



**2012 History**

**Higher – Paper 1**

**Finalised Marking Instructions**

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## Paper One: Generic Marking instructions

1 Each question is marked out of 20. *Where the candidate violates the rubric of the paper and answers two questions in one section, both responses should be marked and the better mark recorded.*

2 In Paper 1 candidates will be rewarded according to

a) **Knowledge and Understanding – 6 marks are allocated** for the relevant knowledge they use to address the question. Marks will be awarded for each accurate, full point they make; these points may be further developed, as in the following example, relating to the effectiveness of the Liberal Reforms:

**Old age pensions (0 marks for stating this) were given to all people over 70 (1 mark); married couples received 7/6 and single people 5s (a second mark for knowledge). This provision was not enough to live on, but old people were able to help pay their families if they lived with them (no further mark for knowledge, but an argument which would receive credit under the category Argument and Evaluation)**

b) **Argument/Evaluation – 10 marks are allocated** for the quality of thought revealed in their answers by the arguments and evaluation demonstrated. This should be taken as including the extent to which the candidate:

gives an answer which is relevant to the question and relates explicitly to the question's terms;  
argues a case;  
makes the various distinctions required by the question;  
responds to all the elements in the question, and to any isolated factor in particular;  
explains, analyses, debates and assesses rather than simply describes or narrates;  
answers with clarity and fluency and in language appropriate to historical writing at this level.

c) **Structure – 4 marks are allocated** for the appropriateness of the introduction and conclusion, according to the degree to which the response

establishes the context of the question, line of argument and the relevant factors to be considered in the introduction

responds to the question in the form of a balanced conclusion based on the evidence and arguments deployed

3 The following descriptions provide additional guidance on the marks awarded to essays displaying various characteristics. Many essays will exhibit some, but not all, of the features listed; others will be stronger in one area than another. **The characteristics should NOT be thought of as hurdles, all of which must be crossed before a boundary is reached. Marks should be awarded in the range where more of the characteristics are demonstrated; there is scope within the bands for argument and evaluation to reward greater or lesser achievement of the characteristics.** Markers should reward what the candidate has tried to argue rather than penalise what may have been omitted.

**KNOWLEDGE            Up to 6 marks can be awarded**

These are for substantive points and points further developed which are relevant and accurate.

**STRUCTURE            Up to 4 marks can be awarded**

- 0 marks            There is no identifiable attempt to establish context or relevant factor.  
There is no attempt to provide an answer in the terms of the question.
- 1 mark            There is some attempt to establish context or relevant factors.  
The conclusion may be implicit.
- 2 marks            The introduction establishes two of three from context, line of argument and relevant factors.  
The conclusion is a summary linked to the question.
- 3 marks            The introduction establishes the context, indicates relevant factors and outlines a line of argument.  
The conclusion is clearly based on the evidence presented, and is directly linked to the question.
- 4 marks            The introduction clearly sets the issue in its wider context, indicates relevant factors and demonstrates a solid line of argument.  
The conclusion is balanced, summarising the arguments and coming to an overall judgement directly related to the question.

**ARGUMENT            Up to 10 marks can be awarded**

- 0-1 marks            The style is narrative and descriptive  
There is little or no clear attempt to answer the question.
- 2-3 marks            The style is mainly narrative and descriptive.  
There are some brief attempts to answer the question.
- 4-5 marks            The style demonstrates some analysis, though there may still be some narrative.  
There is use of evidence to answer the question.
- 6-7 marks            The style is analytical, with the evidence used to develop and support a line of argument.  
The line of argument is focused directly on the question.
- 8-10 marks            The evidence is integrated into a sustained analysis.  
The argument is sustained and balanced, with some awareness of alternative interpretations and/or historical debate.

## **Paper One: Detailed Marking instructions**

### **Historical Study: British History**

#### **Church, State and Feudal Society**

Question 1: To what extent was the contribution of the Church to society in medieval Scotland and England confined to religion?

#### **Marking Instructions**

The candidate assesses the extent to which the contribution of the Church to society in medieval Scotland and England was confined to religion, using evidence and arguments such as:

##### **Religious Role**

- The medieval church offered the people the hope of salvation. The Church promised that in the afterlife things would improve, assuming that your soul was pure and free of sin. This offered a certain amount of social control but offered comfort and stability, providing answers to difficult questions
- Church services such as christenings, marriages and burials were an important part of everyday life. The Church also celebrated holy days
- Religion offered a certain amount of understanding about the world. The existence of God helped to explain not only how the world worked but in a society without the benefit of science, the unexplained could often be frightening
- The importance of saints, relics and pilgrimages not only reinforced the power of God, but pilgrimage especially provided a way of opening new horizons and helping expand medieval Europe and trade
- Monasteries provided hope for a greater salvation through a life of prayer and devotion.

##### **Social Role**

- The Church often provided alms to the poor, offering the only real poor relief available
- The Church provided basic education for lay people, notably sons and daughters of nobility. The Church, particularly the monasteries, helped develop architecture, art and music. Universities provided degrees in theology, medicine and arts
- Church hospitals provided free medical care, especially for lepers
- The Church provided a social centre for rural and urban life; games and music were common after Sunday services.

##### **Economic Role**

- Monasteries made significant contributions to the economic development of the 12<sup>th</sup> century
- They helped to cultivate many barren areas of England and Scotland
- Some monasteries helped to fund and maintain important trades, such as the wool trade in Scotland.

##### **Political Role**

- The Church legitimised monarchs
- The papacy was a European power, able to influence other monarchs through the threat of excommunication and interdict
- Monarchs required the help of the clerics to run the government, count taxes and write laws
- In England the church was part of the feudal structure, able to raise armies to defend their lands, as the Bishop of Durham did at the Battle of the Standard in 1138.

##### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 2: How successful were David I of Scotland and Henry II of England's attempts to increase royal authority?

### **Marking Instructions**

The candidate assesses how successful David I of Scotland and Henry II of England's attempts to increase royal authority were, using evidence and arguments such as:

#### **Development of royal authority**

- Henry II faced a kingdom in turmoil after the civil war
- Bands of mercenaries roamed through the countryside, until Henry dismissed them
- English Barons had seized land, castles and taxes that they were not entitled to
- Henry successfully reformed criminal and civil law in England, through the Assizes of Clarendon (1166) and Northampton (1176). However, his attempt to reform ecclesiastical law was less successful
- David I was faced with several rebellions, the first in 1130, only six years after his inauguration
- New Scottish barons were given the rights to hold their own courts within their fiefs. This was an obvious extension of the king's law, rather than reliance on the traditional Celtic courts led by Brechons, experts in the law. Eventually these Celtic courts died out and were replaced with sheriff courts
- The gradual acceptance of the king's law led the way to the decrease of importance of the Mormaers and the acceptance of central control.

#### **Development of the royal government**

- David created a small but loyal group that had specific roles to aid him in the running of his household and the kingdom. Sheriffs replaced thanes in the remote areas of the kingdom. They offered direct royal contact for those away from the traditional seat of power
- Henry ordered an investigation into his sheriffs in 1170. Many were dismissed and replaced with Henry's loyal followers.

#### **Development of the royal military forces**

- The new feudal forces brought to David by his introduction of feudalism offered a significant advantage when dealing with the Celtic Mormaers. Traditionally it was the Mormaers who controlled the summoning of the Common army of Scotland. Now David had an independent force loyal to him. However, this force often did not work well with the other elements of the Scottish forces, as seen at the disastrous Battle of the Standard
- Henry's introduction of scutage allowed him to get around the problem of 40 days' knight service. He successfully restored order in England by dismantling illegally built castles and removing the barons' private armies of Flemish knights.

#### **Development of the economy**

- David introduced numerous monasteries, which helped to develop the wool trade, eg Melrose Abbey, and cultivate barren land. David granted charters to over 15 towns. Trade was encouraged with Germany, Scandinavia and France. David introduced the first Scottish coins to help promote trade
- Henry II established the exchequer under Nigel of Ely to rein in sheriffs who failed to pay taxes and ensure scutage (shield tax) and other forms of aid and direct taxes were paid on time.

**Introduction of feudal landholding**

- During his time in England, David became an admirer of the feudal landholding system. He introduced a form of military feudalism into areas of Scotland, notably the southwest, Lothian and the northeast. Noble families were given grants of land. In return they offered David their support, both politically and militarily.

**Development of the Church**

- Started by David's mother Margaret, the introduction of the Roman Church at the expense of the Celtic one offered a significant boon to the development of royal authority. As the Church preached the divine grace of the king, it was hard to justify any rebellions against him
- Henry famously ran into trouble in his attempts to establish more authority over the church in his dispute with Thomas Becket.

**Any other relevant factors**

Question 3: How important was the growth of towns in causing the decline of feudal society?

### **Marking Instructions**

The candidate evaluates the extent to which the growth of towns led to the decline of feudal society, using evidence and arguments such as:

#### **The growth of towns**

- Townsmen had different rights than those living in the countryside
- Many had the rights to hold their own courts, and these were seen as free from feudal interference
- Towns could buy a charter, granting Burgh status, allowing them to freely trade with overseas merchants. Burgesses could buy and sell their holdings
- A villein who lived in the town for a year and a day would become a freeman
- The development led to creation of a sort of middle class gentry in the fifteenth century, the mediocre or middling sort.

#### **Other factors**

##### **Gradual decline in the old feudal manor economy**

- With markets for their goods fluctuating considerably, many nobles came to understand their weak economic position. For some it was better to let their peasants become tenants who rented their land than to continue as their feudal protector
- Without the need for a feudal lord and protector, there was little need for serfs or villeins. It was easier to hire laborers, and relying on fixed rates of income from rents or salaries became more common.

##### **Changing social attitudes**

- Peasants who could afford to purchase or rent extra land could propel themselves upwards on the social ladder
- The de la Poles family in Hull rose from traders to become royal bankers, and the Pastson family rose out of serfdom to become country gentry
- Social commentators like Peter Idley complained that it had become impossible to tell the difference from “knave and Knight”, because they dressed alike.

##### **Growth of trade/mercantilism**

- It has been argued that the feudal structure and serfdom hampered entrepreneurial merchants in England and Scotland. Many found the freedom of burgh life allowed them to develop trade without the burden of labour services or restrictions in movement
- Others discovered that sheep were a far more profitable resource than peasants could ever be, leading to development of mercantile skills
- Development of an affluent merchant class.

