

# Example Candidate Responses

Cambridge  
International  
**AS Level**

## Cambridge International AS Level History

9389

Paper 1

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Version 1

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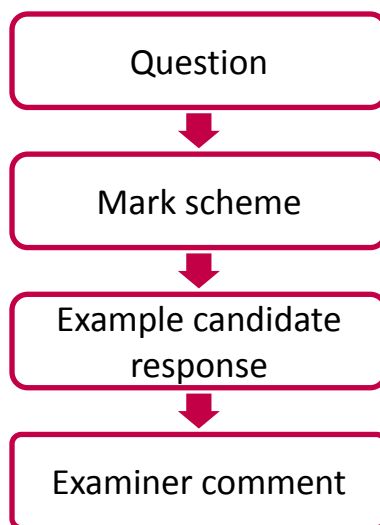
## Introduction

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The main aim of this booklet is to exemplify standards for those teaching Cambridge International AS Level History (9389), and to show how different levels of candidates' performance (high, middle and low) relate to the subject's curriculum and assessment objectives.

In this booklet candidate responses have been chosen to exemplify a range of answers. Each response is accompanied by a brief commentary explaining the strengths and weaknesses of the answers.

For ease of reference the following format for each component has been adopted:



Each question is followed by an extract of the mark scheme used by examiners. This, in turn, is followed by examples of marked candidate responses, each with an examiner comment on performance. Comments are given to indicate where and why marks were awarded, and how additional marks could have been obtained. In this way, it is possible for you to understand what candidates have done to gain their marks and what they still have to do to improve their marks.

This document illustrates the standard of candidate work for those parts of the assessment which help you assess what is required to achieve marks beyond what should be clear from the mark scheme. Some question types where the answer is clear from the mark scheme, such as short answers and multiple choice, have therefore been omitted.

Past papers, Examiner Reports and other teacher support materials are available on Teacher Support at <https://teachers.cie.org.uk>



## How to use this booklet

### Question 3

3. (a) What was the Freedmen's Bureau?

#### Real exam paper questions

You can use these to create homework or create mock exams for your learners.

#### Mark scheme

3 (a) What was the Freedmen's Bureau?

**Level 0: No evidence submitted or response does not address the question**

**Level 1: General answer**

e.g. "This was an organisation set up to help people improve their lives."

**Level 2: Describes events**

e.g. "The Freedmen's Bureau was established by Congress in March 1862 to provide help to newly released southern black slaves. It gave out medical supplies to African Americans but also to white southerners affected by the civil war. Freedmen Bureau schools were constructed and 250 000 African American children. However, the Bureau was dismantled in 1870 due to pressure from some members of Congress who opposed it."

**Mark scheme** shows you the basis on which examiners award marks. It helps you understand the levels required and gives you break down of marks and possible example of answers given.

Use them as part of mock exams to ensure your marking is up to Cambridge standards!

#### Example candidate response – high

3	a	In the 1800s, the Freedmen's Bureau was formed. Its goals were to help and minister with education, daily life. They provided people wanted an education with one provided former slaves with like clothes, food, and blankets. The Bureau was organized to help <del>those</del> African Americans and other ministers in need of help.
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**Answers** by real candidates in exam conditions. These show you the types of answers for each level.

Discuss and analyse the answers with your learners in the classroom to improve their skills.

#### Examiner comment – high

3 (a) The candidate shows a good understanding of the work of the Freedmen's Bureau formed after the end of the Civil War. They are able to describe how the Bureau provided economic help and that it was targeted at former slaves. To gain full marks the candidate included more specific information about the work of the Bureau or the length of time it operated.

Mark awarded = 4 out of 5

**Examiner comment** indicates the overall quality of response (high, middle, low) and explains the strength and weaknesses of each answer. This helps you to interpret the standard of Cambridge exams and helps your learners to refine exam technique.

## Assessment at a glance

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Advanced Subsidiary (AS) candidates take:	Duration	Weighting
Component 1 Document question	1 hour	40%
Component 2 Outline study	1 hour 30 minutes	60%

Teachers are reminded that the latest syllabus is available on our public website at [www.cie.org.uk](http://www.cie.org.uk) and Teacher Support at <https://teachers.cie.org.uk>

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## Paper 1 – Document question

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### Question 1

#### Section A: European Option

#### Liberalism and Nationalism in Italy and Germany, 1848–1871

#### The 1848 Revolutions in Germany

- 1 Read the sources and then answer **both** parts of the question.

#### Source A

The Diet has so far not fulfilled the tasks set it by the Act of the Confederation in the fields of representation by estates, free trade, communication, navigation, freedom of the press etc.; the federal defence regulation provides neither for the arming of the population nor for a uniformly organised federal force. On the contrary, the press is harassed by censorship and the discussions of the Diet are shrouded in secrecy. The only expression of the common German interests in existence, the Customs Union, was not created by the Confederation but negotiated outside it.

The liberation of the press, open judicial proceedings with juries, separation of the executive and judicial powers, freeing the soil and its tillers from medieval burdens, and the reduction of the costs of the standing army were discussed at length, as were the constitutional means that could be used to give force to the just demands of the people.

*Programme of reform drawn up at a meeting of German liberals, 1847.*

#### Source B

Today 51 men assembled here from Prussia, Bavaria, Württemberg etc. (almost all members of state assemblies), to discuss the most urgent measures for the fatherland at this moment of decision.

They were unanimously resolved in their devotion to freedom, unity, independence and honour of the German nation, but insisted that the establishment of these highest blessings must be attempted by cooperation of all German peoples with their governments.

They resolved that Germany must not be involved in a war through intervention in the affairs of a neighbouring country and that freedom and independence is a right of the German people.

They resolved that a meeting of a national representation elected in all the German lands must not be postponed.

They resolved that a main task of the national representation will be common defence whereby a great deal of money will be saved, while at the same time the identity and self-administration of the different states remains in existence.

*From the Declaration of Heidelberg, March 1848. This was issued when news of the 1848 Revolution in Paris arrived.*

## Question 1, continued

### Source C

In the history of every nation there comes a time when it comes to full self-consciousness and claims the right to determine its own destiny. We Germans have reached this stage. No one will deny that it is hard on a thinking man to be unable to say abroad 'I am a German', and not be able to be proud that a German flag is flying from his ship and to have no German consul in case of emergency, but have to explain 'I am a Hessian, a Bavarian, a Saxon.'

*From a memorandum written by Prince Hohenlohe, whose family ruled a small part of Bavaria, in 1847.*

### Source D

The unfortunate Silesian weavers, unable to support themselves by their usual occupation, were forced to work with cotton, as were thousands of others throughout Germany. This led to overproduction. Factories were shut down, competition declined and the freedom of the worker disappeared. Heartless manufacturers oppressed the poor workers. This is the cause of those sad events which have recently taken place in Silesia. I believe it to be hunger, not communistic ideas, which is the problem.

*A Silesian aristocrat describing conditions in Silesia to the Prussian Diet, 1847.*

Answer **both** parts of the question with reference to the sources.

- (a) To what extent do Sources A and B agree on what the aims of the reformers in Germany should be? [15]
- (b) 'Nationalism was the principal cause of the revolutions in Germany in 1848.' How far do Sources A to D support this view? [25]



## Mark scheme

## Section A: European Option

## Liberalism and Nationalism in Italy and Germany, 1848–1871

## The 1848 Revolutions in Germany

## Indicative Content

- (a) To what extent do Sources A and B agree on what the aims of the reformers in Germany should be? [15]

There is quite a contrast between the two sources. The liberals in Source A specify various aims such as representation by estates, free trade, a free press and also raise concerns over defence issues. Their hostility to censorship and security is also clear. There is an emphasis on 'common German interests', even if not sustained. Source A has less of a focus on national representation than does Source B. In its second paragraph, it states a very clear set of liberal reforms, with the reference to the 'just demands of the people' – though not in terms of national goals.

In Source B the 'German' nation is stressed, as is the theme of co-operation between the people and the existing states. There is also an anti-war theme. The reference to 'freedom' for the German nation is very strong, but there is less reference to the 'people'. It is much less 'liberal' in many respects. National representation should focus on defence (a similarity to A) and other issues like 'self-administration' of the existing states. It is much more of a conservative, middle class document, reacting to the news from France, and the impact of that radical outburst is clear. Source A is a more abstract programme of liberal reform, drawn up before the year of revolutions, whereas Source B combines similar reforms with a concern to develop national unity, but only through the existing state structure.

- (b) 'Nationalism was the principal cause of the revolutions in Germany in 1848.' How far do Sources A to D support this view? [25]

**Context:** By the 1840s, the conservative rulers of German states were facing two challenges to their reactionary government: economic, as a widespread depression caused considerable hardship among the peoples of Germany, and political, as a new generation of middle class reformers began to demand liberal and national reforms. These challenges are reflected in the four sources A to D. In terms of the unity of Germany, the 1815 German Confederation was dominated by the conservative rulers of the two great German powers, Austria and Prussia, e.g. the 1819 Carlsbad Decrees repressing freedom of expression. A form of economic union was developing in the form of the Zollverein, dominated by Prussia, which did stimulate the development of an industrial middle class.

Demographic and cultural changes were bringing about significant changes in German society, changes which resulted in the revolutions of 1848–49. In 1847, the King of Prussia, Frederick William IV decided to call a state Diet to help authorise new taxes. He dissolved it within a few months, causing no real protest as he did so. Then came 1848, the year of revolutions. The German revolution was the last of the revolutions of the spring of 1848, following popular revolts in Italy, France and Austria. The Germans were slow to revolt.

## Mark scheme, continued

**Analysis:** The four sources should enable candidates to develop some clear arguments for and against the assertion. Source C is the strongest in supporting the hypothesis, arguing that Germans travelling abroad wanted to identify themselves as Germans as much as they did with their particular states. Strongest against the hypothesis is Source D, which argues that economic depression and exploitation were causing hardship among the working class. This hardship would lead in turn to political unrest across Germany.

Sources A and B have nationalist elements within them, though they are not predominant; liberalism is just as significant, perhaps more so in A. The opening words of Source A presumably refer to the Prussian United Diet, a very conservative body dependent upon the goodwill of the Prussian King. Source A's most direct reference to national matters is reference to 'common German interests' but that is only to explain the current situation and not to make proposals for strengthening national institutions. It refers to the limited nature of the federal armed forces but without any sense of dissatisfaction or wanting something more effective. In fact, it considers cutting the costs of the army.

There is more evidence of national concerns in Source B but not a great deal more. It talks of national honour, of the need for 'a national representation' but goes on to say that addressing these national concerns must always be done in co-operation with the various states of Germany as well as its peoples. While both Sources A and B suggest that national demands would be a cause of the forthcoming revolution, neither suggest that it was the principal cause of that upheaval.

