CAMBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL EXAMINATIONS Pre-U Certificate



### MARK SCHEME for the May/June 2013 series

### 9769 HISTORY

9769/03

Paper 3 (US History Outlines c.1750–2000), maximum raw mark 90

This mark scheme is published as an aid to teachers and candidates, to indicate the requirements of the examination. It shows the basis on which Examiners were instructed to award marks. It does not indicate the details of the discussions that took place at an Examiners' meeting before marking began, which would have considered the acceptability of alternative answers.

Mark schemes should be read in conjunction with the question paper and the Principal Examiner Report for Teachers.

Cambridge will not enter into discussions about these mark schemes.

Cambridge is publishing the mark schemes for the May/June 2013 series for most IGCSE, Pre-U, GCE Advanced Level and Advanced Subsidiary Level components and some Ordinary Level components.



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These banding definitions address Assessment Objectives 1, 2 and 4, and should be used in conjunction with the indicative content mark schemes for each question.

### Introduction

(a) The banding definitions which follow reflect, and must be interpreted within the context of, the following general statement:

Examiners should give their highest marks to candidates who show a ready understanding of the relevant material and a disciplined management of the discussion the question provokes. They should be impressed more by critical judgement, careful discrimination and imaginative handling than by a weight of facts. Credit should be given for evidence of a good historical intelligence and for good use of perhaps unremarkable material rather than for a stereotyped rehearsal of memorised information.

- (b) Examiners should use these banding definitions in combination with the paper-specific mark schemes.
- (c) It should go without saying that any explanation or judgement is strengthened if informed by the use of source material.
- (d) Examiners are also asked to bear in mind, when reading the following, that analysis sufficient for a mark in the highest band may perfectly legitimately be deployed within a chronological framework. Candidates who eschew an explicitly analytical response may well yet be able, by virtue of the very intelligence and pointedness of their selection of elements for a well-sustained and well-grounded account, to provide sufficient implicit analysis to justify a Band 2 mark.
- (e) The Band in which an essay is placed depends on a range of criteria. As a result, not all essays fall obviously into one particular Band. In such cases a 'best-fit' approach should be adopted with any doubt erring on the side of generosity.
- (f) In marking an essay, examiners should first place it in a Band and then fine-tune the mark in terms of how strongly/weakly the demands of the Band have been demonstrated.

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### Band 1: 25–30

The answer will be sharply analytical in approach and strongly argued. It will show that the demands of the question have been fully understood and that a conscious and sustained attempt has been made to respond to them in appropriate range and depth. It will be coherent and structured with a clear sense of direction. The focus will be sharp and persistent. Some lack of balance, in that certain aspects are covered less fully or certain arguments deployed less strongly than others, need not preclude a mark in this Band. The material will be wide-ranging and handled with the utmost confidence and a high degree of maturity. Historical explanations will be invariably clear, sharp and well developed and historical concepts fully understood. Where appropriate there will be conscious and successful attempts to engage with the historiography, to evaluate source material critically and to demonstrate an awareness of competing interpretations. Use of English will be clear and fluent with excellent vocabulary and virtually error-free.

### Band 2: 19–24

The answer will be characterised by an analytical and argued approach, although there may be the occasional passage which does not go beyond description or narrative. It will show that the demands of the question have been very well understood and that a determined attempt has been made to respond to them in appropriate range and depth. The essay will be coherent and clearly structured and its judgements will be effectively supported by accurate and relevant material. Some lack of rigour in the argument and occasional blurred focus may be allowed. Where appropriate there will be a conscious and largely successful attempt to engage with the historiography, to evaluate source material and to demonstrate an awareness of competing interpretations. The material will be wide-ranging, fully understood, confidently deployed and well controlled with high standards of accuracy. Historical explanations will be clear and well developed and there will be a sound understanding of historical concepts and vocabulary. Use of English will be highly competent, clear, generally fluent and largely error-free.

#### Band 3: 13–18

The answer will attempt an analytical approach, although there will be passages which do not go beyond description or narrative. It will show that the demands of the question have been understood, at least in large part, and that a conscious attempt has been made to respond to them. There will be an effective focus on the terms of the question and, although in places this may break down, standards of relevance will be generally high. Although it may not be sustained throughout the answer, or always fully supported, there will be a recognisable sense of argument. The material will be clearly understood, with a good range, and organisation will be sound. There will be a conscious attempt to draw conclusions and form judgements and these will be adequately supported. Some understanding of differing and competing interpretations is to be expected and some evaluation of sources may be attempted but probably not in a very sophisticated form. Historical explanations and the use of historical concepts and vocabulary will be generally sound but some lack of understanding is to be expected. Use of English will be competent, clear and largely free of serious errors.

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### Band 4: 7–12

The answer may contain some analysis but descriptive or narrative material will predominate. The essay will show that the demands of the question have been understood, at least in good part, and that some attempt has been made to respond to them. It will be generally coherent with a fair sense of organisation. Focus on the exact terms of the question is likely to be uneven and there will be a measure of irrelevance. There will be some inaccuracies in knowledge, and the range may well be limited with some gaps. Understanding of the material will be generally sound, although there will be some lack of tautness and precision. Explanations will be generally clear although not always convincing or well developed. Some attempt at argument is to be expected but it will lack sufficient support in places and sense of direction may not always be clear. There may be some awareness of differing interpretations and some attempt at evaluating source material but this is not generally to be expected at this level and such skills, where deployed, will be unsophisticated. Some errors of English will be present but written style should be clear although lacking in real fluency.

### Band 5: 0–6

The answers will respond in some measure to the demands of the question but will be very limited in meeting these. Analysis, if it appears at all, will be brief and undeveloped. If an argument is attempted it will be lacking in real coherence, sense of direction, support and rigour. Focus on the exact terms of the question is likely to be very uneven; unsupported generalisations, vagueness and irrelevance are all likely to be on show. Historical knowledge, concepts and vocabulary will be halting and unclear. Where judgements are made they will be largely unsubstantiated whilst investigation of historical problems will be very elementary. Awareness of differing interpretations and the evaluation of sources is not to be expected. The answer may well be fragmentary, slight and even unfinished. Significant errors of spelling, grammar, punctuation and syntax may well hamper a proper understanding of the script.

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### Section 1: c. 1750-c. 1820

# 1 To what extent was the deterioration in relations between Britain and its American colonies between 1763 and 1776 due to the unreasonable attitude of the Americans to the British?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. The deterioration can be seen in colonial opposition to the Proclamation Act (1763) and the opposition to taxation, such as the Stamp Tax (1765) and Townsend's Duties (1767) introduced after the end of the Seven Years War in 1763. The Boston Massacre (1770) which resulted in the deaths of five people, the attack on the Gaspee (1772) and the Boston Tea Party (1773) further exacerbated relations. The Continental Congress (1774) met to organise protest and resistance against the British and they rejected North's 'Olive Branch'. The Intolerable Acts (1774) strained relations further which were brought to a climax with the clash at Lexington (1775) and the battle of Bunker Hill (1775). The publication of Paine's 'Common Sense' and the Declaration of Independence (1776) confirmed the breach in relations.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Where appropriate, attempts to deal with historiography, critical evaluation of source material and of differing historical interpretations may enhance responses. Many may treat each in turn considering the argument for and against the interpretation in the question. Others may decide to present the case against the Americans as a whole and then consider a counter argument in wider terms. Either way, the relative significance of particular developments should be assessed and a judgement on the interpretation reached. Americans' breach of the Proclamation Act could be considered an example of their unreasonableness given the danger posed by Indians in the area concerned following the attack by Pontiac on Virginia. Their refusal to accept any taxation despite the cost of the Seven Years War and the need to defend the American lands against the French after 1763 might be discussed as unreasonable. Events such as the Boston Massacre, the attack on the Gaspee and the Boston Tea Party all might be cited as examples of reluctance by the Americans to co-operate. Further, the demands of the Continental Congress, the ideological challenge presented by Adams, Paine and Jefferson and their rejection of North's 'Olive Branch' might be discussed as indicative of an unwillingness to work with the British. However, candidates may argue that American actions were short term and protest was limited to specific actions in response to particular events rather than any sustained reluctance to cooperate. In most instances, agitation ceased after redress of grievances, for example, after the Stamp Act was repealed. Further, most concede that a third of the population was loyal and a similar number were prepared to accept British rule. It could also be argued that the British were equally intransigent and only co-operated (conceded) under pressure. This could be said of the retention of the tea tax, their refusal to address the 'right to vote' for representation in Parliament and the four Acts of 1774 introduced without consultation and a clear indication of British insensitivity, a theme which could be applied more generally to the increased involvement of the British in the government of the colonies after the years of 'salutary neglect'.

AO3 - [Not applicable to Outlines]

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### 2 'After the Battle of Saratoga, 1777, the British had no chance of subduing the American colonies.' Assess the validity of this judgement.

### Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required – with explanation to the fore. Details about events at Saratoga culminating in the surrender of Burgoyne would be helpful to highlight the problems faced by the British: distances involved, co-ordination of armies, nature of warfare in the terrain, unorthodox tactics of the rebels etc. Subsequently, the French and Spanish entered the war (1778) with troops (Lafayette's influence was important) and their navies, widening the war by drawing the British into conflict in the West Indies. Cornwallis's advance through the south culminated in his surrender at Yorktown (1781) and in 1783 Britain was forced to make peace.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Where appropriate, attempts to deal with historiography, critical evaluation of source material and of differing historical interpretations may enhance responses. It could be argued that Saratoga thwarted the British plan to regain control of New England and thereafter there was no prospect of restoring British power in the North-East area of the 13 Colonies. In addition, Howe's failure to fulfil the role expected of him confirmed the impossibility of the government in London to direct the campaign. However, it could be argued that after the battle of Bunker Hill (1775) the British showed they were vulnerable and that the Americans were serious adversaries. Moreover, the British lost control of Boston and Massachusetts arguably the key to control of the colonies as a whole. Was the cause lost with the Declaration of Independence (1776)? This defined the divide between colonists and the British more clearly than before and it galvanised support for the cause of independence. The fact that only a third of the population were prepared to declare for independence may be considered a counter point. Were the British doomed to fail after the heroics of Washington in holding the American army together in Valley Forge (1777-8)? After all, Howe had the chance to follow up his earlier victory in New York and Washington's force recovered from an all time low point. Despite Saratoga, was there a chance that Britain could yet subdue the colonists? After all, the progress of the British in 1780 as they scored victories in the South suggests they might have proceeded to roll up the colonies. If Cornwallis had avoided Yorktown the British might have turned the tide. Instead, American morale was revitalised and although the war continued the outcome was not in doubt. Perhaps it was after Yorktown that the British had no chance to subdue the colonists?