##### **Black Death**

- The decline in the population meant that the survivors, particularly of the lower classes, could demand and often received better wages for their labour. Wage levels in England roughly doubled. Indeed, the shortage of laborers is often seen as causing the decline of serfdom in Western Europe
- Parliament in England attempted to halt this decline by passing the “Statute of Laborers” in 1351, but it wasn’t very effective and was mostly ignored
- Landowners for the first time needed to negotiate for their serfs’ services, leading to higher wages and better living conditions for those that survived
- The Black Death led to the old feudal relationship between lord and serf disappearing.

**Peasants' Revolt**

- In England, the attempts of the Statute of Laborers in 1351 to force peasants back into serfdom were widely and strongly resisted. The extent of the revolt and the impressive way in which it was organised shows that the old feudal consensus had broken down
- The Peasants' Revolt was a reaction to the attempts to force peasants to return to the old ideas of labour services.

**Any other relevant factors**

## **The Century of Revolutions 1603 – 1702**

Question 4: How effective was Charles I's rule in Scotland between 1625 and 1642?

### **Marking Instructions**

The candidate assesses the effectiveness of Charles I's rule in Scotland between 1625 and 1642, using evidence and arguments such as:

#### **Political policy**

- Charles I's policies which took power and land from Scottish nobles
- King did not visit Scotland until 1633 when he was crowned there
- Appointed bishops rather than nobles to Scottish Privy Council
- John Spottiswoode appointed Chancellor, first non-secular official in this position since Reformation
- Charles I gave increasing power to bishops, undermining status of Scottish nobility
- Stuart notion of Divine Right of Kings was brought to an end by Scots opposition to Charles I's attempts to impose his will on Scottish people.

#### **Religious policy**

- Charles I introduced William Laud, the Archbishop of Canterbury, to Scotland in 1633
- Laud proceeded to oversee Anglican practice in Scottish churches
- Many resented influence of Laud
- King approved of unification of churches without consulting Privy Council
- 1635 Book of Canons declared that monarch had authority over Church of Scotland and introduced new Service Book, a Scottish bishops' variation of English Prayer Book
- 23 July 1637 English Prayer Book was read at St Giles Cathedral by Dean, John Hanna, who subsequently had a stool thrown at him by a serving woman, Jenny Geddes
- In chaos that ensued, Bishop of Edinburgh was shouted down by crowd in support of Geddes
- Across Scotland people declared opposition to Service Book, placing Charles I's Privy Council in difficult position, caught between king and his rivals.

#### **The Covenanters**

- Covenanting movement challenged Charles I over religious policies and was active politically
- Covenanters wanted to preserve Presbyterianism in Scotland
- National Covenant was signed in 1638
- Covenant designed to promote a church free from monarchical meddling
- Charles I failed to suppress Covenanters, contributing to outbreak of War of the 3 Kingdoms
- During war, English Parliament's treaty of alliance with Scottish Covenanters – the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643 – was key feature of positive change in fortunes of king's enemies.

### **1<sup>st</sup> Bishops' War**

- 1<sup>st</sup> Bishops' War took place in 1639
- Charles I could not raise enough money to fight war effectively, was forced to agree to truce in June as part of Pacification of Berwick
- As well as conceding military failure, truce gave Scots religious freedoms
- Charles I's inability to put down Scots brought an end to his "Eleven Years' Tyranny" in England
- King recalled Parliament in 1640 to request revenue to continue war with Scotland
- Short Parliament lasted one month as king dissolved it rather than debate his role during Eleven Years as condition of Parliamentary granting of funds.

### **2<sup>nd</sup> Bishops' War**

- 2<sup>nd</sup> Bishops' War was continuation of first but ended in equal humiliation for Charles I in Treaty of Ripon of October 1640
- Treaty cost England price that Scottish Parliament had to pay for its forces
- Defeat by Scots forced king to recall Parliament, this time after being advised to do so by grouping of peers known as Magnum Concilium
- Long Parliament was to last longer than previous one, but still represented downturn in king's fortunes, as English Civil War shortly followed.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 5: How important were religious issues in causing the Revolution of 1688 to 1689?

### **Marking Instructions**

The candidate evaluates the importance of religious issues in causing the Revolution of 1688 to 1689, using evidence and arguments such as:

#### **Religious issues**

- Issue of church governance which arose before Civil War had not been resolved
- Many MPs fearful of continued Stuart dominance of Anglican Church policy
- James II promotion of Roman Catholics to key posts antagonised Presbyterians
- Heir to the throne to be raised as a Roman Catholic
- Divide between Episcopalians and Presbyterians in Scotland created hostility from Scottish Parliament towards monarchy.

#### **Other factors**

#### **Political issues**

- Divine Right and absolutism as practised by Stuart monarchs continued to provoke resentment from MPs
- Status of monarchy questioned by Parliament
- Charles II's dismissal of Parliament resembled Charles I's 11-Year Tyranny
- James II's use of Suspending and Dispensing Powers seen as an abuse by Parliament
- Questions raised over control of the army.

#### **Lines of authority Crown and Parliament**

- There were no clear lines of authority
- Questions existed over who held sway in religious matters; Parliament feared a monarch could try to impose Roman Catholicism on country
- Still possible for monarch to be financially independent of Parliament and manipulate succession in favour of Roman Catholic line
- Both Charles II and James II had proved it was possible for monarch to rule without Parliament, influence legislative and judicial procedure, control army for own means, and assert religious and political will on Scotland and Ireland
- Parliament saw need to agree constitutional status for monarchy.

### **The role of Parliament**

- Parliament resented James II's abuses of power but took comfort from thought that he would be succeeded by Protestant daughter Mary
- However, king married again and had son, to be raised as Roman Catholic
- June 1688, Parliament wrote to Mary, by now married to Dutch Prince William of Orange, offering Crown
- They arrived in November with army and on Christmas Day James II fled to France after younger daughter Anne as well as leading generals declared support for Mary
- William and Mary became joint sovereigns on February 13<sup>th</sup> 1689
- With no Bill of Rights, any future monarchs, including William and Mary, could preach notions of Divine Right, absolutism and passive obedience
- Future limitations on power of monarchy would have to be written into law
- In 1689 Parliament drew up Bill of Rights, which legalised new relationship between Crown and Parliament
- This would ensure no future king or queen could attempt absolutism
- Bill of Rights would be part of wider set of legal provisions for new order in country
- Settlement established that kings and queens should depend upon Parliament for finance, succession would be determined by Parliament and not sitting monarch, judicial system would be controlled by Parliament, and no future monarch could rule without Parliament.

### **James II**

- Ascended throne in 1685 upon death of older brother
- James II, who practised Roman Catholicism, attempted to rule absolutely
- Dismissed Parliament in 1685
- Replaced Anglican advisors with Roman Catholic ones; placed Roman Catholics in important posts at Oxford and Cambridge Universities
- Stationed 13,000-strong army outside London
- Re-established Prerogative Courts in 1686
- 1687, used Suspending Powers to suspend laws against Roman Catholics
- Used Dispensing Powers to dismiss these laws from statute books.

### **Legacy of Charles II**

- Charles II, who had been exiled in France during Interregnum, had accepted limitations on his power when monarchy was restored in 1660
- Prerogative law courts were abolished, non-parliamentary taxation was prohibited, and Triennial Act remained in place
- Loopholes, however, meant king could still make policy
- Puritans lost power in House of Commons
- Towards end of reign Charles II ruled without Parliament for 4 years
- Divine Right preached from pulpits.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 6: “Financial reform was the most significant change brought about by the Revolution Settlement.” How valid is this view?

### **Marking Instructions**

The candidate assesses the validity of the view that financial reform was the most significant change brought about by the Revolution Settlement, using evidence and arguments such as:

#### **Finance**

- In time of James I and Charles I, monarchy could exist financially independently of Parliament. This now impossible
- King and Queen were granted £700,000 for court expenses in 1689
- From then on Parliament voted to give Crown money annually as part of Civil List system
- Procedure of audit established for MPs to check expenditure of monarch
- Fiscal power now in hands of House of Commons
- However monarch would not have to make unpopular moves of raising taxes himself from now on.

#### **Religion**

- Before 1688, Crown dictated religious development of country
- After Settlement, hundreds of High Anglicans were expelled from their posts because they refused to recognise authority of William III
- Toleration Act of 1689 passed which provided for free public worship for all except Roman Catholics and Unitarians
- Roman Catholics still ineligible for elected posts in towns or Parliament
- Parliament now held more sway in religious matters
- However monarch still enjoyed political advantages of being head of church.

#### **Legal**

- Stuart monarchs had abused legal system and courts
- Legal settlement established Parliamentary control over these areas
- Later, Act of Settlement of 1701 stated judges could only be removed from their positions if Parliament demanded this
- From now on ministers impeached by House of Commons could not be pardoned by Crown
- 1695, Law of Treason altered to give defendants right to be given copy of indictment against them, right to be defended by Counsel and call witnesses in their defence
- An act of treason needed two witnesses against defendant instead of previous one
- Parliament now enforcing own control over judicial procedure
- However monarchs could still appoint judges who might be favourable to them.

#### **Political**

- In days before Civil War, Stuart monarchs had been able to rule without Parliament and curtail Parliamentary freedom of speech
- Revolution Settlement provided for another Triennial Act in 1694, which was intended to keep MPs more closely in touch with public opinion
- Licensing Act repealed in 1695, removing restrictions on freedom of press to report Parliamentary criticism of Crown
- William and Mary had to agree to Bill of Rights before they were given throne, legalising new relationship between Crown and Parliament
- This ensured no future king or queen could attempt absolutism
- Members of Parliament could now speak freely when voicing their opinion of monarch
- However, monarch could still dismiss Parliament at will.

### **The succession**

- Before Settlement, monarchs approved own successors
- Bill of Rights declared no Roman Catholic could become king or queen
- Later, Act of Settlement of 1701 stated if William and Mary had no heirs the throne would pass to Sophia of Hanover, Protestant daughter of Elizabeth of Bohemia, sister of Charles I
- Act said all future monarchs should be members of Church of England
- Parliament now governed question of who ascended throne.

### **Differences between England and Scotland**

- Settlement now allowed Scotland to have own church, Presbyterian Kirk
- Scottish Parliament had greater share in government of Scotland.

