Year Plan when Stalin backed large scale militarization and the economic restructuring needed to achieve it in view of Japanese aggression in China. This entailed increased production in heavy engineering, machinery and chemicals. It led to the decision in the second Five Year Plan to relocate industry. From 1933 - 38 defensive spending trebled to a level comparable to Germany. A national mobilisation increased the armed forces eightfold from 1931 - 41 and equipping them dictated the final reform of Gosplan in 1938. Good candidates will weigh this stated factor against and note connections with the other priorities of the Five Year Plans. Although Stalin's military intentions were defensive and reactive he had ambitions to make the USSR a world power. The economic intentions were to achieve self-sufficiency in capital goods, to surpass the capitalist countries in per capita industrial output and to outstrip them technically. The Five Year Plans were also seen as the way to a coercive command economy, and constructing a modern continental economy from above was a means of replacing the missing bourgeois stage of economic development. The underlying ideological purpose was the construction of a socialist utopia. But for the revolution to survive it had to be physically defended and the major industrial achievement was the creation of a technically advanced armaments industry from scratch. In 1929-30 Soviet factories turned out 170 tanks and 204 combat aircraft; in 1940 they turned out 2,794 tanks and 8,232 combat aircraft of a quality at least equal to the Wehrmacht.

6523G - Paper 3G Mark Scheme  
Conflict, Identity and Independence: China and India in the First Half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century

Option I - Colonial Rule and the nationalist Challenge in India, c.1900-47

1

(a) *In what ways did Gandhi's political ideas develop in the years to 1922?*

(20)

**Indicative Content**

This Question invites candidates to consider the ideological development of one of the central characters in the nationalist challenge to the Raj. Candidates can reach level 2 with accurate information on Gandhi but it will be presented in a narrative and biographical way and will only implicitly address the development of political ideas. Progress to level 3 will depend on imposing a pattern on the material and making explicit reference to the stages through which this dimension of his thought developed. From experiences as a lawyer in South Africa Gandhi learned to both co-operate with and confront authority. From this emerged non-violent protest as a moral force or satyagraha. At a local level in India he advocated the politics of loosely linked village republics or ashrams and the living of a simple life in them by people of all religions. From 1915 - 22 as a lawyer he grappled with the realities of peasant causes and his thinking pointed to the creation of a moral force to which the British would bow. The political breakthrough in terms of reputation came with a campaign to resist the Rowlatt Acts of 1919, and Amritsar raised him to a power to dominate Congress affairs. The outcome was the campaign of non-cooperation from 1920-22. Good candidates will appreciate the interconnectedness of the political and religious dimensions of his thought in Gandhi's quest for enlightenment. By 1922 saintly politics were shown to have practical repercussions and his image as Mahatma provided the connecting ideology.

- 1  
(b) *To what extent did the Government of India Act of 1935 have only limited success because it was an inadequate response to the situation in India in the 1930s?*

(40)

### **Indicative Content**

This Question invites candidates to reach a judgement on the effectiveness of the 1935 Government of India Act in addressing the real issues for the Raj and India at a time of rapid change. Candidates can reach level 2 by describing the circumstances and the provisions of the Act but analysis of "success" will be limited and implicit. Better candidates will make clear the intention of the Act and evaluate its successes and failures in creating an institutional framework which would preserve British interests in India. They will also relate this to the context of rising national forces in India, Congress counting down to a republic in a matter of years. On the positive side the Act successfully transplanted the representative institutions of a western democracy to India and enlarged the electorate to 1 in 6 Indians. The provinces were given autonomy and a stronger sense of identity. The principle of devolution underpinned the Act so the power of London decreased and the British fell back to Delhi. Good candidates will distinguish between short- and long-term effects. The Act was an effective temporary solution to India's problems and under it, with the cooperation of Congress, law and order were maintained and there was substantial progress in agriculture and education. However as a conservative measure standing in the face of growing nationalist forces the Act was a failure in the long term. It was an unwieldy and complex measure (the longest act ever passed in Britain). Its reliance on the princely bloc to maintain the status quo placed it squarely in the face of the forces of change. The complicated federation which bound to it in separate treaties Muslims, Hindus and Princes took so long to organise that it was overtaken by events. It was essentially a compromise and as such little liked by either side - in Britain it was attacked by the India Defence League and the Rothermere press and, more importantly, in India Nehru's radicals opposed it outright and even set up a shadow government in Delhi. Nor did the Act address central religious issues, the federation being dominated by Muslim hostility to Hindus. The experiment of the Government of India Act, which stretched the skeletal ICS to breaking point, ended in 1939 when Congress withdrew co-operation in order to exploit British wartime difficulties.

