

**MARK SCHEME for the May/June 2014 series**

**9679 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 2014 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 met.

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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 answer 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 insufficiently understood and there will be inaccuracies. Explanations may be attempted but 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 'The economic and commercial relationship between Britain and its American colonies, 1750–76, benefited each equally.' 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. Discussion of the nature of the relationship between Britain and the colonies is likely to focus on the regulation of trade, particularly the operation of the Navigation Acts. In addition, tax issues, notably the Sugar Act (1764), the Stamp Tax (1765) and the Townsend's Duties (1767) could be assessed. Other factors such as the Proclamation Act (1763) could be said to have had an economic effect.

**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 distinguish between the colonies, and some candidates may regard the relationship with Britain of the northern colonies to be different from the middle and southern colonies. The Navigation Acts (1651) whereby only imperial ships could trade with the colonies, the fact that goods traded within the Empire had to go through England and that the system of enumerated articles limited the exportation of goods from the colonies should be assessed. Did the disadvantages to the colonies – restrictions on colonial shipping, inhibition of local industry, an imbalance in trade – outweigh the advantages? After all, the colonies enjoyed the protection of the Royal Navy, the system encouraged agriculture and British goods which were imported were the best in the world. If colonists were unable to carry goods in their own ships, they were not denied the right to make them for the British and shipbuilding in Massachusetts thrived.

The financial wealth of Britain allowed the colonies to borrow easily from the British money markets. Such trading laws brought benefits to Britain, not least in terms of the trade surpluses accrued, a captive market, protection of home industries and access to raw materials in the colonies. Yet, the application of the Laws was not entirely effective. The widespread smuggling and the increasing efforts of the British customs to check it indicate this. Arguably, protectionism was a disincentive to the British economy. Taxes were unpopular. For example, the Revenue Act of 1764 was resented because it raised the duty on sugar. However, the Act also rationalised the existing Molasses Act and helped protect rum distillers from foreign competition. Similarly, the Currency Act of 1764 which controlled the circulation of paper money was resented as a restriction on trade but it helped check inflation. If the Stamp Act and Townsend Duties were unpopular they were repealed (except the tax on tea). Even if the British gained from the money raised from such taxation, the amount was minimal and did not cover the cost of the Seven Years War which was partly the justification for their introduction. The Proclamation Act was regarded as a restriction on the free movement, settlement and development of the colonists, yet it also protected them from the potential danger posed by Indians (Pontiac Rising). Given the attempts by colonists to boycott British goods in protest at certain of the above measures, it might be argued that Britain fared worse than the colonies.

**AO3** – [not applicable to Outlines]

**AO4** – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation

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and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

## **2 Assess the impact of the American Enlightenment in the period c.1750 to 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 main thinkers and writers in America were Franklin, Washington, John Adams, Jefferson, Tom Paine and James Madison. Knowledge about their ideas on politics, economics, society, the law, religion etc are likely. Candidates might refer to the influence of the French philosophers – Voltaire, Montesquieu, Diderot, Rousseau – but some may appreciate the impact of British writers such as Locke and Adam Smith. To some extent, the American Enlightenment was an amalgam of these two European influences.

**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 the political system, American thinkers shared a belief in republicanism and the principle of an elected Head of State and the values of patriotism, citizenship, and property. Such ideas motivated the Sons of Liberty and the Committees of Correspondence. On the relationship between the executive, legislative and judiciary, American thinkers believed in the separation of powers and checks and balances. Such ideas can be traced through Jefferson’s Declaration of Independence and Madison’s ‘Federalist Papers’ to the creation of the Constitution at the Philadelphia Convention in 1787 where Madison, the most learned delegate on constitutions, had a direct influence.

On the involvement of the people in the political process, American thinkers were conservative, more in line with British thinkers who were not convinced by ideas of democracy, though Tom Paine might be considered to be more radical than others. Indeed, the slogan ‘No Taxation Without Representation’ reflects the impact of such ideas and the impact of ‘Common Sense’ was also considerable, not least because of the timing of its publication. American thinkers believed in equality and liberty. On economics, free trade and the views of Adam Smith were absorbed. Franklin extolled the virtue of thrift, industry and money but also philanthropy and voluntary work. This was consistent with the interests of property, including that of slaves, which all thinkers espoused. As such, their views reinforced the interests of slave owners rather than slaves.

On social issues, American thinkers were universally conservative and did not go as far as Rousseau in advocating radical change in education and the rights of women. On matters of religion, American thinkers were deists, opposed to religious dogmatism. Such views help explain the lack of an established church in the USA. On matters of justice, lawyers like John Adams supported enlightened views on fair trial and *habeas corpus* and opposed barbaric punishments, the influence of which can be seen in US law after independence, though some may argue that there were variations between states, and an assessment of the impact of the Enlightenment on the law depends on how such views are interpreted.

**AO3** – [not applicable to Outlines]

**AO4** – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation

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and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

**3 'The incompetence of its generals was the main reason for Britain's defeat in the War of Independence.' How valid is 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. Candidates are likely to focus on the record of a few key generals, notably Howe, Burgoyne and Cornwallis. In assessing their role, emphasis is likely to be on events in the New England states, the area around New York and the South. Candidates should analyse both decisions and actions of the generals as well as the context in which they operated and other mitigating circumstances. In this respect, factors such as the role of Washington and other colonial commanders, the significance of foreign intervention, the terrain, the difficulties of long lines of communication for the British, the direction of Congress, the role of civilians and so on were, arguably, relevant to the outcome.

**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. In assessing each factor, candidates should address the relative importance of each in order to judge whether the incompetence of British generals was the 'main' factor that determined the outcome of the war. Howe's record in the war was mixed. His capture of Bunker Hill showed some skill but it could be argued it was a pyrrhic victory. Similarly, he defeated Washington on Long Island in 1776 but then settled in New York for the winter rather than pursue his advantage. His failure to march north the following year to rendezvous with Burgoyne left the latter exposed at Saratoga. Burgoyne's tactics there could be assessed: did he naively blunder into a trap or was he simply out-manoeuvred? However, Howe had not been directly ordered to meet Burgoyne. Instead he scored victories against Washington but, again, he allowed the latter to recoup in Valley Forge.

In the South Cornwallis achieved notable successes and was effective in rolling back the rebel forces. Nonetheless, he allowed himself to be cornered in the peninsula of Yorktown and his surrender was, arguably, the decisive action of the war. British generals defended Canada but to what extent was this due to the treachery of Arnold? By contrast, Washington is likely to be regarded as more competent than his opponents. His reputation for bravery, acquired in the Seven Years War, steadiness at times of crisis, his qualities of integrity, selflessness and honesty, his skill in the organisation of the army, the wise deployment of his troops and the diplomatic finesse with which he co-ordinated with the French may be discussed. However, he experienced military defeat, for example, at Brandywine; key battles like Saratoga had nothing to do with Washington, and even the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown could be attributed to the French. It could be argued that his leadership was particularly important in the early phase of the war, when he kept the army together at Valley Forge, rather than later. The importance of Congress in supplying the men and money was a factor. Were the British commanders doomed to fail given the distance from England (long lines of supplies and problems of communication)? As only a third were 'rebels' and as many were loyalists, should British generals have done more to win popular support?

**AO3** – [not applicable to Outlines]

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**A04** – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

**4 Which President’s conduct of the foreign policy of the United States in the years 1801 to 1817 was more successful: Jefferson or Madison?**

Candidates should:

**A01** – 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 requires an analysis of the relations of the USA with France and England and, marginally, with Spain. An appreciation of the context of the Napoleonic Wars is important as this determined, to a large extent, the conduct of US foreign policy. The key developments in the period were: the Louisiana Purchase, the Anglo-American trade war, the War of 1812 and excursions into Florida.

**A02** – 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 treat Jefferson and Madison separately with some comparison of the two by way of judgement. Others will analyse the conduct of foreign policy by addressing US relations with the European powers. With France, it could be argued that Jefferson and Madison maintained cordial relations though Jefferson was more successful because of the Louisiana Purchase of 1803: candidates may elaborate on its positive strategic, economic and political effects. In countering this, the price was high and it pushed the US border against Mexico which led to problems later.

Madison maintained friendly relations with France, not least because the stronger France was, the more this constrained the British. Trade with France and her Empire was important to the US, so good relations with the latter were, theoretically, advantageous. However, in practice this was not the case because the British Orders in Council of 1807 forbade trade by any ship with Europe. Relations were worsened by the response of Jefferson who introduced the Embargo Act of 1807 forbidding all exports from the US to England: indeed, this hurt the US much more than it did the English. As such, Jefferson could be criticised for adopting a policy that was contrary to US interests, although he repealed the Act as he left office in 1809. Still, Madison inherited a difficult situation, complicated by the problem of impressments. Again, this had its roots in Jefferson’s administration following the *Leopard/Chesapeake* incident of 1807 (British removed three American seamen from the US ship for desertion).

The two issues – trade restrictions and impressments – dominated the agenda and despite successful negotiations with the French and the British, 1810–12, Madison declared war on the latter. Such a policy was, arguably, folly. During the War of 1812, US forces were repulsed from Canada, their coast was tightly blockaded leading to economic ruin, they were defeated at sea and British forces sacked Washington. A counter argument might be constructed highlighting US successes at sea in 1812, the defence of Baltimore and New Orleans and the resilience of the economy. However, the Treaty of Ghent confirmed that the US had not secured its aims. Some candidates might refer to the incursion of Jackson into the fringes of Florida to secure Baton Rouge and Mobile from Spain in 1812, which he followed with a war against the Seminole in 1817 and their defeat a year later, followed by the acquisition of Florida, a result some might credit to Madison.

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**AO3** – [not applicable to Outlines]

**AO4** – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

## **5 What best explains the extent of slavery in the South by 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. Most candidates are likely to identify some or all of the following factors as important. The climate of the South favoured plantation agriculture, cotton was highly profitable as demand increased, the invention of the cotton gin increased efficiency, the acquisition of the Louisiana Purchase allowed the potential of expansion westwards, the Missouri Compromise of 1820 allowed for the extension of slavery south of the agreed latitude, opponents of slavery were a minority and weak, and defenders of slavery regarded it as essential, socially. Some may classify factors as economic, political and social. Whatever the approach, candidates should attempt to weigh the significance of different factors.

**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. Economic factors were crucial. Increased demand for cotton, from Britain especially, encouraged the utilisation of more lands to the west. Cotton required unskilled labour only and slaves were a convenient source. Arguably, despite the increased demand, cotton would have been confined to the south east states had it not been for Whitney’s gin which improved efficiency hugely. Underlying all was the increase in the profit to be made from cotton production. The abolition of the slave trade in 1808 increased the value of slaves and enhanced the profit motive of slavery. However, reliance on a particular cash crop had its drawbacks. The land was prone to exhaustion, diversification was discouraged (there was little manufacturing in the South) and a low wage economy depressed the consumer market and the White worker.