### **The status of the army**

- Charles I had been able to raise army in 1642
- Revolution Settlement meant Parliament gained partial control of army
- Monarch not given enough money to maintain standing army
- Mutiny Act of 1689 legalised army, this act had to be passed annually by Parliament, which forced king to summon Parliament in order to do so
- Implications for implementation of foreign policy
- Royal authority over military matters now passed to the House of Commons.

### **Loopholes**

- Although Revolution Settlement handed a lot of power from Crown to Parliament, loopholes in agreement meant monarch still held executive power and controlled foreign policy, declaring war and signing treaties
- Monarch still the source of patronage in army and navy
- Monarch still created peers, and could therefore control House of Lords
- Revolution Settlement, therefore, did not completely hand over power to Parliament
- It was a compromise which acted as a halfway-house between Crown and Parliament, and government business was negotiated and conducted between the two.

### **Any other relevant factors**

## **The Atlantic Slave Trade**

Question 7: To what extent was the slave trade the major factor in the development of the British economy in the eighteenth century?

### **Marking Instructions**

The candidate assesses the extent to which the slave trade was the major factor in the development of the British economy in the eighteenth century, using evidence and arguments such as:

#### **Evidence that the slave trade was important**

- Importance of the slave trade to the development of the economy: profits accruing from tropical crops: financial, commercial, legal and insurance institutions emerged to support the activities of the slave traders. Slave traders became bankers and many new businesses were financed by profits made from slave trading
- The slave trade played an important role in providing British industry with access to raw materials and this contributed to the increased production of manufactured goods
- Ports such as London, Bristol and Liverpool prospered as a direct result of involvement in the slave trade; other ports such as Glasgow profited from trade with the colonies. Thousands of jobs were created in Britain supplying goods and services to slave traders
- Liverpool became a major centre for shipbuilding largely as a result of the trade
- Manchester exported large percentage of cotton goods to Africa
- The slave trade was important to the economic prosperity and well-being of the colonies
- Investment from the slave trade went into the Welsh Slate Industry
- The slave trade was an important training ground for British seamen, providing experienced crews for the merchant marine and the Royal Navy
- Wealth generated by the slave trade meant that domestic taxes could be kept low
- Argument that the slave trade was the vital factor in Britain's industrialisation was put forward in Williams' Capitalism and Slavery thesis.

#### **Evidence that other factors were important**

- Changes in agriculture: these created an agricultural surplus which:
  - fed an expanding population
  - produced a labour force in the towns for use in factories
  - created a financial surplus for investment in industry and infrastructure.
- Technological innovation: development of water and steam power; new machinery; transport changes
- Mineral and energy resources, particularly iron and coal
- Political stability
- Much of the profits of slavery were dissipated in conspicuous consumption eg landed estates.

#### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 8: “The slave trade was too important to the British economy to allow it to be abolished.” How valid is this view?

### **Marking Instructions**

The candidate evaluates the validity of the view whether the slave trade was too important to the British economy to allow it to be abolished, using evidence and arguments such as:

#### **The importance of the slave trade to the British economy**

- It generated finance – West Indian colonies were an important source of valuable exports to European neighbours. Taxes would have to be raised to compensate for the loss of trade and revenue. Abolition would help foreign rivals such as France as other nations would fill the gap left by Britain
- British cotton mills depended on cheap slave produced cotton
- Africa provided an additional market for British manufactured goods
- Individuals, businesses and ports in Britain prospered on the back of the slave trade
- Shipbuilding benefited as did maritime employment.

#### **Other factors**

##### **Pressure exerted by vested interests**

- Successive British Governments were influenced by powerful vested interests such as MPs and merchants from London, Liverpool and Bristol
- Slave owners and their supporters argued that millions of pounds worth of property would be threatened by the abolition of the slave trade. The slave trade was necessary to provide essential labour on the plantations. Abolition of the slave trade would ruin the colonies.

##### **The events of the French Revolution**

- These encouraged the belief among many MPs that the abolitionist cause was associated with revolutionary ideas eg Clarkson openly supported the French Revolution. Radicals used the same tactics as abolitionists to win public support – associations, petitions, cheap publications, public lectures, public meetings, pressure on Parliament. Some abolitionists were linked to radicals and therefore they had to be resisted because of fear that events in France may be repeated in Britain.

##### **Slave rebellion in Saint-Domingue**

- Abolition was associated with this symbol of brutal violence and in turn led to an exaggerated, general fear of slave revolts. Toussaint l’Ouverture was denounced. This was linked to fears of Jacobinism
- Slave violence played into the hands of the slave lobby, confirming their warnings of anarchy.
- Britain suffered humiliation when it attempted to take the rebel French Colony, beaten by disease and the ex-slave army.

##### **Propaganda against abolition**

- Supporters of slavery and the slave trade could try to claim that the enslaved on plantations were treated at least as well as the working classes in Britain.

##### **Fears over national security**

- Abolition could destroy an important source of experienced seamen it was argued thus there was a possibility that Britain would lose its advantage over its maritime rivals. On the other hand, the Triangular Trade was arguably a graveyard for British seamen.

##### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 9: How significant was the campaign organised by the Anti-Slavery Society in bringing about the abolition of the slave trade?

### **Marking Instructions**

The candidate evaluates the significance of the campaign organised by the Anti-Slavery Society in bringing about the abolition of the slave trade, using evidence and arguments such as:

#### **The campaign of the abolitionist movement**

- Thomas Clarkson obtained witnesses for the Parliamentary investigations of the slave trade which provided Wilberforce with convincing evidence for his speeches
- Books and pamphlets published eg eyewitness accounts from former slaves such as Olaudah Equiano
- Campaigns to boycott goods produced by slaves in the West Indies such as sugar and rum
- Petitions and subscription lists, public meetings and lecture tours involving those with experience of slave trade eg Olaudah Equiano, churches and theatres used for abolitionist propaganda, artifacts and illustrations eg Wedgwood pottery
- Lobbying of Parliament by abolitionists to extract promises from MPs that they would oppose the slave trade. Effective moderate political and religious leadership among the abolitionists influenced major figures such as Pitt and Fox; abolitionists gave evidence to Parliamentary Commissions.

#### **Other factors**

##### **The role of Wilberforce**

- Wilberforce put forward the arguments of the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade in Parliament for eighteen years
- Wilberforce's speeches in Parliament were graphic and appealing
- Wilberforce's Christian faith had led him to become interested in social reform and link the issues of factory reform in Britain and the need to abolish slavery and the slave trade within the British Empire
- Wilberforce was prepared to work with other abolitionists to achieve his aims, eg Thomas Clarkson.

##### **Effects of slave resistance**

- Successful slave rebellion in Saint-Domingue led to an exaggerated, general fear of slave revolts.

##### **Economic factors**

- Effects of wars with France – slave trade declined by two-thirds as it was seen as harming the national interest in time of war. The slave trade had become less important in economic terms – there was no longer a need for large numbers of slaves to be imported to the British colonies. There was a world over-supply of sugar and British merchants had difficulties re-exporting it.

##### **Military factors**

- Napoleon's efforts to restore slavery in the French islands meant that the abolitionist campaign would help to undermine Napoleon's plans for the Caribbean. The Act banning any slave trade between British merchants and foreign colonies in 1806 was intended to attack French interests.

**The Religious Revival**

- Role of the Quakers and other non-conformists
- Role of people like John Newton: ex slave ship captain and now clergyman
- Religious arguments against slavery.

**Any other relevant factors**

## **Britain 1851 - 1951**

Question 10: "Britain was still far from being a democratic country by 1928." How valid is this view?

### **Marking Instructions**

The candidate assesses the validity of the view that Britain was still far from being a democratic country by 1928, using evidence and arguments such as:

#### **The vote**

- In 1867 most skilled working class men in towns got the vote
- In 1884 many more men in the countryside were given the vote
- In 1918 most men over 21 and some women over 30 gained the vote
- Finally in 1928 all men and women over 21 were given the vote.

#### **Fairness**

- Secret Ballot 1872 freed voters from intimidation
- Corrupt and Illegal Practices Act 1883 limited the amount spent campaigning
- Re-distribution of seats in 1867, 1885 and 1918 all helped created a fairer system of voting
- The effectiveness of these varied; they were less effective in areas where the electorate was small, or where a landowner or employer was dominant in an area, eg Norwich.

#### **Choice**

- Although the working class electorate increased by 1880s there was no national party to express their interests. The Liberals and Conservatives promoted middle, even upper class capitalist values. The spread of socialist ideas and trade unionism led to the creation of the prototype Labour Party – the LRC – by 1900 thereby offering a wider choice to the electorate.

#### **Access to information**

- Education – in the later 19<sup>th</sup> Century there was a great increase in literacy and hence access to information on which to base choice. Also railways spread information nationally and were important to the growth of democracy.

#### **National Party Organisation**

- As the size of the electorate grew individual political parties had to make sure their 'message' got across to electorate eg development of National Liberal Federation, Conservative Central Office, Primrose League.

#### **Power of Lords**

- From 1911 Lords could only delay bills from the House of Commons for two years rather than veto them. They had no control over money bills.

**Widening opportunity to become MP**

- The property qualification to be MP was abolished 1858. Payment for MPs began in 1911 enabling working class men to sit
- By 1928 Parliament was much more fully representative of the British people.

**Points still to be resolved included**

- Undemocratic anomalies – plural votes and the university constituencies – were not abolished until 1948
- In 1949 the two year delaying power of the House of Lords was reduced to only one year, but the power of House of Lords in law making still continues
- Voting system still first past the post in UK.

**Any other relevant factors**

Question 11: To what extent did the Liberal reforms of 1906 to 1914 make a significant improvement to the lives of the British people?

### **Marking Instructions**

The candidate assesses the extent to which the Liberal reforms of 1906 to 1914 made a significant improvement to the lives of the British people, using evidence and arguments such as:

#### **The young**

- Children were thought to be the victims of poverty and unable to escape through their own efforts. In this way they were seen as 'the deserving poor'. Child neglect and abuse were seen as problems associated with poverty
- The Provision of School Meals Act allowed local authorities to raise money to pay for school meals but the law did not force local authorities to provide school meals
- Medical inspections after 1907 for children were made compulsory but no treatment of illnesses or infections found was provided until 1911
- The Children's Charter of 1908 banned children under 16 from smoking, drinking alcohol, or begging. New juvenile courts were set up for children accused of committing crimes, as were borstals for children convicted of breaking the law. Probation officers were employed to help former offenders in an attempt to avoid re-offending
- The time taken to enforce all the legislation meant the Children's Charter only helped improve conditions for some children during the period.