- 2  
(a) *What was the impact of the Amritsar Massacre on relations between Britain and India in the years 1919 - 30?* (20)

**Indicative Content**

This Question invites candidates to analyse the effects of a major crisis in Anglo-Indian relations. Candidates can reach level 2 by describing the events of 1919 in the Punjab but any evaluation of the "impact" will be implicit and will be limited to the short term. The context of disturbances in the Punjab following the introduction of the Rowlatt Acts and the roles of Dyer and O'Dwyer in the confrontation in the capital will be explored in some detail. Better candidates will focus on the consequences so far as they impacted on relations between Britain and India. A major scandal and the subject of an enquiry, Amritsar poisoned relations between rulers and ruled. It placed Britain on the defensive and gave the initiative to Indians. It enabled Gandhi to dominate Congress affairs. In the short term the Rowlatt Acts were repealed and in 1920 Gandhi won support for his programme of non-cooperation and this had longer term implications for the future of a Raj that became increasingly ungovernable. Good candidates will analyse Amritsar as a turning point for to many Indians it signalled that cooperation with Britain was impossible and it increased their determination to end British rule. The best candidates will set against the drama of this crisis the return to normality in the 1920s, a decade characterised by disillusion, the collapse of unity, political stagnation and religious divisions ( in 1924 the Muslim League resumed meeting separate from Congress).

2

- (b) *How far was the Second World War responsible for accelerating progress towards complete Indian independence?*

(40)

### **Indicative Content**

This Question invites candidates to reach a judgement on the impact of the Second World War relative to other forces at play in moving India towards independence in 1948. Candidates can reach level 2 by describing India's role in the War which dominated and affected the subcontinent more closely and deeply than the First World War, but linkage with "independence" will be implicit. The Second World War began inauspiciously with the Viceroy declaring war without any show of consultation and thereby dooming the federation set up in 1935. Despite India's heart not being in the War, the war effort was impressive as was the Indian army's fighting record. The army of 205,000 had risen to 2.2 million by 1945, half the defence expenditure was chargeable to India and war materials worth £286m. - mainly clothing, textiles and ordnance - were provided. India was a supply centre and a base for hostilities when Japan attacked in 1941. But in a mood of bitterness and frustration Congress invented 'Quit India' and demanded withdrawal of Britain on the pain of fresh civil disobedience. The jailing of Congress leaders sparked the worst rebellion since 1857 but it was quickly controlled and deadlock ensued with Indian politics put 'on ice' until 1945. Better candidates will dig behind the events for factors "accelerating progress towards independence" and will weigh their relative importance. In the long term the War heralded the decline of Britain's world influence and her ability to maintain an empire. The loss of Singapore and Rangoon to an Asian power in 1942 was a major blow to Britain's prestige and an encouragement to nationalism in the Empire. The War determined the timing of Indian independence. The Cripps Offer of 1942 was a clear promise of independence after the War and marked the point where Britain's departure became inevitable. The War also subjected the structure of the Raj to major strains and demonstrated its frailty - there were shortcomings in police and intelligence, the ICS was stretched to breaking and the Bengal Famine of 1943 was partly the result of administrative incompetence - and Wavell was in no doubt that the game was up. Once Congress leaders were released there was anticipation of a breakdown of British rule and elections in 1945-6 showed Congress to be the legitimate successor for the majority Hindus. The Muslim League in 1940 declared its goal to be Pakistan. And India moved on economically during the War - industries like textiles, steel and cement were stimulated, thousands of technicians were produced and service from all over the country in the army stimulated nationalism among Indians. Good candidates will note the significance of "accelerating" and examine elements of continuity as well as change. In matters of traditions, life-styles, economy and social structure as well as politics more stayed the same than changed - so the 1940s can be seen as a 'middle passage'. It was only after the War, for example, that the loyalty of troops and police came to be doubted. War had postponed, not solved, the issue of self-government and forces of nationalism predated the War. The arrival of Labour in Britain in 1945 brought to power a government with sympathy for Indian aspirations, more realistic about the priorities of the British public and subject to anti-imperialist pressure from the USA.

## Option II - Modernisation and Conflict in China, c.1900-49

3

(a) *In what ways did the Warlord Era damage China in the years 1916 - 28?*

(20)

### Indicative Content.

This Question invites candidates to analyse the effects of a most complex period in Chinese political history with particular respect to the "damage" done. Candidates can reach level 2 with description of leading events but they will struggle to impose a pattern. Between 1916 and 1928 the political history of China as a united country ceased, to be replaced by a shifting system of quasi-independent states dominated by eccentric characters whose outlooks and allegiances changed with frightening rapidity. Candidates will almost be driven to analysis but its progress to level 3 will depend on the light thrown on "damage". Better candidates will consider "damage" from a number of social and political perspectives and in the short- or long-term. The warlords brought continuous civil war and virtually a return to feudalism as in return for military service they won control of territory, customs revenues and the salt monopoly. Warfare was incessant and destructive in material terms and socially as the growing of opium was revived. Inflation was rampant as a result of tax increases and the printing of money. Agriculture suffered from the living off the land of 2 million arbitrarily conscripted Chinese while the neglect and destruction of flood defences led to famine. On an international level military impotence led to China's 'betrayal' at Versailles and to intervention by the Soviets into Mongolia and by the Japanese into Manchuria. Good candidates will be rewarded for identifying any beneficial consequences and most will have to rest content with weighing relative "damage" according to stated criteria.