#### AO3 – [Not applicable to Outlines]

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### 3 'Personalities rather than policies divided the political parties.' How far do you agree with this view on American politics between 1792 and c.1820?

### Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required – with explanation to the fore. The Federalists and Republicans – later called the Democrats – emerged in 1792. The financial measures of Hamilton (Federalist) on tariffs, taxes and the Bank of America in the 1790s divided the political parties and were recurring themes of party dispute till 1816. The French Revolution and foreign policy divided the parties. Personal differences between Hamilton and Jefferson and between Aaron Burr and Hamilton, who fought a duel resulting in the death of the latter, illustrate the bitterness of relations between key politicians. Reference could be made to the presidential election of 1808. However, with the presidency of Monroe (1817–25) party rivalry ceased for a period of eight years often known as the 'Era of Good Feeling'.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Where appropriate, attempts to deal with historiography, critical evaluation of source material and of differing historical interpretations may enhance responses. Candidates may treat policy and personality separately and try to weigh one against the other as a cause of division but more sophisticated answers will demonstrate the linkage between them. Before 1820 various issues divided politicians and it was also a time when rivalry between prominent politicians was intense. It is possible to argue that personality was more important at some points in the period than policy and vice versa with the effect of Monroe's election an illustration of the importance of either policy or personality differences beforehand. As such there is scope to argue either way and also to explore how policy and personality blurred. Federalist policy was criticised by the Republicans as favouring the rich. This served to emphasise the divergence of the leading figures on each party as Hamilton disapproved of democracy whereas Jefferson, leader of the Republicans, was an idealist committed to popular politics. These differences on democracy explain opposing views on the French Revolution and opposition of Jefferson to the introduction of coercive measures in America by the Federalists. Policy differences on relations with Britain and France during the Revolution can be explained by the different principles of the leading personalities of the two parties. Jefferson's victory in the presidential election of 1800 thwarted Hamilton's ambition and helps explain the rivalry of party thereafter. There was general but by no means unanimous agreement on the Louisiana Purchase and how to manage the movement west. They differed on how to deal with England: Federalists were so alarmed by war with England that some argued for secession of the New England states.

#### AO3 – [Not applicable to Outlines]

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### 4 'British interference with America's European trade best explains why the two nations came to war in 1812.' Discuss.

### Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required – with explanation to the fore. The Orders in Council of the British government, 1807, forbade trade with Europe and the British claimed the right to interfere with American ships en route to and from Europe. The USA responded with the Embargo Act forbidding all exports from the USA which was replaced in 1809 by the Non-Intercourse Act which banned all US trade with both Britain and France but offering to withdraw it when either stopped interfering with US ships. The Macon Act of 1810 turned this policy on its head. When Napoleon offered to withdraw his blockade of Britain on condition Britain withdrew her Orders, Madison accepted but Britain was slow to react so the US declared war. Congress was certainly annoyed by Britain's reluctance to ease her restrictions on US ships. Also, British impressments of sailors who had deserted to US ships was a complicating and connected factor particularly as US citizens were often seized in error as when three men were taken off the Chesapeake in 1807. This incident alone aroused a wave of war feeling in the US.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Where appropriate, attempts to deal with historiography, critical evaluation of source material and of differing historical interpretations may enhance responses. The importance of British interference can be guestioned. The extent of the trade between the US and Britain was not that extensive and US policy hit US exporters, especially New Englanders, not just Britain. Further, Britain did withdraw the Orders in Council but the news did not reach the US in time to prevent Congress' declaration. The relative importance of other factors needs to be considered. Canada was a cause of war. Americans were keen to move into Upper Canada. In 1811 politicians from the western lands (the 'War Hawks') demanded an attack on Canada. Following the annexation of part of Florida in 1810 there was enthusiasm to repeat the trick. The question of Indians in the Lakes area was another cause of war. Britain encouraged tribes there to unite their forces as a check on American settlement. Harrison, Governor of Indiana Territory led an expedition into Indian lands and destroyed Tecumseh at Tippecanoe. This was regarded as a blow against the British. Judgements should not only assess the importance of trade but other factors too.

AO3 – [Not applicable to Outlines]

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### 5 How successful was resistance in the South to attempts to restrict slavery between 1763 and 1820?

### Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required – with explanation to the fore. Geographically, slavery's northern limit was set by the Mason-Dixon Line of 1763. Its parameters were more accurately defined by the North West Ordinance of 1787 prohibiting slavery north and west of the Ohio River. However, the Louisiana Purchase, 1803, opened large tracts of land for the extension of slavery which was institutionalised in the States of Louisiana and Arkansas. The Missouri Compromise of 1820 restated the boundaries of slavery.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Where appropriate, attempts to deal with historiography, critical evaluation of source material and of differing historical interpretations may enhance responses. From the detail provided above it appeared that the boundary was always shifting. Given that slavery was uneconomic beyond these notional boundaries it could be argued the South were successful in resisting attempts to restrict slavery. The assumption was that below that line slavery was the business of the States concerned so, in that respect, the South successfully resisted the restriction of slavery. The constitutional arrangements of 1787 implied sanction of slavery by allowing slaves to be considered as represented in Congress (although disenfranchised). Similarly, included in the Articles of government was acceptance of the duty of others to return escaped slaves. Effectively, the concept of States Rights ensured that slave States determined the nature of slavery within their borders. In 1787 the slave States won a reprieve on the abolition of the slave trade but this was later introduced in 1808. Intended as a way of checking the growth of slavery the effect of the ban was limited: instead, slaves became more valuable and their procreation more important to sustain slavery. Indeed, the number of slaves increased. In 1700 there were only 28,000 slaves in the USA, in 1770 there were 460,000 and 1820, 1,500,000. Southerners were able to maintain their authority, in large measure by force, with impunity. Perpetrators of 'revolts', attacks against whites, crimes against property notably arson were punished severely. In the cases of execution of the slaves responsible the slave owners were compensated: owners of 434 slaves executed, 1783–1814, were compensated by the State. In the context of establishing a new country it could be argued that concession and compromise was necessary. Also, the abolition movement had not yet surfaced. If anything, it was climate, soil and economic factors that decided the extent of slavery against which the South would not have needed to resist anyway.

#### AO3 – [Not applicable to Outlines]

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### Section 2: c.1820–1865

## 6 To what extent was the 'peculiar institution' in the South simply a system of ruthless exploitation of black slaves?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required – with explanation to the fore. Evidence of how slaves were bought and sold, housed and worked, how they were punished and pursued if they escaped and the examples of rebels such as Vessey (1822), Nat Turner (1831) and the extent of the discontent of slaves is considerable from which candidates could draw to assess the view.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Where appropriate, attempts to deal with historiography, critical evaluation of source material and of differing historical interpretations may enhance responses. Opinion was divided then as now. Some have regarded slavery as benign and others as ruthless in its exploitation of black labour. Candidates may be familiar with the views of Helper and Olmstead, who investigated the system in the 1860s. Both agreed that the system was one of ruthless exploitation by a few and one that was not conducive to the wellbeing of not only the slaves but other poor whites. The National Anti-Slavery Society, started in 1833, regarded slavery in the same way and literature ('Uncle Tom's Cabin', for example) reinforced this view. However, there is a counter argument which contemporaries and historians have presented since, that slavery was relatively benign. Defenders of slavery, like FitzHugh, might be familiar to candidates who argued that not only were slaves well treated but they were better off than free labourers in the factories of the North. A common line of argument was that the welfare of slaves was a priority for their owners and as such they were free of care from cradle to grave. White masters are often portrayed as humane and at least sensitive to the value of their assets which were regarded as property and an investment. Candidates should explore the two sides of this debate. Most may argue that the case for and against is clear-cut but others will be aware of the shades of grey between the two contrasting interpretations. For instance, it might be that domestic slaves were exploited less than field workers, that slaves in the Deep South were treated more harshly than in the Border States and that some masters were more paternal than others. Most are likely to conclude that slaves were exploited in so far as they were denied their freedom but differ in terms of whether their exploitation was 'ruthless'.

AO3 – [Not applicable to Outlines]

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### 7 'Jacksonian Democracy had surprisingly little to do with President Jackson.' How far do you agree with this view?

### Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required – with explanation to the fore. Jackson's inauguration as President in 1829 is often said to mark the beginning of true democracy in the USA, that is, government for and by the people. During his presidency the Republican Party adopted the name the Democratic Party, the 'second party' system emerged and popular involvement in politics widened. During his presidency several contentious issues emerged: the issue of States Rights which led to the Nullification Crisis, the treatment of native Indian people and the future of the Bank of America were matters of debate that raise questions about Jacksonian Democracy.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Where appropriate, attempts to deal with historiography, critical evaluation of source material and of differing historical interpretations may enhance responses. Some candidates may consider those aspects of the period that were democratic and then features that were contrary to the notion of democracy. Others may assess the credentials of a range of issues in turn and so provide a more engaged argument throughout. Either way candidates should select material as support for a point of argument rather than as a narrative account of the period. Jackson background and character help explain the 'democracy' of the 1830s. He was a backwoodsman of humble origins: his predecessors had been from the landowning elite. His very inauguration, when the White House reception was opened to all who wanted to attend, symbolised an openness and access to the presidency that had not been the case earlier. 'Old Hickory' was dignified, honest and straight talking. But, he introduced the spoils system, already a feature of state government which distorted the political process and could be argued to be undemocratic. In addition, Jackson used a 'kitchen cabinet' of friends (mostly prosperous businessmen) who served as a rival to the official cabinet. The 'second party' system emerged under Jackson. Democrats and Whigs competed for support nationally but really only every four years to campaign for the presidency. Social events, the use of newspapers, regular canvassing and processions were organised and, crucially, large numbers of people were attracted and involved in these events. This was equally so at state level at a time when state legislatures were most important in shaping American life. Given that state and local elections were frequent and at different times in different states there was continuous political activity and popular involvement. However, democracy was limited in that it was unusual for one party to dominate Congress and the presidency and so little was done at federal level. Indeed, Congress only sat from November to March. Further, the prevailing view of the politicians was that government should do little especially in economic and social matters so the federal government was small in terms of departments of state and state employees whose impact on American life was limited. The Nullification Crisis raised the question of States' Rights. Was Jackson's resistance of the demands of South Carolina undemocratic given the emphasis on local government and Jackson's reliance on southern votes for his election? Was Jackson's veto of Congress's approval to renew the charter of the Bank of America undemocratic? Was the dispossession of Indians of their lands on a large scale undemocratic? Was the denial of women and blacks any political rights a weakness of 'Jacksonian Democracy'?

AO3 – [Not applicable to Outlines]

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### 8 'The objectives of US foreign policy in the years 1818–62 did not extend beyond the resolution of its border issues with neighbouring states.' Discuss.

### Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required – with explanation to the fore. The borders of the USA after 1783 could be defined to set the immediate context which changed over the period. Examples of policies concerned with border issues are many. The resolution of the southern border with Florida and the northern border with Britain were resolved just before 1820. In the late 1830s the Canadian border arose as an issue once more with the prospect of war before the matters were resolved in agreements of 1842 and 1846. The resolution of the border with Mexico emerged as a problem in the 1830s and ultimately resulted in war in 1846 and the annexation of California, New Mexico and Texas and later led to the Gadsden Purchase.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Where appropriate, attempts to deal with historiography, critical evaluation of source material and of differing historical interpretations may enhance responses. A chronological approach might be adopted but better answers will consider border disputes as a theme separately from other issues. There is scope to argue that some border disputes were less than straightforward such as with Mexico. Candidates should stress the focus of foreign policy issues rather than simply recount the events surrounding them. Was the war against Mexico as much to do with US ambitions to dominate Central and Southern America? The occupation of Mexico itself might be considered evidence of this. Reference to the Monroe Doctrine, disputes with Britain over Nicaragua and a canal across Panama which emerged in the 1850s could be linked to this theme. The resolution of the dispute with France over payment of debts owed by the latter was achieved in 1835 and was nothing to do with borders. The 1854 Treaty of Kanagawa was signed with Japan which opened Japanese ports to American trade. In the same year a dispute over possession of Cuba blew up which embarrassed both the USA and Spain: but was nothing to do with borders. The rows with Britain over the Trent and Alabama ships in the Civil War were not connected to border issues.

AO3 – [Not applicable to Outlines]

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### 9 How important was the issue of States' Rights in causing the outbreak of the Civil War?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required – with explanation to the fore. States Rights was a major issue especially in this period when the federal government was less powerful. States (North and South) were jealous of their constitutional rights and defensive of them. Slavery was clearly a major issue dividing the North from the South. References to how the controversy on the extension of slavery into the territories manifested itself – the Compromises of 1820 and 1850, the Kansas-Nebraska Crisis etc. – would be appropriate.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Where appropriate, attempts to deal with historiography, critical evaluation of source material and of differing historical interpretations may enhance responses. The Nullification Crisis of 1829-32 is an early example of the importance of States, Rights and the crisis of 1860-61 in some ways merely confirmed something that had always been a problem. However, the counter strain of the imperative of the Union should be assessed. Again, knowledge of how states divided on this during these two crises could be used to illustrate the limitation of States Rights as a factor. The positions and declarations of different politicians over the period on the subject could be assessed. Candidates should explore the strength of support for slavery and the extent of the opposition to it. In doing so, it should be explained that views on this were not clear cut both within and between the sections. The notion of Slave Power could be discussed to demonstrate the concerns of the North. Events in the late 1850s were significant including the application of the Fugitive Slave Law, Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry and Lincoln's election. Discussion on the impact of these events is likely in most answers. Candidates may treat long term from short term causes separately. Some judgement on the relative importance of States Rights should be attempted even if it is difficult to disentangle them from others.

AO3 – [Not applicable to Outlines]

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### 10 'The key to Lincoln's success as President was his effective management of men.' Discuss.

### Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required – with explanation to the fore. The context of his Presidency is relevant and an outline of the period would not be inappropriate: his election in 1860, the threat to the Union posed by secession, the Civil War, political support and opposition within both Sections, his re-election (1864) and his assassination (1865). His principles, personality and political skills could be defined.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Where appropriate, attempts to deal with historiography, critical evaluation of source material and of differing historical interpretations may enhance responses. Answers should do more than recount how the North won the war. This question is about Lincoln as a politician and his political attributes. How he managed men needs to be assessed fully but a rounded response should consider other qualities. A judgement about the relative importance of these attributes should be attempted. Lincoln appointed men of talent and experience to serve in his cabinet even if some were highly ambitious and they were prepared to contribute positively. He was a good listener prepared to act on sound advice. He was self-deprecating although his rather shabby appearance was regarded by some as demeaning of his office. He had great charm and was witty, able to defuse a tense exchange with a genuinely funny joke. He appreciated the importance of Congress and after the elections of 1860 he had no choice anyway but to work closely with the politicians: he enjoyed good relations with them. However, the northern Democrats were critical of his policies even if they backed his stance on the war. He was prepared to give Grant his full support as his main commander in the war. However, in the opening periods of the war he was less confident in his commanders and the North's struggle may have been, in part, because he changed them so frequently. Other qualities of Lincoln to stress include his skills as a speaker. In an age which revered classical oratory Lincoln excelled and impressed as a result. Not only was he a polished performer but he pitched his speeches effectively to fit the public mood and tone of the times. His decision to call for the emancipation of slaves in 1863 is an example of this. At a time of war his ability to communicate and inspire was crucial and his confidence helped stiffen the resolve of the North. His willingness to compromise individual liberties - suspending habeas corpus, raising men and money often without legal sanction, using force to deal with street protest, suppressing those who spoke out or acted against the North's war aims - meant he appeared as a strong, focused leader even if his critics argued this showed him to be ruthless and a threat to the Constitution. Indeed, in the Congressional elections of 1862 the Democrats made gains and in the presidential election of 1864 Lincoln struggled to prevail – but, the fact is, he did.

#### AO3 – [Not applicable to Outlines]

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### Section 3: Themes c.1750–c. 1900

### 11 'Of all the factors that weakened Native American culture before 1900, the extermination of the buffalo was the most important.' How far do you agree with this view?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required – with explanation to the fore. At their peak buffalo numbers were about 13 million but there were virtually none left by 1900. Many Indians depended on the buffalo for food, clothing, fuel, utensils. With dwindling stocks Indians on the Plains were forced to move elsewhere and adapt to different conditions. However, this meant a complete change in the culture of those concerned. Clearly, the loss of the buffalo was important for only those Indians who lived in the areas populated by the animal. Furthermore, the process of reducing buffalo numbers was a feature of the later 19<sup>th</sup> century.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Where appropriate, attempts to deal with historiography, critical evaluation of source material and of differing historical interpretations may enhance responses. Candidates should assess the importance of the buffalo in relation to the impact of other factors and arrive at a judgement. Better answers will span the period rather than be confined to the later 19<sup>th</sup> century when the destruction of the buffalo really began. Already, native American culture had been weakened by the loss of lands east of the Mississippi after 1783 and subsequently in the territories west of the river acquired by the US in the course of the century. Jackson's removal of Indians in the 1830s is a policy worth exploring so that by 1840 most Indians had been moved to 'The Great Desert' beyond the Mississippi. The Homestead Act of 1862, and subsequent legislation, encouraged more White settlers to move west at the expense of the Indians. Given the importance of the land to the culture of the Indians this was a major threat to their lifestyle. Indian resistance to these incursions weakened them further. Candidates might explain how the several Indian wars resulted in the reduction of their numbers, their concentration in reservations, and the demoralisation of whole populations. The railways quickened the pace of white settlement and had the effect of disrupting the hunting and trade routes of Indian tribes. Many abandoned their traditional life styles and moved to the towns where they either assimilated or died. Either way it had the effect of weakening native American culture.

AO3 – [Not applicable to Outlines]

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### 12 'Large-scale immigration made the United States into a more tolerant society.' Is this a sound judgement on the period c. 1840–c. 1920?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required – with explanation to the fore. The scale of immigration should be defined as the numbers involved is relevant to an assessment of whether or not America became a more tolerant society. About 20 million immigrated between 1820 and 1900 with another 10 million between 1900 and 1910. Before 1880 the majority came from west and north Europe but thereafter most came from south and east Europe. Many were attracted by the widely held vision of America as a land of liberty. Did mass immigration make the USA more tolerant?

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Where appropriate, attempts to deal with historiography, critical evaluation of source material and of differing historical interpretations may enhance responses. Candidates may argue that US society was made more or less tolerant after 1820 and may do so by comparison with the situation before 1820. Given the intolerance afforded to native Americans in this period it could be argued that intolerance of immigrants would be unsurprising. The economic and political dimensions of American society are the most likely avenues of assessment. The fact that large numbers continued to come to the USA suggests America was more tolerant, at least compared to the places of origin of the immigrants and that they would have gone elsewhere if otherwise. Economic opportunities were open to them. They were employed in a range of jobs. However, were the economic opportunities simply because they accepted lower wages and in doing so alienated local workers whose prospects were blighted as a result? Some became successful entrepreneurs but they were a minority and there were many who failed to find work and became dependent on charity support which offended those who subscribed to the principles of self-help. Nonetheless, immigrants provided a supply of cheap, unskilled labour without which the US economy would not have expanded as fast which was recognised by, arguably, the majority. In the cities, where most immigrants lived, whole suburbs or districts were colonised by immigrants with national groups concentrated in particular cities. Chicago was home to Czechs and Poles, New York to Italians and Irish, for example. They established discrete communities which were often more separate from than integrated into the city as a whole. Intolerance was evident in the criticism of these groups, for example of Catholics with loyalties to the Pope rather than the state or as criminals with links to the Mafia or as communists with subversive ideas. Hostility was evident in the creation of the 'Know Nothings' party of the 1850s. Various organisations like the Asiatic Exclusion League were formed in 1905 to restrict the number of Japanese immigrants. The Ku Klux Klan was opposed to immigrants as much as they were to black Americans. However, political parties were prepared to court their votes especially the Democratic Party and so the rights of immigrants were tolerated and defended. Many immigrants were able to pursue a political career not least because immigrant populations dominated political constituencies.

AO3 – [Not applicable to Outlines]

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### 13 What best explains why US industry expanded so rapidly in the period 1865 to 1914?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required – with explanation to the fore. Factual details about the scale and rate of growth is appropriate possibly to provide context or as support for points of analysis. Information about investment levels, the availability of raw materials, the nature of the work force, the railway system, entrepreneurship, government policy can be expected to some degree.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Where appropriate, attempts to deal with historiography, critical evaluation of source material and of differing historical interpretations may enhance responses. Candidates should analyse individual factors but be aware that industrial expansion depended on a combination of factors rather than any single factor. However, some weighting of factors would be appropriate. This is especially so if the rate of growth is to be explained. Various factors need to be assessed. Capital was available for investment and following the Civil War this was released. Savings hoarded and profits made during the war were deployed in business ventures. The establishment of corporations helped encourage this. The US was endowed with lots of key resources notably coal, timber, iron and oil. Many of these resources were cheap to exploit and transport networks were extended and adapted to the needs of business. There was a large labour force which grew throughout the period largely because of immigration. The workers also provided a healthy internal market, reducing the need to export. Business was organised in ways that allowed expansion. Corporations were large, able to develop modern technologies and co-ordinate the various strands of production. In the land of opportunity individuals with business acumen flourished. Well-known figures such as Carnegie had the enterprise, initiative and drive needed: there were plenty of risk-takers, many of whom failed but many succeeded. Government was largely acquiescent and friendly to big business. Tariffs, for example, were introduced to protect business without harming industry abroad simply because of the self-sufficient nature of the US economy. However, there were some brakes on industrialisation. Monopolist tendencies throttled smaller businesses and exploited workers. Governments did introduce laws to curb capitalists (the Sherman Anti-Trust Act) and the economy was not immune to external events (the depression of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century).