#### **The old**

- Rowntree had identified old age as the time when most people dropped below his poverty line. Old age was inescapable so was clearly associated with the problem of poverty
- Old Age Pensions Act (1908) gave people over 70 up to 5 shillings a week. Once a person over 70 had income above 12 shillings a week, their entitlement to a pension stopped. Married couples were given 7 shillings and 6 pence
- The level of benefits was low. Few of the elderly poor would live till their 70th birthday. Many of the old were excluded from claiming pensions because they failed to meet the qualification rules.

#### **The sick**

- Illness can be seen as both a cause and consequence of poverty
- The National Insurance Scheme of 1911 applied to workers earning less than £160 a year. Each insured worker got 9 pence in benefits from an outlay of 4 pence – 'ninepence for fourpence'
- Only the insured worker got free medical treatment from a doctor. Other family members did not benefit from the scheme. The weekly contribution was in effect a wage cut which might simply have made poverty worse in many families.

#### **The unemployed**

- Unemployment was certainly a cause of poverty
- The National Insurance Act (Part 2) only covered unemployment for some workers in some industries and like (Part 1) of the Act, required contributions from workers, employers and the government. For most workers, no unemployment insurance scheme existed.

**Other reforms which could be argued helped address problems associated with poverty**

- In 1906 a Workman's Compensation Act covered a further six million workers who could now claim compensation for injuries and diseases which were the result of working conditions
- In 1909, the Trade Boards Act tried to protect workers in the sweated trades like tailoring and lace making by setting up trade boards to fix minimum wages
- The Mines Act and the Shop Act improved conditions.

**Any other relevant factors**

Question 12: “The Labour Government of 1945 to 1951 met the needs of the people ‘from the cradle to the grave.’ How valid is this view?”

### **Marking Instructions**

The candidate assesses the validity of the statement that the Labour Government of 1945 to 1951 met the needs of the people ‘from the cradle to the grave’, using evidence and arguments such as:

Beveridge Report in 1942 identified 5 giants of poverty: Want, Disease, Ignorance, Squalor and Idleness.

#### **Want**

- 1946 the first step was made: the National Insurance Act: consisted of comprehensive insurance sickness and unemployment benefits and cover for most eventualities
- It was said to support people from the ‘cradle to the grave’ which was significant as it meant people had protection against falling into poverty throughout their lives.
- This was very effective as it meant that if the breadwinner of the family was injured then the family was less likely to fall further into the poverty trap, as was common before. However, this act can be criticised for its failure to go far enough
- Benefits were only granted to those who made 156 weekly contributions
- In 1948 the National Assistance Board was set up in order to cover those for whom insurance did not do enough
- This was important as it acted as a safety net to protect these people
- This was vital as the problem of people not being aided by the insurance benefits was becoming a severe issue as time passed. Yet, some criticised this as many citizens still remained below subsistence level showing the problem of want had not completely been addressed
- Family Allowance Act.

#### **Disease:**

- Est. of the NHS in 1948 dealt effectively with the spread of disease
- The NHS was the first comprehensive universal system of health in Britain
- Offered vaccination and immunisation against disease, almost totally eradicating some of Britain’s most deadly illnesses
- It also offered helpful services to Britain’s public, such as childcare, the introduction of prescriptions, health visiting and provision for the elderly, providing a safety net across the whole country: the fact that the public did not have to pay for their health meant that everyone, regardless of their financial situation, was entitled to equal opportunities of health care they had previously not experienced
- NHS could be regarded as almost too successful. The demand from the public was overwhelming, as the estimated amount of patients treated by them almost doubled
- Introduction of charges for prescriptions, etc.

#### **Ignorance**

- Reform started by the wartime government: The 1944 Education Act raised the age at which people could leave school to 15 as part of a drive to create more skilled workers which Britain lacked at the time. Introduction of school milk, etc
- Labour introduced a two-tiered secondary schooling whereby pupils were split at the age of 11 (12 in Scotland) depending on their ability. The smarter pupils who passed the “11+ exam” went to grammar and the rest to secondary moderns
- Those who went to grammar schools were expected to stay on past the age of 15 and this created a group of people who would take senior jobs in the country thus solving the skills shortages. Whilst this separation of ability in theory meant that children of even poor background could get equal opportunities in life, in practice the system actually created a bigger division between the poor and the rich
- Labour expanded university education: introduction of grants so all could attend in theory.

## **Squalor**

- After the war there was a great shortage of housing as the war had destroyed and damaged thousands of homes; and the slum cleaning programmes of the 1930s had done little to rectify the situation which was leading to a number of other problems for the government
- Labour's target for housing was to build 200,000 new homes a year. 157,000 pre-fabricated homes were built to a good standard, however this number would not suffice and the target was never met
- Bevan encouraged the building of council houses rather than privately funded construction
- The New Towns Act of 1946, aimed to target overcrowding in the increasingly built up older cities. By 1950, the government had designed 12 new communities
- In an attempt to eradicate slums the Town and Country Planning Act provided local communities more power in regards to building developments and new housing
- By the time Labour left government office in 1951 there was still a huge shortfall in British housing.

## **Idleness**

- Unemployment was basically non-existent so the government had little to do to tackle idleness
- The few changes they did make were effective in increasing the likelihood of being able to find work, because they increased direct government funding for the universities which led to a 60% increase in student numbers between 1945-46 and 1950-51 which helped to meet the manpower requirements of post-war society. This provided more skilled workers and allowed people from less advantaged backgrounds to pursue a higher education, aiming to keep unemployment rates down
- Labour government also nationalised 20 percent of industry – the railways, mines, gas and electricity. This therefore meant that the government were directly involved with people employed in these huge industries which were increasing in size dramatically
- This tackled idleness by the government having control which meant that employees were less likely to lose their job through industries going bankrupt and people were working directly to benefit society
- Marshall Plan: financial aid from U.S.A.

## **Any other relevant factors**

## **Britain and Ireland 1900 – 1985**

Question 13: How far did World War One change political attitudes towards British rule in Ireland?

### **Marking Instructions**

The candidate assesses how far World War One changed political attitudes towards British rule in Ireland, using evidence and arguments such as:

#### **Irish attitudes to World War I**

- Initially war brought prosperity to Ireland - manufacturing and farming, low unemployment thus improving relations between GB and Ireland
- Propaganda – powerful Germany invading helpless and small Catholic Belgium so Ireland supported GB
- Ulster very supportive of Britain to ensure favourable treatment at the end of the war
- Nationalists and Redmond backed war to get Home Rule, urging Irish men to enlist
- Press gave support to the war effort
- Irish Volunteers gave support to help Home Rule be passed after the war
- Recruitment was successful in the south as almost ¼ million men join up.

#### **The Nationalist Movement**

- Opposition to war very much a minority in 1914 but supported by Sinn Fein and Arthur Griffith (not powerful at this time), as well as Pearse, Connolly and their supporters and also a section of the Irish Volunteers. This damaged relations with Britain.

#### **Easter Rising**

- Rebels saw war as chance to rid Ireland of British by force
- Felt it was opportunity to gain independence by force as Britain had their troops away fighting the Germans in World War I. This greatly strained relations between Britain and Ireland
- Britain had to use force to suppress rebellion, such as using the Gunboat, 'Helga' to sail up the River Liffey and fire on the rebels in the GPO, thus distracting GB's attention and resources away from War effort, thus straining relations
- Strong criticism of Rising initially from the public, politicians, churchmen, as well as press for unnecessary death and destruction. 450 dead, 2500 wounded, cost £2½ million, showing that majority still sided with GB therefore indicating that there was not too much damage to relations between the two countries
- Initial hostility by majority of Irish people to Rising by small group of rebels, majority of people supported Redmond and the Nationalists Party
- Strong hostility and criticism by Dubliners to rebels for destruction of city centre.

#### **Changing attitudes towards British rule after 1916**

- The secret court martial, execution of leaders over 10 days as well as imprisonment without trial and at least one execution without a trial saw the rebels gain a lot of sympathy from the Irish public, turning them against British rule
- These political developments meant a growth of sympathy and compassion for rebels who were seen as martyrs and replaced the initial condemnation of the Rising
- Sinn Fein initially blamed for the Rising saw a subsequent rise in support for them
- Catholic Church and business community became more sympathetic to the cause of independence.

### **Anti Conscription Campaign**

- Irish opposed conscription and pushed people in protest to Sinn Fein who openly opposed it
- Caused the Nationalists to withdraw from Westminster
- Sinn Fein and Nationalists organised campaign eg general strike April 23<sup>rd</sup>
- Catholic Church, Mayor of Dublin drew up the National Pledge opposing conscription
- Conscription was not extended to Ireland which Sinn Fein was given credit for
- Conscription campaign drove Sinn Fein underground which improved their organisation.

### **Decline of Nationalist Party**

- Irish Convention failed to reach agreement, which weakened position of Nationalists
- Led to feeling British could not be trusted and Nationalists could not deliver
- Three by-election wins for Sinn Fein gave impression they spoke for people not Nationalists which increased tension between Ireland and Britain politically
- March 1918 Redmond died which accelerated the decline of the Nationalists. Sinn Fein gained influence and popularity as a result
- Many moved from the Nationalist Party as they felt Sinn Fein was doing more for Ireland.

### **Rise of Sinn Fein**

- Release of rebel prisoners from Frongoch meant Sinn Fein's struggle against British Rule in Ireland gained momentum
- Michael Collins was building up IRB and Irish Volunteers when in prison
- Collins ready to encourage anti-British activity in Ireland on release
- Collins and De Valera improved Sinn Fein's leadership
- Opposition to Britain due to martial law, house searches, raids, control of press, arrest of "suspects" without trial, and vigorous implementation of the Defence of the Realm Act
- Hunger striker Thomas Ashe died in 1917. His funeral became a propaganda tool for Sinn Fein.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 14: How important were economic issues in contributing to the developing crisis in Northern Ireland up to 1968?