**Evaluation:** All sources predate the German revolutions of 1848. Some might therefore question whether these sources can explain events which were yet to happen. However, the causes of 1848 must be found in events before then. If none of the sources clearly support the argument that nationalism was the principal cause of the 1848 revolutions, they still require evaluation to assess the reliability of their arguments.

**Source A**, written by middle class liberals, almost certainly Prussian given the reference to the Diet, focused on longstanding liberal demands – including reducing the costs of the army. It is narrowly self-serving as a statement of liberal demands. Source A is reliable; in helping to decide whether nationalism was the main cause of the 1848 Revolutions in Germany, it has little value.

**Source B** is very similar. The 51 men assembled in Heidelberg were either self-appointed or chosen by unrepresentative state assemblies rather than being directly elected. They will not be revolutionaries. The effect of the news of the revolution in Paris on these men is hard to assess. They might be enthused by the revolutionary spring or they might be alarmed. They show little enthusiasm for any national unity; if anything, the opposite is the case. Sources A and B support each other. They show how unrevolutionary, how unnationalistic the potential leaders of the revolution were. They are reliable in helping to challenge the assertion.

**Source C** is a surprise. A ruler of a small state would not be expected to show nationalist tendencies because a national German would threaten his own self-interest. Thus this is reliable in helping to show that nationalism was more a part of German debate in the 1840s than might have been expected.

**Source D** is also a surprise. Here a Silesian aristocrat is highlighting the economic distress which caused the pre-revolutionary protests across Germany. Nationalism gets no mention. The unusual nature of these two sources gives them a greater reliability, even if they point in opposite directions. Taken together, none of the evaluated sources support the hypothesis. For that, evidence must be sought elsewhere.



## Example candidate response – high

1 (a) During this period of time, Europe experienced a widespread growth of democracy and liberalism. These ideals fueled the 1848 Revolutions. Liberalists in Germany (Prussia) mainly wanted representation and constitutional rights. While sources A and B share some commonalities, they mainly have opposing views.

Source A will contain some bias against the government being that liberals desire change. The year it was written shortly predates the eruption of revolutions so we can expect some uneasy tension from the German Liberals. They mainly crave political and constitutional reforms. The liberals argue that the only document that meets the needs of the people was not even created by the Confederation. They aim to liberate the press, therefore remove the censorship on public communications. A point of conflict between sources A and B is that source A sees these reforms as their basic human rights while source B states them to be a set of the "highest blessings" from the government.

Source We can expect a lack of truth from the members of state assemblies

## Example candidate response – high, continued

1 (a) because of the date of their meeting. Since it takes place shortly after the Revolution in Paris, they will ~~mostly~~ most likely be trying to calm their people down in order to prevent future revolts. They see these reforms are gifts to the German people while the liberals in Source A see them as basic rights. They are attempting to pacify the liberals with these reforms in order to maintain cooperation.

The members in Source B try to play off their lack of intervention as a respect to France but they truly just do not want their people getting encouraged by revolts.

While Source A and B may agree on the types of reforms, their methods of execution and reasons for the changes are quite different. Liberals see them as basic rights while the government wants to use them to relax their people and try to prevent revolutions.



## Example candidate response – high, continued

1(b) The Revolutions of 1848 were ~~file~~ fueled by four main ideas: liberalism, opposition to the government, democracy and political reforms, and lack of food. ~~Albeit~~ source C supports a nationalistic ~~the~~ view, most of the sources seem to state that the revolutions had ulterior motivations.

~~All four sources (A-D) are dated at the breaking point of the revolts, this~~

Source A displays the causes of the revolutions through a liberal perspective. Putting aside their vested interest in change, we can see that political reforms perpetuated their want to revolt. They felt no sense of "uniformly organized" country, therefore their level of nationalism would be low. Militarism was typically a source of unity for the German people, being that Prussia was highly militaristic, but the liberal ~~and~~ even want to decrease army budgets. They advocate for constitutional rights that fall short of dealing with nationalism. They feel as if their country lacks the constitutional ability to represent the common man, therefore they feel no sense of association. Source D

Example candidate response – high, continued

1(b) contradicts Source A in saying that the most needed reforms deal with the insufficient quantity of food, but they also fail to show how nationalism played a part in the revolutions.

1848 experienced a great deal of food shortages across Europe, including the massive Irish Potato famine. Source D may be deemed highly reliable because the content is not expected to from an aristocrat, being that it could harm his position. The horrid living and working conditions are ~~disc~~ discussed, these were quite evident during periods of urbanization and industrialization. Source D furthers the idea that the 1848 Revolts were caused by food shortages and inadequate working conditions.

Source B perpetuates the idea that people revolted due to the need for political reforms. Despite their offering for "changes", it is evident that this government ~~would~~ was not in favor of ~~making~~ ref allowing ~~£~~ reforms. This connects to liberalism and democracy



## Example candidate response – high, continued

1 (b) being the principale causes for the revolutions.  
 Source C can be very much valid and reliable since it was a personal memo and those are to be considered truthful since ~~the~~ the author does not expect many people to see it. The highly nationalistic take on ~~source~~ <sup>source</sup> C is a little suprising since it is uncommon for a Prince. He argues that every person should "be proud" to call themselves a German, an ideal worth revotting over. The Prince even states that Germany Germans have the right to control their ~~own~~ own destiny, it is as if he were pushing for a revolution—one caused by nationalism.

These sarces negate the view that nationalism fueled the 1848 revolutions. While source C mildly addresses this cause, Sources A and B shine light on the peoples crawling for political reform. This played a grand role since an era of political changes was occuring in Europe. Lastly, Source D displays the argument that the living and working conditions were so bad that a

Example candidate response – high, continued

1(b) change needed to occur. In essence, ~~political~~ the desire for political (and constitutional) changes, and food shortages were far heavier causes for the ~~revolutions~~ revolutions than nationalism.

Examiner comment – high

**Part a**

The candidate shows a sound overall knowledge of the period and some understanding of the sources. They are able to explain some of the motivations of the sources and highlight broad differences between the two, as well as some general similarities. However, this answer does not always focus on comparing the two sources or establishing to what extent they agree, as requested by the question. In order to move higher up the mark scheme for this part of the question, the candidate needed to analyse the sources closely to highlight key similarities and differences in relation to the question asked. The candidate could then have used knowledge and understanding of the provenance of the sources to greater effect.

**Mark awarded for part a = 6 out of 15**

**Part b**

The candidate demonstrates good understanding of the sources and focuses clearly on the question from the start. There is useful evaluation of the content of the sources in relation to the assertion in the question, and each source is grouped according to whether it agrees or disagrees with it. Although grouping sources B and D together as disagreeing with the assertion, the candidate can still recognise their differences. The candidate comments on the nature, origin and purpose of the sources, using these as a context for their evaluation. This moves the candidate into Level 4 of the mark scheme. To move into Level 5, the answer needed to spend more time weighing up the sources in order to give an overall conclusion.

**Mark awarded for part b = 19 out of 25**

**Total marks awarded = 25 out of 40**

## Example candidate response – middle

a)

Sources A and B stand on somewhat of a common ground on what the aims of the reformers in Germany should be. In both documents, they aim to have defense representation, however all their aims are not the same nor are they in tact.

In Source A, the German liberals clearly state some of their aims, one being to have ~~an~~ arms provided for a uniformly organised federal force. They basically speak of giving freedom to the press also. The liberals also discussed the matter of reducing the cost of the army.

Whereas, in Source B, the article from the Declaration of Heidelberg, which was issued during the Revolutions of 1848, speaks of what was discussed when majority of the members of state assemblies gathered together. They all agreed on freedom, unity, independence and honour of the German nation, however that could only be possible with the cooperation of all German people with their government. They also spoke of how Germany was not to intervene in the affairs of neighboring countries and agreed that the German people have the right of freedom and independence. They clearly stated that their main task would be common defense, this way money would be saved because that way, they could have the money of each nation would go towards this.

Sources A and B both agree on the idea of saving money when it comes towards a federal force.

Example candidate response – middle, continued

They also both agree on the matter of the freedom of the nations people to a certain extent. That being said both sources agree somewhat on what the aims of the reformers in Germany should be.



## Example candidate response – middle, continued

b)

Though Nationalism the principal cause of the ~~revolutions in~~ 1848 Revolutions in Germany, Source A does not go very far to support this claim. While Sources B and C state a lot that can ~~support~~ support this claim, the same cannot be said for Source D which supports it to a minimal extent.

Seen in Source B, was the gathering of members of states. This in a sense can ~~sum~~ sum up the whole concept of nationalism. However, nationalism wasn't working against them but with them because they were coming together to find a common ground.

In Source C, the author gives a glimpse of how Nationalism came ~~divide~~ cause a divide. Prince Hohenlohe briefly explains how, ~~not having a~~ in other words, not having a unified Germany can ~~aff~~ cause an effect. ~~He believes this, because they have no~~ He speaks on the matter that Germany has no consul in case of an emergency and the fact that there has to be an explanation of what specifically he is, the fact that he cannot just say that he is a German.

As stated before, Source D. does not really support this claim. However, it does ~~give~~ go hand in hand with Source A as it described the conditions in Silesia to the Prussian Diet.

Example candidate response – middle, continued

Source A, speaks of how the Diet have really not fulfilled any of the tasks set by the Act of Confederation. Source D explains how that has affected the people of Silesia. It speaks of how they are unable to support themselves and were forced to work in the cotton industry along with many others throughout Germany. That being said, sources A to D somewhat support the claim that Nationalism was the principal.

Examiner comment – middle

**Part a**

The candidate tries to focus on the content of the sources, which makes this a sound answer. Marks are awarded for identifying a similarity between the two sources at the beginning of the response, although this could have been explained and/or illustrated more clearly. The candidate then goes on to try to discuss differences between the sources, but struggles to make a clear comparison of their content or link them directly to the question. As part of this the candidate indirectly identifies a similarity and is credited accordingly. Overall the candidate is credited within Level 2 of the mark scheme, having failed to clearly identify both similarities and differences.

**Mark awarded for part a = 5 out of 15**

**Part b**

The candidate makes a clear start by focusing on the sources and linking them to the question in the introduction. The candidate then identifies the way in which the sources agree or disagree with the assertion about nationalism being the principal cause of the revolutions in Germany. This puts the response firmly within Level 3, as the candidate is able to both support and challenge the assertion using evidence from the sources. In order to improve, the candidate would need to look beyond the face value evidence of the sources to comment on their nature, origin and purpose, and use these to help them assess the level of support they give to the assertion. At this stage the candidate could also use more contextual knowledge to test the weight of the sources.

**Mark awarded for part b = 13 out of 25**

**Total marks awarded = 18 out of 40**



## Example candidate response – low

1 a) In the reforms discussed in both documents A and B, there are both similarities in differences in their needs and desires.