Politically, the concept of States Rights enjoyed more moral support than notions of human injustice, and the Compromise of 1820, though limiting the northern border of slavery, allowed slavery to expand to its natural climatic limit and effectively legitimated slavery south of the line. Socially and culturally slavery was regarded as benign, in the South at least, and as an integral aspect of Southern life by many outside observers. Indeed, amongst those who opposed slavery, most favoured gradual emancipation and the return of freed slaves to Africa. The National Anti-Slavery Society was not founded till 1833. The abolition of slavery was increasingly seen as a distinctive mark of the Southern states and its society: the ‘peculiar institution’ was something to defend. Indeed, Southern apologists regarded the slave system as an essential safeguard against the disorder and chaos which it was assumed would come from freeing slaves, as had happened in Haiti in the 1790s.

**AO3** – [not applicable to Outlines]

**AO4** – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates –

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fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

## Section 2: c.1820–1865

### 6 How democratic was the political system of the United States during the presidency of Andrew Jackson?

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 was President from 1829 to 1837 and the phrase Jacksonian Democracy was coined but there has always been debate about the validity of such a phrase. Candidates might discuss some of the following: the role and duties of the president as the representative of the people, the use of patronage, cabinet government, the vote, the emergence of the ‘second party system’, States’ Rights, the treatment of the Indians.

**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. Jackson considered the president to be the direct representative of the people, the delegate for the people. His inauguration party at the White House is regarded as symbolic of this view and his intervention in the legislative process is seen as the political manifestation of this principle. Critics charge him with abusing his power. For example, in 1832 Jackson vetoed the bill passed by Congress to re-charter the Bank of the US and he subsequently proceeded to kill off the Bank. He justified his actions as necessary to contain the power of the wealthy and the corruption with which the Bank was associated, but his actions fuelled the economic crisis of 1837 which had disastrous consequences for many.

Jackson’s use of patronage caused controversy then and later. He is accused of introducing the ‘spoils system’ – effectively a form of corruption of the civil service. Yet, the extent to which incumbent officers were replaced by Jacksonians was limited. Similarly, the establishment of a ‘kitchen cabinet’ of close friends, not members of the official cabinet, smacked of cronyism and most of Jackson’s key advisers were wealthy businessmen, arguably not really representative of the population as a whole.

Political campaigning was vigorous in 1828 and 1832 and involved large numbers of people: politics became the most popular activity for many and campaigning was colourful. Given that elections at state and local level were frequent, the opportunities for people to be involved in government and politics were considerable (supported by Jackson). However, women and most blacks could not vote and he made no attempt to widen the franchise. Yet, the ‘second party system’, which was a feature of the period from the mid-1830s to the mid-1850s, emerged from Jackson’s presidency: Democrats preferred limited government whilst the Whigs favoured government intervention and the electorate was presented with real choice. States Rights was a major issue in the period, highlighted by the Nullification Crisis. Jackson’s position in defying secession can be analysed as either an indication of his tendency to centralise power or the defence of the constitution and the Union. The treaties Jackson signed with the Indians effectively drove thousands from their ancestral homes, and the treatment of the Cherokees was a blatant denial of the decision of the Supreme Court. Jackson’s actions are often defended as democratic

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in so far as agreements were made with 94 tribes and the interests of Georgia were upheld in his challenge of Chief Justice Marshall.

**AO3** – [not applicable to Outlines]

**AO4** – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

## **7 How successfully did the foreign policy of United States governments serve the national interest in the period c.1820 to 1861?**

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. Candidates may give priority to relations with Mexico, concentrating on the dispute over Texas and the war of 1846–48. Knowledge of USA foreign policy towards Spain can be expected, especially concerning Florida (settlement of 1819), Cuba and South America as a whole. Concerns about the northern border of the USA and the Far East are also relevant. However, emphasis should be placed on the national interests of the USA rather than simply a run through of events.

**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 overriding aim of the USA was to secure its borders. Allied to this was its aim to expand its territory. In doing so, its borders would be more secure but its economic interests would be advanced and the concept of ‘manifest destiny’ would be satisfied. In 1817, Seminole Indians launched incursions from Florida into US territory as far afield as the Mississippi delta. Jackson’s raid in 1818 was controversial but secured a settlement with Spain. However, the problem of the Seminole Indians was not resolved till the late 1830s with their forcible evacuation (and other tribes too) to Oklahoma.

US designs on Canada had been thwarted in 1812 and border disputes with Britain to the north were persistent if intermittent and small-scale, occasionally flaring up but usually being resolved peacefully. This was the case in 1838–42 with Canada and 1845–46 with Oregon. It might be argued that the rhetoric of the politicians exaggerated the extent of the crises and, in the main, the border was settled. Many argued the national interest would have been better served with the acquisition of the St Lawrence but this was an unrealistic ambition after the war of 1812. Mexico’s hold over large tracts of the south west of America was a challenge to US hegemony. With US settlers in Texas, conflict erupted there in the 1830s which later led to full-scale war between the two countries in the 1840s, as a result of which the USA took huge swaths of land from the Mexicans and even invaded Mexico itself. The Gadsden Purchase of 1853 finalised the drama. With Mexican influence removed, settlement west and the colonisation of the continent was possible.

USA national interests were seen as extending throughout the Americas confirmed in the Monroe Doctrine of 1823. The USA had ambitions to control Cuba to secure its sugar. This was particularly evident in the 1850s when Pierce considered military support for Cuban rebels looking to overthrow the Spanish. Disputes between Britain and the USA over Honduras in the

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1850s might be considered. The Treaty of 1850 thwarted US ambitions to control the area but five years later an American, William Walker, became President of Nicaragua and in 1860 Britain withdrew from the area giving the Mosquito coast to Nicaragua. The 1854 Treaty of Kanagawa was signed with Japan which opened Japanese ports to American trade and so advanced the national interests of trade and strategic reach.

**AO3** – [not applicable to Outlines]

**AO4** – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

## **8 How is the mounting sectional conflict in the period c.1850 to c.1860 best explained?**

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. Candidates may choose to distinguish between long- and short-term causes for the mounting sectional conflict. The opponents of slavery, mainly Northerners, and their activities were influential over a long period. The emergence of the Republican Party and Lincoln as their leader was significant. The reluctance of many Northern states to apply the Fugitive Slave Laws was important. The impact of the war against Spain and the acquisition of Texas and California might be assessed. Events in Kansas and Nebraska were important and the attempts to resolve the crisis of 1860–61 might be analysed.

**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 activities of the abolitionists – Garrison’s writings, the impact of Stowe’s novel, John Brown’s Raid – help explain the mounting sectional conflict. However, such activities were often the work of a minority and the South were just as forceful in arguing their case (Calhoun), often aggressively, as with the caning of Sumner in the Senate.

Similarly, it might be argued that the establishment of the Republican Party was inflammatory as it was uncompromising in its views on the ‘slave power conspiracy’ and was morally opposed to slavery. However, it was a divided party; Lincoln only advocated the containment of slavery rather than its abolition, and there is no doubt that Southerners were intent on defending their interests by winning positions in public office, giving rise to the slave power conspiracy. The help given to slaves who ran away to the North inflamed relations. Personal Liberty Laws and the Underground Railway are examples of this, but in court cases fugitives were often treated in accordance with the law and slave owners often made matters worse by sending bounty hunters after fugitives.

In discussing the Compromises of 1820 and 1850, candidates may differ on the role of the politicians. Both Sections were represented by respected spokesmen (Webster and Calhoun, for example) who may be regarded as conciliators or firebrands. Some may consider it to be equally difficult to apportion blame for the Kansas-Nebraska dispute which was very divisive. And, in 1860–61, was the North any less willing to find a solution than the South? Consideration of the Crittenden Proposals and the Washington Convention would be instructive. The strategies of North and South over Fort Sumter would also be worth analysis. The scope for the selection of

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relevant evidence is wide, and candidates are likely to differ in which factors they address and, ultimately, how they view the extent to which the blame for the failure to reconcile the Sections might be apportioned.

**AO3** – [not applicable to Outlines]

**AO4** – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

**9 Was the defeat of the South in the American Civil War primarily caused by lack of resources?**

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. Resources will need to be defined. Most candidates are likely to regard men, money and materials – one or two if not all three – as the resources. However, other factors that account for the defeat of the South should be assessed: Southern military commanders and political leaders, the naval blockade of the South, her diplomatic isolation. Some candidates may explore the social dimension, logistical problems or other relevant factors.

**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 will argue that from the beginning, the North was better placed in terms of the quantity or amount of resources at their disposal compared to the South. Details about the population imbalance, the wealth of the North in terms of industry and trade might be examined. However, the strength of the South in these areas should be recognised. Southern farmers made better soldiers than factory workers, many had military experience in Mexico and the system of slavery meant a greater proportion of men from the South were able to fight without affecting the economy. However, losses of men in battle were more keenly felt in the South. Men deserted from both sides. The effects of the blockade of the South effectively strangled its economy whilst, in contrast, the economy of the North expanded.

The longer the war progressed, the more important the superiority of the resources of the North became. Military commanders like Lee and Jackson were, arguably, the equal of Grant and Sherman. Both sides had commanders who could and were criticised. The performance of such men could be analysed with reference to key military events. Similarly, the political leadership of the Union could be compared with that of the Confederacy taking into account their differing priorities. Although a fine leader, Lincoln nonetheless faced political difficulties, which could be explored, and Davis was not without strengths even if his reputation is less than Lincoln's.

The governments of Britain and France sympathised with the South but they did not intervene on her behalf (public opinion opposed slavery), but the North did not receive any external help either. It could be argued that the South was more cohesive, not least because it was defending its territory and fighting in land with which it was more familiar. Conceivably, enthusiasm for the war was greater in the South, though both sides claimed the moral high ground. However, the North dominated the inland waterways and railways: the ways transport and communications affected

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the war could be assessed. If the apparent superiority of the North over the South at the start of hostilities was not as pronounced as it seems, the disparity became more obvious as time passed. The importance of other factors should be weighed against that of resources with awareness of how they interrelated: for example, railways were important to move men, the relationships between politicians and military commanders were important. Candidates should arrive at a clear judgement about the impact of resources on the outcome of the war.