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#### 14 'Standards of learning and literacy in the North were more advanced than in the South.' How far do you agree with this view?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required – with explanation to the fore. Attention should be focused on further education provided by the universities, standards of schooling and the extent to which the sale of newspapers and books reflects standards of learning and literacy. The top universities of Harvard (founded 1637) and Yale (founded 1701) were both in the North. By 1850 free elementary education was firmly established in the more densely populated northern states. By 1918 compulsory school attendance laws existed in all Northern States. More books were sold and read in the North than the South.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Where appropriate, attempts to deal with historiography, critical evaluation of source material and of differing historical interpretations may enhance responses. The evidence suggests standards were higher in the North. However, there is scope for argument on all three criteria of measurement. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century individual states established their own universities, with admission not dependent on wealth or belief. Some were started in Southern States but entry was more restricted and they lacked the same independence or reputation for scholarship. Federal laws of 1862 and 1890 provided funds for universities which worked to the advantage of the North where most universities were but it did encourage the establishment of others in the South. Educational provision was patchy. Massachusetts led the way in many respects mainly due to the work of Horace Mann, whose efforts led to the establishment of a system of public schools, the secularisation of the curriculum, teacher training, teaching by year group and in 1855 it was the first state to allow pupils into their schools irrespective of 'race, color or religious opinion'. These were the very things that deprived people of education in the South. Massachusetts's example was replicated in the North. Candidates should highlight the unevenness of educational provision in the North and the limits of the schools that existed (class sizes of 80 were not uncommon). Further, there were some obvious advances in the South, not least amongst the black Americans in terms of literacy in the second half of the century. For the rich. North or South, access to education was much the same. In some instances the onus was on working people to fend for themselves like working men's committees which was the case in many Northern cities. There was a genuine demand for education from the working class, who were prepared to make sacrifices for their children to learn (a child at school was not earning). Elementary education in the South was largely confined to Church and voluntary schools of haphazard organisation. Apprenticeship was a major form of education for the poor and these were linked more to work in industry and trade which was more a feature of the North. Still, in North and South access to education was difficult for women, non-English speaking immigrants and black Americans were consigned to inferior segregated schools in the North. High school education existed for the few and again mainly in the North. In part because of the extent of education there was a rapid growth in the number of newspapers in the North. Two of the leading papers were the Baltimore Sun and the New York Tribune both started in the 1840s. Indeed, whilst literacy rates in America were the highest in the world there was a distinct imbalance not least because the black Americans of the South were denied education. Yet, after emancipation the chances of education for black Americans improved. Their literacy rates were only 5% in 1860 but by 1890 it was 40% and in 1910 it was 70%.

AO3 – [Not applicable to Outlines]

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### 15 How accurately did American novelists in the nineteenth century reflect life in the United States in this period?

### Candidates should:

AO1 - present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required - with explanation to the fore. Novels of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century were typical of the Romanticism of the times in contrast to the realism of the post Civil War years. To that extent it could be argued that the novels of the early 1800s do not reflect American life as accurately as those of the later century. However, aspects of early 19<sup>th</sup> century life are featured in the Romantic novels. For example, the novels of Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804-64) are heavily rooted in the Puritanism of his origins and the values of the early Republic. James Fennimore Cooper (1789–1851) described the frontier in his very popular novels even if his main character, Natty Bumpo, was primarily intended to represent the harmony of man in nature. Harriett Beecher Stowe's 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' (1852) was clearly intended to portray the system of slavery in close detail even if it might be criticised as overly moralistic and idealistic. However, Herman Melville's great book, 'Moby Dick' (1851), was a study in obsession and its consequences as well as an exploration of the nature of evil and his novels of the sea might be thought of as only loosely accurate in the picture of American life they provide. In contrast, many of the novels of the second half of the century are more directly realist in deliberately intending to portray American life as it was. Perhaps, 'The Red Badge of Courage' by Stephen Crane (1871–1900) about the Civil War might be cited as a good example of this genre. Similarly, the adventures of Jack London (1876-1916) in the Pacific Northwest and Alaska, which were the basis of his novels, give a sharp insight into the gold rush and challenges faced by those involved. Such novels of the 1880s and 1890s might be better regarded as examples of 'naturalism' which stressed the new and harsher reality of industrialism and urbanisation through characters of low social and economic class whose lives were shaped by the harsh environment of rapid economic and population growth over which they had little control in contrast to novels of the earlier part of the century in which human beings were considered more the agents of their own destiny. Between the romantic and realist/naturalist phases was a period when novels were an amalgam of both - so-called 'local color writing' combining romantic plots with a realistic portrayal of dialects and custom. Kate Chopin (1851–1904) set her work amongst the Creole of Louisiana. Mark Twain (1835–1910) was probably the greatest writer of the later period whose novels encompassed both local colour and realism. Henry James' influence on other American writers was considerable but his own books focused more on Americans abroad.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Where appropriate, attempts to deal with historiography, critical evaluation of source material and of differing historical interpretations may enhance responses. Candidates may concentrate on a few major novelists of the 19<sup>th</sup> century or, indeed, a few key titles. Others may range more widely but credit should be evenly awarded for either approach. Whether the answer is narrow or broad in its scope, focus should be maintained on the question. Given that the vast majority of authors of distinction in the 19<sup>th</sup> century were Northerners it could fairly be argued that if the novels of the period present a fairly striking bias in favour of the values and life style of the North this is hardly surprising and may not accurately reflect American life elsewhere, notably the South and West. Indeed, it could be argued that certain novels deliberately distort or exaggerate the reality. Perhaps, Harriet Beecher Stowe's 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' may be regarded as a good example.

AO3 – [Not applicable to Outlines]

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### 16 To what extent was family life in the United States in the nineteenth century dominated by conservative social values?

### Candidates should:

AO1 - present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required - with explanation to the fore. A key value was the importance of the home in which family members had responsibilities and duties to each other: father as bread winner, mother as home maker, children as contributors and supporters of their parents in older age. To a large extent this remained the essential family ideal although changes in communications and social mobility weakened the bonds or at least the scope and willingness of offspring to commit themselves in the same way. In a similar vein the family as a self-reliant unit, independent of external help, remained a constant value. This chimed with the notions of self-help and individualism which were the mainstay of the American way of life. State and federal governments offered little, if any, social support to the needy although charities were more numerous and involved by the end of the century. Standards of sexual behaviour were conservative throughout the period. Monogamy and the sanctity of marriage were upheld in law by which adultery, homosexuality and abortion were criminalised. This was closely linked to the importance of religion in family life. To a degree this was determined by the teaching of the Bible and the local church whose influence on the social order in which families lived was considerable. However, arguably, in an increasingly secular age this constraint was lessened. Family life was inextricably integrated into the life of the local community in 1800. This was still the ideal by 1900 but it was less practical in urban areas of rapid population increase although immigrant groups managed to hold to this value guite successfully.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Where appropriate, attempts to deal with historiography, critical evaluation of source material and of differing historical interpretations may enhance responses. Various social values could be examined. In each case candidates should not only define the nature of social values in 1800 but consider ways these may or may not have changed by 1900 and depending on their judgement assess the grip of conservative, that is, deep rooted, values. Most will surely suggest that the picture is not uniform. In some regions such as the Deep South and the mid-West social values were slower to change. There were shades of difference in the values of families of black, white, migrant, rich and poor. Perhaps the strength of certain values varied according to the education and occupation of members of families? Were conservative values undermined or reinforced by political philosophies such as socialism?

#### AO3 – [Not applicable to Outlines]

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### Section 4: 1865–1914

### 17 'Widespread and deep-rooted corruption best explains the collapse of Reconstruction.' How far do you agree?

### Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required – with explanation to the fore. To reconstruct the South following the Civil War was a huge task. Rebuilding on a large-scale presented many opportunities for graft and corruption. This was evident in business and politics. Amongst those Northerners who were involved in reconstruction ('carpet-baggers') were many self seekers as were many 'scalawags' (Southerners prepared to co-operate with the North). Politicians were bribed, not always covertly either, and many, for example the Governor of Louisiana, collected \$500,000 in four years in office. Fierce rivalry between businesses, especially railway companies eager for land and subsidies, resulted in many underhand dealings. This was in line with corruption within the Grant administration (1869–77) and as such was not exceptional. Electoral fraud was another strand of the corruption in the South before 1877. Most state governments were held by the Republicans but their tactics at elections were blatantly corrupt – violence often in alliance with the KKK, the exploitation of illiterate black Americans as pawns, and ballot rigging – and alienated many Northerners who returned home leaving the South the poorer.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Where appropriate, attempts to deal with historiography, critical evaluation of source material and of differing historical interpretations may enhance responses. Corruption did inhibit Reconstruction but it is not an adequate reason on its own to explain the collapse of Reconstruction. Not all involved in Reconstruction were primarily concerned with personal gain. Professionals such as teachers were genuinely keen to help others. New governments in the South achieved many things - bridges and roads, schools and public facilities. Corruption was evident from the beginning of the period of Reconstruction yet it did not collapse till 1877; similarly, in the North, Grant survived to win a second term despite the corruption surrounding him. Congress did pass laws restricting these practices and Federal troops were deployed to discourage such corruption. Despite Republican tactics, or perhaps because of them, the Democratic Party regained control in eight states by 1875 leaving only three Southern States in Republican hands after that. Arguably, Reconstruction collapsed due to a change of feeling in the North. By the 1870s most of the old Radicals had disappeared, Republicans disliked what their Party was doing in the South, the Supreme Court challenged many measures adopted in the South, businessmen wanted reconciliation as a precondition for investment. The disputed presidential election of 1877 and its resolution illustrates, clearly, the force of these factors.

#### AO3 – [Not applicable to Outlines]

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### 18 'Trades unions had little success in protecting their members between 1865 and 1914.' Discuss.

### Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required – with explanation to the fore. This was a period of rapid economic growth and as a result considerable scope for trade unionism. These were years of almost constant conflict between employers and their work forces. Two main unions dominated the movement after 1865: the Noble Order of the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor. Their record deserves to be analysed and that of other prominent unions. Trade unions were generally weakened in this period by several factors. The size of America made the co-ordination of workers difficult. The large number of immigrants provided a cheap supply of labour so bargaining for higher pay was hard. The notion of collective action was contrary to the widely held beliefs of Americans in self-help and individualism. They were also suspicious of unions as socialist and by association undemocratic. As a result, unions struggled to recruit members or sufficient public support.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Where appropriate, attempts to deal with historiography, critical evaluation of source material and of differing historical interpretations may enhance responses. Candidates may try to assess the success of trade unions by a range of criteria - membership, public support, conditions of workers, relationship with government, legal status and so on. In considering these criteria success may be judged in relative or absolute terms. The important thing is that candidates should indicate that there is an argument. The Noble Order of the Knights of Labor enjoyed some success. Their leader from 1879, Terence Powderly, was an effective orator and propagandist who did much to arouse interest in and support for trade unionism and tried to attract workmen of all kinds. The Knights won a famous victory against the railroad giant Jay Gould in 1884. However, they suffered a severe set-back in 1886 when bombs were set off during a strike in Chicago and they never recovered the loss of public support. In that year the American Federation of Labor was formed dedicated to the twin aims only of shorter hours and higher wages. Although membership was limited to skilled workers, there were over 500,000 members by 1900. Two other unions fared badly in the 1890s. Strikes by the Iron and Steel Workers' Union in 1892 and the American Railway Union in 1894 were defeated by employees who were prepared to ask for troops to break the workers and which the federal government was prepared to deploy. However, government was not entirely opposed to trade unionism. In 1902-3 Roosevelt intervened in a mining dispute in Pennsylvania and, on this occasion, Roosevelt threatened to use federal troops to run the mines unless the employers settled. Also, the Clayton Anti-Trust Act of 1914 confirmed the right to strike, picket and boycott as well as limiting the use of injunctions by employers.

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## 19 To what extent were economic factors the reason for the extension of US influence overseas between c. 1880 and 1914?

### Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required – with explanation to the fore. Rapid economic expansion in America increased its interest in the wider world. Overseas markets would increase the opportunities for US business as well as relieving pressure on the domestic market. The Far East was regarded as a prime target because of its large market. Reference to US policy in China might be made. Expansion would allow access to raw materials and resources. Reference to US policy in Costa Rica etc. might be made. Overseas possessions would also allow Americans the chance to exploit new territories as settlers and at the same time possibly relieve the pressures within the labour market.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Where appropriate, attempts to deal with historiography, critical evaluation of source material and of differing historical interpretations may enhance responses. When discussing the economic motives for expansion candidates should refer to particular aspects of American policy as evidence to support the factor being assessed. Many will stress the linkage between factors and so argue the difficulty in pinpointing any one factor as the reason for expansion. Interests of a strategic nature were also important. European powers had large Empires and many argued America needed an Empire of her own in order to command parity of respect as a great power: an Empire was necessary to secure a balance of power. Bases in the Pacific and the Caribbean were needed to safeguard her trade routes, to the Far East in the case of the former (reference to US annexation of the Hawaiian Islands?) and access through the Panama Canal in the latter (reference to US interest in Cuba?). This dimension of policy could be used to support the assertion in the question. A large navy was essential to patrol these routes and this was only possible with supply points. The concept of 'Manifest Destiny' was widely held and Americans saw it as their fate to expand ever outward. This could be tied to the Monroe Doctrine of 1823 which effectively excused American expansion into Central and South America: indeed, the Roosevelt Corollary was confirmation of this earlier declaration. Reference to US policy in Mexico, Venezuela and Nicaragua might be made. Allied to this factor was the moral argument that America had a duty to civilise other people. McKinley epitomised this attitude when he referred to Filipinos as 'little brown brothers' whom America should 'uplift, civilise and Christianise', revealing a certain racial element to imperialism. Reference to the missionary and charity work of Americans would confirm the sincerity of some on this point. Ultimately a judgement is needed even if all possible factors are dismissed as merely excuses for wanton imperialism.

#### AO3 – [Not applicable to Outlines]

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#### 20 'Theodore Roosevelt deserves to be regarded as a great President.' Discuss.

Candidates should:

AO1 - present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required - with explanation to the fore. His personality was an important attribute. He was hugely energetic, versatile and talented as a sportsman, writer, soldier and naturalist. His charisma, enthusiasm and vitality inspired others. He had the common touch, he communicated well with all people and enjoyed widespread and undimmed public support. He was the preferred candidate for a third term in 1908, which is an indication of his popularity at the time, but he declined to stand again. In foreign affairs he enjoyed huge success. The construction of the Panama Canal was a triumph not only for the advancement of American interests but also of American technical and engineering skill. The 'Roosevelt Corollary' asserted the right of the USA to interfere in the internal affairs of the Caribbean republics. He proved to be an effective diplomat presiding over the Treaty of Portsmouth in 1905 between Russia and Japan and he resolved the problem of Venezuela's debts without recourse to force. At home he was a progressive reformer accepting the need for the federal government to take more responsibility for the country's problems. He talked of 'trust busting' and a 'square deal for labour'. He settled the miners' dispute of 1902, took steps to address the problem of food safety, introduced a tremendous amount of legislation to protect the countryside and preserve wildlife. He confronted big corporations such as Standard Oil, the US Steel Corporation and the Northern Securities Company to check unfair competition, the charges made by railroad companies and the distribution of their profits.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Where appropriate, attempts to deal with historiography, critical evaluation of source material and of differing historical interpretations may enhance responses. The criteria of greatness are for candidates to choose. Most are likely to judge Roosevelt on his record at home and abroad. Reservations about the wisdoms or outcome of his policies would be expected. Some might compare him with his predecessors, probably the most able since Lincoln, or other Presidents who are commonly held in high regard such as Washington or his namesake. Judgements might suggest elements of greatness in some if not all his work.

AO3 – [Not applicable to Outlines]

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### 21 How far did Woodrow Wilson remain true to his principles in his first term as President of the United States?

### Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required – with explanation to the fore. He was an idealist committed to liberty. He made this clear in his inaugural speech in 1913. His domestic agenda was dubbed 'The New Freedom'. Wilson's foreign policy was less liberal: he was prepared to intervene in the internal affairs of other states in pursuit of US interests and he was reluctant to take sides in WW1 even though it constituted a threat to liberty.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Where appropriate, attempts to deal with historiography, critical evaluation of source material and of differing historical interpretations may enhance responses. Candidates may identify a number of specific principles held by Wilson or they may wrap them into one bundle - 'liberty'. However, they should attempt to assess the record against the theory and arrive at a judgement as to whether he did fulfil his promises. Some may conclude that the outcome was mixed both at home and abroad or that he was more true to his principles at home than abroad. He tackled the trusts with the Clayton Anti-Trust Act of 1914 which attempted to regulate big business more closely than ever before though the Supreme Court interpreted the Act in ways which limited its effect. The Federal Trade Commission, also set up in 1914, was more successful. The tariff was reduced by 10% to 27% in 1913 and allowed more goods into the USA free of duty. However, income tax was raised on higher incomes to compensate. A new federal banking system was started in 1913 which increased the flow of money and boosted investment. Other reforms were introduced which improved conditions for workers in various occupations and government money was used to subsidise road building. Relations with Mexico were difficult after the revolution of 1913 and war between the two countries followed. Wilson also intervened in Nicaragua, Haiti and Santo Domingo. His attempts to mediate between the nations of Europe during the early phase of the war achieved nothing. Although neutral in the war this was compromised by the extent of US trade with Europe and as a result of this the Lusitania was sunk. Despite this he promised to stay out of the war, perhaps, cynically, to ensure re-election in 1916.

AO3 – [Not applicable to Outlines]

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### Section 5: 1914–1953

### 22 To what extent did the US experience a 'crisis of values' in the Jazz Age?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required – with explanation to the fore. Before 1920 conservative social values had prevailed. During the 1920s and 1930s such values were challenged. Jazz was the most popular music of the 1920s. Louis Armstrong's 'Hot Five', Benny Goodman, Fats Waller and AI Johnson became household names. Their music sold records, packed nightclubs and inspired films which attracted millions to cinemas. With the Jazz came new dances – the 'Charleston', the 'Black Bottom' and the 'Turkey Trot' – equally bold and brazen as the music itself. In dress (more colour, less fabric), life-style (smoking, entertainment), attitudes to sex (less inhibited, more birth control), work (pursuit of careers and equality), women became more independent. Social values were analysed through cinema, radio and literature, itself a reflection of a crisis of values, perhaps.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Where appropriate, attempts to deal with historiography, critical evaluation of source material and of differing historical interpretations may enhance responses. Jazz reflected a rejection of traditional music and dance. Associated with African-American culture Jazz represented the confidence of blacks to assert themselves. Jazz was an urban phenomenon and primarily of the northern cities. It was abhorred in some areas notably in 'small town' and white working-class regions of the South, Mid-West and West where 'Country and Western' music prevailed, itself associated with more puritanical social attitudes fiercely upheld by evangelical religious groups and preachers. Change posed a challenge to the traditional role of women as home makers, inferior of men. Women secured the vote but despite some success at the polls men continued to dominate politics. The National Women's Party (1923) made only modest progress in improving pay for women. Traditional attitudes to the education of women were still the norm. In all three mediums the debate between 'traditional' and 'progressive' values was joined. Given the popularity of the cinema, Hollywood had an enormous influence in shaping the values of the time. The cult of celebrity of prominent contemporaries could be discussed.

AO3 – [Not applicable to Outlines]

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## 23 How convincing is the view that the New Deal did little to lift the economy of the United States out of depression?

### Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required – with explanation to the fore. Roosevelt's banking reforms and the alphabet laws can be analysed. Some may choose to compare different indices – jobs, investment, banking, agriculture, industry, trade, transport etc. – in 1939 from what they had been in the depression years. The differences between the First and Second New Deals could be considered. The impact of renewed depression, 1937–8, and the outbreak of WW2 are relevant.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Where appropriate, attempts to deal with historiography, critical evaluation of source material and of differing historical interpretations may enhance responses. On two key counts the New Deal seems to have had little effect in lifting the US economy. Unemployment, at about 15 million before 1933, had only halved by 1940. Industrial output was never at full capacity. Even if government spending stimulated industry it was not capable of taking the strain when government spending was reduced as in 1937-38 and the US fell back into depression. Critics further charge that no major changes were made to the structure of the economy. Also, it is often argued that the jobs created in various alphabet industries were not real jobs and that they merely disguised the severity of the unemployment crisis. Candidates might argue that industrial relations were no better in the 1930s and strike action by unionists dampened economic activity. However, the emergency measures of 1933–36 did save jobs in the short term and without the banking reforms it could be argued that the crisis Roosevelt faced could have worsened. It is clear that the youth of America benefited from the CCC, that investment in the infrastructure of the country, for example the TVA, was essential to facilitate growth. Policies designed to help farming proved useful and farmers' total income almost doubled 1933-37. Answers that merely recount the history of various government agencies may provide an answer to the question but it might be argued that the impact of World War Two provided the real stimulus to the economy and so demonstrated the limited effect of the New Deal. A judgement is needed. Some may argue that the first New Deal had a greater effect than the Second.