### **Marking instructions**

The candidate evaluates the contribution of economic issues to the developing crisis in Northern Ireland up to 1968, using evidence and arguments such as:

#### **Economic issues**

- Northern Ireland was left relatively prosperous by World War Two, with the boom continuing into the 1950s. But by the 1960s, as elsewhere in Britain, these industries were in decline, eg Harland and Wolff profitable 'til early '60s, but government help in 1966. Largely Protestant workforce protected as a result
- Catholic areas received less government investment than their Protestant neighbours. Catholics were more likely to be unemployed or in low-paid jobs than Protestants in Northern Ireland. Catholic applicants also routinely excluded from public service appointments
- The incomes of mainly Protestant landowners were supported by the British system of 'deficiency payments' which gave Northern Ireland farmers an advantage over farmers from the Irish Republic
- Brookeborough's failure to address the worsening economic situation saw him forced to resign as Prime Minister. His successor, Terence O'Neill set out to reform the economy. His social and economic policies saw growing discontent and divisions within his unionist party.

#### **Other factors**

##### **The Unionist Ascendancy in Northern Ireland and challenges to it**

- Population of Northern Ireland divided: two-thirds Protestant and one-third Catholic: it was the minority who were discriminated against in employment and housing
- In 1963, the Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, Viscount Brookeborough, stepped down after 20 years in office. His long tenure was a product of the Ulster Unionist domination of politics in Northern Ireland since partition in 1921
- Unionist ascendancy: Before 1969 elections not held on a "one person, one vote" basis: gerrymandering used to secure Unionist majorities on local councils. Local govt electoral boundaries favoured Unionist candidates, even in mainly Catholic areas like Derry/Londonderry. Also, right to vote in local elections restricted to ratepayers, favouring Protestants, with those holding or renting properties in more than one ward receiving more than one vote, up to a maximum of six. This bias preserved by unequal allocation of council houses to Protestant families
- Challenges as Prime Minister O'Neill expressed desire to improve community relations in Northern Ireland and create a better relationship with the government in Dublin, hoping that this would address the sense of alienation felt by Catholics towards the political system in Northern Ireland
- Post-war Britain's Labour government introduced the welfare state to Northern Ireland, and it was implemented with few concessions to traditional sectarian divisions. Catholic children in the 1950s and 1960s shared in the benefits of further and higher education for the first time. This exposed them to a world of new ideas and created a generation unwilling to tolerate the status quo
- Many Catholics impatient with pace of reform and remained unconvinced of Prime Minister O'Neill's sincerity. Founding of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA) in 1967. NICRA did not challenge partition, though membership mainly Catholic. Instead, it called for the end to seven 'injustices', ranging from council house allocations to the 'weighted' voting system.

### **Role of the IRA**

- Rioting and disorder in 1966 was followed by the murders of two Catholics and a Protestant by a 'loyalist' terror group called the Ulster Volunteer Force, who were immediately banned by O'Neill
- Peaceful civil rights marches descended into violence in October 1968 when marchers in Derry defied the Royal Ulster Constabulary and were dispersed with heavy-handed tactics. The RUC response only served to inflame further the Catholic community and foster the establishment of the Provisional IRA by 1970 as the IRA split into Official and Provisional factions
- The Provisional IRA's strategy was to use force to cause the collapse of the Northern Ireland administration and to inflict casualties on the British forces such that the British government would be forced by public opinion to withdraw from Ireland
- PIRA were seen to defend Catholic areas from Loyalist attacks in the summer of 1970.

### **Cultural and political differences**

- The Catholic minority politically marginalised since the 1920s, but retained its distinct identity through its own institutions such as the Catholic Church, separate Catholic schools, and various cultural associations, as well as the hostility of the Protestant majority
- Catholic political representatives in parliament refused to recognise partition and this only increased the community's sense of alienation and difference from the Unionist majority in Northern Ireland
- Nationalists on average 10-12 in NI Parliament compared to average 40 Unionists. In Westminster 10-12 Unionists to 2 Nationalists
- As the Republic's constitution laid claim to the whole island of Ireland, O'Neill's meeting with his Dublin counterpart, Seán Lemass, in 1965, provoked attacks from within Unionism, eg the Rev. Ian Paisley
- Violence erupted between the two communities, in 1966 following the twin 50th anniversaries of the Battle of the Somme and the Easter Rising. Both events were key cultural touchstones for the Protestant and Catholic communities.

### **The issue of Civil Rights**

- From the autumn of 1968 onwards, a wide range of activists marched behind the civil rights banner, adopting civil disobedience in an attempt to secure their goals. Housing activists, socialists, Nationalists, Unionists, Republicans, students, trade unionists and political representatives came together across Northern Ireland to demand civil rights for Catholics in Northern Ireland
- The demand for basic civil rights from the Northern Ireland govt was an effort to move the traditional fault-lines away from the familiar Catholic-Protestant, Nationalist-Unionist divides by demanding basic rights for all citizens of Britain
- Civil rights encouraged by television coverage of civil rights protest in USA and student protests in Europe. Also by widening TV ownership: 1954, 10,000 licences, by 1962 there were 200,000 leading to increased Catholic awareness of the issues that affected them
- As the civil rights campaign gained momentum, so too did unionist opposition. Sectarian tension rose: was difficult to control, and civil disobedience descended into occasions of civil disorder.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 15: How important were the religious and communal differences between both communities in preventing peace in Ireland between 1968 and 1985?

### **Marking instructions**

The candidate evaluates the importance of religious and communal differences between both communities in preventing peace in Ireland between 1968 and 1985, using evidence and arguments such as:

### **Religious and communal differences**

- The Protestant majority in Northern Ireland belonged to churches that represented the full range of reformed Christianity, while the Catholic minority was united in its membership of a Church that dominated life in the Republic and much of Europe. These religious divisions made it very difficult for both communities to come together
- These divisions further enhanced by traditions embraced by both communities, such as the 'marching season', which became a flashpoint for sectarian violence. Also differences in sport, language
- Many Catholic political representatives refused to recognise partition and their views only heightened the Nationalist community's sense of alienation and fostered Unionist hostility towards the Catholic minority
- The speeches and actions of Unionist and Nationalist leaders such as Reverend Ian Paisley and Gerry Adams polarised views in the province, and emphasised the divisions between both communities.

### **Other factors**

#### **Economic differences**

- From 1973, the Common Agricultural Policy changed the decision making environment for food prices and farm economics, and employment in the farming sector continued to decline. Traditionally this sector had been dominated by the Unionist community
- Discrimination against Catholic applicants for employment declined steadily during this period as Catholics in the province began to enjoy the same civil rights enjoyed by the population of the rest of the UK.

#### **Hardening attitudes – the role of terrorism**

- Paramilitary groups began to operate on both sides of the sectarian divide, while civil rights marches became increasingly prone to confrontation
- In late 1969, the more militant 'Provisional' IRA (PIRA) broke away from the so-called 'Official' IRA. PIRA was prepared to pursue unification in defiance of Britain and would use violence to achieve its aims
- Unionist paramilitaries also organised. The UVF was joined by the Ulster Defence Association, created in 1971
- Examples of terrorist activity: by the end of 1972 sectarian violence had escalated to such an extent that nearly 500 lives were lost in a single year
- PIRA prisoners protest at loss of special status prisoners leading to hunger strikes  
Second hunger strike in 1981, led by Bobby Sands. Sands was put forward for a vacant Westminster seat and won. Sands and nine other hunger strikers died before the hunger strikes called off in October 1981
- Sinn Fein won the by-election following Sands' death in June 1983, these electoral successes raised the possibility that Sinn Fein could replace the more moderate SDLP as the political voice of the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland
- Indiscriminate terrorism meant Eire public opinion turned against PIRA
- In 1985 the violence of Northern Ireland's paramilitary groups still had more than a decade to run and the sectarian divide remained as wide as it had ever been.

### **British government policies – Internment**

- New Prime Minister Brian Faulkner reintroduced internment ie detention of suspects without trial, in 1971 in response to unrest. Policy a disaster, both in its failure to capture any significant members of the PIRA and in its sectarian focus on Nationalist rather than Loyalist suspects. The reaction was predictable, even if the ferocity of the violence wasn't. Deaths in the final months of 1971 over 150.

### **Direct Rule**

- A number of reforms had followed on from the Downing Street Declaration, ie on allocation of council housing, investigate the recent cycle of violence and review policing, such as the disbanding of the hated 'B Specials' auxiliaries
- The British government, now led by Prime Minister Edward Heath, decided to remove control of security from the government of Northern Ireland and appointing a secretary of state for the province leading to resignation of Stormont government. Direct rule imposed
- Despite attempts to introduce some sort of self-rule, such as the Sunningdale agreement of 1973, which failed in the face of implacable Unionist opposition and led to the reintroduction of direct rule. It would last for another 25 years.

### **The role of the British Army**

- The so-called 'Battle of Bogside' in 1969 only ended with the arrival of a small force of British troops at the request of Chichester Clark. An acknowledgement that the govt. of Northern Ireland had lost its grip on the province's security
- By 1971 policing the province was fast becoming an impossible task, and the British Army adopted increasingly aggressive policies on the ground
- On 30 January 1972, the army deployed the Parachute Regiment to suppress rioting at a civil rights march in Derry. Thirteen demonstrators were shot and killed by troops, with another victim dying later of wounds. Appalling images of 'Bloody Sunday'; led to increased recruitment by Provisional IRA
- The British Army's various attempts to control the PIRA, such as house-to-house searches and the imposition of a limited curfew, only served to drive more recruits into the ranks of the paramilitaries.

### **The role of the Irish government**

- Irish government's role in The Anglo-Irish Agreement, signed in November 1985, confirmed that Northern Ireland would remain independent of the Republic as long as that was the will of the majority in the north. Also gave the Republic a say in the running of the province for the first time
- The agreement also stated that power could not be devolved back to Northern Ireland unless it enshrined the principle of power sharing.

### **Any other relevant factors**

## **Historical Study: European and World**

### **The Crusades, 1071-1204**

Question 16: How important were religious factors in the decision of Europeans to go on crusade?

#### **Marking Instructions**

The candidate evaluates the importance of religious factors in the decision of Europeans to go on crusade, using evidence and arguments such as:

#### **Religious motives**

- It was generally believed that the Remission of Sins offered by Pope Urban was an attractive solution to the dilemma of knights. Salvation was a constant worry for those trained to kill. Urban successfully resolved the need to protect Christianity from the Muslim threat and the general desire to re-establish the pilgrimage routes to the Holy Lands
- The promise of remission of current sins was also a great relief to those knights worried about their eternal soul. Tancred's biographer wrote about both his worry over this dilemma and his relief at Urban's suggestion
- The appeal of the People's Crusade shows the power of the belief that they were doing good and helping God
- Of the leaders of the Princes' Crusade, Raymond of Toulouse, is often held up as an example of a knight riding to the defence of the Holy Lands. His decision to take Tripoli in 1100 casts a shadow over this interpretation of his motives
- In later Crusades many of the religious aspects of the Crusade are adopted and modified by the growing idea of chivalric codes.