**AO3** – [not applicable to Outlines]

**AO4** – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

## 10 Is the high reputation of Abraham Lincoln as President deserved?

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. An analysis of Lincoln’s response to the demands of the civil war is needed. Most candidates are likely to concentrate on the role he played in winning the war for the North, emphasising the military events of the time, whilst others will also consider his achievements on the domestic front. Better answers will also assess Lincoln’s importance in the longer term and the broader perspective of the country as a whole, notably, the preservation of the Union and the emancipation of the slaves.

**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. Lincoln is usually regarded as the greatest president, immortalised in the Washington memorial and other ways. This may be so, but there is a tendency to assume he was flawless. Candidates should aim to provide a critical analysis of his record. This might be attempted by looking at his strengths and weaknesses or by close analysis of various criteria of assessment.

He has a reputation as a successful military commander and candidates may argue this was based on his appointments of various generals (Grant, Sherman), the strategic vision and constancy he displayed, his willingness to improvise according to the demands of the time (taking decisions without the approval of Congress) and the priority he gave to the conduct of the war. However, his choice of some commanders was uninspiring (Burnside, McClellan) and he was accused of undue interference in the campaigns conducted.

As a politician, he is regarded as a consummate operator. His personality, diligence, honesty and modesty won the support of the Cabinet and office holders throughout the administration. He was astute in his use of patronage, appointing able figures to manage key areas of policy (foreign policy by Seward, finances by Chase). He lacked experience in administration and was a poor bureaucrat which some might criticise but, others may argue, explains his delegation of policy to others. Generally, he worked well with Congress (in part because it was Republican).

Given the pressure of war, it might be argued that it was remarkable that moderation and toleration were features of civil life. However, he is accused of tyranny and the abuse of civil

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liberties (the draft, 40 000 suffered arbitrary arrest). His popularity in the North at the time of the 1864 election was low and, of course, he was hated in the South. Did Lincoln's assassination assure his reputation? Lincoln is credited with saving the Union yet, it could be argued, the survival of the Union was never in doubt given the superiority of the North. There is controversy on the slave question. Does Lincoln deserve his reputation as the 'Great Emancipator'? The Proclamation of 1862 and the subsequent 13th Amendment are hailed by some as of enormous importance, but others regard them as half-measures. Did he provide moral leadership worthy of his reputation?

**AO3** – [not applicable to Outlines]

**AO4** – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

### **Section 3: Themes c.1750–c.1900**

#### **11 'Of all the factors that explain westward expansion in the nineteenth century, the pursuit of gold was the most important.' 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. Candidates should provide an analysis of the various reasons that account for the movement west, weighing the importance of gold against other relevant factors. Mention might be expected of other 'pull factors' such as the Louisiana Purchase, the wars with Mexico, developments in transport as well as 'push' factors of a social, economic, religious and political nature.

**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 examine the effects of particular developments to test their validity as key factors. By 1850, 90 000, from all corners of the USA, had moved to California. The 'gold rush' (from 1848) was significant because it added momentum to the settlement of California with many following in later years for the bounty of the region besides its gold. San Francisco and other towns expanded quickly. Other 'strikes' occurred in the 1860s and 1870s, particularly at Comstock, Nevada (1859) and Dakota (1874) with similar effects. Transport links to the area were stimulated allowing others to follow more easily than the '49ers.

However, with many 'strikes' settlement was temporary as the deposits dried up or disappointed and miners moved back east. Mining settlements were often lawless and discouraged all but the very hardy. The Louisiana Purchase (1803) offered enormous scope for settlement. It extended the territory of the US beyond the Mississippi and effectively provided a stepping stone to other land beyond the Rockies. The findings of the Lewis and Clark expedition of 1804–06 could be considered. Similarly, the conflict between the US and Mexico in the 1840s, the acquisition of Texas and the subsequent colonisation of California and the land all the way to the Pacific might be regarded as a key development, not least because the land was acquired just as the gold rush began and settlers flocked west. The opening of trails and the building of the railways provided

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routes west. Completion of the first transcontinental railway in 1869 might be considered a key factor in so far as its construction brought settlers west and provided the means for many more to do so and that it encouraged other companies to do the same with similar results.

The chance to own land was an important attraction. Government legislation (the Homestead Act and the Morrill Act (both 1862), the Desert Land Act and the Timber and Stone Acts of the 1870s) provided the incentive needed to persuade 600 000 to settle in the west. Once, it was argued that they were escaping the confines of the urban areas of the east or Europe or the lack of economic opportunity as they saw it there, but now the view is that most were established farmers already looking for better land. The freedom offered in the west helps explain the movement of religious groups, notably the Mormons (the great trek of 1846–47 led to the colonisation of Utah). In broader terms, there is scope to assess whether the notion of ‘manifest destiny’ was myth or reality. The interconnection of certain developments might be explored.

**AO3** – [not applicable to Outlines]

**AO4** – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

**12 ‘The problems outweighed the benefits.’ Do you accept this judgement on the impact of immigration in the period c.1840 to 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. An indication of the scale of immigration and the origin of immigrants would be useful. Between 1820 and 1900, about 20 million immigrants arrived; between 1900 and 1910, about 9 million with another 6 million between 1910 and 1920. Before 1880 the vast majority came from the north and west of Europe (80%), but thereafter most came from southern and eastern Europe. Candidates are likely to consider the economic, social, cultural and political impact of immigration.

**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 economic impact of immigration is the most obvious area to consider. Immigrants provided a plentiful and cheap supply of largely unskilled labour which was crucial to the expansion of companies and the national economy. The rate of economic development was, to an extent, tied to the rate of growth in immigration. The increase in the population of the US helped expand the national market and demand for consumer goods.

On the other hand, the influx of labour depressed wages and adversely affected the job opportunities of local Americans. Trade unions were weakened by the exploitation of migrants who were ignorant of their rights and whose main concern was to have a job on any terms. The influx of immigrants helped create the towns and cities of the USA: by 1910, 33% of the twelve largest cities were composed of immigrants and a similar proportion of the children of immigrants. 41% of the increase in the urban population was directly due to immigration. The impact of such a concentration of immigrants could be discussed: the development of ethnic neighbourhoods

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produced security and tolerance but also division and social tension. Often this fuelled racial hatred which erupted into violence (the Know Nothings of the 1850s, the KKK, random attacks on immigrants) and nationalist moves to limit the rate of immigration and even reverse the flow. However, such tension was sporadic and not a real reflection of society. Indeed, the cohesion of society was remarkable given the rate of immigration and the success the majority of immigrants made of the opportunities open to them.

Politically, it could be argued that the inclination of urban immigrants to vote Democrat helped rebalance politics and provide a challenge to the Republican domination of politics. However, the tendency of migrants to vote as an ethnic group provided opportunities for corrupt practices and compromised the very principles of individuality on which US democracy was founded. Also, immigrants were often the scapegoats at times of political controversy. It is for candidates to assess whether the problems caused by immigration outweighed the benefits.

**AO3** – [not applicable to Outlines]

**AO4** – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

### 13 What best explains the rapid expansion of the US economy 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. At the end of the civil war, the US economy was mainly agricultural but by the end of the period it was the most advanced industrial economy on earth. It produced 30% of the world's manufacturing output. Many factors explain this transformation: investment levels, the availability of raw materials, the nature of the work force, the railway system, the drive of entrepreneurs and limited government interference.

**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. Government was largely acquiescent and friendly to big business, not least because it was in their personal interests to do so. Government maintained the tariff which most big businesses favoured though it was opposed by farmers. Currency issues were controversial, with the government favouring a policy of 'sound money' which effectively meant the *status quo* but others, especially farmers, argued for an inflationary policy. 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

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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.

**AO3** – [not applicable to Outlines]

**AO4** – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

**14 Assess the value of the work of any one American writer in the period c.1750 to c.1900 in reflecting life in 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. Candidates have the chance to narrow their focus on a writer with whom they are familiar. Novelists, poets, dramatists, essayists, even journalists and academics could be considered. Whichever writer is adopted, candidates might, very reasonably, concentrate on the work for which they are best known rather than the body of their output.

**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. Writers may be regarded as typical of a particular genre. Novels of the early nineteenth 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 work of writers of the early 1800s do not reflect American life as accurately as those of the later century. Nonetheless, aspects of early nineteenth-century life can clearly be gleaned in the Romantic novels. The analysis will be achieved by setting the writer's interpretation against knowledge of the history.

**AO3** – [not applicable to Outlines]

**AO4** – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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**15 ‘Changes to family life were greater in urban rather than rural areas in the United States in the nineteenth century.’ 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. Ways in which family life changed need to be considered. The role of women, the importance of religion, the impact of education, the extension of transport, work routines and leisure activities are just some of the aspects relevant to the question. Throughout the period most people lived in rural areas or small settlements. Large towns and cities were mainly in the east and industrial areas. Their expansion was greatest after the civil war.

**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 roles of members of the family changed little in the period. Each 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. However, improved communications and social mobility did result in changes. Children were less willing or able to commit themselves to the family permanently and often moved away for work not available at home. This was often most striking in rural areas rather than towns as greater efficiency in farming and the lack of opportunity on the land encouraged the youngest to move elsewhere.

Similarly, towards the end of the period especially, there were more opportunities for women to work in factories or offices. Arguably, the demands of factory routine placed added strain on the family. This was mostly the case in urban areas. Despite such pressures, families regarded themselves as self-reliant units, independent of external help. 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. The influence of the local church on the social order in which families lived was considerable. However, arguably, in an increasingly secular age this constraint was lessened, especially in towns, not least because of the rapid increase in the numbers of people who lived in places where there was no church.

Further, the opportunities for leisure in towns allowed for a degree of change in social attitudes. 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 which meant many were new and where housing development lacked adequate planning to create the conditions necessary to stimulate a sense of community. However, immigrant groups managed to hold to this value quite successfully; indeed, they tended to colonise particular districts of towns as a means of security. There was major change in some rural areas, especially the South. The emancipation of the slaves had a profound effect on the lives of white and black families in the South. Conversely, family life for settlers in the mid-West and those on the frontier remained fairly constant. The 1860s are likely to be regarded as a turning point in many respects, not least because of the impact of the civil war and rapid industrialisation.

**AO3** – [not applicable to Outlines]

**AO4** – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation

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and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

**16 ‘The horse remained vital to transport and communications in the United States during the nineteenth century.’ 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. Although developments in railway transport were dramatic and hugely significant, and candidates would be right to assess their importance, they should not lose sight of the question. Transport and communication by horse should be their focus.