In the program of reform created in a meeting of German liberals before the revolutions<sup>of 1848</sup> begin, the liberals discuss reforms for freedom and liberty throughout Germany. As liberals the collective group would agree in the basic democratic beliefs of free speech and freedom of press which is an important issue<sup>of</sup> discussion in the document, and these liberal feelings align with the information presented. An important mention is the fact the meeting is between German liberals, as most likely as some sort of assembly. The idea of drawing up reforms for a set of separate states is impossible, as it cannot be justly enforced. The assembly itself does not have the power to govern over these states.

The declaration of Heidelberg completely agrees with the liberal reforms of the German liberals. The declaration coming in 1848, during the revolution may have a significance in its purpose. The declaration released after the word of the Paris revolution insinuates that the document was released to comfort the people. With word of revolution in Paris

Example candidate response – low, continued

German states ~~could~~ would use this as inspiration for their own revolution, ~~and if the~~ but if the people were to hear word of possible liberal reforms, it ~~might~~ ~~eat~~ would calm the people down. Because of the ~~German~~ Carlsbad decrees preventing freedom of press and speech being enforced by the Austrians, the Germans had a lot to rebel about. For this reason the documents agree on liberal reforms.

When it comes to the military agenda there is controversy ~~between~~ between the two documents. The German liberals take a more militaristic stance demanding for some sort of federal defense. This is to be expected as Germans are very militaristic, similar to the Prussians. In the declaration of Heidelberg, the officials take a less militaristic stance, declaring that Germany would not be involved in neighboring wars. This is also a technique used to help calm the people and maintain peace by excluding violence, yet it ~~doesn't~~ does not agree with the demands of the liberals a year prior. The declaration also does not mention anything about judicial and executive power, an important issue to the liberals as it is another important liberal ideal.



## Example candidate response – low, continued

1 b) The documents presented discuss three very different views of the revolutions of 1848 and their motivations. A common, or repeated motive, is the need for freedom of speech and press within Germany. The program of reform by the German Liberals (Source A) show a disappointment in recent democratic failures, of the failure of previously stated beliefs. The document being written by liberals ~~prove~~ support the idea that they believed in democracy, but the document may prove to be unreliable. Because liberals are writing the document, the ~~ideals within~~ people writing it ~~are~~ would most likely not see other issues due to ~~the~~ blindness by their radical liberal beliefs, yet their complaints are supported by their oppression by the Carlsbad decrees, and their loss of freedom of speech, this makes it a valid initiator for the revolutions.

The declaration (Source B) also supports the idea of liberalism as a factor. The document being written in 1848 during the revolution gives an good idea of the issues that needed to be addressed, and the writers are also not limited to a liberal bias. If liberal ideals are being addressed, then liberal ~~ideals~~ ideals are what began the revolutions in the first place. The declaration was also meant to

Example candidate response – low, continued

calm the people from rebelling as it was issued after Paris's revolution. This means that liberal ideals were an important factor in Germany's revolution.

The Prince Hohenlohe gives an interesting view of nationalism as a factor for nationalism. As a prince he should be conservative set on keeping his land and territory, against unification or liberal ideals, yet he agrees with unification and possibly losing his power. True he did rule a small amount of land but it came from a memorandum and should be relatively truthful.

The Silesian aristocrat also gives an interesting view of economic issues. As an aristocrat he would not value industry as it devalues him, but he recognizes <sup>some</sup> the issues and wants to fix them giving his words <sup>some</sup> truth. The 1848 revolution was also during the happenings of the hungry 40's and famine giving his word more value as a reason for revolution. Economic and food issues could also have had an impact yet liberalism seems to be more supported.

**Examiner comment – low****Part a**

The candidate demonstrates some understanding of the sources and the period but struggles to make a direct comparison between the two sources that is relevant to the question. The sources are mostly discussed and analysed separately and so, while the comments made are reasonable, the candidate does not meet the requirements of the question. The answer does identify an overall similarity between the two sources although this is largely implied. This means, however, that the answer is placed at the bottom of Level 2. To improve, the candidate needs to directly compare the content of the two sources in relation to the question, and look for similarities and differences.

**Mark awarded for part a = 4 out of 15**

**Part b**

This response is based on the four sources given and the candidate makes some reasonable comments about their content. The candidate analyses the content of each source but in quite general terms. There are also references to the nature, origin and purpose of the sources. The main weakness of the answer is the lack of clear links between the source analysis and the assertion 'Nationalism was the principal cause of the revolutions in Germany in 1848'. The candidate only really mentions nationalism when dealing with Source C and this is already clearly in the source. Overall, the sources are not really used to test the assertion but rather the sources are analysed on their own. The candidate is given some Level 2 marks for the simple references to nationalism but to improve there would need to be clear agreement and disagreement with the assertion based on the sources.

**Mark awarded for part b = 9 out of 25**

**Total marks awarded = 13 out of 40**



## Question 2

### Section B: American Option

#### The Origins of the Civil War, 1846–1861

#### Lincoln and Disunion, 1861

- 2 Read the sources and then answer **both** parts of the question.

#### Source A

No state, upon its own mere motion, can lawfully get out of the Union. Acts of violence against the authority of the United States are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances. I therefore consider that the Union is unbroken. I shall take care that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the states. I trust this will not be regarded as a menace but only the declared purpose of the Union that it will constitutionally defend itself. In doing this there needs be no bloodshed or violence, unless it be forced on the national authority. The power confided in me will be used to hold, occupy and possess the property and places belonging to the government and to collect duties. There will be no invasion – no using of force against or among the people anywhere.

*From Abraham Lincoln's first inaugural address, 4 March 1861.*

#### Source B

If I understand the inaugural speech aright, that purpose which seems to stand out clearly and directly is one which must lead to war against the confederate or seceding states. I must say frankly to gentlemen on the other side that I do not see how, if we adopt the principles of the inaugural, that is to be avoided.

The President declares expressly that he intends to treat those states as though they were still members of the Union, as though the acts of secession were nothing. As they claim to be independent, there can be no result except a collision. In plain, unmistakable language he declares that it is his purpose to hold, occupy and possess the forts and arsenals in those states. We know that he can hold them only by dispossessing the state authorities.

*From a speech in the US Senate by Thomas Clingman, Democratic Senator for North Carolina, 6 March 1861.*

#### Source C

I submit to the Senate that the friends of peace have much to rejoice at in the inaugural address of the President. It is a much more conservative document than I had anticipated. It is a much more pacific and conciliatory document than I had expected. After examination, I am clearly of the opinion that the administration stands pledged by the inaugural to a peaceful solution of all our difficulties, to do no act that leads to war and to change its policy just so often and whenever change is necessary to preserve the peace.

*From a speech in the US Senate by Stephen Douglas, Democratic Senator for Illinois, 4 March 1861.*

## Question 2, continued

### Source D

For the comfort of secessionists who have denounced Lincoln for the ‘declaration of war’ which they contend is contained in his inaugural speech, we copy the following extract from the National Anti-Slavery Standard of 9 March. This fanatical paper is as bitter against Lincoln for *not* declaring war as the secessionists are abusive of him for a pretence that he has declared war. The two extremes are acting together in favour of disunion.

‘The [inaugural] speech was made with the face turned towards the South and with both knees bowed down before the idol it worships. Lincoln should have plainly set forth the encroachments of slavery upon the rights of the North and shown how they had culminated in the disruption of the Union. He should have proclaimed his intention of stopping the encroachments and restoring the Union by the full exercise of all his constitutional power. Then he would have taken a position which even his enemies would have admired.’

*From the Fayetteville (North Carolina) ‘Observer’, 14 March 1861.*

Answer **both** parts of the question with reference to the sources.

- (a) Compare and contrast Sources A and B on the likelihood of secession leading to war. [15]
- (b) How far do Sources A to D support the view that President Lincoln’s inaugural address was bound to lead to war? [25]

Mark scheme

**Section B: American Option**

**The Origins of the Civil War, 1846–1861**

**Lincoln and Disunion, 1861**

**Indicative Content**

- (a) Compare and contrast Sources A and B on the likelihood of secession leading to war. [15]**

Source A, from Lincoln's first speech as President, argues that secession is unlikely to lead to civil war. First of all, he denies that a state can secede 'upon its own mere motion', which means that he refuses to acknowledge the secessions which occurred between the federal election and his inauguration. He finally states that the federal government will not use force against the people 'anywhere'. However, in between, he does say that bloodshed is possible if the federal government's authority is challenged. Thus there is a possibility that secession will lead to war but the federal government will not be the one to start it.

Source B, from a Southern Democrat, argues that secession is bound to lead to war. The seceded states see themselves as having left the USA, as being independent. The US President argues that no state has left the Union as it cannot do so on its own. When the president acts to control federal forts in seceded states, as he says he will, war is bound to follow. If the differences are clear, so are some similarities. Neither source wants to be seen as starting the war; both sources need to find ways of justifying their side going to war should it break out.

- (b) How far do Sources A–D support the view that President Lincoln's inaugural address was bound to lead to war? [25]**

**Context:** President Lincoln made his address in March 1861, five months after he won the presidential election – and that he did by winning most Northern states. He was a sectional president who had to address a great national problem. In the South, he was not on the ballot for the seven states which seceded between December 1860 and February 1861. Southerners saw Lincoln as either an abolitionist or too weak to stand up to the abolitionists. Even before the election, many in the South argued that to choose Lincoln would be to choose disunion. In the next five months, a lame-duck Buchanan presidency did nothing to confront disunionist forces in the South. The secession of the seven states meant that the likelihood of conflict between North and South was much greater than it had been at election time. In March, war had still not yet occurred and Lincoln's speech was as conciliatory to the South as possible – without conceding the right of states to secede unilaterally. The practical issue of control of federal territory in seceded states remained a major problem, however, and five weeks after the speech political divisions gave way to military conflict as the state of South Carolina bombarded Fort Sumner.



## Mark scheme, continued

**Analysis:** Source A provides evidence of Lincoln's approach to the secession problem, which is best described as unyielding yet unprovocative. He is not going to accept secession but neither is he going to order federal forces to invade secessionist states. He will defend the Union, however, and uphold federal law in all the states of the USA. Thus Source A rejects the assertion even if it accepts that war *might* result.

Source B takes the opposite stance. The North Carolina Democrat argues that the Southern states see themselves as having broken away from the USA. However cautious Lincoln might be in keeping control of federal forts in disunited states, the South is bound to oppose him, by force if necessary. Source C supports the view that the inaugural address is not bound to lead to war as Douglas maintains that Lincoln will make any concession necessary to keep the peace. Source D is a Southern report of an abolitionist newspaper article which criticises Lincoln as making too many concessions to the South. Thus Source D suggests that Lincoln is not set on war with the South, that war is not bound to occur. Only Source B argues that it is.