AO3 – [Not applicable to Outlines]

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### 24 How effective was the United States' contribution to the resolution of international problems between 1919 and 1939?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required – with explanation to the fore. The US was instrumental in the resolution of several important problems in the period. On the subject of German reparations the US produced the Dawes Plan in 1924 and the Young Plan of 1929 which addressed this serious problem. The Kellogg-Briand Pact and the Washington Naval Treaties could be assessed in terms of the problem of international peace. Similarly, the role of the US at Versailles in 1919 and its relationship with the League of Nations could be discussed.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Where appropriate, attempts to deal with historiography, critical evaluation of source material and of differing historical interpretations may enhance responses. Most candidates will recognise this viewpoint as a challenge to the orthodox view that the US followed a policy of isolationism in this period. Those who dismiss the interpretation in the question and simply present the case that the US did not play a crucial role because they pursued an isolationist policy will not be addressing the question properly. Candidates should be able to show that the US did play a positive role at times, even if they were reluctant players. For example, the Dawes and Young Plans, it may be argued, did not do enough and the default of Germany in 1931 is proof of the limited success of the Americans in this respect. The Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928 could be cited as proof of the crucial contribution of the US to the quest for international peace, a treaty to which about 65 other nations subscribed including the main antagonists in Europe. However, it could be argued that the K-B Pact was merely a paper agreement that meant very little and was exposed as inadequate in the 1930s when signatories like Italy and Germany rejected their commitment to it. Indeed, it could be argued that the US was not part of two of the major treaties of the period, as they failed to ratify the Treaty of Versailles and they were not involved at Locarno. However, the US did play a vital part in shaping the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, the legacy of which might be assessed: if it contributed to World War Two then it could be argued that far from resolving international disputes the US had some responsibility for the outbreak of war in 1939. The US cooperated with certain parts of the organisation of the League of Nations, on the opium traffic and the arms trade but it stayed out of the League itself which reduced the effectiveness of the League to deal with crises in the period. Similarly, the US was reluctant to support the International Court at The Hague and when it finally decided to do so it was denied access because of the conditions it demanded in return for its support. The Washington Conference of 1921 which produced two treaties about naval power in the Pacific is evidence of the US role in resolving crises but the expansion of Japan in the 1930s suggests that the agreements were of temporary success. The 'cash-and-carry' and Lease-Lend agreements might be used as evidence of the US being prepared to intervene in WW2 and these deals were crucial in sustaining the British. However, the US stayed out of the war till 1941. The attack on Pearl Harbor might be used to argue that the US only played a role whenever its own interests were directly threatened as with resolving the reparations issue and naval power in the Pacific.

AO3 – [Not applicable to Outlines]

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### 25 'Economic strength was more significant than military might.' How valid is this assessment of the US contribution to the outcome of the Second World War?

### Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required – with explanation to the fore. America's economic strength was important. When America was neutral, 1939–41, the 'cash-and-carry' and the 'Lend-Lease' schemes were vital to keep Britain at war. By the terms of 'Lend-Lease' Britain obtained about \$30 million worth of goods. Materiel from America to Russia, via the North Sea routes, and many other countries – China, Australia, for example – and resistance groups was crucial to their ability to fight. The American economy was able to provide the military hardware and equipment for its own armed forces. The output of military aircraft, tanks, warships, ammunition, uniforms etc. was huge. In addition, the US was able to produce enough for civilian needs at home so there were no shortages and the relative prosperity of the country made it possible for the US to fund and support its allies with public support. America's military might played a crucial role in the war in Africa, Europe and the Far East as well as the war in the Atlantic. Americans led the invasions of North Africa in 1943 and the D-Day landings in 1944. Their pilots played a key role in the bombing campaign over Germany. The American navy eventually prevailed in the Atlantic and the Pacific. American might overwhelmed the Japanese.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Where appropriate, attempts to deal with historiography, critical evaluation of source material and of differing historical interpretations may enhance responses. Candidates might opt for either economic strength or military might as more important than the other but some evaluation of the significance of each is required. Was economic strength more important in the early phase of the war when America was neutral or did it become more important in the later stages of the war with the escalation of fighting and the increased demand for war materiel? Perhaps economic strength was more important given the weaknesses of both the German and Japanese economies by comparison? On the other hand without US military power would the allies have had the means to invade Europe? The US navy kept the supply lines from America to Europe and Asia open without which American military equipment and supplies would not have got through to its allies. Indeed, better answers will recognise the linkage of economic strength and military power in other ways not least the fact that the former provided the means by which America could exercise military power.

AO3 – [Not applicable to Outlines]

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### 26 With what justification can the Korean War, 1950–53, be regarded as a failure for the United States?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required – with explanation to the fore. US aims – containment, defence of South Korea, strategic interests in the region – might be considered. Military events – the North Korean advance, the landings at Inchon, Chinese intervention, stalemate – are relevant.

AO2 - be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Where appropriate, attempts to deal with historiography, critical evaluation of source material and of differing historical interpretations may enhance responses. Candidates might present a case for failure and then a counter argument or they might identify various strands of debate and assess each in turn. There is scope to explore several lines of inquiry before arriving at a considered judgement. The war lasted for three years before a temporary truce was agreed which merely restated the borders in place at the start of the war and North Korea remained communist. However, in that regard communism had been contained. Relations with China were as bad as they could be: from November 1950 the Korean War was effectively a war against China and the risk of further escalation to involve the USSR too meant that a third world war was always a danger. That being said this did not happen and relations with China were already bad following the seizure of power there by Mao in 1949: it could be argued that failure to arrest communism there was the real point of failure in the region. The damage to America's armed forces was considerable. They suffered high casualties and their reputation as a military force was dented especially at the point when Seoul was besieged. MacArthur could be assessed as a measure of the incompetence and arrogance of the American command or an indication of positive and direct leadership. In fact, the US had performed effectively in the first months of the war - the counter attack with the invasion at Inchon was a success - and it could be argued that the US was handicapped by the alliance with other allied states and the restrictions of the UN mandate. Further, the war encouraged the formation of defence treaties with Japan and the Philippines and the ANZUS Pact with Australia and New Zealand in 1951. SEATO was to be created in 1954. This could be assessed as a positive outcome of the war as the security of countries in the region was enhanced or a negative effect as it committed the US to the region and subsequent disputes in the area, notably Vietnam. Domestically, the war might be regarded as a failure in so far as the politicians divided sharply and Truman was pilloried by the Republicans. His position in Congress was so weak that he bypassed them and went to the UN instead to sanction military action. Effectively, the powers of the President were increased which might be considered a positive or negative development.

#### AO3 – [Not applicable to Outlines]

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### Section 6: 1953-2000

## 27 'In domestic policy, President Eisenhower sacrificed the interests of the poor and needy to those of big business.' How far do you agree with this assessment?

Candidates should:

AO1 - present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required – with explanation to the fore. Eisenhower had clear aims: to balance the budget, to lower taxes, to reduce the role of the federal government and to check 'socialism'. These aims interlinked and in pursuit of these aims big business was the beneficiary. Three members of his Cabinet were former executives of General Motors and appointments to offices at other levels of government showed a similar bias. Policy reflected this. Subsidies to the TVA were slashed and atomic power plants were sold off as Eisenhower believed the production of power was the responsibility of business not government. He gave the rights to offshore oil drilling in the Gulf to the States on the coastline rather than the federal government to further the interests of big business. The Office of Price Administration was abolished removing any restraint on pricing by big business. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation - important in the New Deal - was abolished. Farmers were supported against falling prices because of overproduction even though the subsidies used to do this were funded centrally. Investment made in transport (highways and the Great Lakes-St Lawrence seaway) helped big business. Taxes which favoured big business and the rich were reduced. Eisenhower pursued policies that helped the poor and weak. The minimum wage was raised. Money was found for low cost housing. Measures were introduced to improve health care and education. He also intervened in the civil rights issue. Legislation was passed to address the problems faced by black Americans in exercising their rights to vote. The Brown v Board of Education of Topeka decision led to the Little Rock Nine of 1957 in which Eisenhower intervened, sending federal troops to enforce the access of Black Americans children to a white school.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Where appropriate, attempts to deal with historiography, critical evaluation of source material and of differing historical interpretations may enhance responses. Candidates should consider those aspects of domestic policy from which big business seemed to gain and assess the degree to which such measures were also of benefit to workers and the country as a whole. The effects of transport improvements, for example, cut both ways. Indeed, there were more people in work in 1960 than in 1952. Similarly, 'welfare' measures could also be seen as of benefit to big business which preferred a healthy, educated and content work force.

AO3 – [Not applicable to Outlines]

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### 28 Who deserves more credit for the advancement of civil rights for Black Americans in the 1960s: President Kennedy or President Johnson?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required – with explanation to the fore. Neither had been particularly concerned with the issue before 1960 as both needed the support of southern white Democrats. Kennedy was critical of Eisenhower's use of troops at Little Rock in 1957 and Johnson as leader of the Democrats in the Senate ensured the legislation of 1955–60 did little to diminish white power in the South. Key legislation was introduced: the Civil Rights Act (1964), the 24<sup>th</sup> Amendment (1964) and the Civil Rights Act (1965). Further, both Presidents intervened to defuse dangerous situations: the Selma March was protected (1965). Both were prepared to back Martin Luther King and to challenge politicians opposed to change.

AO2 - be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Where appropriate, attempts to deal with historiography, critical evaluation of source material and of differing historical interpretations may enhance responses. Arguably, Johnson achieved more than Kennedy in terms of legislation introduced. The Acts of 1964 and 1965 were of major significance and greater than anything Kennedy managed. However, these measures could be said to have owed something to Kennedy. Johnson had chaired the PCEEO and the sympathy that flowed from Kennedy's assassination helped ease the passage of the legislation. The composition of the Act of 1964 was essentially the same as JFK's bill of the previous year. Arguably Johnson deserves more credit than Kennedy in that he exerted greater influence over Congress than Kennedy, without which change would not have been possible. Johnson was accomplished in his management of Congressmen. That being said, he was fortunate to have more liberal Democrats in the Congress than had been the case under JFK. Johnson also tackled the poverty faced by poor and disadvantaged black Americans. However, his tenure of office faded into disappointment as by the mid-1960s racial tensions began to intensify and erupt into urban violence. As a result, his period in office ended with pessimism about the future, unlike JFK's which ended with optimism. In addition, LBJ was distracted by Vietnam in a way that was not so for Kennedy. Both Presidents were prepared to work with the moderate civil rights leaders of the time notably Martin Luther King, but also CORE and SNCC. Both recognised the imperative of action to address the circumstances of the day, not least because of the media interest and exposure of civil rights abuse. To some extent both Presidents were forced to be proactive on civil rights because of the circumstances of the time, and the work they did owed much to the fact that they were partners in government until 1963. Some may argue that despite this one deserves more credit than the other. How the evidence is used is the crucial thing.