**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.

In terms of **transport** of people and goods, and the early exploration of the unknown areas of the continent, for example, by Lewis and Clarke, the horse was vital. The early pioneers of the West moved the frontier with horses pulling wagons. The horse was of key importance in cattle ranching and driving animals to markets throughout the period. Indeed, the carriage of goods from factories, ports and markets was by horse. It continued to be the main form of transport for Native Americans. Many of the canals of the country relied on the horse to pull barges. Street cars were introduced – the first was in New York in 1832 – but they were pulled by horses until the use of electricity in the 1880s; indeed, trams before then were often referred to as horse cars. Even with the growth of the railway (candidates are likely to provide details), the horse remained vital, especially in more remote regions of the West or difficult terrain and even in regions such as the South, where the number of rail companies and the length of rail track were limited. Indeed, given the fixed nature of the railway, the horse remained essential as a means of transport away from the railway station everywhere. This was the case throughout the US until the arrival of the motor car.

**Communications** were also reliant on the horse. The pony express (including Wells Fargo) came to symbolise the role of the horse. Even with the introduction of the telegraph, passing messages by horse remained the main way of communication, not least because the lines were tied to the railway track. Experiments with electric telegraph did not begin seriously till the 1830s, and the Morse system was only employed in the US in the 1840s on a limited scale. It was only in the 1880s that the postal service adopted the telegraph as a means of communication. Thereafter, the telegraph was more extensive within urban areas but this was less so in rural districts. Even so, the delivery of paper post to households and offices continued to be delivered by horse until the end of the century.

It would be plausible to argue that the horse remained vital to transport and communication throughout the period, even if this was less so in some areas, notably the east and urban settlements. Similarly, the horse was clearly more important in the early years of the century than at the end. Sound judgements will recognise the shades of change and continuity.

**AO3** – [not applicable to Outlines]

**AO4** – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates –

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fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

#### **Section 4: 1865–1914**

### **17 ‘The failure of Reconstruction was the responsibility of President Grant.’ 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. To reconstruct the South following the civil war was a huge task. Programmes of Reconstruction began as early as 1863, when Lincoln issued plans to rebuild, and came to an end in 1877, the year Grant’s presidency finished. Blame for the failure of Reconstruction may be charged to Grant which candidates should explore, but they should also consider the role of others including those Northerners who were involved in reconstruction, ‘carpet-baggers’, ‘scalawags’, local and Congressional politicians and public attitudes.

**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. Grant was an inept politician with little interest in or understanding of political problems. He did not involve himself in Reconstruction policy so his leadership could be criticised. He was unable to exert the authority needed to shape or develop policy. To some extent he was hampered by the distraction of a series of scandals that blighted his presidency. If corruption (‘Grantism’) was a feature of federal government, it was also true of the State government, including southern states. Rebuilding on a large scale presented many opportunities for graft and corruption. 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. Carpet-baggers and scalawags were regarded as self-seeking (as their names suggest), even if many were honourable and motivated by a genuine desire to help the South. However, substantial projects of reconstruction were undertaken: roads, schools and public buildings.

Radical Republican Congressmen could be held responsible for the failure of Reconstruction. Led by Stevens and Sumner until 1868, they pressed for major changes, notably the 14th Amendment, enfranchising African-Americans. However, this had caused huge opposition and military law had to be introduced in the South, 1867–70. Although the Amendment might be considered a success in the 1870s, both political parties used the African-American to advance their own political power, resorting to electoral fraud which discredited the system. The KKK actively intimidated those who supported civil liberties for African-Americans, although federal troops contained their violence.

A change in Northern attitudes to Reconstruction was a reason for its failure. The Supreme Court questioned many Reconstruction laws, business was concerned about the violence associated with it, Radical leaders like Stevens (died 1868) were not replaced, and the taxpayer increasingly resented the money spent (wasted) in the South. 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 Negroes as pawns, and ballot rigging – and this alienated many Northerners who returned home leaving the South the poorer.

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**A03** – [not applicable to Outlines]

**A04** – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation

**18 What best explains the limited achievements of radical political movements in the United States in the late nineteenth century?**

Candidates should:

**A01** – 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 Populists were the most obvious radical political movement of the period but reference to the trades unions would be appropriate.

**A02** – 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. Populists were mainly farmers and although numerous, their constituency was limited. They also lacked unity until 1892 when groups such as the Greenbackers and the Farmers’ Alliances joined forces, if loosely. Their aims were too varied with demands for inflationary fiscal initiatives, co-operative ventures and reform of transport arrangements, which diluted their appeal, and efforts made from 1892 to win over industrial workers were unsuccessful. The Populists were a movement born of straightened times and when they eased, their support fell away. Problems of nature such as serious droughts from the mid-1880s to the mid-1890s and plagues of grasshoppers caused much distress. The fall of prices due to over-production at home and foreign competition reduced incomes. This was a period, in general terms, of depression. Yet by the end of the century, these pressures had eased. Farmers gained from the high tariff introduced in 1897; the influx of gold with inflationary tendencies and problems for foreign farmers allowed US farmers opportunities abroad. There was, therefore, little reason to campaign for redress of concerns that had, to some extent, been addressed.

The Populist Movement was short-lived for political reasons, too. Their impact on the political stage should be recognised – several State governors and legislatures favoured them, they competed in Presidential elections with Weaver polling one million votes in 1892, and Bryan came very close to beating McKinley in 1896. However, they failed to make an impact on Southern white farmers for whom race remained their first concern or the industrial workers. Both Democrats and Republicans adopted parts of the Populist platform and adapted themselves to the challenge of the latter, so that it gradually lost its discrete credentials and effectively merged with the traditional parties. The Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor were also weak as radical movements. Their leaders were idealistic and unrealistic in their expectations, given the power of big business and the government, which often favoured the former, deploying Federal troops in the Pullman dispute of 1894, for example.

The violence used by labour organisations alienated public support (Haymarket, Chicago, 1886). The courts were often against them with employers even using the Sherman Anti-Trust Act in the 1890s to prevent strike action that was in ‘restraint of trade’. However, the Clayton Anti-Trust Act (1914) redressed the balance allowing strikes, picketing and boycotts and limiting the use of injunctions to prevent strikes. Also, on occasion, US governments intervened directly on behalf of

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the workers as with the miners in Pennsylvania in 1902. Union membership was high (500 000 in the AFof L by 1914).

**AO3** – [not applicable to Outlines]

**AO4** – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

## 19 Had the United States established an empire by 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. This question will be familiar to candidates. From the 1880s there was increasing support within the USA for an expansionist foreign policy. This accords with US acceptance of the notion of ‘manifest destiny’ and the widely held belief that they not only had a right but a duty to export ‘civilisation’. Indeed, the origins of this could be argued to lie in the Monroe Doctrine; in fact, Roosevelt’s Corollary was an extension of the policy of 1823. Candidates should explore some if not all the areas of the world in which the US was involved: Pacific Islands, Cuba, Central America, China, Japan.

**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. Historians continue to debate whether the US merely extended its influence or established an empire and, if so, was it an informal empire rather than the direct colonisation of land? Some may look at different episodes and assess each in turn. Others may consider places in which, it could be argued, the US set up colonies and others where they merely extended their influence. In many cases it might be argued that the position of the US moved gradually from one to the other. For example, US influence in Hawaii (use of Pearl Harbour) led to it ultimately dethroning the queen in 1893 and annexing the islands in 1898. Elsewhere in the Pacific, the US effectively colonised the land directly: the Philippines, Guam, Puerto Rico (following war with Spain), Samoa, Virgin Islands, and other places. It might be argued this was the case in Cuba too: though independent, a US governor was put in charge in 1902 for four years which led to US domination of the island till 1958 (the status of Guantanamo might be considered).

Although confined to a 10-mile strip, the US gained control of the Panama Canal: did this constitute empire? Other examples of US interference in the internal affairs of other states might be considered as a question of the US merely extending its influence rather than empire building, but there is room for argument. The US intervened in the Dominican Republic, Haiti and Nicaragua, and in doing so brought stability to these areas, but also advanced US interests. In China, the US favoured an ‘open door’ policy where dollar diplomacy was deployed to further her economic interests. US intervention in Mexico was surely motivated by a desire to stabilise her immediate neighbour rather than colonise it. Similarly, US mediation between Russia and Japan was prompted by her concerns for stability in the north-west Pacific. Some might argue that these examples serve to show that US policy was driven by high ideals rather than ambitions of empire.

**AO3** – [not applicable to Outlines]

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**AO4** – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

**20 Consider the view that Theodore Roosevelt’s popularity was based on his personality rather than his policies.**

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 popularity of Roosevelt was such that having served two terms he would have secured the Republican nomination for president again in 1908 if he had decided to stand. He was an extraordinary character whose personality helps explain his popularity. However, the policies he pursued were also important in explaining his popularity. As a progressive, he favoured reforms at home and an aggressive foreign policy, both of which were popular.

**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. His charisma, energy, versatility and talent as a sportsman, writer and naturalist inspired others. He had the common touch; ‘Teddy’ or ‘TR’ communicated well with all people. His exploits as a soldier, commanding a force of ‘rough riders’ during the American-Spanish war, endeared him to others. He was respected as an academic for his histories of the War of 1812 and ‘the Winning of the West’. He was regarded as an honest public servant in the many positions he held before becoming President.

Roosevelt was a progressive president. His ‘square deal’ – reform of the civil service to reward merit, conservation of resources and greater regulation of business – was widely popular. He intervened in the miners’ dispute of 1902–03; his Newlands Act of 1902 promoted irrigation schemes and the preservation of national parks; he supported various Acts to regulate the food, drugs and meat industries; he did much to improve the investigation of the activities of trusts with the Elkins Act and the Hepburn Acts. He confronted big corporations to check unfair competition and the distribution of their profits.

However, Roosevelt’s progressivism was limited. The courts favoured big business, although the Supreme Court was more sympathetic. His policies alienated many conservative Republicans who had close links to big business. Campaigners complained he did not do enough. To some extent, he was constrained by the charge of ‘socialism’ levied at him by his enemies to which he was sensitive as a moderate reformer. It could be argued that the real advances in this period were achieved at a local level rather than through the work of the federal government. The fact that urban deprivation and the rapaciousness of business were still evident indicates the limits to the success of Roosevelt as a progressive. In foreign affairs his promotion of US interests won popularity. Intervention in Panama forced the agreement that resulted in the US controlling the Canal Zone. The Roosevelt Corollary was invoked to justify intervention in the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua and Haiti. He mediated the treaty between Japan and Russia. The despatch of the Great White Fleet to tour the Pacific, 1907–09, extended US influence in the region and signalled the importance of US power. He resolved the problem of Venezuela’s debts without recourse to war. The negative impact of his foreign policy was not recognised at the time. Candidates may recognise the links between his policies and his personality.