**Evaluation: Source A** is Lincoln's first public address as federal president when he is facing constitutional and political problems of unprecedented complexity. He has just taken an oath of office by which he agreed to 'preserve, protect and defend' the constitution of the USA. Seven states have refused to accept his authority. He has to speak to and for all parts of the USA. Source A shows Lincoln steering a careful line between concession and compulsion. To abolitionists, according to Source D, this is a sign of weakness. Southern politicians, as in Source B, understand Lincoln's position but believe it makes war unavoidable. Context shows how narrow a path Lincoln had to walk by the time he took office. Emotions were running high, especially in the South, and his best efforts to defend the constitution failed to prevent the probable becoming unavoidable just a few weeks later.

**Source B** is a public speech made by a Southern senator just two days after Lincoln's inaugural address. The extract is quite an accurate description of the situation facing the USA and its president, which is a surprise as it comes in a public speech made by a Democrat from a state which was soon to secede. The source shows the importance of different perceptions and how they affect arguments and actions.

**Source C** is a public speech made by a Northern Democrat and the defeated rival of Lincoln. Again, his speech is something of a surprise as he praises Lincoln for his inaugural address. His analysis falters when he asserts that the federal government has 'to do no act which leads to war and to change its policy' whenever needed to keep the peace. Source A shows Lincoln is not so accommodating and thus undermines Source C.

**Source D** contains two arguments in one. It contains the abolitionists' argument that Lincoln should stand firm against the South. It also contains the Fayetteville *Observer's* use of that argument to address Southern extremists. It is unclear whether the *Observer* was or was not keen on secession and war. Certainly abolitionists were willing to risk war in order to defend the constitution and defeat slave power. Many Northerners, including Lincoln himself, had believed that Southern talk of secession was bluff. Even after Lincoln's inauguration, many believed war was avoidable. Events in South Carolina were to prove them wrong. The evaluated sources support a modified version of the assertion, namely that Lincoln's inaugural address made war much more probable.

## Example candidate response – high

2a)	There are many similarities and differences between Sources A and B on the likelihood of secession leading to war.
	Among the similarities is that both sources agree that the Confederacy's annexation of property has caused much dissent and sectional strife. <del>A says that he will</del> In A, Lincoln says that he will 'hold, occupy and possess' <del>the</del> the Union's territory, referring to the <del>Union</del> Confederacy's annexed <del>territ</del> property which he views as 'insurrectionary'. <del>A</del>

## Example candidate response – high, continued

B agrees, stating that Lincoln's speech on the Confederacy annexing territories is 'one which must lead to war against the confederate.' Both agree in ~~A~~ Lincoln's speech in A was specifically tailored to appeal to the patriotism of Americans and dissuade <sup>further</sup> secession by the Confederacy, ~~written~~ Southern states as well as hoping to persuade already seceded states to rejoin the Union. Therefore, his words are likely to carry much weight, especially so since his inaugural address was during a period of great sectionalism. This is likely to make his speech reliable to an extent, even if mildly tarnished by its ~~not~~ other motive to rally the patriotic fervor of the Union. ~~C~~ Clingman's words carry weight too, ~~especially since~~ perhaps more so than Lincoln. This is due to it being in the US Senate where he would have had to persuade all Senators to back his point of argument. Clingman had no political ambitions whatsoever and lying would have been futile in <sup>when even South Carolina seceded,</sup> a period of great sectionalism, making his words as reliable as Lincoln's. Hence, both sources agree that the Confederacy's secession has caused much sectionalism, with the possibility of some form of violence should they resist ~~the~~ re-amalgamation with the Union as it takes back the territories. The main difference is that Lincoln makes implicit ~~reference to~~ ~~some form of punishment going to be carried~~ threat to the Confederacy <sup>if they try resisting</sup> through the use of 'insurrectionary', implying they are criminals, whereas Clingman is far more direct with the use of 'must lead to war.'

Among the differences between A and B on whether secession will lead to war is one of honesty. In A, Lincoln hints that no state can 'lawfully get out of the Union' and that he will 'consider the Union unbroken!' On the other hand, B is point blank in its assertion



## Example candidate response – high, continued

	<p>that 'there can be no result except a collision' <del>when</del> if following <del>the</del> Lincoln's 'inaugural speech' that hopes to preserve the Union by any means necessary. Source B is likely to be more reliable in this context as Clingman would not have had the burden and difficulty of rallying Union support like Lincoln, and so would not have had to wince his words. Lincoln on the other hand stresses 'There will be no invasion.' Using contextual knowledge, this is likely to be untrue as Lincoln was prepared to use force to preserve the Union in conversations he had with Seward. Coupled with his burden of rallying the Union in a time of great political unrest that would force him to be more optimistic and rally Union patriotism, this faints <del>the</del> his assertion, making B's assertion that secession will lead to war is inevitable carry more weight.</p>
	<p>Overall, although both sources agree that <del>the</del> secession has provoked much <del>sectional</del> <sup>sectional</sup> tension and that <del>re-amalgamation</del> re-amalgamation of the Union is necessary, they differ in <del>their</del> their approach to whether <del>section</del> secession will cause war. A says it shouldn't so long as the Confederacy peacefully rejoins the Union whilst B counters by saying <del>secession</del> <sup>war</sup> is inevitable as repossessing seceded property will provoke war <del>from</del> <sup>with</sup> the Confederacy who will want to retain their property.</p>
2b)	<p>Source B supports the view that Lincoln's inaugural address was bound to lead to war. Clingman muses on Lincoln's <del>possible</del> short sightedness in viewing the Confederacy as 'members of the Union, as though the acts of secession were nothing.' This is very true as Lincoln proclaims that he would 'consider that the Union is unbroken' in Source A. B's assertion is far more likely to be reliable <del>the</del> as</p>

## Example candidate response – high, continued

<p> Clingman did not have the burden of uniting a nation much like Lincoln did in his inaugural address, at the a period when most of the lower South had seceded and the Upper South <del>was vacillating on doing so.</del> <del>and too, thereby</del> breaking the Union. <del>Morale was needed,</del> and hence Apart from <sup>raising</sup> morale, Lincoln would <sup>also</sup> not have been able to blatantly condemn or threaten the Confederacy which would frustrate them further and make their chances of permanent secession more likely. This can be seen through his declaration that only 'insurrectionary' states would secede, but <del>is said not</del> <del>considering the fact seceded states 'insurrectionary'</del> that the seceded states are no such thing for he believes that the Union is still 'unbroken.' Hence, B's assertion that Lincoln's inaugural address was short sighted carries <sup>much</sup> <sup>and weight</sup> <sup>merit</sup> as Lincoln was under immense pressure to reunite the Union and had to coerce the Confederacy into rejoining the Union by playing on their American patriotism. B bluntly proclaims 'there can be no result except a collision' if attempting to repossess annexed Union property by the Confederacy, accurately summing up <del>the</del> <del>f</del> its contrasting views to Lincoln's address in Source A and the flaws of Lincoln's excessively placating, implicit tone. </p>
<p> Sources A, C, D refute the thesis that Lincoln's inaugural address was <u>bound</u> to lead to war. In A, Lincoln <del>makes</del> firmly says that he will preserve the Union by forcefully using his power to 'hold, occupy and possess the property ... belonging to the government' – a direct reference to annexed Union property by the Confederacy which Lincoln views as still part of the Confederacy. <del>This</del> Whilst not directly answering the thesis that this was <u>bound</u> to lead to war, there is still reference to a degree of forcefulness as Lincoln does not mention anywhere in the extract that the Confederacy has any choice at all in accepting or </p>



## Example candidate response – high, continued

denying his reclamation of rightful 'Union' property, i.e. the Confederacy will have to accept the repossession whether they like it or not. So while it does not directly address the fact this ~~could~~ <sup>would purely</sup> lead to war, there is still a firmness that leaves no room for Confederate ~~opinion~~ opinion regarding the annexations, with the definite possibility of resistance from the Confederacy as a result. On the other hand, Source C very directly says that Lincoln's inaugural address has successfully averted war by giving the message of ~~the~~ the Union's willingness to adopt any policy to 'preserve the peace' which will prevent war. The source's reliability is questionable due to its excessively optimistic tone which doesn't factor in abolitionism <sup>disgust at the speech</sup> or even of Northern opinion, simply being the opinion of 1 mere senator. Douglas would ~~have~~ also have wanted to raise morale much like the motive of Source A, hiding any ~~se~~ misgivings on the possibility of war. This taints its reliability significantly. D ~~is more subtle~~, ~~accept~~ is very supportive of Lincoln's speech and condemns abolitionists for their attack on the speech that makes them look no better than secessionists who favor 'disunion.' However, it doesn't directly answer the question on whether Lincoln's address was bound to lead to war, and so cannot really be used to refute or support the thesis. ~~Further,~~

Overall, ~~the sources main~~ <sup>A, C, D</sup> although ~~the sources~~ / mainly agree that Lincoln's inaugural address was not bound to lead to war, ~~so~~ they cannot ~~what~~ be used to ~~wholly rep~~ their unreliability caused by the motives of the speakers/authors mean they cannot be used to support the notion. On the other hand, B's reliability due to the bluntness of the author means its ~~support~~ argument outweighs the other sources, refuting the

## Example candidate response – high, continued

	Claims of the other 3 sources <sup>and</sup> answer the question the best.
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## Examiner comment – high

**Part a**

This response has a strong and clear focus on both the sources and the question asked. As a result, the candidate is able to compare and evaluate the sources and show similarities and differences between the two with specific reference to the ‘likelihood of secession leading to war’. This answer is awarded a mark at the bottom of Level 4. This is a strong response which could have been improved by making some of the evaluation a little more coherent. Overall, however, this is a clear and well-structured answer to the question.

**Mark awarded for part a = 12 out of 15**

**Part b**

This answer is strongly focused on both the sources and the question, and contains a real attempt to test how far the sources support the assertion that ‘President Lincoln’s inaugural address was bound to lead to war’. The candidate groups the sources into those which agree and those which disagree with the assertion, and this helps to make this response reach the higher levels of the mark scheme. The candidate is also able to appreciate the subtlety of the language in the question and uses the word ‘bound’ to test the sources, especially C. This is a sign that the candidate is really engaging with the material. The candidate makes various attempts to evaluate the source material, and although these are not always successful, they are enough to put the answer at the bottom of Level 4. A higher mark would have been awarded if the answer had made sure that the source evaluation was full and valid as well as being tied to the requirements of the question.