#### **Other factors**

##### **The desire to acquire territory in the Holy Land**

- Many of the great magnates on this expedition had intentions to acquire new estates for themselves. The motives of many of the leaders of the Princes' Crusade have been put down to this
- Bohemond and Baldwin in particular showed little zeal in carrying on with the Crusade once they had acquired Antioch and Edessa respectively.

##### **Peer pressure**

- The pressure put on knights by their families to take the cross was at times severe. Noblemen's wives tended to be keenly aware of the politics at court and had a role in influencing the decisions of some
- Stephen of Blois had married Adela, daughter of William I of England. It would have been unthinkable for such a notable knight not to go on the Crusade.

##### **Seeking of fame and riches**

- Some knights did go seeking glory. The Crusade had provided the solution to the problem of knights and their need for salvation. Killing was only wrong if you killed Christians. Urban indicated that the killing of a Muslim was a just act, and the equivalent to prayer or penance
- Seeking of riches per se was uncommon; land was the real source of wealth and power.

**The sense of adventure**

- Going on crusade was exciting and engendered a sense of adventure
- Pilgrimages had always been seen as important, and the idea of this as an armed pilgrimage was very appealing. It offered a way out for many serfs from their lives in bondage, or perhaps a chance to see the Holy Land.

**Overpopulation and famine**

- Many were forced to leave because of the lack of available farmland in an already overcrowded Europe.
- Several famines have also been suggested as a possible motive. It was popularly believed that the Holy Land was a land of plenty.

**Any other relevant factors**

Question 17: "While Richard was a greater military leader, Saladin was a better diplomat."  
How valid is this view?

### **Marking Instructions**

The candidate assesses the validity of the view that while Richard was a greater military leader and Saladin was a better diplomat, using evidence and arguments such as:

### **Diplomatic strengths and weaknesses**

#### **Saladin's strengths as a diplomat**

- Despite being a Sunni Muslim in Shi'ite-dominated Egypt, he was successful in bringing much needed stability to the troubled court. His religious tolerance and fair judiciary earned him the respect of the Shi'ite citizens
- While ruler of Egypt Saladin was able to keep Nur-ed-Din at bay by evading the main contentious issue of religious conformity. When Nur-ed-din died in 1174, Saladin was able to step in and take over from his 10 year old son
- Saladin brought effective military leadership and central authority to Egypt and Syria for the first time
- In 1180 Saladin had successfully limited the attacks from Outremer by negotiating a peace treaty with Baldwin IV
- The capture of Jerusalem in 1187 made Saladin the hero of Islam. The eventual negotiated surrender saved much bloodshed.

#### **Richard's weaknesses as a diplomat**

- Many historians have pointed out that Richard, like his father Henry II, had something of a fiery temper. However it is questionable as to what extent this lost him the prize, Jerusalem. There is evidence that Richard was a poor diplomat; certainly at times he failed to understand the nature of his allies but he was perhaps better at understanding the nature of his enemy. His temper did result in the loss of potential allies. His treatment of Leopold of Austria, the leader of the much-reduced German contingent, resulted in an injury to the pride of Leopold and the loss of his German knights to the cause
- Richard's inability to share the spoils taken during this attack on Cyprus with Philip Augustus helped persuade the ill king of France that he was needed at home. The one thing Richard had wished to do was keep Philip with him on the Crusade; now he had to worry about French incursions into his Angevin Empire
- Against advice Richard backed Guy de Lusignan to become King of Jerusalem, against the popular Conrad of Montferrat, perhaps because he was the favourite of Philip. This continued support of Guy resulted in a compromise that no one liked. The assassination of Conrad was even whispered by some to be Richard's fault. The end result was the withdrawal of the support of Conrad's forces and those of the Duke of Burgundy's remaining French knights.

#### **Richard's strengths as a diplomat**

- Richard proved himself in the art of diplomacy during the Crusade, when he successfully negotiated with Al-Adill, Saladin's brother. The two instantly got on, and a bond was forged between them. Saladin was increasingly concerned when Richard knighted one of Al-Adill's sons and even offered his sister in marriage. Al-Adill's connection to Richard was enough of an incentive for Saladin to agree to a truce with Richard.

### **Saladin's diplomatic weaknesses**

- Not all of his supporters were happy with the peace treaty of 1180. Many felt that this contradicted the jihad and gave support to the Christian claim to Jerusalem
- Saladin was panicked into peace with Richard. Saladin was worried over the close relationship between Al-Adil and Richard. If he had held out it was probable that Richard would have had to return to England anyway without the peace treaty.

### **Military strengths and weaknesses**

#### **Richard's leadership**

- Richard had established himself as an able leader prior to the Crusade
- Richard was good at motivating troops, and his arrival at the siege of Acre galvanised the troops in a way that Philip had been unable to do. Even when confined to his bed due to illness he was still able to direct the operations.

#### **Richard's victories**

- While journeying to the Holy Lands Richard captured Cyprus
- Richard, despite being lured into a trap, won the Battle of Arsuf with an impressive charge of knights that routed Saladin's men. Saladin was defeated in battle and it helped raise morale; the great defeat of Hattin had been erased from the minds of the Crusaders
- Richard won the Battle of Jaffa against overwhelming odds. Saladin had failed to defeat Richard in battle, and he lost control of his men at Jaffa; they refused to obey his orders.

#### **Saladin's leadership**

- Saladin brought effective military leadership and central authority to Egypt and Syria for the first time.

#### **Saladin's victories**

- In 1168 while Caliph of Egypt he destroyed the combined Crusader/Byzantium invasion fleet/army at the port city of Damietta
- In 1170 he followed this up with an attack on Gaza, massacring the Christian inhabitants of the city
- Saladin's victory at the Battle of Hattin (1187) was all consuming. The military orders were devastated, King Guy had been captured, many of the nobles executed or taken into slavery. One by one the great forts and cities fell to Saladin's army
- The capture of Jerusalem in 1187 made Saladin the hero of Islam. The eventual negotiated surrender saved much bloodshed.

#### **Use of tactics**

- 1180 Saladin had successfully limited the attacks from Outremer by negotiating a peace treaty with Baldwin IV
- Saladin's tactics leading up to Hattin were masterly. He provoked Guy of Lusignan into an unnecessary sally to aid a castle that was not seriously threatened. He avoided a pitched battle till the Crusaders were debilitated by heat and thirst, then further disabled them by lighting fires.

#### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 18: How far had the crusading ideal declined by the Fourth Crusade in 1204?

### **Marking Instructions**

The candidate assesses how far the crusading ideal had declined by the Fourth Crusade in 1204, using evidence and arguments such as:

#### **The Fourth Crusade**

- The initial inspiration of the Fourth Crusade had a strong crusading ideology behind it. Pope Innocent III was a highly effective pope. He had managed to settle the problem of the investiture contest with Germany, and hoped to sort out the issue of the Holy Lands as well. Innocent believed that the inclusion of medieval monarchs had caused the previous two Crusades to fail, unlike the First Crusade that was nominally under the command of Bishop Adhemar. This Crusade would fall under the command of six papal legates. These men would hold true to the ideal of the Crusade and not be bound by earthly greed or politics
- However, the Fourth Crusade has also been described as the low point of the crusading ideal. Hijacked by the Venetians, the Crusade instead became a tool for their growing political and economic ambitions
- While attacking Zara, Alexius, son of the deposed emperor of Byzantium, arrived with a new proposal for the Crusaders. He asked them to reinstate his father, who had been imprisoned by his brother, and if they agreed they would be handsomely rewarded. He also promised to return control of the Byzantine Church to Rome. The church was against such an attack on another Christian city, but the prospect of wealth and fame led the Crusade to Constantinople
- When the Crusaders discovered that Alexius and his father could not, or would not, meet the payment as agreed, the Crusaders stormed the city. The murder, looting and rape continued for three days, after which the crusading army had a great thanksgiving ceremony
- The amount of booty taken from Constantinople was huge: gold, silver, works of art and holy relics were taken back to Europe, mostly to Venice. Most Crusaders returned home with their newly acquired wealth. Those that stayed dividing up the land amongst themselves, effectively creating several Latin Crusader States where Byzantium had once stood.

#### **Role of Venice**

- By 1123 the city of Venice had come to dominate maritime trade in the Middle East. They made several secret trade agreements with Egypt and North African emirs, as well as enjoying concessions and trade agreements within the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Byzantium however, remained a constant rival for this dominance of trade and in 1183 Venice was cut off from the lucrative trading centres of the empire
- Venice's participation in the Crusade was only secured when the Pope agreed to pay huge sums of money to Venice for the use of its ships, and supplies as well as half of everything captured during the Crusade on land and sea
- Venice's leader, the Doge Enrico Dandolo, had sold the Crusaders three times as much supplies and equipment as required for the Crusade. The crusading leader, Boniface of Montferrat, found that he was unable to raise enough money to pay, and the Crusaders were all but imprisoned on an island near Venice. Dandolo's proposal to pay off the Crusaders' debt involved attacking Zara, a Christian city that had once belonged to Venice but was now under the control of the King of Hungary, a Christian monarch. Thus the Crusade had become a tool of the Venetians
- The Fourth Crusade's intended target, Egypt, was totally unsuitable from a Venetian perspective. Thus when the Pope's representative approached the Venetians in 1201 they agreed to help transport the Crusaders, hoping to divert the Crusade to a less friendly target. The final target for the Fourth Crusade was therefore determined by politics and economics.

### **Coexistence of Muslim and Crusading states**

- Attempts at peace between Muslim and the Crusading states during the reign of Baldwin IV, before his death and the fall of Jerusalem
- Also other examples, such as the treaty of mutual protection signed between King Alric of Jerusalem and the Emir of Damascus prior to the Second Crusade.