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**A03** – [not applicable to Outlines]

**A04** – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

**21 How effective was President Woodrow Wilson in defending the interests of the United States abroad before 1917?**

Candidates should:

**A01** – 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. Wilson was elected in 1912 with a substantial mandate: he won 40 states and polled over one million votes more than Taft, and the Democrats gained majorities in both Houses of Congress. As a progressive liberal he had a firm belief in freedom at home and abroad. He was prepared to defend the freedom of Americans and the USA, aggressively if necessary. His foreign policy was dominated by events in Central America and Europe.

**A02** – 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 assessing Wilson’s policy in Central America and Europe, candidates should be clear what interests of the USA were at stake. In Central America he acted in line with the ‘Roosevelt Corollary’. US forces remained in Haiti, Nicaragua and Santo Domingo, protecting US business interests and investment. In these places Wilson merely continued a policy that had been settled years before and was widely regarded as appropriate in terms of US interests.

Wilson’s response to events in Mexico was less straight forward. Following the overthrow of Diaz in 1911, Mexico entered a period of instability. Huerta, who seized power in 1913, was backed by US businessmen who owned most of the country’s mines, oil wells and plantations. However, Wilson refused to recognise his government for its barbarity and supported the constitutionalists led by Carranza and sent 7000 troops to Vera Cruz to stop Huerta receiving arms from the Germans. Carranza prevailed. Arguably, Wilson defended US interests in upholding a ‘democratic’ regime but he had compromised US economic interests in doing so. Further, Carranza’s victory alienated Pancho Villa who led raids into New Mexico, killing US civilians. Despite Pershing’s invasion of 1916 Pancho Villa remained at large and the southern border of the US was insecure, a point emphasised by the Zimmerman Telegram.

A policy of neutrality in the Great War seemed to best serve US interests. Millions of US citizens had been born in Europe or were derived from there, so sympathy for the sides fighting in Europe was split: intervention by the US on one side or the other would have divided society. Wilson’s stance was popular for this reason and because it seemed the best way of preserving US trade interests. Initially, the US traded with both sides but the British blockade of Germany made this almost impossible with the latter. Instead, US trade with Britain and her allies grew (1914 = \$40 million, 1916 = \$1300 million in munitions alone). This trade helped drag the US out of the commercial depression of 1915. However, US ships were at risk from both sides. They were liable to be intercepted and checked by the Royal Navy to stop trade with neutral countries as an indirect way of supplying Germany. More seriously, they were prone to submarine attacks by the Germans who sank the Lusitania in 1915 with the loss of 128 American lives. Wilson’s protests

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were criticised as feeble but in 1916 German attacks on US ships stopped. Wilson also won a re-election on the strength of the slogan 'He kept us out of war'.

**AO3** – [not applicable to Outlines]

**AO4** – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

## Section 5: 1914–1953

### 22 Why was the economy of the United States so depressed by 1932?

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. That the economy was depressed in 1932 is not disputed. Unemployment was at least 15 million, GDP was half the level of 1929, foreign trade had contracted by 66%. Financial, economic, international and political factors help explain why the economy was depressed.

**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 are likely to trace the reasons for the depressed economy to the 1920s. Indeed, some may limit their answer to that decade and equate 1932 with 1929. Better answers will comment on the years 1929 to 1932 as well as the 1920s. The decade saw higher levels of employment, wages and consumer spending. Candidates could usefully comment on the rate of expansion of the car and consumer industries as well as the building sector, and the dependency of so many workers for jobs in these fields.

However, overproduction ran ahead of demand, in part because of a slowing of the rate of population increase and stubborn levels of poverty – farmers, African-Americans – which acted as a break on growth. Prosperity stoked speculation and a dramatic rise in the stock market, the collapse of which, in 1929, sparked the Great Depression. Candidates might explain how individuals – with access to easy credit and hire purchase facilities – and institutions were overexposed when the market turned. On the other hand, stock markets are, by their nature, unpredictable and downturns at other times, before and since 1929, have not led to economic depression. In addition, the roots of the depression could be traced to the weakness of the banking system. The laxity of controls over the reserves of banks and the close connection of private banks to specific economic sectors made them vulnerable at times of crisis.

This could be widened into a debate on government policy in general. Was the laissez-faire philosophy of the 1920s appropriate or should companies have been regulated more closely and more help been given to farmers and other groups? Further, consideration of the role of Hoover, often castigated for inactivity, would be helpful with discussion of the extent and effectiveness of government relief measures, 1929–32. The constraints on overseas trade brought about, in large part, by the effects of the First World War, might be considered a root cause of the depression. However, the protectionism of the US governments of the 1920s could be assessed and the defensive response of world leaders in the period 1929–32 as national economies around the world contracted. In analysing different causes, the links between factors might be identified to

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demonstrate how complex the economic problems of the time were, and candidates are likely to diverge in their assessment of the importance of the relevant factors.

**AO3** – [not applicable to Outlines]

**AO4** – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

## 23 ‘The New Deal was of local rather than national benefit.’ 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 will test the ability of candidates to select evidence effectively as the scope is considerable. Knowledge about individual ‘alphabet agencies’ will be relevant, but the emphasis should be on the effects of such measures rather than the detail as such. Some understanding of the extent of the problems the New Deal was designed to address would be useful.

**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 interpret ‘local’ as regional or confined to certain groups of people. There is debate about the effects of the New Deal which should be reflected in the analysis. Examples of the New Deal having a regional benefit might be the TVA. This clearly helped the Tennessee Valley in various ways (flood control, prevention of soil erosion, model villages). However, the projects involved benefited industry as a whole and the production of electricity there became part of the national electricity scheme started in 1938.

By refusing to nationalise the banking system, many banks remained local in their reach. Nonetheless, measures taken early in 1933 to buy shares in banks helped reduce the number of bankruptcies and restore faith in the system. In maintaining Hoover’s Reconstruction Finance Corporation, financial help for banks, railroads and industries was provided by the federal government but its use was determined by the States. Arguably, this focused the use of funds more efficiently. Certain agencies were clearly local in terms of their brief. The CCC, the WPA, the PWA were charged, in varying ways, to build dams, roads, schools, hospitals, swimming pools, for example, which were of local importance. However, the multiplier effect which such schemes had on the national economy was huge. Also, roads and telephone lines were integrated into a national system. The sheer scale of these works was such that virtually all areas of the country benefited, if to different degrees.

Some may argue the rural regions benefited most as the CCC was mostly active in remote areas and the AAA doubled farm incomes and reduced farm debt, at the expense of urban dwellers who paid higher prices. Yet the work of the CCC in creating 3700 new parks was of benefit to the nation, and the plight of agriculture was so dire that special measures were needed even if the Supreme Court declared the AAA unconstitutional. The various social and labour laws of the New Deal (Social Security Act, Wagner Act, the NRA) might be considered more national in their benefit in so far as they were applied to the populace as a whole. However, the States had considerable autonomy to draft their own welfare schemes and the measures arguably benefited

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the poor and vulnerable rather than society as a whole. Other aspects of the New Deal might be assessed.

**AO3** – [not applicable to Outlines]

**AO4** – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

## **24 How important was the United States in attempts to maintain world peace during the inter-war years?**

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 important in keeping the peace. The role of the US at Versailles in 1919 and its relationship with the League of Nations could be discussed. The US played a part in reducing tensions between France and Germany. The Kellogg-Briand Pact and the Washington Naval Treaties could be assessed as mechanisms to keep the peace. However, there were conflicts in this period, especially in the 1930s, and the policy of the US in respect of these crises should 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. Wilson’s 14 Points and his contribution to the treaties of 1919–20 could be discussed. The US co-operated with the League, in controlling the opium traffic and the arms trade. However, the absence of the US reduced its credibility, depriving the League of the weight it needed when dealing with problems involving strong powers, for example, Abyssinia. The US was also not involved at Locarno and so did not provide the guarantees given by Britain and France to Poland. Nonetheless, it is questionable whether US commitment to Locarno would have restrained Germany from attacking Poland in 1939. 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 US helped maintain the peace between Germany and France in the mid- to late-1920s with the Dawes and Young Plans. However, it may be countered that they did not do enough and the default of Germany in 1931 is proof of the limited success of the Americans in this respect.

The impact of the Wall Street Crash on the world’s economy and the rise of dictators might be discussed. The Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928 could be cited as proof of the importance of the US in maintaining peace: about 65 other nations subscribed to it including the main antagonists in Europe. However, arguably the K-B Pact was merely a paper agreement that meant very little, exposed as inadequate in the 1930s when signatories like Italy and Germany rejected their commitment to it. Similarly, it could be argued that the Washington Conference of 1921, which produced two treaties about naval power in the Pacific, was evidence of the US maintaining peace but the expansion of Japan in the 1930s suggests that such agreements were meaningless. Indeed, the US was unable (unwilling) to check the rearmament of Germany and other fascist states. The events of 1939 could be assessed to indicate the impotence of the US in preventing the outbreak of war in Europe, although what action it might reasonably have been

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expected to take in the circumstances prevailing is questionable. There is sufficient scope for candidates to show that the US contributed to attempts to maintain peace but political, logistical and military factors constrained her influence.

**AO3** – [not applicable to Outlines]

**AO4** – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

**25 ‘The quality of its leadership was the most important element of the United States’ contribution to the Allied victory in World War Two.’ 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 US was a non-combatant until December 1941. However, she was not uninvolved and had lent economic and moral support to the alliance beforehand. Once in the war, US forces fought in Europe, Africa and the Far East and her navy was engaged on all the major oceans. In addition, the political authority of the US was important.

**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. American presidents, especially Roosevelt, were crucial. He provided resolute political and moral leadership. Before 1941, 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. Roosevelt managed to work constructively with Churchill and Stalin. With the Atlantic Charter of 1941, he helped fashion the moral and strategic objectives of the war which were reinforced at the conferences at Teheran and Yalta which he attended. However, he did not enter the war until 1941.

Truman ensured continuity of US leadership, notably in his decision to use the atom bomb. Americans provided military leadership which was, arguably, crucial. The planning and execution of the invasions of North Africa in 1943 and the D-Day landings in 1944 were the responsibility of Eisenhower. US generals played prominent roles in Europe (Patten) and were dominant in the Far East (MacArthur). Nonetheless, commanders of other nations were also crucial, for example Montgomery (El Alamein), Slim (Burma) and Zhukov and Khrushchev (Russia). Some may say that it was the economic and military strength of America that was crucial. Indeed, without it neither political nor military commanders would have been as influential. Between 1939 and 1941, material from America to Russia, China and Australia, for example, was crucial to their ability to fight. The American economy was able to provide the military hardware and equipment for its own armed forces.