**Mark awarded for part b = 16 out of 25**

**Total marks awarded = 28 out of 40**

## Example candidate response – middle

2A)	<p>Source B contrasts source A to a considerable extent regarding the likelihood of succession leading to war. Source A <del>focuses</del> whilst views succession as a unjust act towards the existence of the union it opposes the utilisation of violence to <del>express</del> convey this message whereas source B takes on a different position as it reiterates the inevitability of war as a result of succession.</p>
	<p>Source A and B do have some similarities as they both put heavy emphasis on the problem of succession as dividing the union. However, it is evident that there is <del>not</del> a misconception <del>to</del> regarding source A from source B's standpoint. Source A retains a conciliatory but firm tone as it denounces and condemns "lawfully getting out of the union." The use of firm, direct words ultimately acts as a warning by Lincoln regarding the issue of succession. The misinterpretation of this strong message is illustrated through source B's view that Lincoln's speech <del>to</del> conveys the message that "<del>war</del> <del>is</del> it must lead to war against the confederate states" through its <del>implicit</del> announcement of Lincoln's intentions, the source B greatly contrasts source A as they have two both diverging intentions. Source <del>B</del> A is intended to accentuate the importance of the union and heighten the problem of succession as evoking "insurrectionary or revolutionary" acts</p>
	<p>Moreover there is a great contrast in tones used in source A and B. Source B retains a defensive and wounding tone in its attempt to rebut Lincoln's assertion that there needs to be "no bloodshed or violence." The explicit condemnation of violence as a form of solution clearly exhibits Lincoln's view of succession leading to war as unlikely as he denounces any revolutionary means to consolidate the problem. <del>The</del> source B contrasts this as it</p>



## Example candidate response – middle, continued

	<p>construes the message as Lincoln declares to "treat those states like nothing as though they were part of the union!" The speech by senate thomas clingman categorises <del>the</del> Lincoln's motives as to disregard the seceding states in order to preserve the Union.</p> <p>following this notion it is evident that source B views the issue of secession as an instigation of war. as there has not been nearly emphasis on the <del>issue</del> the seriousness of secession as a whole but has been <del>an</del> attempted to be dismissed in the efforts of saving the union by Lincoln. Although the speech is derived from south carolina and thus is subjective in its vehement defense of secession, Lincoln did regard secession as part of a slave power conspiracy <del>an</del> regarding <del>to</del> a small section of southern planters as the root for secession. considering this, although Lincoln did not explicitly announce his view of secession as <del>a</del> a passing problem in which he thought would eventually die out, there <del>are</del> is an underlying consensus of this new through his constant emphasis on the preservation of the union. This ultimately categorises Lincoln's speech (source A) as an underlying confirmation to the inevitability of war, whilst source B explicitly condemns Lincoln's claim and takes on the position that there can be no "result" "except a willision".</p>
	<p>conclusively whilst source A and B contrast each other, they retain some similarities, source A implicitly announces the <del>the</del> secession as an eventual root of war through Lincoln's focus on the union and <del>little</del> <del>regard</del> threat to take necessary action to prevent secession. source B gives a more explicit statement regarding it as war.</p>

## Example candidate response – middle, continued

2B.	<p>Sources B and <del>the</del> support the view that Lincoln's inaugural address was bound to lead to war, however, sources C and D do not categorise Lincoln's speech as leading to <del>the</del> <del>the</del> war. This is illustrated through the disparity in tone assumed by sources C, D and A in contrast to B.</p>
	<p>whilst there are varying degrees <del>the</del> <sup>to</sup> the extent in which they view Lincoln's speech as an instigation of war, source C retains a strong defensive and particularly subjective tone towards <del>the</del> Lincoln's speech as it construes Lincoln's intentions in order to expose to problem <del>the</del> preserving the union, <del>the</del> <del>deputy</del> senator Thomas Clingman views the preservation of the union as a direct threat to the existence of secession through his assertion "he can hold them only by <del>dispossessing</del> dispossessing the state authorities"; this explicitly highlights the view that Lincoln's inaugural speech <del>support</del> will ultimately lead to war. However, in contrast to this source D takes on a more <del>moderate</del> <sup>extreme</sup> view due to its northern nature as derived from the observer: This contrasts source B as its intention differ, it proclaims that <del>the</del> this "paper is as bitter against Lincoln for not declaring war" whilst it denounces Lincoln's inability to declare war it ultimately supports the notion that Lincoln's speech was not a direct cause of war, further supporting this source C retains a more moderate view however also <del>condemns</del> states that Lincoln's <del>the</del> speech did not directly lead to war but rather his speech proposed a "peaceful solution" whilst sources C and D both contrast in terms of its intentions, source A to carefully examine and rebut <del>in</del> Lincoln's speech in a <del>the</del> subjective manner and source D to condemn both Lincoln's inability to instigate war and to</p> <p>The credibility of source D is hindered through its excessively, strong and extreme view as derived from a</p>

## Example candidate response – middle, continued

	<p>however  published paper. It goes against both the secessionists and Lincoln in the condemnation of Lincoln's inability to declare war and the "secessionists abuse of him" it provides both sides of the argument and thus can be classified as an objective view whilst stating that the two are acting "together in disunion" moreover <del>source A</del> source A contrasts this point as its primary focus is to unite the union and prohibit violence "unless forced on the nationed all though" the suggestion of using violence if extreme threat is seen to be on the union could ultimately classify Lincoln's speech as supporting <del>the</del> the likelihood of war. The conciliatory but firm tone could be misinterpreted as a direct threat to the seceding states. moreover <del>the</del> source C is derived from Illinois and is announced by Senator Douglas who participated in the Lincoln Douglas debates although he opposed Lincoln, the tone can be seen as objective and understanding through "After examination" this evidently illustrates his attempt to achieve a non-biased opinion as a result of Lincoln's speech.</p> <p>Conclusively source B takes on the position that Lincoln caused war inevitably through his disregard of the union, source <del>B</del> <del>A</del> C and D take the stance that Lincoln's speech was not intended to instigate war but rather prevent it as it is important to note Lincoln's true intentions encompassed the preservation of the union. source A further highlights the importance of the union and uses simple, clear language to get this point across thus it could be seen as instigating war interpreted by the seceding states or as defending the union as interpreted by northern states as in Lincoln's now divided speech he proclaimed "a house divided cannot stand it must either be all free or all slave"</p>
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### Examiner comment – middle

#### **Part a**

This response is able to concentrate on using the sources and makes a good attempt at looking for similarities and differences between the two. The answer makes some strong points about the differences and is able to illustrate these using content from the sources. There is also enough explanation of similarities to place the answer at the bottom of Level 3 in the mark scheme. In order to move further up the mark range the answer would need to be more precise in the use of contextual knowledge and explain the similarities and differences more clearly. As the marking suggests, the answer is a little confused at times and needed to be much clearer.

**Mark awarded for part a = 8 out of 15**

#### **Part b**

The answer starts clearly by briefly sorting the sources into those which agree and those which disagree with the assertion given in the question. The response then goes on to analyse the sources, but struggles to demonstrate any clear understanding of their content and tone. For example, there is some confusion over the origin of Source D. In the rest of the answer, the candidate is able to use the sources to support and challenge the assertion and so is awarded a mark within Level 3. However, the slightly confused attempts at evaluation do not aid the response and so cannot be awarded any marks. For a higher mark, the answer would need a clearer structure which would enable the evaluation to be clearly linked to arguments about whether the sources support or challenge the assertion.

**Mark awarded for part b = 11 out of 25**

**Total marks awarded = 19 out of 40**

## Example candidate response – low

2a) Source A, spoken by Lincoln on his inauguration is absolutely certain that secession will be completely avoided and hence has no chance of leading to a war. The source focuses on the ultimate preservation of the Union which in turn will prevent a war based on secession. Lincoln stresses no blood shed and violence taking place between the North and the South, however from contextual knowledge we do know that Lincoln's election itself had caused anger from the South as they thought him a rampant abolitionist. Lincoln's inaugural speech is strict on the basis that the likelihood of secession and war is minimal which is later contrasted by Source B.

Source B is a reaction to Source A and disagrees on much that is stated. Firstly, Source B is certain that war is inevitable based on Lincoln's purpose to 'hold, occupy and possess the forts and arsenals' of the Confederate States, this is unlikely to be done without creating conflict between the two sides and creating actions that may lead towards war. The source even plainly states that this eventually will lead to a 'collision' or war.

Sources A and B disagree to a great extent on the likelihood of secession and war. Source A believes that secession is impossible with Lincoln's policy in place; no violence will erupt between the North and the South, Source B on the other hand is certain that Lincoln's policies and promises mentioned in Source A cannot be kept and war is inevitable between the two sides. However, both sources do not explicitly refer to secession – at

## Example candidate response – low, continued

all, instead just mentioning the likelihood of a war breaking out or not. The sources agree that secession is not considered an issue but disagree massively on the likelihood of a war breaking out. Source A believes war is impossible while source B agrees that it is inevitable.

2b) Sources A and C are for the assertion that Lincoln has pledged to keep peace with his inaugural speech. Source A is a primary source from Lincoln himself that announces his commitments to the union and keeping peace between the North and the South. However, although Lincoln's intentions were good with a promise of 'no violence' we know that he could not keep his promise from contextual knowledge. The secession of South Carolina later in July 1861 had been a result of much discontent building up directly after Lincoln's election and a Republican victory. The Southerners had thought of Lincoln as a rampant abolitionist since they did not know much of Lincoln's supporters nor of the man himself. The fact that it was actually Lincoln's election that had caused discontent and none of these promises upheld it is not right to use this source as strong evidence against a war breaking out as his election was to an extent binding America to war, Lincoln's inaugural address had little impact on the road to war as the South already disliked him and was sure to dismiss what he said. Also, the speech is purely promotional of Lincoln's ideas and himself as an individual, so on that basis it cannot be seen as reliable as it only focuses on ~~one~~ Lincoln's point of view. It is observed that Lincoln was naive in not seeing secession coming.



## Example candidate response – low, continued

25) Source C is more usable as it is from a Democratic point of view and Lincoln's opposition, Douglas, as a leader of the Northern Democrats is correct in assuming that Lincoln was not going to bring the peace, however he too was not expecting the secession of the South to follow Lincoln's address to the country. The source is very basic on how Lincoln's speech is an omen of peace and does not touch on any of the South's discontent which is an oversight of the source.

Source B is a Southern source and hence it would have its objection to Lincoln naturally which is an omen of Henry regarding it's trust. However, it is realistic and points out that Lincoln is wrong to assume that peace is widespread across the country. The South had been discontent since his election and were right to know that many dis-agreements were coming.

Source D is more convoluted as it states that secessionists believe that Lincoln had announced war with his inauguration and then offers the viewpoint of the Free Anti-slavery party to show that the speech was made with face turned towards the South. Overall it can be taken that secessionists were more eager for war.

Overall, sources A and C disagree with the assumption that war was coming however A is less trusting as it is from Lincoln and is propaganda. Sources B and D are more certain that war was

Example candidate response – low, continued

	coming. The overall assumption is that Lincoln's speech
	was not important in the coming of war but his
	election and the discontent of the South was.

Examiner comment – low

**Part a**

The answer starts with an extended description of Source A and then goes on to compare Source B and explain the differences between the two sources. The candidate has a good understanding of the sources so the answer is awarded a mark at the top of Level 2. However, the candidate does not highlight any valid similarities between the two sources. For a higher mark, the response would need to look at both the similarities and the differences between the sources, and attempt to use source evaluation to contrast them.