AO3 – [Not applicable to Outlines]

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### 29 'An unmitigated disaster.' Discuss this view of the presidency of Jimmy Carter.

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required – with explanation to the fore. As the first one term President since Truman, many have dismissed Carter as a failure. Criticism of Carter as a person and his style of government has also contributed to his reputation for failure. Further, his presidency is often condemned on the grounds of a dismal domestic record and failure in foreign policy.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Where appropriate, attempts to deal with historiography, critical evaluation of source material and of differing historical interpretations may enhance responses. Most may agree that Carter's presidency was flawed, even disastrous in some respects. However, whether it was an 'unmitigated' disaster is the question and candidates should consider ways in which it can be argued that failings were either beyond Carter's control or offset by achievements. If so, judgements will surely conclude that his presidency was not entirely disastrous. He was tainted by his origins as a businessman in peanuts and a Southerner. His informal style - fireside addresses to the nation, for example - offended some who thought he demeaned the office of President. On the other hand, his home-spun approach appealed to some who felt he made the presidency seem more accessible. His sincerity was either vilified as false or welcomed as genuine. However, he had difficulty in working with Congress even though it was dominated by Democrats. Further, there were serious shortcomings in both his domestic and foreign policies. At home the economy was beset by inflation, running at 13% by 1980, high interest rates of 20% and rising unemployment (after a fall in his first year). Carter might be blamed for these factors but the economic policies of his administration had been the basis of governments since World War Two and the doubling of the price of oil in 1979 by OPEC was beyond his control. He also enjoyed some successes at home. Affirmative Action was promoted by Carter and the number of ethnic minorities in government increased (Andrew Young was appointed ambassador to the UN). He created a Department of Energy and started the green debate and he reorganised the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Abroad there were also notable successes. An agreement was made with Panama to cede control of the canal to the latter and so resolved a difficult issue peacefully. However, his critics regarded this concession as a sign of weakness and contrary to national interests. The Treaty between Egypt and Israel was a major triumph and the first significant advance in resolving the Middle East problem. His amnesty for those who dodged the draft for Vietnam was controversial but not universally condemned. The Iranian siege of the US embassy in Tehran was a disaster. It blighted the last 16 months of his presidency and the failure of the rescue mission was a further disaster.

#### AO3 – [Not applicable to Outlines]

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# 30 'The only significant objective of United States foreign policy was the containment of communism.' Assess this view of United States policy towards the Soviet Union and China in the period from 1963 to 1979.

### Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required – with explanation to the fore. In considering containment candidates should refer to US involvement in Vietnam, the defence of Taiwan and the diplomatic history of relations with the USSR and China. Other objectives – for example, economic interests and the balance of power – might be considered, especially with regard to events in Berlin, Czechoslovakia and Poland.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Where appropriate, attempts to deal with historiography, critical evaluation of source material and of differing historical interpretations may enhance responses. The question invites candidates to assess the importance of containment in US policy so answers should focus on this factor. However, answers should point out how this objective was of varying importance at different times and in different places. As the Truman Doctrine was the hinge of US foreign policy after 1947 candidates may reasonably argue that in principle the containment of communism was the objective of US foreign policy in the period in guestion. This was manifested in various ways. Vietnam dominated the period and an explanation of how the war was regarded as part of a larger problem of checking Soviet and Chinese influence in the area can expected: discussion of the links between the Vietcong and the Vietminh and their links to the USSR and China as well as consideration of US fears of contagion into the region as a whole (the domino theory) can be expected. The war in Laos and Cambodia, initiated by Nixon, was also motivated by a desire to check communism, in this case against the Khmer Rouge. The defence of Taiwan against Chinese claims was a key plank in US policy too. Diplomacy as well as war was a means to contain communism. Nixon's visit to China and the policy of detente with the USSR could be explored. Indeed, better relations with both powers also set the USSR and China against each other and so helped contain the influence of both. The continuation of the blockade of Cuba might be mentioned as proof of the US's persistent fears of communism in the Caribbean. However, other objectives should be assessed. Was US policy determined by strategic considerations? Behind the policies in the Far East was concern to secure naval bases and protect trading interests. Protecting trade routes and access to the resources and markets (notably Japan) of the region was clearly important. Was the balance of power an objective of US policy? It might be argued that this was most evident in US relations with the USSR in Europe. The reluctance of the US to meddle in the affairs of Eastern Europe (Czechoslovakia, Poland) is an indication of their preference to maintain stability there. The same could be said about relations with the USSR and China in the Pacific.

#### AO3 – [Not applicable to Outlines]

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### 31 'The First Gulf War created more problems than it solved.' Do you agree with this view?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required – with explanation to the fore. The immediate problem was the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait. In addition, there was the problem of Israeli security and the stability of the region. Problems also emerged from the war: the status of the UN, relations with Iran and the Shias in southern Iraq. The impact of the war on US domestic policy is relevant.

AO2 - be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Where appropriate, attempts to deal with historiography, critical evaluation of source material and of differing historical interpretations may enhance responses. Answers should be focused on the context and events of 1991 though it is clearly appropriate to range further afield in assessing the impact of the conflict. However, candidates who run the Gulf War into the war of 2003 should do so only if anchored to the crisis of 1991. Some may set short term 'gains' against longer term 'losses' or weigh the relative importance of different problems to reach a judgement. The war resulted in the liberation of Kuwait and as such the problem of dealing with the Iraqi invasion of the state was achieved. Nonetheless, it might be argued that the intervention of Western troops in the affairs of an Arab state created problems for the US in the Muslim world. Indeed, was the 'unfinished business' of containing Saddam Hussein a contributory factor in the Iraq war of 2003? This allows considerable scope to explore the debate surrounding this idea. The issue of weapons of mass destruction could be treated as part of this debate. The problem of the security of Israel was also solved in so far as the Iraqi threat to the state was diminished although the very intervention of the US in Kuwait created a short term problem of missiles being fired at Israel. In addition. Palestinian unrest was stirred as Saddam Hussein was regarded as a friend of their cause. The war was fought under a UN mandate and demonstrated not only the effectiveness of the UN but also the ability of the Security Council to co-operate and improved the relations of the US with its major allies who were seen as partners with the US rather than simply its poodles. Some may argue otherwise and suggest that it proved the dominance of the US in the UN. A major problem created was the repression of the Shia Muslims in the south of Iraq who rose up against Saddam Hussein in anticipation of American support only to be abandoned by them. This fed into the debate about the position of Saddam Hussein thereafter. Also, it is arguable that the war destabilised relations between Iran and Iraq and served to strength the hand of the former in the region. Domestically, the success of the US in the war helped deflect from economic problems at home and served to enhance the view that American power was benign. This had the effect of bolstering support for George Bush Senior although it also created a problem for him in so far as the cost of the war was huge at a time of recession.

#### AO3 – [Not applicable to Outlines]

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### 32 What best explains the outcome of the presidential election campaign of 2000?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required – with explanation to the fore. Various factors might be discussed. Most will emphasise the outcome of the vote in Florida as the key factor. However, the strengths and weaknesses of the candidates were important. The manifestos of the Democrats and the Republicans were another factor.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Where appropriate, attempts to deal with historiography, critical evaluation of source material and of differing historical interpretations may enhance responses. Whatever issues the candidate chooses to stress as determinants of the campaign they should present an argument to show that interpretations of the outcome depend to a large degree on perspective. Some detail of the votes cast and the political process is expected but it is the interpretation of the result that is most important. The outcome of the vote in the state of Florida was crucial. Electronic systems, whereby voting slips were punched, failed to operate properly and the issue of 'hanging chads' raised doubts as to the intentions of the voters. The matter was complicated further by charges made against the Republicans of effectively disenfranchising voters in Democratic districts. The matter was finally resolved by the Supreme Court where the judges decided in favour of Bush by 5 votes to 4, the suspicion being that the judges voted according to their political allegiances: in other words, that five people decided the result out of over 100,000 votes cast. As a result Bush was awarded the 25 electoral votes for Florida which tipped the overall result in his favour by only 5 Electoral College votes. Gore failed to impress. He failed to secure his own state of Tennessee. He was tainted by association with Clinton and the third candidate, Ralph Nader, polled about 3 million votes (100,000 in Florida) which otherwise, it is assumed, would have gone to Gore. However, third party candidates were not unusual and that is the nature of democratic elections. By contrast, Bush was a 'new broom' and his home-spun style appealed. He offered policies that chimed with the public mood (less bureaucracy, anti-Washington, lower taxes etc.) compared with those of Gore, who was painted as a 'dangerous liberal'.

AO3 - [Not applicable to Outlines]

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### Section 7: Themes c.1900–2000

### 33 'Changes in the role and status of women in American society in the years c. 1880–c. 1945 were minimal.' How far do you agree?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required – with explanation to the fore. Women were extended the vote: by 1913 nine states had conceded this and the 19<sup>th</sup> Amendment gave the vote to all women. As workers the position of women remained much the same until the beginning of WW2. The social position of women could be assessed.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Where appropriate, attempts to deal with historiography, critical evaluation of source material and of differing historical interpretations may enhance responses. The rights of women by 1945 were recognised to a greater degree than was the case in 1880. This reflected a change in attitudes to the role and status of women. However, the degree of change is a matter of debate and it could be argued that changes in attitude lagged behind changes in the law, that the role and status of women varied between town and countryside, regions of the USA, and between and within racial/immigrant groups. Politically, the status of women was technically the same as men by 1945. However, politics remained a male-dominated preserve. By 1945 only two women had become state governors and only a minority had won seats into state legislatures. In the world of work, women were regarded as inferior to men in terms of job opportunities, rates of pay and the length of the working week. The National Women's Party (1923) failed to achieve an Equal Rights Amendment to address these issues. Even with Frances Perkins as Secretary of Labor in 1933 the traditional role of women as home minders remained. The situation changed during World War Two as large numbers of women were employed, in clerical and blue collar jobs, to make up for the 12 million men in uniform by 1945. However, this was regarded as a temporary development, a necessary emergency measure only. Socially, the vast majority were confined to the home. The 'flapperism' (female expressions of rebellion and liberation) of the 1920s – dance, dress, cosmetics etc. - was confined to a minority of urban women in the main cities. Indeed, more women supported various anti-'flapper' organisations. Further, whilst the involvement of women in issues such as the temperance movement was a significant indicator of the role women could play in key issues, nonetheless, this served to emphasise the conservatism of women. Celebrity actresses, models and musicians were not representative of the role or status of women nationally.