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. Nonetheless, the economic resources of the British Empire were considerable and by moving their factories east the USSR was able to supply some of her needs. Perhaps, it was the strength of the US navy that was crucial in containing the threat posed by U-boats? America’s military might also played a crucial role in the war in Africa, Europe and

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the Far East. US losses against Japan were also an indication of the extent of the commitment of the US. US pilots played a key role in the bombing campaign over Germany (day time flights) but so too did the British (night flights). The American navy eventually prevailed in the Atlantic and the Pacific: it could be argued that only the US navy was strong enough to beat the Japanese at Midway.

**AO3** – [not applicable to Outlines]

**AO4** – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

**26 Is it valid to say that McCarthyism was about personal ambition and party politics rather than principles?**

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. Candidates should identify the principles in question as those of ‘freedom’ and democracy and their defence against the perceived threat posed by communism. McCarthy emerged as a vigorous champion of these principles. However, the motives of McCarthy and of those who supported or used him may have been more practical than idealistic.

**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 fear of communism could be set in context: the Soviet consolidation of power in Eastern Europe, the Berlin Blockade, China and the war in Korea. Truman’s Doctrine indicated the danger communism was thought to pose to western principles, and US involvement in events abroad, the sincerity of US fears of communism.

Suspicion of espionage, fuelled by McCarthy, might be assessed: the National Security Act was passed in 1947 in response to concerns about penetration by communists into the institutions of state. The influx of refugees from Eastern Europe raised fears of communism, given Soviet domination of the region. Truman established the Federal Loyalty Boards (1947) and by 1951 about 3000 government employees had been forced to resign and some punished, including Alger Hiss. In Feb. 1950, he claimed to hold a list of 205 Communist Party members working in the State Department. McCarthy continued to hound ‘suspects’, including Army officers in 1953, until he was censured in Dec. 1954. So, given the atmosphere created by the international context and the policies of Truman, it could be argued McCarthy was motivated by principle. Yet, why did he fabricate evidence as the Tydings Committee found when declaring him to be ‘a fraud and a hoax’? And, if freedom and democracy were his principles, why did he effectively deny them with his false accusations and the ordeal of interrogation to which his suspects were subjected? Did he genuinely believe his accusations and persist in his crusade, convinced that his detractors (like Ed Murrow, who exposed him in March 1954) had ulterior motives?

Personal ambition, for which the communist scare provided an opportunity, may explain his motives. Having entered the Senate in 1946, it could be argued he exploited the chance to promote his profile. He was also a drunk and a bully, and the nature of his witch hunt was in

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character. Equally, others were prepared to exploit McCarthyism for their own ends. Hoover was happy to fan the fears generated by others to argue for more agents and an increase in the power of the FBI. Republicans also backed McCarthy as a way of damaging the Democrats in their pursuit of the Presidency: they ditched McCarthy after gaining the White House in 1953. Eisenhower, who found McCarthy obnoxious, held back on overt criticism of him until after the election. The fact that he was censured in 1954 suggests he was no longer useful to others. So personal, institutional and political reasons help explain McCarthyism.

**A03** – [not applicable to Outlines]

**A04** – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

### **Section 6: 1953–2000**

#### **27 ‘Eisenhower’s honesty and integrity explains his landslide victory.’ Do you agree with this view of the outcome of the presidential election of 1952?**

Candidates should:

**A01** – 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. Factors that explain Eisenhower’s victory should be the focus of the answer. However, in assessing his honesty and integrity, candidates have scope to explore the basis of his reputation for these qualities which would allow reference to his earlier career. Other factors that might be considered include: the conduct of his campaign, the contribution of Nixon, the weakness of his opponent, the record of the previous administration, both home and abroad. There is no doubting his popularity in 1952. He won 39 states and 55% of the votes. The Republicans also won both Houses of Congress on the back of his popularity.

**A02** – 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. Eisenhower’s honesty and integrity were never questioned. He was not tainted by association with any private or public scandal. By contrast, many voters were offended by the corruption of the Democrats in the Truman administration. His integrity as a soldier had clearly been illustrated in WW2 and, as the Commander of Allied Force Europe, he was regarded as a national hero who had committed himself to serve and defend the interests, not only of the USA, but also of the free world. His political views were moderate and his attitude to politics was infused with the soldier’s practicality of tackling problems directly and doing what was needed rather than simply expedient. Both parties considered him as a candidate because of this.

In fact, Eisenhower was not always as honest as he appeared. He suppressed his hostility for McCarthy to avoid alienating the anti-Communist sentiment in the country. The respect people had for Eisenhower was encapsulated in the familiar nickname of ‘Ike’ by which he was known. Television was used for the first time and adverts placed by the Republicans were effective in emphasising Ike’s honesty and integrity. Republicans were more successful in using the media and the radio to promote Ike. Adlai Stevenson, his opponent, although bright and liked, appeared shy and timid by comparison, lacking the fame of Ike.

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Richard Nixon, Ike's running mate, was a key player too. He had political experience and as a pair the Republican nomination appeared to offer stability. Nixon was forthright in condemning communism and voters felt the Republicans would deal with the Red threat effectively. In 1952, the US was still embroiled in Korea; Ike's promise to extricate the US from the conflict was popular and he was trusted as someone who could deliver. However, fighting in the war had been subdued for a long time, and Americans were largely convinced by Cold War rhetoric and convinced of the domino theory, so for many voters US involvement in Korea was sensible. The interconnection of these factors could be explored. The fact that the Republicans coined the slogan 'K1C2' signifying Korea, Communism and Corruption was an indication of the linkage between factors. Perhaps Americans merely wanted a change: Democrats had held the White House since 1933.

**AO3** – [not applicable to Outlines]

**AO4** – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

## **28 What best explains the extent of popular opposition to the Vietnam war in 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. Political, military, social, economic and moral factors are likely to be considered. Methods of protest might be considered: marches, draft dodging, public debates. The diversity of the groups that opposed the war – soldiers, students, academics, politicians, civil rights activists, etc – might be suggested as a way of illustrating the extent of opposition. Also, some indication as to when opposition to the war was most intense would be helpful. It was there from the beginning but was, arguably, most extensive from 1965 (University of Michigan 'teach-in') and the start of SDS, especially after 1968 and before 1972.

**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 try to address the 'extent' of opposition as well as attempting a judgement about the relative importance of the reasons analysed. Some may simply explain each factor discretely. Politically, there was concern that the war was unnecessary, even counter-productive. US policy seemed to weaken US interests in the region rather than strengthen them. Candidates might assess attitudes to the policy of containment, especially in the wake of the Korean War. International criticism of the US might be considered against the fact that she was supported by allies. Events elsewhere – Cuba, Europe – could be considered in such an analysis.

Another political angle worth discussion is the reaction of government to protest. The shooting of students at Kent State University (1970) energised further opposition, but begs the question about the motives behind the student protest. Militarily, the difficulties faced by the Americans might be assessed. Guerrilla warfare made it difficult to gauge progress on the ground and although US air power was awesome it seemed ineffectual. Most will refer to the Tet Offensive as

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a decisive moment in shaping public opinion, not least because of the media coverage of the event, though the counter argument that the US defeated the offensive might be assessed.

Socially and economically, opposition was based on the division the war caused within the US and the huge cost. The latter was a threat to the Great Society that LBJ promised, and concern for jobs at home was more important than war in Vietnam. Yet the latter created jobs and stimulated sectors of the economy. Morally, the war was difficult to justify. This was thrown into sharp relief at certain times, for example, the My Lai massacre of 1968, the illegal bombing of Laos and Cambodia in 1969, which created a backlash in Congress, the mass bombing of North Vietnam in March 1972, described by some as worse than Nazi war crimes. Yet atrocities were committed on the other side. Civil Rights activists regarded it as morally wrong for African-Americans to die in Vietnam for freedoms they were denied at home. It might be argued that several factors coalesced in 1968, the year LBJ declined to stand for re-election and when R Kennedy, E McCarthy and G Kennan denounced the war and pledged to withdraw.

**A03** – [not applicable to Outlines]

**A04** – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

**29 ‘The domestic successes of President Johnson were dependent on the legacy of J F Kennedy.’ Assess this judgement.**

Candidates should:

**A01** – 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. Answers should focus on the reasons for Johnson’s successes rather than the detail of the policies themselves. However, some reference to the detail may be helpful. Kennedy’s legacy needs to be assessed and candidates may consider how LBJ exploited this and the degree to which his legislation was based on the policies and plans of Kennedy. In addition, other factors may be considered such as the skill and personality of Johnson, Congress and LBJ’s relations with it.

**A02** – 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. LBJ recognised the opportunity presented by Kennedy’s death and the enduring interest in his predecessor throughout the decade. To some extent the memory of JFK was sustained by Robert Kennedy. Throughout his presidency LBJ invoked Kennedy’s aspirations. In addressing Congress in November 1963, he appealed to all politicians to realise JFK’s plans for the ‘New Frontier’, and in retirement LBJ insisted that he never lost sight of the fact that he was custodian of the Kennedy legacy.

Candidates might challenge LBJ’s sincerity and the significance of the legacy. In doing so, they might take into account the fact that LBJ was vice-President to JFK and responsible for many of the plans for social change designed then. Further, LBJ may be seen, like JFK, as merely an extension of a line of Democrats since Roosevelt, committed to ‘promote the general welfare’ enshrined in the Constitution. In terms of policy, LBJ continued the work of JFK in education, health care (in both cases JFK failed to make an impression) and aid to depressed areas (in

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which JFK had had limited success). In pursuing Kennedy's work in these areas, LBJ was deliberately tapping into the Kennedy legacy but doing so, also, to complete unfinished business (LBJ did not spend time on housing and wage levels as JFK had already secured legislation in these areas).

However, LBJ's 'war on poverty' was more clearly his own policy and the cornerstone of his 'Great Society', and measures to provide consumer protection were distinctly his own. Yet links with the Kennedy legacy might be made. Shriver, who headed the OEO, had run Kennedy's Peace Corps and although LBJ's policies on pollution were extensive, they were based on initiatives taken by JFK. In addition, LBJ was genuinely interested and informed about the areas of policy on which he acted (he had been a teacher and he immersed himself in the detail of policy). He was passionate about his programme. He enjoyed the support of Congress. This was largely because it was dominated by the Democrats and because his policies were beneficial to so many, especially the poorer regions, including the South where Johnson was particularly popular. Some may challenge the notion that LBJ was successful by assessing their effectiveness, but his record in securing the passage of laws through Congress was impressive.