**Mark awarded for part a = 7 out of 15**

**Part b**

The response opens with reference to Lincoln keeping the peace, which is not really the focus of the question and shows that the candidate has not quite got to grips with the requirements of this section. The candidate then discusses the issue of war and peace in 1861 but without direct reference to the sources. As a result of some confusion over what the question is asking, the sources are not really used to support or challenge the assertion and so the answer is awarded a mark at the top of Level 1. For a higher mark, the response would look more closely at the question and use the sources to directly agree or disagree with the assertion. Contextual knowledge is needed to support this rather than large chunks of general knowledge.

**Mark awarded for part b = 5 out of 25**

**Total marks awarded = 12 out of 40**

## Question 3

### Section C: International Option

#### The Search for International Peace and Security, 1919–1945

#### The League of Nations and the Spanish Civil War

3 Read the sources and then answer **both** parts of the question.

##### Source A

The youth of Spain fall in thousands in the trenches of freedom as the victims of Fascist aeroplanes and the foreign war material delivered month after month, despite the non-intervention agreement, by those who base their international policy on the systematic breaking of treaties and their international undertakings. Madrid, the capital of a member of the League of Nations, has been reduced to ruins. The women and children of Madrid have been butchered in hundreds by bombing planes under the orders of rebel generals, supplied by states which have, in fact, begun a war, and which are continuing to make war, while statesmen talk of preserving peace. An international war is raging on Spanish soil. The worst thing that could happen to the League of Nations would be to contribute, by its own silence and inaction, to the spread of this war.

*The Spanish Foreign Secretary addressing the League of Nations' Assembly, December 1936.*

##### Source B

Spain is the second victim after Ethiopia of Fascist weapons. Events in Spain presented the Great Powers with a new problem. It was not a war between two countries, but a revolt against a constitutionally elected government. What attitude should the other countries adopt in these circumstances? The Great Powers chose neutrality, non-intervention, an idea which originated in Britain. The League of Nations regards the war in Spain as a civil war. As there is no article in the Covenant to determine the League's attitude in a civil war, the non-intervention agreement was not in conflict with the Covenant. But when Italy sent military planes to Spain, Spain's Foreign Secretary appealed to the League. He pointed out the great danger to peace if it should become the custom for a country to support a rebellion in another country with military forces without any declaration of war. The League demanded evidence, though this was already available. Now, non-intervention was in conflict with the Covenant. In the face of a military attack on one of its members, the League of Nations has no right to declare itself passive. But the League did nothing.

*From an article entitled 'Spain – The Battlefield of Capitalism', by a Danish journalist, 1937.*



## Question 3, continued

### Source C

Statements by TUC delegates:

If the government had agreed to the non-intervention policy in order to prevent a world war, they should ensure that the policy was made absolutely effective. The considerable delay in getting it started had worked to the prejudice of the Spanish government. Italy's policy was one of invasion. Although the Italian government had agreed to non-intervention, they were violating this all the time. As requested by the Spanish government, Britain should use its influence to examine the allegations regarding the nature and extent of Italian involvement. The presence of Italian troops in Spain was sufficient reason for applying the Covenant of the League of Nations. The British government should take strong measures to stop Franco gaining assistance from the Fascist Powers, Italy and Germany. The government should bear in mind that similar actions might take place in the future in Czechoslovakia and elsewhere.

Statement in reply by Mr. Eden, Foreign Secretary:

It was in Britain's interests to avoid becoming involved in war. Non-intervention was better than a policy of threats, for it was no use saying to a country unless it did a certain thing something would be done to it, if one was not prepared to take that action. Gaining accurate information about the extent of foreign involvement was difficult. Much of the information had proved to be unreliable. The Italian government, through its ambassador, had denied sending men to Spain. Without the non-intervention agreement, many Italians and Germans would undoubtedly have been going to Spain.

*From the minutes of a meeting between the British Foreign Secretary and representatives of the British Trades Union Congress (TUC), March 1937.*

Answer **both** parts of the question with reference to the sources.

- (a) Compare and contrast the views expressed by the Foreign Secretaries of Spain (Source A) and Britain (Source C) regarding the effectiveness of the non-intervention policy adopted by the League of Nations during the Spanish Civil War. [15]
- (b) 'In adopting a policy of non-intervention in the Spanish Civil War, the League of Nations failed to honour its Covenant commitments.' How far do Sources A to C support this view? [25]

## Mark scheme

## Section C: International Option

## The Search for International Peace and Security, 1919–1945

## The League of Nations and the Spanish Civil War

## Indicative Content

- (a) **Compare and contrast the views expressed by the Foreign Secretaries of Spain (Source A) and Britain (Source C) regarding the effectiveness of the non-intervention policy adopted by the League of Nations during the Spanish Civil War.** [15]

The Spanish Foreign Secretary (Source A) argues that the non-intervention policy is not working. He claims that, despite agreeing to observe the policy, Fascist governments (Italy and Germany) are ignoring it and sending equipment to the rebel generals fighting against the Spanish government. As a result, the war in Spain is no longer a civil war, but an *'international war'*. The British Foreign Secretary (Source C) argues that the non-intervention policy is effective. Without it, he claims, many Italians and Germans would be fighting with the rebels in Spain. The implication is that there are not many Italians and Germans in Spain. He clearly accepts the Italian Ambassador's denial that Italy has sent men to Spain in defiance of the non-intervention policy.

While differences are clear, similarities might be less obvious. There are two. One is that both Foreign Ministers accept a need to take some kind of action with regard to the Spanish Civil War. They are proposing, however, very different kinds of action: the Spaniard wants more interventionist action led by the League of Nations; the Englishman wants to act to hold the ring, allowing civil conflict while containing the risk of an international European conflict.

The second difference is that both Foreign Secretaries put their national interests, as articulated by their national governments, before any other. The Spanish national interest was to defeat the rebels, which it could not do without international help. The British national interest was to contain the Spanish Civil War and thus prevent another European war by keeping open contacts with Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. Source A is by the Spanish Foreign Minister at a public meeting of the League, which he wants to influence. It is bound to be emotional, one-sided and thus unreliable. Source B is by the British Foreign Secretary, a Conservative politician, at a private meeting with a leading domestic institution of the Left. In terms of the effectiveness of non-intervention, both will be one-sided and far from trustworthy.

- (b) **'In adopting a policy of non-intervention in the Spanish Civil War, the League of Nations failed to honour its Covenant commitments.' How far do Sources A to C support this view?** [25]

**Context:** When the Spanish Civil War broke out, the League of Nations viewed it as an internal Spanish matter. Under Article 10, the League undertook to respect and preserve 'the territorial integrity and existing political independence' of its members. As a result, the League had neither the right nor the responsibility to become involved in a civil war. The non-intervention policy was designed by Britain and France to ensure that the Spanish Civil War remained a purely Spanish affair, provoking no wider conflict. Italy and Germany were among the 24 countries which formally agreed to this policy. The civil war did, however, become a symbol of the wider ideological struggle, fascism against communism.

Despite the non-intervention policy, both sides received support from outside Spain. Individuals volunteered for both sides. Governments supported both sides: Italy and



## Mark scheme, continued

Germany for the Nationalist rebels, the USSR for the government. This took the form of military men and equipment. The Spanish government considered this to be an act of war, arguing that events in Spain were now endangering world peace and consequently concerned the League. As proof of its accusation, the Secretary-General was supplied with photographs and other documents showing German and Italian intervention. The British government claimed that this evidence was unreliable, preferring to believe the denials coming from the Italian and German governments. Note that the policy of non-intervention was developed by Britain and France separately from the League of Nations.

**Analysis:** All three sources contain some evidence in support of the hypothesis. Source A argues that the Spanish Civil War is no longer a civil war. It has become an '*international war*' since Franco's rebels are being given military support by Fascist governments. '*By its own silence and inaction*' the League of Nations is doing nothing to prevent this. The non-intervention policy was not working because Fascist governments were consistently breaking their agreement to support it. The Spanish Foreign Minister is highly critical of the League's failure to take effective action, with the clear implication that it is failing to adhere to its own Covenant.

Source B argues that the League of Nations should have taken action under the Covenant once Italy sent military support to Franco. This was effectively a military invasion of Spain, a member of the League of Nations. The writer dismisses the League's argument that it needed evidence of Italian involvement, claiming that this already existed.

The first part of Source C, from the TUC, argues that Italy's actions were effectively an invasion of Spain. Since a member state of the League of Nations was being attacked by a foreign country, the League should take action under the Covenant, as requested by the Spanish government. Failure to do this would be seen as a weakness and might lead to further aggressive acts, as later occurred against Czechoslovakia.

The sources also contain evidence to challenge the hypothesis. As Source B states, it was appropriate for the League of Nations to adopt a policy of non-intervention towards the Spanish Civil War, at least at first. The Covenant precluded the League from becoming involved in the internal affairs of a member state. Therefore, the League could not take sides in the civil war. The key issue regarding the non-intervention policy, as pointed out by the TUC delegates in Source C, was to '*ensure that the policy was made absolutely effective*'.

The second part of Source C, from the British Foreign Minister, claimed that there was no reliable evidence to suggest that the policy was being ignored by foreign governments, quoting the categorical denial of Italian involvement by the Italian Ambassador. Without such evidence, the League was constrained by its Covenant not to get involved in what was seen as a civil war.

**Evaluation:** **Source A**, a public speech by the Spanish Foreign Minister at a time when the rebels were threatening to take Madrid, was an understandably emotional account of events in Spain. He uses highly emotive language to assert that Spain is being attacked by foreign armies. He is highly critical of the League of Nations's failure to help the Spanish government against foreign aggression. Representing one of the sides in the civil war, his speech could be seen as highly biased. It gives no hard evidence of Italian or German involvement, merely accusations that Franco is being supplied with '*war materials*' by Fascist governments. The British government (as shown by the Foreign Secretary's statement in C) chose not to believe these accusations, preferring to accept the denial by the Italian Ambassador. This cross-referencing further undermines the reliability of Source A – though Source B helps to support the claims of Source A.



## Mark scheme, continued

**Source B**, from an article by a Danish journalist writing in the second year of the war, clearly believes the Spanish Foreign Minister's claims regarding the involvement of Italy and Germany. As a journalist, he may have first-hand experience of such involvement. This interpretation helps undermine the claims made by the British Foreign Minister (Source C).

**Source C** itself contains two separate interpretations of the civil war. In the first part, the TUC delegates represented the Labour movement in Britain, which would be strongly opposed to Fascism. The TUC delegation claims that Italy and Germany are breaking their agreement to uphold the non-intervention policy, thus supporting Sources A and B. It argues that the British government should, through the League of Nations, take effective action against Italy and Germany. The TUC's fears that failure to do this would lead to future aggression, for example in Czechoslovakia, were to prove prophetic.