### **The corruption of the crusading movement by the Church and nobles**

- Popes were willing to use crusades against Christians, such as the Albigensian Crusade against the Cathar heretics of Languedoc (Toulouse and southern France) in 1209-1229. The Cathars did not believe in the hierarchy of Rome, all you needed was to be able to read the Bible. This is only the first of many such Crusades in Europe, seen as diluting the crusading ideal, ie killing Muslims
- Examples of nobles using the Crusade for their own ends are all over the place, from Bohemond and Baldwin in the First Crusade, to arguably Richard in the Third. The Fourth Crusade is littered with examples.

### **Effects of trade**

- Trade links directly into the Fourth Crusade and the influence of Venice
- Pisa and Genoa both had a lot of influence in events during the Third Crusade, they both had favoured candidates for the vacant throne of Jerusalem for example and used trade rights as a bargaining chip to get what they wanted.

### **Any other relevant factors**

## **The American Revolution 1763 – 1787**

Question 19: How important was the rejection of the Olive Branch petition in the colonists' declaration of independence in 1776?

### **Marking Instructions**

The candidate evaluates the importance of the rejection of the Olive Branch petition in the colonists' declaration of independence in 1776, within a wide context of factors, using evidence and arguments such as:

#### **Rejection of Olive Branch Petition**

- George III rejected the colonists' last attempt at compromise
- 2<sup>nd</sup> Continental Congress had written appeal to king pledging its allegiance to crown and bitterness towards Parliament, yet appeal fell on deaf ears as George III declared colonists to be in rebellion
- Many colonists started to consider independence as only means of changing relationship with Britain
- However, petition was expression of loyalty to George III which masked many colonists' intentions to declare greater autonomy for themselves, regardless of king's reaction
- George III rejected the Olive Branch Petition, possibly as a consequence of increased colonist military activity, eg Lexington and Bunker Hill.

#### **Other factors**

##### **Disputes over taxation**

###### **Stamp Act**

- This first form of taxation on colonies, in 1765, was objected to by colonists because they were not represented in British Parliament which imposed these taxes
- "No taxation without representation" became familiar protest during this time
- Act stated that official stamp had to be bought to go on any printed matter, and colonists subsequently refused to pay for this
- Colonists stated that they already paid financial dues to British through Navigation Acts and other restrictions, and that they had their own militia and did not need to pay for the British Army to protect them
- However, British said taxation would contribute to costs of Seven Years War and also pay for continued presence of British Army in America to protect colonies.

###### **Townshend Duties**

- After Stamp Act was repealed in 1766, these Duties, which were on glass, tea, paper and lead, were imposed in 1767
- Colonists challenged right of Parliament to impose duties that seemed designed purely to raise revenue
- However, British insisted that duties be paid in order to maintain costs of acting as Mother Country to protect colonies.

### **Boston Massacre**

- Massacre occurred in 1770
- Although 5 working-class men died, including one black man, reports of 5 middle-class white men dying caused outrage amongst politically-minded colonists
- Committees of Correspondence meant that news of Massacre spread quickly around 13 colonies
- Acquittal of British soldiers led many colonists to fear for their personal liberty and believe that they would one day be enslaved by British
- However Massacre was an incident which animated people mainly in New England area, something which later caused George III to voice his belief that problems in America were “localised”.

### **Punishment of Massachusetts**

- Tax remained on tea from 1770 in order to maintain British right to tax colonists
- Boston Tea Party in December 1773 was expression of some colonists’ frustrations at British policy towards them
- The British response to the Boston Tea Party, in a series of acts starting in March 1774, known to colonists as Intolerable Acts – closing port of Boston, altering constitution of legislature of Massachusetts, billeting British troops in colonial homes, and suspending trial by jury in colony
- Other colonists acted in sympathy with Massachusetts and showed unity at First Continental Congress in September 1774
- However, British spoke of punishments as Coercive Acts, which were an attempt to get colonists to see that acts of hostility towards Britain would not be tolerated.

### **British intransigence**

- Britain retained an uncompromising attitude in face of continued colonist protest and pleas for compromise.

### **Influence of Thomas Paine**

- Republican pamphlet ‘Common Sense’ was published in January 1776 and sold 100,000 copies.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 20: How important was the colonists' advantage of fighting on home ground in their eventual victory in the American Revolution?

### **Marking Instructions**

The candidate evaluates the extent to which the colonists' advantage of fighting on home ground led to their eventual victory in the American Revolution, using evidence and arguments such as:

#### **Colonists' advantage of fighting on home ground**

- Land war fought on American soil: this gave the Continental Army an advantage, as the colonists' knowledge of the theatre of war meant they handled the terrain better than the British
- Local people burned their crops rather than let them fall into British hands, reducing potential supplies for the British.

#### **Other factors**

##### **George Washington**

- Washington was an inspirational leader, a self-made Virginian whose choice as Commander of the Continental Army gave heart to many
- Washington fought guerrilla warfare effectively. He taught his troops to fire accurately from distance in open battle. He had experience of the British Army during the Seven Years War
- Washington's speeches to troops offered them the incentive of independence if they won the war
- Washington benefited from luck on several occasions, such as when inefficiency led the British into traps or when the French arrived at Yorktown.

##### **French entry into the war**

- Franco-American Treaty of Alliance in February 1778 was a turning point in the war
- France contributed troops, ammunition, expertise and supplies to the colonists
- Strength of the French navy meant Britain had to spread its forces worldwide, thus reducing its effort in the colonies
- French intervention on the part of Admiral de Grasse preceded the final British surrender at Yorktown
- Entry of France into the war may have encouraged Spain and Holland to follow suit within the next two years
- However, the war had been taking place for over eighteen months by the time France entered. France's main contribution was at sea rather than on land.

##### **British military inefficiency**

- On several occasions British generals did not act appropriately to orders received. Orders from London were misinterpreted; eg Howe marching south to Brandywine instead of north into New England, thus isolating Burgoyne who subsequently surrendered his forces at Saratoga
- Petty jealousies obstructed co-operation amongst British military leaders
- Changes in personnel holding high office hindered progress
- However, in many instances the British were forced into bad decisions by the tactics of Washington's army
- Distance between Britain and the colonies caused a delay in communications between London and the generals, with orders from Britain often overtaken by events by the time they reached America.

### **British political mistakes**

- The government ignored pleas by those such as Chatham (Pitt the Elder) to reconcile with America
- Burke's attempts in the House of Commons to persuade the government to make peace were also dismissed
- George III and British ministers treated Americans as rebels and therefore ignored arguments for the colonies' rights to autonomy, self-legislation and self-taxation.
- George III and British ministers' dismissal of Olive Branch Petition in 1775 led colonists to believe the war must be won
- Inefficiencies at the Admiralty under Lord Sandwich's tenure as First Lord meant Royal Navy was ill-prepared for attacks on Britain by French and Spanish which diverted British efforts in America
- Lord North's attempts to conciliate the colonists later in the war were too little too late; the colonists were motivated by independence.

### **Control of the seas**

- Spanish and Dutch entry into the war – they stretched British resources even further and made the British less effective in the colonies.
- Armed League of Neutrality – Russian, Danish and Swedish willingness to fire on the Royal Navy placed extra pressure on Britain.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 21: “The American Constitution of 1787 was an answer to the problems highlighted by the experience of British rule.” How accurate is this view?

### **Marking Instructions**

The candidate assesses the accuracy of the statement that the American Constitution of 1787 was an answer to the problems highlighted by the experience of British rule, using evidence and arguments such as:

#### **The experience of rule by Britain**

- As part of the British Empire, colonists had been ruled by the King and the British Parliament, who together made key policy decisions, set laws and taxes, and enforced the law; there were no checks and balances
- Colonists feared the potentially tyrannical power of a monarch, and designed the Constitution to prevent any such future threat
- Branches of government were to be predominantly elective, to ensure the participation of the people.

#### **Significance of the Constitution**

- When the colonists drew up their Constitution, they built in a separation of powers providing checks and balances within the political system. The Bill of Rights established liberty for individuals in states within a federal union of all states, and set out clear lines of authority between federal government and individual states. This would avoid central government exerting a controlling power over people’s lives
- The hierarchy which existed under rule by Britain was altered by the Constitution, which stated that ‘all men are created equal’ and that everyone was entitled to ‘life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness’. Now people would be asked to ratify many of the stages within the democratic processes at state and national level. However, women and blacks were excluded from the franchise, and in reality only one-fifth of eligible voters turned out for national elections.

#### **Executive: role of President**

- Executive power was vested in the elected President, and his Vice-President and Cabinet. The President acted as head of state and Commander-in-Chief but would have no vote in the law-making process, although he could veto legislation. The President would make all key decisions and establish policy. Members of the Executive could be removed from office by the electorate or the other branches of government if it was felt they were not doing their job properly.

#### **Legislature: Congress**

- Legislative power lay in the hands of an elected Congress which was divided into two Houses, the Senate and Representatives. Congress passed laws and raised taxes, as well as having responsibility for international trade, war and foreign relations. No one in the legislature could serve in the judiciary or executive without first resigning from the legislature. Congressional elections were held regularly to ensure that Congressmen remained in touch with the people they served.

#### **Judiciary: Supreme Court**

- Judicial power was granted to the Supreme Court of the United States. The Supreme Court acted as the highest court of appeal in the country. It also debated the legality of new laws passed by Congress. Supreme Court judges were nominated by the President and their appointment was ratified by Congress after a rigorous checking process. Appointees to the Supreme Court could be removed from their position if they acted improperly.

#### **Any other relevant factors**

## **The French Revolution, to 1799**

Question 22: To what extent did revolution break out in France in 1789 as a result of the economic crisis of 1788 to 1789?

### **Marking Instructions**

The candidate evaluates the extent to which revolution broke out in France in 1789 as a result of the economic crisis of 1788 to 1789, using evidence and arguments such as:

#### **The economic crisis of 1788/9**

- Bad harvests and grain shortages inspired unrest among the peasantry and the urban workers in Paris and in provincial cities throughout France, exerting critical pressures on the Ancien Régime
- There was less demand for manufactured goods, which led to unemployment increasing amongst the urban workers
- The nobility were increasingly blamed as peasants started to take political action
- The economic crisis clearly created an environment in which the Ancien Régime was struggling to survive.