**AO3** – [not applicable to Outlines]

**AO4** – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

**30 'The visit to China was the most important initiative taken by Nixon in his relations with communist countries.' 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. Throughout his presidency, the thrust of Nixon's foreign policy was the pursuit of peace in general and for agreement with the communist world in particular. This was the era of detente. From 1969 to 1974 Nixon launched many initiatives, the result of which was improved relations with China, Russia, Vietnam and Rumania. Consideration of US relations with Cuba and North Korea would also be pertinent. The role of Kissinger might be assessed but it is the outcome and significance of US policy that is central to the question.

**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. Poor since 1949, US relations with China worsened further with Chinese involvement in North Korea and, later, Vietnam. They were a threat to Taiwan. As a major Pacific power, China was a potential threat to US maritime interests in South and East Asia. Evidently, the gulf between them was destabilising and dangerous.

The visit of 1972 was hugely significant in that context. It symbolised a sharp change in relations between both countries but also in the balance of world power. A year earlier, the US table tennis team visited Peking and the US accepted China into the UN. The visit was all the more important given other factors. Peace talks in progress with North Vietnam were more likely to be successful if relations with China improved. Also, in the years immediately before the visit, US-USSR

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relations had improved and it was important not to marginalise China further, especially as she was now a nuclear power. Trade and travel restrictions between the two were eased in subsequent negotiations: of great significance in the future.

The improvement in relations with the USSR was less surprising. Both sides had had painful Cold War experiences and understood the benefits of peace. In 1969 SALT discussions began, leading to a treaty in 1972 and cooperation on space exploration led to the Apollo-Soyez project. In 1971 Nixon visited the USSR – the first by a US president. With détente, US wheat was exported to the USSR. In Europe, Nixon was prepared to recognise East Germany, though he also negotiated agreements with Rumania. He initiated talks with North Vietnam in November 1968 that led to an agreement on US withdrawal from Vietnam in 1973. Arguably, this was only possible because of the improvement in relations with China and the USSR. Relations with Cuba and North Korea remained hostile but less dangerous, in large measure because of the improvement in relations with the two Communist superpowers. Judgements might weigh the strategic impact of Nixon’s policy, balancing the advantage of peace (trade, ease in threat of nuclear war) against the concessions made to achieve it. Similarly, were initiatives with China any more important than those with the USSR, given the power of both to influence the outcome of peace talks in Vietnam? Would relations with China have improved if Nixon had not already initiated talks with North Vietnam?

**AO3** – [not applicable to Outlines]

**AO4** – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

**31 ‘The most important reason for the election of Jimmy Carter in 1976 was the inadequacy of Gerald Ford’s presidency.’ 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. Ford became President on the resignation of Nixon. He did so as he was the incumbent Vice-President and he lost the election of 1976. He had been in the House of Representatives since 1949 but was largely unknown outside Michigan and Congressional circles. His administration is perceived as a period of inertia. Whilst there is some substance to this charge, there was more to Ford’s presidency. Carter owed his victory to more than the inadequacy of Ford’s presidency.

**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. Ford faced major problems that were not resolved. This was particularly so with the economy. There was a severe recession, 1974–75, with unemployment at 8% by 1976 and certain sectors of the economy in serious trouble, for example, car production in Detroit. His attempt to restrain wages had little effect. However, he cut federal spending and supported the rise in interest rates to curb inflation. Crucially, the rise in oil prices by 400% by OPEC in October 1973 was the major factor affecting the world economy and this was beyond his control. In foreign affairs the US faced the humiliation of watching Communists take over Indo China in 1975, but this outcome was largely the result of the

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agreements reached with North Vietnam by his predecessor. Similarly, the collapse of the Portuguese Empire, 1974–75, and the emergence of left-wing governments in Angola were beyond his control. Even so, the perception for some was that Ford was inadequate. However, this was not a view held by all. Indeed, he lost the election of 1976 by a narrow margin which suggests he had made a significant impression, sufficient for 48% of the voters to want him to stay on. He helped draw a line under the Watergate scandal by pardoning Nixon (though this was controversial) and he restored credibility to his office by his straightforward, modest personality.

However, Carter also appeared to be a man of integrity and humble roots (the peanut farmer). He was also religious (Baptist) and appealed to the Bible Belt. As a Governor of Georgia, he claimed experience of government yet presented himself as a Washington outsider, untainted by the public perception of the politics of the capital as being seedy. As a southerner, he won the support of many in the South. Following a period of eight years of Republican administration, some voted for change. Carter's emphasis on internal affairs and a promise to pursue a more open foreign policy dedicated to the resolution of conflict had its appeal. There is sufficient scope for candidates to judge whether Carter benefited more from the inadequacy of Ford, and so won by default, or the positives he offered.

**A03** – [not applicable to Outlines]

**A04** – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

## **32 'Nothing more than a political label.' Discuss this view of 'Reaganomics' in the 1980s.**

Candidates should:

**A01** – 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. 'Reaganomics' is the word applied to the economic and fiscal policies of President Reagan, 1981–89. It is usually defined as a policy based on stimulating the 'supply side' of the economy rather than 'demand management' of it. Essentially it focused on making large cuts in taxation to motivate enterprise and employment as well as big reductions in federal spending. Economic performance in the 1970s had been indifferent: comparison with the previous decade would be one way to judge 'Reaganomics'.

**A02** – 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 might be argued that the general objective of 'Reaganomics' was no different to that of earlier administrations in so far as all previous governments had aspired to stimulate economic activity and limit spending.

Yet, it might be claimed that Reagan was different; that he achieved economic growth even if federal spending remained high. This policy was outlined in two important Acts of 1981: one cut personal income tax by 25% and the other aimed to reduce spending on 300 federal programmes amounting to about \$1000 billion by 1987. With GNP growing by 11% by 1984, unemployment at only 7% and inflation at 3.8%, the economy appeared to be healthier than in the 1970s. Also, the US performance compares favourably with that of other countries at this time, for example, Britain, although economic performance overall was only average for members of OECD.

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However, much of this expansion was due to the massive increase in spending by the federal government on building up US military forces. Not only could this be defined as ‘demand management’ economics (in line with the policies of previous administrations), it undermined the other strand of ‘Reaganomics’ which was to reduce the federal budget.

Another effect was the increase in the trade deficit to \$170 billion by 1986. To achieve his goal of reduced spending whilst increasing the budget for the military Reagan looked to make deep cuts in social programmes. The programmes most affected were those providing health care for the elderly and the poor and the AFDC (food stamps). About 20% of the African-American population was affected by these cuts and the percentage defined as living in poverty increased substantially. However, in an attempt to compensate for this, the ‘workfare’ scheme was introduced allowing AFDC to those who agreed to community service and other schemes involving the private sector were introduced to train people for work and so on. Another policy to reduce federal spending by delegating responsibility to the States for the management of block grants was defeated in Congress as States regarded the measure as one intended to reduce the amount they received. So in some ways ‘Reaganomics’ could be regarded as harsher than previous policies but little different in terms of outcome. By 1989 reduction of the federal budget was still elusive.

**AO3** – [not applicable to Outlines]

**AO4** – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

### **Section 7: Themes c.1900–2000**

#### **33 How effectively did the United States’ economy adjust to the problems it faced in the period 1945–c.1980?**

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. Throughout the period, the US was the most advanced and strongest economy in the world. It continued to grow, although unevenly. The economy was susceptible to the cycle of ‘boom and bust’ with severe downturns in fortunes, for example, 1953, 1957–58 and 1971–74. The US faced various problems including war, the Cold War, foreign competition, oil supply, labour relations, federal policy and so on.

**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. Certain problems were more of an opportunity than a handicap. Wars (Korea, Vietnam) disrupted trade to a greater or lesser extent and placed unusual strain on certain sectors, resulting in an imbalance towards ‘war industries’. However, the stimulus to production, productivity, profits, shipping, trade and employment was considerable. Perhaps significantly, the recessions mentioned above were during times of peace.

The Cold War years were a period of economic readjustment for the world’s economy, especially for countries in Europe and Asia which had been ravaged by war. Economic activity was low,

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especially in the immediate post-WW2 years, reducing the scope for US business. However, Marshall Aid not only helped rebuild Europe but also stimulated the US economy. The same might be said for the way the US helped restore the economies of Japan after 1945 and Korea after 1953, though it could not be claimed to be true of Vietnam (before 1980 at least). The poverty and insularity of communism might be assessed as offering the US a free hand, economically, to assert itself in the Cold War period. Linked to this is the problem of competition. The challenges presented by Germany and Japan in the field of motor cars and new technologies might be seen as problems though, to some extent, these merely stimulated the US economy.

The strength of US corporations, their readiness to innovate as well as the dynamic attitudes of the US to enterprise might be discussed. US reliance on supplies of oil from the Middle East was a problem in the 1970s (the price of crude rose by 400%) and inflation tripled. However, this encouraged the US to exploit its own resources more with exploration of new fields (Alaska) and more efficient technologies. Labour unrest was a problem but rarely that serious. For example, the strikes in California in the 1960s and 1970s by Mexican labourers were serious but the effect was limited to agriculture and a limited area of the country. Measures taken by Nixon to raise interest rates, freeze pay and prices and to abandon the fixed exchange rate system led to the devaluation of the dollar. However, tax cuts at different times, federal defence and domestic spending acted as stimulants. Often, business leaders were influential in determining government policy. Perhaps the US adjusted to problems more effectively at different times within the period or to certain types of problem.

**AO3** – [not applicable to Outlines]

**AO4** – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

**34 Do you agree that the presidency of F D Roosevelt was more ‘imperial’ than that of his successors 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. The notion of the ‘imperial presidency’ is based on the premise that presidents exceeded their constitutional powers. Answers could focus on the role of presidents at home and abroad and the status and prestige of the president. Many regard the presidency of FDR as marking a point at which the powers of the president increased and the later 20th century, perhaps from the disgrace of Nixon, when they declined. Since 1945, successive presidents, to differing degrees, have exercised enormous power, both in terms of the actions they have sanctioned and the dominance they have had in decision making. The celebrity, almost regal, status of the president has made him a powerful figure in the American psyche.

**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. Roosevelt decided policy and exercised enormous power: the New Deal and the powers he held in World War Two might be discussed. FDR was held in high regard as a politician in part by his effective use of radio, his personality and his record and the fact that he won four elections. The law of 1948 restricting the

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term of a president to two terms was a reaction to this. Like FDR, his successors sent troops to war: Truman to Korea, Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon to Vietnam. JFK and LBJ used executive powers to do so: the Tonkin Resolution extended presidential powers in South East Asia and Nixon bombed and invaded Cambodia illegally.

The actions of the president have always been subject to scrutiny notably by the Supreme Court. Congress passed the War Powers Act of 1973 obliging the president to consult Congress before sending troops abroad and to secure Congressional approval for a war longer than 60 days. Yet the Act has never been invoked. During peacetime, presidents' powers were limited by the Supreme Court which constrained FDR in the 1930s and Congress limited JFK's ability to implement his domestic agenda.