AO3 – [Not applicable to Outlines]

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## 34 To what extent were the benefits of economic growth in the years 1941 to c. 1980 shared evenly?

### Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required – with explanation to the fore. The War brought America out of depression and the economy continued to grow in the 1950s and 1960s before slowing. The US economy was the strongest and fastest growing in the world. Millions benefited from the increase in real wages, the explosion in consumerism (in part fuelled by a baby boom), an expansion in home-ownership and the creation of more jobs. In many ways life was made easier: transport improvements, credit facilities, leisure activity. Federal spending on social infrastructure (education, health etc.), improved the opportunities of millions. Statistics as indices of wealth could be used to show, for example, that life expectancy was greater.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Where appropriate, attempts to deal with historiography, critical evaluation of source material and of differing historical interpretations may enhance responses. Answers should show appreciation of the extent of economic growth and its benefits but be aware of the fluctuations in the economic record. The economy had to be closely managed in the immediate post-war period to avoid a slow down following the boom of the war years, for example. Fortunes varied within and between sectors too. If at times of boom the benefits of growth were unevenly shared it could be argued the pain of downturns was more keenly felt by some than all. Candidates may choose to consider different criteria as benefits such as employment levels, incomes etc. and demonstrate the unevenness in the effect of growth. While the majority of Americans saw their standards of living rise millions did not. So, although the post-war period was dubbed 'the Age of Affluence' there was also a severe problem of poverty. It could be argued that at no time in the period were the benefits of growth sufficiently widespread. Reference to Truman's 'Fair Deal', Eisenhower's 'New Conservatism', JFK's 'War on Poverty' and LBJ's 'Great Society' could be made to illustrate the nature of the problems. Specific attention could be made to the problem of the unemployed, blacks, racial minorities, the frail and single-parents as well as other groups. Growth varied by region with some areas severely depressed, e.g. Appalachian mining areas. Unevenness in the distribution of wealth worsened in this period which had social repercussions. The 'white flight' to the suburbs coincided with the migration of many black Americans to the northern ghettoes. Rates of crime increased in the period. Trades unions were as important in defending the rights of workers from exploitation as before.

AO3 – [Not applicable to Outlines]

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### 35 'The Watergate Scandal from 1972 ultimately had little effect on the power of the presidency.' Do you agree?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required – with explanation to the fore. Details about the break in at the Watergate Complex in 1972, the subsequent exposure of this by Woodward, the charges made against Nixon and his eventual resignation will be important to provide context and to explain the possible damage done to the presidency. Knowledge of how the affair dominated US politics and affected attitudes as well as the measures contemplated to reassess the powers of the presidency can be expected.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Where appropriate, attempts to deal with historiography, critical evaluation of source material and of differing historical interpretations may enhance responses. The essential details about the Watergate Scandal will be relevant to explain the reason for the resignation of Nixon but the emphasis should be on the power of the presidency after the scandal compared to what had been the case earlier. Candidates can argue either way: some may see Watergate as merely an aberration which changed nothing whilst others may detect a significant check on the presidency as a result. Was the scandal more about party politics and personality rather than the power of the president? The image of the presidency was tarnished by the scandal and trust in the office of president was reduced. Nixon had misled (lied to) the public, acted illegally, even obstructed justice. As such, the dignity and reputation of the office was diminished. It could be argued that this was simply a problem for Nixon rather than the office of President as such. After all, Nixon was already known as 'tricky dickey', Ford, his Vice President and successor, was not tarred with the same brush - indeed, in the 1976 election Ford was only narrowly beaten by Carter despite his pardon of Nixon. Arguably, Ford's clemency hastened the healing process as the scandal was not played out for as long. However, Nixon's behaviour and arrogance was regarded as proof that the president had become too powerful and steps were taken to curb the power of the office. Several laws were passed by Congress, 1974 to 1980, on campaign finance, freedom of information and openness in government. Limits were placed on spending and personal contributions to election campaigns, closer controls were exerted over the intelligence community, individuals gained the right to see information held about them, a government office of ethics was set up to monitor the probity of government officials and Congress asserted its right to expect the presidency to be accountable to the politicians. Carter seemed to be a meeker president than his predecessors. However, it could be argued that Watergate was more important in highlighting the expectation of Americans that their President should be a person of integrity rather than any real guibble with the power they hold which has remained undiminished and unchecked: Reagan's arms for the Contras affair which was contrary to US law did not result in a similar scandal, unlike Clinton's liaison with Monica Lewinsky, which led to calls for his impeachment.

AO3 – [Not applicable to Outlines]

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### 36 How important is American art as a source of evidence for historians of United States society in the twentieth century?

### Candidates should:

AO1 - present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required - with explanation to the fore. American art was extensive and wide ranging and is a considerable source of evidence even if its importance might be questioned. Painters and sculptors of the period could be assessed. From the beginning of the century till the late 1950s artists sought to communicate the reality of life often, however, in surrealist or abstract form. Some were more realistic than others. Gutzon Borglum's giant Mount Rushmore monument is a good example. Nonetheless, as with the purely abstract, the interpretation of the art is subjective, making its importance a matter of opinion. The same might be said of all art including the movement of the 1950s and 1960s based on mass produced artefacts such as the works of Andy Warhol but the materials used makes this art, arguably, an important source of evidence. The ascendancy of women and minority artists since the 1970s is arguably an important source of evidence about sexuality, stereotypical views of racial groups and the marginalised. The very galleries in which paintings and sculpture were displayed in the 20<sup>th</sup> century is, like museums, worthy of comment. The source of patronage (private or state) and the significance claimed for art in various forms by those selling or displaying it has often been as important as the art itself as a source of evidence. Indeed, are galleries, museums and individual works of art nothing more than propaganda? Is the National Gallery of Art in Washington primarily about art or the propagation of American idealism? On the other hand, other institutions have been important in highlighting the false impression of art displayed in such places. For example, the Harlem movement of the inter-war years used literary societies and exhibitions to combat racist stereotypes. As such they are an important source of evidence. The development of cinema and photography could be considered as an important source of evidence with the same reservations about the sponsorship and marketing of the film produced.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Where appropriate, attempts to deal with historiography, critical evaluation of source material and of differing historical interpretations may enhance responses. Candidates may concentrate on one art form rather than a range but credit should be given whatever the approach so long as the question is addressed. It is the importance of art as a source of evidence that is being considered not the art itself. A judgement may be based on the analysis of the art alone or by comparison with other evidence.

#### AO3 – [Not applicable to Outlines]

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## 37 Assess the importance of young people in domestic upheavals in the United States from c.1960.

### Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required – with explanation to the fore. This was a period of considerable discontent which manifested itself in domestic upheavals of one sort or another. The young people of America were the driving force behind it. This was evident in the black civil rights movement, frustration with contemporary politics, anti-war protest and movements for women's rights and sexual equality.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Where appropriate, attempts to deal with historiography, critical evaluation of source material and of differing historical interpretations may enhance responses. Candidates are at liberty to define 'domestic upheavals' as they see fit: positions, attitudes and actions of young people in one form or another that posed a challenge to the orthodox political, social and ethical thinking of the day. The effectiveness of the young might be fairly expected with some assessment of the relative merits and strengths of various youth activity. A major upheaval occurred in the black civil rights movement which branched into violence inspired by Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael or the Black Panthers. The urban riots of the mid to late 1960s were largely the actions of young black men and women. FBI actions against the Black Panthers weakened the organisation. The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the Youth International Party fought police on the streets of Chicago at the Democratic Party Convention of 1968 and served to jolt 'middle America' into recognition of the frustrations of its youth. At its 1970 convention the SDS split with a group - the Revolutionary Youth Movement - demanding violent revolution. Protest against the Vietnam War was extensive and driven by students. The invasion of Cambodia in 1970 sparked widespread protest and culminated in the shooting of four students at Kent State University, Ohio. It could be argued that upheavals based on violent actions by the youth failed to make much of an impact, in part because they were repressed, as indicated above, and because real change was not determined by such action. However, the youth involved in peaceful protest on these issues did make a difference. For example, the youth who led various marches and campaigns and by whose actions civil rights legislation was promoted. The youth were involved in other upheavals. The National Organisation of Women was founded in 1966 and its actions helped secure greater sexual equality for women, educational opportunities for females and the legalisation of abortion (1973). The Gay movement of the period, which posed a real challenge to established sexual views, was largely driven by the youth but, as with NOW, not exclusively. By 1973 there were almost 800 gay organisations in the country. The hippy movement of the period was a major domestic upheaval providing an alternative lifestyle and different attitudes to sex, drugs and materialism.

#### AO3 - [Not applicable to Outlines]

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### 38 Consider the view that the United States became an increasingly divided country after 1945.

### Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required – with explanation to the fore. Politically, divisions between Republicans and Democrats could be said to have widened notably in recent years with bipartisanship less common. Religion may have increased divisions. Divisions of race are another issue with the civil rights movement of major importance which might be linked to divisions over migrant workers. Divisions between old and young, rich and poor could be explored. Foreign policy also divided the nation.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Where appropriate, attempts to deal with historiography, critical evaluation of source material and of differing historical interpretations may enhance responses. There is scope to explore a few criteria in depth or many more generally. Either way discussion is expected. Links between different issues are likely to be made. Politicians and voters of both hues share much common ground. Some may detect a swing to the Right illustrated in the McCarthyism of the earlier years to the Tea Party movement of the early 21<sup>st</sup> century. However, such developments might be regarded as aberrations from the norm. Some strands of the Christian faith have been more militant on issues such as abortion and the rise of Muslim extremism has divided society (reference to intolerance towards Muslims and the terror threat is relevant). The development of the black civil rights movement is a central feature of the mid-period and evidence for division is plentiful (protests, riots, assassinations). However, the progress made in addressing abuses of racial inequality (voting rights for blacks, desegregation of transport, education etc.) and affirmative action could be presented as a counter argument. This issue might be linked to the divisive nature of the debate about migrant workers notably the influx of Mexicans and the associated problem of narcotics from South America. Society was also deeply divided by foreign policy especially in Vietnam but currently in Afghanistan. However, there is largely agreement on the maintenance of American military power and the defence of its interests and allies, for example, Israel and Taiwan. Economically, the gap between the rich and poor has grown and with it the opportunities for education and careers. This is manifested in divisions within urban areas but also between the agricultural and industrial areas. Economic change has seen the decline of many formerly prosperous areas, for example, around the Great Lakes and the rise of Silicon Valley. The divide between old and young appears to have widened. Issues like Vietnam, the environment, the power of industrial corporations, have exposed considerable difference of attitude between the generations. The more permissive lifestyle of the young since the 1960s has alienated the more conservative. Yet, traditional values of home and community survive and in many respects have been strengthened.

#### AO3 - [Not applicable to Outlines]