In the second part of **Source C**, the Foreign Secretary argues that the non-intervention policy is working and questions the reliability of evidence, suggesting otherwise. This could be seen as naïve or disingenuous, as events were soon to prove that Italy and Germany were indeed supplying Franco with military men and equipment. It certainly supported the government's appeasement strategy. As the Foreign Minister makes clear, Britain did not want a major war, something which he saw as inevitable if action were to be taken against Italy and Germany. All three/four sources are unreliable in their different ways. Contextual analysis, however, would argue that the second half of Source C was the least reliable of all.

## Example candidate response – high

Question  
number

3a)

The two sources are quite similar when considering the profession of the two men giving an account of what policy the League of Nations have to follow. This is where the diplomatic tone is considerably evident in portraying the line of Policy that each felt should be followed. The source A by the Spanish Foreign Secretary uses emotive language such as "women and children of Madrid have been butchered" to instigate proper action rather than using the non intervention policy. Serving the same purpose of justifying its course of action, emotive language is seen in source C as the British Foreign Secretary claims "Much of the information was inaccurate". Both sources are therefore in concurrence on the use of similar language and agenda to drive home their point.

The two sources are, however, explicitly different on their stance, source A disputes that the non intervention policy was effective as source C disputes it. Where source A claims "now a side than the League was contributing by "its own silence and inaction, to the spread of this war" whereas source C challenges the claim with "Without the non intervention agreement, many Italians and Germans would undoubtedly have been going to Spain". The reason behind the contention between the sources is the nationalities of the spokesmen. Source A is written by a Spanish diplomat aiming to gain higher support but source B takes a justificatory stance as Britain, the main member of the League had attempted to protect her own interests as "it was not prepared for war".

A major contradiction is also the reliability of the two sources. The source A written at an earlier date than source C appears to be more reliable in showing the



## Example candidate response – high, continued

ineffectiveness. Written as a primary source by the top diplomat of Spain, an accurate account is given of the Spanish Civil War. The men were indeed victims of "Fascist aeroplanes" as both extremists Hitler and Mussolini had signed the Rome Berlin Axis and supported General Franco hence financing the war and the aeroplanes. Source C gives a narrow account focussing on packaging Britain as a pacifist left with no choice. The source claims "The Italian government... had denied sending men to Spain" in a manner that ignores the current situation hence being unreliable in giving account of the effectiveness of its non-intervention policy. The source A disputes this "supplied by states which have in fact, begun a war." The main reason for inaction by Britain was its policy of Appeasement and hoping to avoid war with an aggressor and was therefore selfish and unreliable unlike A that gives an accurate account.

Therefore, although both sources, although addressed to different bodies A, the League of Nations and B the Trades Union Congress, they both serve the purpose of conviction aiming to get the support of the other. In totality however they are contrasts in the effectiveness of the non intervention policy with A claiming it "ignored" the situation and C claiming, Britain banning financial aid to Italy made Italians and Germans halt their wishes. The two sources are also contradictory on reliability with A giving a more accurate account instead of justifying using incorrect information like C.



## Example candidate response – high, continued

Question number	
3 b)	<p>The overall sentiment followed by sources A-C is that yes, indeed the League of Nations failed to order its commitment through "its own silence and inaction" and its lack of putting into effect article 18 that <del>etc</del> called for collective security. In this source A agrees, the TVC in source C agrees that there was "sufficient reason for applying the Covenant" <del>and</del> Although source C in respect to the Foreign Secretary disputes this, it is a biased and one sided point of view that source B analyses in detail claiming "the League of Nations had no right to declare itself passive."</p> <p>Source A originates from the Spanish Foreign Secretary at the helm of the Spanish Civil War given to the League of Nations with the sole purpose of promoting justified action as stated in the covenant. Source A is highly useful as it is descriptive in nature giving an account on the death with the use of emotive language such as "while the statements talk of preserving peace" Although the nature of the source is one given to instigate action and tends to be an exaggeration, the irony reflects the current situation. The League of Nations had missed as stated in source C an opportunity to "apply the Covenant" as there was sufficient reason. Fascism was a menace and the main reason both Mussolini and Hitler supported General Franco a dictator despite the "constitutionally elected government". In essence the League had been formed as a response against future aggression. Despite the limitation of the source being biased as it appeals for help, one must look beyond the exaggeration and realise indeed the league practiced "inaction" through the policy of non intervention, going against Article 18 that stated sanctions would be applied and</p>



## Example candidate response – high, continued

then collective security

Source B is in overall agreement with the fact that the League did abuse its power and act on self interest instead. The source is given by a subjective third party a Danish journalist who unlike the other sources is not associated directly to either of the countries. The source does a good job and serves its role as a mediator on the two sources recognising both standpoints and eventually taking a stance inclined to source A. Similar to source A that "non intervention was in conflict with the covenant". A had claimed that it was "inaction" as B recognises the passive stance. Written on the same year as source C, it disputes the fact that "Much of the information provided was unreliable" claiming that the League had "demanded evidence though it was already available." The source C is presenting the non evidential claims as a curve ball of self interest. The source is very detailed in that it draws from both sources B and C to judge the actual state and is hence the most reliable. The source could be seen as slightly subjective as it presents the view of only one individual and is a secondary source but being written at the heat of the Spanish Civil War, it is credible as a mediating and informative third party eye on the fact that the League and more so Britain failed to honour its Covenant agreements.

Source C features two points of view the first and most significant in giving account the attitudes of the Trade Union Congress. The source is very keen on presenting the attitudes towards Britain by a group that represents the masses. It argues that indeed Italy had a domineering presence in international



## Example candidate response – high, continued

affairs and ought to be punished" Italy's policy was one of invasion" The policy of non intervention is based by the body that organises it was not even followed. Although both Germany and Italy had given their support, both Hitler and Mussolini were "violating this all the time." Additionally, written in hindsight the source is an appeal for action by its government against "the second victim after Ethiopia of Fascist weapons". The source is highly convincing in its nature as it infers to the state of situation and urges Britain to "use its influence". If the people of Britain disputed the non intervention in reality, who would. The source is ultimately credible in showing that it was a breach of the Covenant stating "the British government should take strong actions". This is military action and sanctions instead of a passive line of appeasement that went against the main aim of the covenant, to prevent future war

Source D is extremely limited and produces no evidence whatsoever to justify that the League was committed to its covenant. Written by the Foreign Secretary it is propagandist removing fault from Britain. The purpose is distorting the image as it claimed it "was not prepared to take action". This already shows that the honour of collective security was not being used to stop what source B terms an "international affair". It is also very limited as it gives no evidence that the "information proved to be unreliable" when source A claims the death of "the youth of Spain that [fall] in thousands of trenches. It is useful however in showing why the policy was used as Britain had the self



## Example candidate response – high, continued

interest of not sending its troops or intervening to save its political vigour in the nation. Nevertheless it is biased in nature not providing evidence of aggression. Therefore source A, B and the TUC in source C agree that the Covenant's aim of preventing war using sanction and collective action. Source D is too biased and subjective and also is used for propaganda to package the non-intervention policy in good light. Source C shows it failed as "Italy's policy was of invasion" and "they were violating this all the time. If the British public did not believe in it, it shows the opposition to other policies was unjustified and a breach on the Covenant. Therefore the League of Nations failed.

## Examiner comment – high

**Part a**

The candidate approaches the question by focusing on comparing and contrasting the sources. The first paragraph looks at language, and although this is of some use, it does not really address the question, which is about the 'effectiveness of the non-intervention policy'. The response moves on to clearly show some differences in content and this is awarded marks accordingly. The candidate is also able to show similarities in content between the sources and so is given a mark at Level 3. The answer attempts some evaluation but this is not valid and so is not credited. For a higher mark, the answer needed to evaluate the sources in terms of their nature, origin and purpose and use this evaluation to compare them.

**Mark awarded for part a = 9 out of 15**

**Part b**

The response focuses on the sources and the assertion from the start and points out that Source C consists of two different opinions, i.e. Eden and the TUC. The candidate goes on to link the sources to the assertion effectively, showing where there is support and challenge, and to offer points of evaluation which assess the weight which can be given to each source. Although this evaluation is not always precisely focused, it is enough to place the answer well into Level 4. The answer offers a good conclusion which recaps the ideas covered. To improve, this conclusion needed to include more focused judgement of how far the sources support the assertion; this could have been done by weighing up the sources according to their content and provenance.

**Mark awarded for part b = 19 out of 25**

**Total marks awarded = 28 out of 40**

## Example candidate response – middle

Question number	
3(a)	<p>It is evident that sources A and C share more points in comparison than contrasting, in regards to the effectiveness of the non-intervention policy adopted by the League of Nations during the Spanish Civil War.</p>
	<p>Both Foreign Secretary of Spain (source A) and TIC delegate (source C) agree on the point that the <del>idea</del> <del>for</del> the non-intervention policy is ineffective as it impact will only lead to war. Evidence from the source state 'The worst thing that could happen to the League of Nations would be to contribute, by its own silence and inaction, to the spread of this war' (source A), whilst source C states 'similar actions might take place in the future in Czechoslovakia and elsewhere.' This implies that the non-intervention policy is ineffective as it aimed to impact ensure the league intervention did not stifle peace as it was seen as domestic one. However, the sources point out the crucial fact that the policy is indeed ineffective as it instead led to the escalation of the war and displayed the weakness of the League to intervene in a member nation affair as seen in the future, paved the way for Hitler's invasion of Czechoslovakia and Poland and therefore the sources agree about the non-intervention policy adopted!</p>



## Example candidate response – middle, continued

by the League was in fact ~~useless~~ ineffective. Both sources also point out the need for the League to act against the aggressor states feeling the need for their own national interests and that with Spain being a member nation, it is imperative that the League intervene. Evidence from the sources state 'those who bore the international policy on the systematic breaking of treaties and other international undertakings' (source A), whilst source B states 'sufficient reason for applying the covenant of the League' (source B). This implies, as the sources have stated, that in order for the League to be ineffective, the non-intervention policy must be disregarded and instead, collective measures such as the sanction and collective security under Article 16 of the Covenant must be applied. This strengthens the argument that the non-intervention policy of the League is ineffective as it also undermines its role as a peace keeping organisation.

However, the sources depict differences in their statements regarding the effectiveness of the non-intervention policy. Britain (source C), believes that the non-intervention policy is indeed effective as 'threat', as implied, would only create an upsurge that they were not prepared to take action upon.