3

(b) *How far do mistakes and failures by the Guomindang, in the years 1945 - 49, explain their defeat by the Chinese Communist Party?*

(40)

### Indicative Content

This Question invites candidates to reach a judgement on the reasons for the astounding defeat of the regime which had reunified then ruled China since 1928 by weighing its "mistakes and failures" against other forces at play. Candidates can reach level 2 by describing the leading military events in Manchuria and at Huai Hai where Guomindang forces five times the size of the Communists', and backed by US air and naval power and enjoying modern equipment, were humiliatingly defeated. They are likely to attribute the defeats to the strengths of Mao and the Communists and reference to "mistakes and failures" will be implicit. Better candidates will focus on the self-inflicted damage and progress through level 3 will depend on the range and development of the coverage. The best candidates will analyse separately "mistakes" and "failures" and weigh the one against the other. It was a "mistake" for Chiang during World War Two to deploy ½ million men in a cordon sanitaire around the Shensi base of the Communists instead of resisting foreign invaders. "Failure" on the economic front because of the regime's rottenness with corruption and nepotism (involving Chiang himself and his family) did lasting damage and it was a mistake to remain deaf to US advice to reorganise and democratise. By 1949 hyperinflation was rampant and public salaries were worthless. The ruling class lost confidence and the will to rule. Good candidates will examine other forces at play, most notably the attributes of the Communists. They led to the war of resistance against the Japanese and won over the villages with improvised technology and participation in tilling the land and producing cotton. The Communists also won the propaganda war and thus enhanced their reputation for courage and incorruptibility. By 1945 the military balance tipped against the Guomindang and with a regular army of 910,000 and a militia of 2.2 million the CCP won the great victories of 1948 and 1949.

(a) *In what ways was the Long March of 1934 - 35 important for the Chinese Communists in the years to 1945?*

(20)

#### **Indicative Content**

This Question invites candidates to evaluate the significance of this central episode in the survival and victory of Communism in China. Candidates can reach level 2 with a narrative account of events from Mao's escape from Jiangxi in the face of the Guomindang's Fifth Extermination Campaign. They will recount the epic journey of 8,000 miles, the crossing of the Tatu River Bridge, the separation of forces and Mao's arrival in Shensi in June 1935 with only 10,000 of the 90,000 original participants. Progress into level 3 will depend on explicit focus on "important" and on the range and development of relevant consequences. Mao now emerged as the dominant figure in the Party following the defeat of Zhou Enlai and the returned Bolsheviks, and this had profound implications for the development of the Party by 1945. The stupendous march across the entire length of China was a tremendous moral victory and had great propaganda potential for winning peasant support. From the secure Shensi base the Communists acquired international significance by striking at the Japanese with weapons provided by the USSR and playing a part in the defence of China. And in the process of the March the revolution was carried into northern China where there was much landlord oppression and hence potential for recruitment. The tales of discipline and endurance became part of the mythology of Communism in China with significance extending beyond 1945. Good candidates in evaluating "importance" will note that in the short term the Long March was a disastrous retreat following a devastating defeat and that it was only in propaganda terms that it could be judged a victory.

- (b) *How far were the weaknesses and mistakes of the ruling dynasty responsible for causing a revolution in China in the years 1911 - 12?*

#### **Indicative Content**

This Question invited candidates to reach a judgement on the relative importance of factors contributing to a turning point in modern Chinese history by weighing dynastic “weaknesses and mistakes” against other forces at play. Candidates can reach level 2 with a narrative account of events of the rule of the Empress Dowager Cixi until 1908 when the last Manchu Emperor Pu Yi was enthroned. Revolutionary activity at Peking National University was the seedbed of modernisation and after Japan’s victory over Russia in 1905 the pace quickened, a Constitutional Movement appeared and Prince Chun created provincial assemblies which looked to a national assembly. China became a republic in 1912 when Pu Yi abdicated. Better candidates will dig behind events for evidence of “weakness” and “mistakes” and develop them in range and depth. Good candidates will weigh the relative importance of factors in causing a revolution and treat the two themes separately and evaluate the significance of the one against the other. “Weakness” initially was evident in loss of sovereignty to Western Powers, and the loss of tributary kingdoms was blamed on the Manchus. Similarly the failure of the Boxer Rising of 1900 was associated with a reactionary faction at court including the Empress and it destroyed the last chance of averting revolution. “Mistakes” were more evident in failure to promote an industrial revolution and to solve the shortage of land problem and thus ultimately relieve the pressure of a growing population. The dynasty was also remiss in allowing frustration over reform to turn to revolution and in failing to suppress unrest at Peking National University. Good candidates will identify factors other than those stated which were responsible for revolution for it came from an unexpected direction. A revolutionary nationalist movement appeared under Dr. Sun Yat-sen which espoused republican and democratic doctrines and won the support of students studying in Japan. But the overthrow of the dynasty was in the last analysis the work of the army whose junior officers had been infiltrated by reformers. The chain of events is important. Fearing arrest, two regiments in 1911 mutinied and seized the Wuhan arsenal. This triggered local revolts by gentry resentful of foreign influence in railways and provinces asserted their independence. They competed for the support of a reforming general Yuan Shikai and he became president in 1912.

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