Since FDR, presidents have played a central role in US diplomacy. Reference to FDR and Truman at WW2 conferences, Kennedy at summits and Nixon blazing trails to Moscow and Peking might be made. National policy has been labelled with the name of the president, for example, the Truman and Nixon Doctrines (but not FDR). Arguably, Johnson's Great Society bears parallels with FDR's New Deal. The role of personal advisors is an issue. Was the White House a 'royal court' under FDR as it was claimed to be under Nixon and Reagan? The Watergate scandal indicates the extent to which the president's power and image had been inflated by the 1970s, and how a president who assumed unconstitutional power could be undone. Clinton faced a similar challenge. Presidents have often been thwarted by a Congress that was dominated by the opposing party. Senate committee hearings, the media, Freedom of Information laws constrain presidents. Modern communications and the actions of whistle blowers have checked presidential power. Some may argue that any changes in the authority and influence of the president have been to limit or reduce them.

**AO3** – [not applicable to Outlines]

**AO4** – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

**35 How plausible is the view that developments in twentieth-century architecture reflected the increasing confidence 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. Only candidates schooled in the subject will be able to refer to specific technologies or aspects of design that emerged in the twentieth century. Those that can will be able to offer a broad response. Most are likely to comment on developments in general terms. References can be expected to developments in the architecture of skyscrapers, landscaping, city planning and public, including government, buildings, and memorials. Examples of such developments might be limited but candidates should be able to illustrate points made 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. Many features of twentieth century architecture built on developments of an earlier period. For example, the first skyscraper built of

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steel was in Chicago in 1885. However, the Chicago Home Insurance Building was only 10 stories high and the towers of the twentieth century required new techniques and materials to reach the height they did. Based on the fundamental concept of a thin curtain wall instead of a load-bearing outer wall, the towers of the twentieth century had larger windows and plate glass became a distinctive feature of skyscrapers like the Twin Towers.

The experimentation, advanced technologies and the innovative building methods involved arguably reflect great confidence on the part of designers and builders. It might also be said that they reflect the confidence of the country as a whole, and confidence in corporate success and American culture, showing ambition, assurance and strength. They assumed an iconic status. Interestingly, some of the most famous, for example, the Chrysler Building and the Empire State Building, were erected in 1930 and 1931 respectively, in the middle of the Great Depression, the implications of which, in terms of the question, candidates could assess. Yet some argue they stand as sterile boxes, cold and detached, reflective of insularity rather than confidence.

Continuity of design was also evident in government buildings and memorials. For example, Lincoln's Memorial (1915–22) mimics the Greek Doric style and Jefferson's Memorial (1940s) imitates the Pantheon in Rome. This deference to classical architecture was in keeping with the Capitol and other government buildings in Washington constructed in the nineteenth century. They reflect sympathy for the values of the Greeks and Romans (democracy and power) and confidence in the US as the epitome of such values. The design of airport terminals reflects the willingness of the US to embrace air travel. Developments in town planning, especially the inner ring of suburbs, reflect confidence in the motor car and urban life. The emergence of the American Foursquare house as distinctly American reflects confidence in the opportunity of all to own his own home and to enjoy the benefits of independence and neighbourliness. However, modernist designs, using pre-fabricated concrete, arguably reflect a less bright view of the world.

**A03** – [not applicable to Outlines]

**A04** – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

### **36 To what extent had the social problems of the 1960s been resolved by 1980?**

Candidates should:

**A01** – 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. Candidates have a free hand to identify social problems of the 1960s. Most are likely to consider the problem of the civil rights of African-Americans. Other issues included widespread poverty, urban deprivation, standards of education, gun ownership. Immigration and environmental matters may attract comment. Candidates have scope to cover a lot of ground but most may opt to concentrate on a few problems in order to properly analyse them.

**A02** – 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 civil rights for African-Americans, the problem focused on the segregation and disadvantages of the latter in matters of education, transport, housing and access to jobs (some may broaden the problem to include political

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concerns). Reference to the legislation of the period would point to improvements in all areas with the desegregation of education, bussing, affirmative action and so on. However, this was clearly at a cost and mention of the protest action of the period and the need to enforce some laws with the deployment of troops would be helpful. It might be argued that the decline of the civil rights movement by 1980 was an indication of the progress made, though any argument that the problems of the 1960s had been fully resolved would be difficult to sustain.

The question of poverty taps into this. Poverty was widespread in the 1960s, evident in the numbers dependent on support from State and Federal agencies, as well as charities. Candidates can point to the attempts made to deal with this problem, for example, in Johnson's 'war on poverty'. Nonetheless, the gap between rich and poor in 1980 was wider than in the 1960s and the number in poverty was largely unchanged. The influx of immigration, partly the result of the removal of the quota in 1965, may be included in this analysis. Candidates may argue the relative nature of poverty and the introduction of various programmes designed to provide the poor with help or routes out of poverty.

Similarly, legislation introduced by Democrat and Republican administrations in the period on housing, health care and education, especially the measures regarded as part of the Great Society, should be considered for their effect. The fact that a health care measure was introduced only recently by Obama might be used to argue the limited progress made by 1980. The same might be said about the present debate on gun ownership. In addition, candidates might highlight some of the factors that have inhibited change: the opposition of vested interests, popular attitudes, the influence of churches, political inertia in government and so on. Some may argue that progress was more evident in the 1960s than the 1970s or possibly on some issues, at least, and that the time span was too short to expect anything but the limited resolution of problems, especially given the complexity and scale of them.

**A03** – [not applicable to Outlines]

**A04** – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

**37 'The threat of terrorism best explains the rise of a conservative culture in the period 1968–2000.' Discuss.**

Candidates should:

**A01** – 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. Candidates may interpret the question differently. The 'threat' may be read as the fear of terrorist activity or the real acts of terrorists. Most are not likely to make a distinction and, instead, will consider terrorism in general terms. The dates in the question coincide with the activities of the Weathermen (from 1969) to the election of George W Bush. Over the period there were hundreds of acts of terrorism and, in addition, hundreds of plots were uncovered. The FBI claimed that there were 250 incidents of terrorism between 1980 and 2000 carried out by US citizens alone. In addition to the terrorism of political activists, violence and intimidation were also used by animal rights activists, pro-life groups, opponents of 'big' government (Oklahoma) and so on. Knowledge of their activities should be deployed largely as illustrative material rather than the basis of a descriptive narrative of terrorism in the period. Candidates should consider the role of factors other than terrorism.

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**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 answers are likely to be on political terrorism only but better answers will be broader in scope: indeed, those that do are more likely to present a stronger explanation of the rise of a conservative culture. Politically, this has been manifested in the surge of nationalistic fervour – hanging the flag outside homes in response to an outrage, anniversary commemorations of the same. Acts of political terrorism have often resulted in strengthening the powers of the forces of law and order and national security (the Department for Homeland Security was introduced) at the expense, it might be argued, of individual rights. Intolerance and insularity have also been stimulated by acts of political terror.

In arguing against this, it might be said that acts of political terror have obliged the US to debate the causes of such violence and to question traditional assumptions and attitudes. Terrorism in the cause of non-political objectives has also encouraged the rise of a conservative culture. The effect of attacks on abortion clinics and attitudes to contraception and chastity might be discussed. Attacks on laboratories conducting experiments on animals have, arguably, inhibited science. Even attacks of terror in schools and cinemas by individuals have been significant in reinforcing the gun lobby in arguing for more guns but also as a spur for greater regulation, itself a challenge to conservative culture. In addition to terrorism candidates have scope to consider a range of other factors to explain the rise of a conservative culture. Some churches have promoted conservative and traditional culture (in attitudes to science, sex and sin) especially those in the Bible Belt, and their influence on the policies of the Republican Party would be worth assessing. Yet, other churches have challenged conservatism, notably those involved in the civil rights movement. The scale of immigration might be assessed as a force for conservatism, though there is a counter argument. Even economic competition could be discussed as a factor encouraging protectionist attitudes.

**AO3** – [not applicable to Outlines]

**AO4** – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

**38 ‘The main problem of sustained levels of immigration between 1945 and 2000 was the pressure created on the labour market.’ 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. The numbers immigrating into the USA after 1945 were high. For example, in the period 1950–70 nearly 6 million entered the country from Europe, Mexico and Puerto Rico. The removal of the quota in 1965 stimulated further inflows: the number doubling between 1965 and 1970 and 1970 and 1990. Most immigrants are from Mexico with China, India, the Philippines and the Dominican Republic being the places from which most of the others originate.

**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

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appropriate, attempts to deal with historiography, critical evaluation of source material and of differing historical interpretations may enhance responses. The demands of immigrants on State and federal funds, the threat posed to jobs and rates of pay could be assessed. Yet immigrant labour, although predominantly unskilled and low paid, has benefited employers and made up for the short fall in labour from the indigenous population, particularly in some sectors such as market gardening and domestic service. Their hard work and thrift is often held up as an example that others might emulate. On wages it could be argued that attempts by government to establish minimum wages have counter-balanced any trend to lower wages by paying less to immigrants.

Concentrations of immigrants, for example, Mexicans in the South West and Puerto Ricans in New York City, have created racial enclaves discrete from the rest of society, so dividing rather than uniting people. In many instances, the proportion of the urban population that is immigrant based is very high. Some argue this has inhibited upper social mobility. This has been partly because illegal immigrants have sheltered in these areas, aggravating the problem. Monitoring the border with Mexico, in an attempt to restrict the number of illegal immigrants, has been very difficult. However, it could be argued that immigration has helped develop a multi-racial society which has benefited the nation, which meets with the approval of the majority. Indeed, the scale of immigration might be regarded as exaggerated: in this period only about 5% of the population at any one time has been immigrant, making it easier to absorb those moving into the USA. Also, the quota was abolished in 1965 making it easier for immigrants to integrate. Yet, migrants live in confined urban areas and many experience real poverty, and are often regarded as lazy and inadequate. Arguably, this has encouraged racism. The association of immigration and crime also indicates that prejudice exists. Dealing with a mainly uneducated immigrant population has caused problems. Immigrants play a lesser role in the politics of the US, preferring to defer to community leaders who pursue group interests rather than be guided by national concerns. Yet some have carved a political career and made a positive contribution and have been as involved in the political process as others. Indeed, Hispanics and Latinos especially are now beginning to have a profound effect on politics. In making a judgement, candidates are likely to do so based on the contrasting benefits of immigration.

**AO3** – [not applicable to Outlines]

**AO4** – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.