## Example candidate response – middle, continued

evidence from the source states. 'Non-intervention  
 was a better policy than threats' (Source C)  
 whilst evidence from Source A states 'The  
 worst thing that could happen to the League,  
 would be to contribute, by its own  
 silence and inaction to the spread of the  
 war'. Both these statements oppose each  
 other's view on Britain (Source C), acting  
 on its interests to not oppose Italy,  
 a possible ally against Germany, and not  
 further aggrivate Germany, would fuel the  
 non-intervention policy effective as it  
 serves their national interest. However,  
 Spanish foreign secretary (Source A) disregards  
 this claim as unjust the non-intervention  
 is ineffective as it will lead to the  
 outbreak of dispute and conflict.

Source A is reliable as it was written at the time of  
 the incident and by the Spanish foreign  
 secretary addressing the League. This  
 therefore gives a first hand account  
 of the situation on the ground. Source  
 C is reliable as it explains the opposing  
 news in Britain in regards to the  
 policy and due to the fact it was  
 written in 1937, it gives the basis of  
 the British. Both sources are useful in  
 their views in explaining if the non-intervention  
 policy is effective or not. However, ~~Source~~  
~~A is based~~ Source C (Mr. Eden) is biased  
 in his claim that the Italians are not

## Example candidate response – middle, continued

sending in troops whilst source C clearly states the involvement of the Fascist troops.

In conclusion, both sources to a large extent agree that the non-intervention policy is in fact ineffective.

- (b) The League of Nations was established on the basis of the Covenant signed by member nations with which it was to uphold to ensure its aims such as preserving peace were upheld. To a significant extent, the League of Nations failed to honour its Covenant commitments, as sources A to C strongly support this view.

The non-intervention policy, as stated in source C, only served British national interests. This justly undermines the League as its effectiveness to deal with conflict will be weakened by a great nation interest which has proved time and time again as was seen in Abyssinia, to inevitably lead to the failure of the League. As stated in source B, 'the non-intervention policy was not in conflict with the Covenant' however, the invasion of the Fascists into Spain 'was in conflict with the Covenant' in regards to non-intervention. As source C states 'the presence of Italian troops in Spain was sufficient reason for applying the Covenant of the League of Nations' implies that in the Covenant



## Example candidate response – middle, continued

stated in the event of aggression, collective security should be in effect. The League's policy adoption of Non-intervention therefore ensured its failure to honour its covenant commitment especially due to the fact, as source A states, 'Madrid, the capital of a member of the League of Nations', is entitled to the protection and promise the League's covenant offers its members in circumstances of aggression against a member state.

The sources also support the view that in adopting a policy of non-intervention in the Spanish civil war, the League of Nations failed due to the fact the sources imply that, with the adoption of this policy, war and the influx of aggression states is inevitable. As source C states, with agreement to source A, 'similar actions might take place in the future in Czechoslovakia and elsewhere'. As the source has stated, the aggression of Germany in acquiring Czechoslovakia and Poland in the latter years clearly implies that only if the League acted against the non-intervention policy, would the League have kept its covenant as protecting and preserving peace as the failure to effectively honour its commitment, led to the second world war.



## Example candidate response – middle, continued

However, the statement in reply by Mr. Eden, Foreign Secretary (source C), shows a differing opinion of the British in regards to the non-intervention policy. Whilst the League delegates argue that the ~~policy~~ League should intervene by holding to its covenant, the foreign secretary states, 'Non-intervention was better than a policy of threats'. This implies that the League did not in fact fail to honour its commitment but instead succeeded in the policy of non-intervention created more peace than instability as it says 'Without the non-intervention agreement, many Italians and Germans would undoubtedly have been going to Spain'. However, in comparison with the article (source B), it clearly states that 'non-intervention was in conflict with the Covenant'. The League therefore failed to honour its commitments to the covenant due to the interests of Britain, possibly in referring Italy as an ally against Germany and all the while, appearing Germany to build up armaments in ready for an inevitable war.

In conclusion, as source A states, 'The worst thing that could happen to the League of Nations would be to contribute, by its own silence and inaction to the spread of the war'. This goes to show, with reference to both source C and

Example candidate response – middle, continued

B that the League failed to honour its  
Covenant commitments, blatantly said  
by Britain (source c).

Examiner comment – middle

**Part a**

This answer shows both strengths and weaknesses, which place it in the middle of the mark scheme. The first part of the answer is confused about which part of Source C is relevant to the question. Although the question asks about the views of Foreign Secretaries, the candidate uses material from the TUC minutes which is not valid for this question. Therefore, the first part of the response, which deals with similarities, is not credited with any marks. However, the second part of the answer identifies differences and successfully explains material expressing the view of Eden. This means the answer is given a mark at the top of Level 2. To improve, the answer needed to look more closely at the sources.

**Mark awarded for part a = 6 out of 15**

**Part b**

The candidate takes a clear and structured approach to the question and shows understanding of the sources and the assertion. The candidate uses the first part of the answer to deal with the sources supporting the assertion and explains these links clearly. The response then moves on to consider where the sources challenge the assertion and explains this well. As a result, the answer is given a mark at the top of Level 3 for analysis and links to the question. To improve, the answer needed to evaluate the sources in terms of their nature, origin and purpose, and then use this evaluation to support or challenge the assertion further.

**Mark awarded for part b = 14 out of 25**

**Total marks awarded = 20 out of 40**

## Example candidate response – low

a) The foreign secretaries of Spain (Source A) and Britain (Source C) have similar views on the policy of non-intervention that the League adopted during the Spanish Civil War.

Firstly, both Source A and C agree that considering the fact that the League of Nations goes by a covenant and therefore has obligations such as to make all attempts to secure prospects for peace. The policy of non-intervention is shouldn't be adapted by the League - Source A emphasizes that the Spanish Civil War is 'an international war' not a 'civil a civil war' therefore the League should have intervened, the source goes on to stress that 'Madrid, capital of a member of the League', 'has been reduced to ruins'. This conveys that the League's policy of non-intervention did not benefit the League nor its members in any way, and for the very reason that the League is a member it was the League's responsibility to get involved in the Spanish Civil War. Source C supports this view in a way as it mentions that the moment Italian troops invaded Spain the League 'was sufficient reason for applying the covenant'. This conveys that for any other reason the League might have had to decide to adopt the non-intervention policy, the sole reason that they should have reconsidered this is that according to their covenant, it was their responsibility to intervene and handle the matter.

Source A and Source B both agree with the view that the League's reluctance/hesitation to make up their mind on whether to intervene a



## Example candidate response – low, continued

war only made matters worse in Spain. Source A states that 'The worst thing the League would be to contribute - silence and inaction, to spread the war'. This statement implies that the League's indecisiveness heightened the situation in Spain, as when 'statesmen talk of preserving peace', 'women and children have been butchered'. Source A to an extent blames the League for the war. It uses emotive language to instigate a sense of empathy and regret from the Assembly, the connotations of the adjective 'butchered' outline how brutal and cruel the war was to say of make the League feel guilt for non-intervention.

Source C shares the view of source A that non-intervention made things worse in Spain. Source C states 'The considerable delay - watched to the prejudice of the government'.

However, source C and A have contrasting views. Source C is of the opinion that the League's non-intervention policy was effective as it prevented the Spanish Civil War from becoming an even bigger scandal. Source C states that 'Without the non-intervention - Italians and Germans - would have - going to Spain'. This shows the justification of the League's non-intervention policy. However the source is questionable as Britain may have been attempting to sugar coat the League's failure in preserving peace. This contrasts with source A as source A ~~states~~ implies that the League was wrong in choosing to adopt the non-intervention policy as it only 'spread-war'. It emphasizes that

## Example candidate response – low, continued

The League should have supported Spain as intererred as their non-intervention led to its people being 'butchered'. In conclusion, both sources agree that it was the League's responsibility to interere, however source C states that it was for its own good while source A strongly takes the stand that they should have intererred.

- 6) In adopting a policy of non-intervention in the Spanish civil war, the League of Nations failed to honour its covenant commitments. To an <sup>great</sup> extent I agree with this view as the covenant of the League states that in the event of a violation of another country member nations should condemn its actions, however when Italy had troops in Spain the League did nothing at all which ~~cont~~ violates the policy of collective security. One of the League's primary aims is to ensure peace, therefore in the Spanish civil war it was naturally expected that the League would interere for the sake of ensuring peace. The fact that Spain was a member of the League, yet the League did not interere was a clear breach of commitment to its members, by non-intervening in this Spanish civil war, the League was giving off a message that it could no longer make attempts to secure prospects for future peace. By this very action it showed that the League was failing in its very solid purpose which was to ensure peace and avoid war. The fact that the League made no actions, such as military sanctions or economic



## Example candidate response – low, continued

Sactions or to the very least moral disapproval, was evidence of the league's weakness in its structure and organisation, the fact that they publicly admitted to adopting the policy of non-intervention would only give aggressor nations such as Germany, and Japan a reason to defy the league with the knowledge that the league was not even willing to support its own member state in a war such as this.

Secondly, the primary reason that Spain appealed to the League of Nations for help, yet the league still persisted with the policy of non-intervention was a clear failure to honor its covenant commitments. However to a certain extent the league could not have been blamed for deciding to adopt the policy of non-intervention, as source B illustrates that the covenant of the league did not state that ~~the league~~ the league should intervene in the events of a civil war, therefore is 'not in conflict with the covenant'. However this ignored the fact that Spain actually appealed to the league for assistance, therefore it was a failure on the part of the league.

However, the league did not entirely fail to honor its covenant commitments as source B suggests that when the league demanded evidence in order to help the ~~league~~ Spain, no evidence was presented therefore the league cannot entirely be blamed for adopting the policy of non-intervention.



## Example candidate response – low, continued

To conclude, as Spain was a member of the league 'the league of nations has no right to declare itself passive', yet the league still persisted with this policy even though they were breaking their commitments as stated in its covenant therefore this was a failure on the league's part to decide to adopt the policy of 'non-intervention' at a crucial time of war - as Madrid's 'women and children' were being 'butchered in hundreds'.

## Examiner comment – low

**Part a**

The response begins with an analysis of Source A which is accurate but does not focus on comparing or contrasting it with the other sources. This part of the answer refers to the wrong part of Source C (i.e. the TUC minutes) so does not offer a valid comparison with Source A. The response is awarded marks for the second part where it successfully identifies and explains differences between the content of the two sources. This places the answer at the top of Level 2. To improve, the answer needed to use the correct section of each source to identify and explain similarities.

**Mark awarded for part a = 7 out of 15**

**Part b**

Throughout this answer the candidate struggles to make clear links between the sources, the assertion given in the question and their own knowledge. The beginning of the answer discusses the issues surrounding the policy of intervention but contains little reference to the sources; this cannot be credited beyond Level 1 in the mark scheme. Later in the answer, Source B is judged as showing support of the assertion and so the mark is placed at Level 2. The candidate could have improved this answer by making clearer links between the sources and the assertion, and explaining which sources support and/or challenge.

**Mark awarded for part b = 8 out of 25**

**Total marks awarded = 15 out of 40**

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