#### **Other Factors**

##### **Financial problems of the Ancien Régime**

- Because of exemptions the crown was denied adequate income. The privileged orders were an untapped source of revenue but it would require reforms to access it
- This created resentment amongst the 3<sup>rd</sup> Estate
- Exacerbated divisions that already existed between the estates
- Tax-farming meant not all revenues were reaching the government
- By the 1780s France faced bankruptcy due to heavy expenditure and borrowing to pay for wars
- Government failed to gain agreement on tax reform
- This was arguably the biggest threat facing the Ancien Régime. The opposition which this generated not only led to Calonne's dismissal in 1787 but more importantly to the convocation of the Estates General in 1788. When it met in May 1789 the long-standing divisions between the three Estates unleashed forces which culminated in the overthrow of the Ancien Régime.

##### **Influence of the Enlightenment**

- The Enlightenment encouraged criticism, and freedom of thought, speech and religion, and was seen as the end of man's self-imposed irrationality at the hands of the Church in particular
- Ideas of philosophes like Voltaire who attacked god, Montesquieu who favoured a British system of government and Rousseau who put forward the idea of direct democracy
- Very much appealed to the middle-classes, who led the revolution.

##### **The American Revolution**

- This war contributed to the financial crisis which came to a head in France post-1786 but for many in France at the time they also represented the practical expression of the enlightened views of the Philosophes in terms of the rights of the individual, no taxation without representation and freedom from tyrannical government. The wars inspired many of the lesser nobility and the bourgeoisie to seek the same freedoms.

### **The political crisis of 1788/9**

- The convocation of the Estates General in August 1788 sharpened divisions between the three Estates which came to a head between May and August 1789. The Cahiers des Doleances revealed the depth of dissatisfaction with the existing order, especially among the bourgeoisie and the peasantry. The creation of the National Assembly, the abolition of feudalism and the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen all contributed to a revolutionary change in French government, society and economy.

### **Actions of Louis XVI**

- Louis was largely under the influence of his wife, Marie Antoinette who, although strong minded, failed to grasp the serious nature of situation and was also unpopular as she was Austrian
- Louis XVI's handling of the Estates-General contributed towards the start of the Revolution. He wanted to make reform difficult by making the three Estates meet separately, in the hope that the First and Second Estates would vote the third down
- This backfired: opposition to the King grew, the Third Estate refused to act separately, and many of the clergy changed sides, changing the balance of power
- Louis allegedly closed the meeting halls, which led to the Tennis Court Oath from members of the Third Estate. He later agreed to a constitution when the Third Estate representatives occupied the royal tennis courts
- The King had lost more political ground than if he had just listened to the grievances of the middle classes and the Third Estate from the start.

### **Role of Bourgeoisie**

- As part of the Third Estate resented paying the taxation
- Dominated the Third Estate representatives in the Estates-General
- Were outside the political process unless they bought a noble title: wanted access to power
- Very attracted to ideas of a constitutional monarchy as advocated by people like Montesquieu
- Provided the leadership for the revolution.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 23: To what extent did the increasing intervention of the army in politics bring about Napoleon's coup of 1799, which created the Consulate?

### **Marking Instructions**

The candidate evaluates the extent to which army intervention in politics brought about Napoleon's coup of 1799, by using evidence and arguments such as:

#### **Increasing intervention of the army in politics**

- Even before the 1795 constitution was ratified the army had been used to quell sans-culottes insurgents who sought to invade the Convention and to repel an émigré invasion at Quiberon
- Napoleon's use of a 'whiff of grapeshot' to put down the disturbances in October merely underlined the parlous nature of politics at the time
- The deployment of the army in May 1796 to put down the left-wing Babeuf Conspiracy was followed by the Coup of Fructidor in September 1797 when the first 'free' Convention elections returned a royalist majority.

#### **Other factors**

##### **Role of Sieyes**

- Afraid that France would descend into anarchy as a result of the on-going political conflict and deeming the 1795 constitution unworkable, Sieyes enlisted the aid of Bonaparte in mounting a coup against it
- The Convention, the Directory and the legislative councils had run their course and few, if any, mourned their passing.

##### **Political instability**

- In the late summer of 1794 France was emerging from two years of increasing radicalisation and resulting bitterness between opposing factions
- The Jacobins under Robespierre had been overthrown and a 'White Terror' was soon to sweep the country in revenge for the excesses of the radical left during the Terror
- France had been torn apart by civil war, threatened by foreign armies egged on by émigré nobles seeking to overthrow the Revolution and riven by religious conflict occasioned by the State's opposition to the primacy of the Catholic Church.

##### **The Constitution of 1795**

- Policy-makers framed a new constitution which sought to reconcile the bitterness of the preceding years by imposing checks and balances against the emergence of one dominant individual, group or faction. In so doing, many historians argue that the new constitution was a recipe for instability in the years which followed
- A bi-cameral legislature was established wherein each chamber counter-balanced the power of the other. By so doing it inhibited strong and decisive government
- To ensure continuity, the new Convention was to include two-thirds of the outgoing deputies from the old. This enraged sections of the right who felt that the forces of left-wing radicalism still prevailed in government
- The resulting mass protests in October 1795 were put down by the army under Bonaparte. The principle of using extra-parliamentary forces to control the State had been established with Bonaparte right at the heart of it. It was to prove a dangerous precedent
- Annual elections worked against consistent and continuous policy-making
- So did the appointment of an Executive – the Directory – one of whose members rotated on an annual basis
- Again, the counter-balance between the legislature and the executive may have been commendable but it was to prove inherently unstable in practice.

### **Role of Bonaparte**

- A supreme self-propagandist, he seemed to offer the strength and charisma which the Directory and the legislative councils singularly lacked
- Afraid that his spectacular victories in Italy during 1795 might be jeopardised by the election of a right-wing government less sympathetic to conducting a war against monarchical states, Bonaparte threw his support behind the Directory who effectively annulled the election results by purging right-wing deputies
- The 1788 and 1799 elections were similarly 'adjusted'
- The Consulate – with Bonaparte as First Consul – came into being. A notably more authoritarian constitution was promulgated by referendum, supported by a populace tired of weak and ineffectual government and the instability it had brought between 1795 and 1799.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 24: “The Bourgeoisie gained most from the French Revolution.” How valid is this view?

### **Marking Instructions**

The candidate assesses the validity of the statement that the Bourgeoisie gained most from the French Revolution, by using evidence and arguments such as:

#### **The impact of the Revolution on the bourgeoisie**

- The Revolution instigated a fundamental shift in political and economic power from the First and Second Estates to the Bourgeoisie
- The ending of feudalism in August 1789 heralded profound social and economic change (eg facilitating the development of capitalism) whilst the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen later in the month did the same for political life. In both cases the main beneficiaries were the Bourgeoisie
- Successive constitutions and legislative reforms throughout the 1790s favoured the Bourgeoisie above all other social groups by emphasising the notion of a property-owning democracy with voting rights framed within property qualifications, whilst the ending of trade restrictions and monopolies favoured an expanding business and merchant class
- France had moved from a position of privileged estates to one where increasingly merit was what counted. It was the educated Bourgeoisie who were best placed to benefit from this profound change in French society.

#### **The impact on other sections of Society**

##### **The peasantry**

- In contrast to the Catholic Church and the nobility the position of the peasantry was in many ways strengthened by the Revolution. The ending of feudalism in August 1789 removed many of the legal and financial burdens which had formed the basis of peasant grievances in the Cahiers des Doleances presented to the Estates-General in 1789
- The revolutionary land settlement, instigated by the nationalisation of church lands in November 1789, had transferred land from the nobility and the clergy to the peasantry to their obvious advantage. It should be noted, however, that not all peasants benefited equally from this. Only the well-off peasants could afford to purchase the Church lands which had been seized by the National Assembly.

##### **The urban workers**

- At key points throughout the Revolution overt demonstrations of discontent by the urban masses – particularly in Paris – impacted on key events as successive regimes framed policy with an eye to appeasing the mob. However, any modest gains by the urban poor were short-lived. A decade of almost continuous wars in the 1790s had created shortages and inflation which hit the urban poor particularly hard
- The passing of the Chapelier Law in May 1791, by a bourgeois-dominated National Assembly protecting the interests of industrialists, effectively banned the formation of trade unions and thereafter the Revolution brought few tangible economic or political gains for urban workers.

### **The impact of the Revolution on the First Estate**

- The Catholic Church was a key pillar of the Ancien Regime. The Upper Clergy (usually drawn from the ranks of the traditional nobility) enjoyed considerable wealth and status based on a raft of privileges and tax exemptions. These privileges and exemptions were swept away by the Revolution and the position of the Catholic Church within France by 1799 was far less assured than it had been under the Ancien Regime
- The Civil Constitution of the Clergy (July 1790) polarised attitudes towards the place of the Catholic Church within French society and promoted conflict between opposing factions through the rest of the period to 1799. In November 1789 Church lands were nationalised, stripping the Church of much of its wealth. The net result of all of this was that the Church never regained its primacy within the French state and can be seen to have lost far more than it gained.

### **The impact of the Revolution on the Second Estate**

- The aristocracy had enjoyed similar privileges and tax exemptions to those of the Catholic Church under the Ancien Regime. Advancement in the key positions of the State, the Army and, indeed the Church, depended more often on birth than merit. The traditional nobility monopolised these key positions and sought at all times to defend its favoured position. Again, the Revolution swept away aristocratic privilege even more completely than that of the clergy
- The ending of feudalism in August 1789 marked the prelude to a decade when the status of the nobility in France effectively collapsed. In 1790 outward displays of 'nobility' such as titles and coats of arms were forbidden by law and in 1797, after election results suggested a pro-royalist resurgence, the Convention imposed alien status on nobles and stripped them of French citizenship
- The Revolution brought in a regime where careers were open to talent regardless of birth or inheritance and the traditional aristocracy simply ceased to exist. Having said that, some nobles simply transformed themselves into untitled landlords in the countryside and continued to exercise significant economic and political power.

### **Any other relevant factors**

## **Germany 1815 – 1939**

Question 25: How strong was nationalism in Germany by 1850?

### **Marking Instructions**

The candidate assesses how strong nationalism was in Germany, using evidence and arguments such as:

#### **Supporters of nationalism**

- Liberal nationalists – a united Germany should have a Liberal constitution that would guarantee the rights of citizens
- Cultural nationalists – unity was more important than individual rights and that what mattered was the preservation of German identity and culture
- Economic nationalists – unity would remove the trade barriers between states and this would allow economic growth and prosperity
- To encourage trade Prussia formed a customs union in 1818 that by the 1830s was called the Zollverein; the Zollverein helped nationalist ideas to spread
- Nationalist ideas were spread by philosophers, historians, poets and dramatists who influenced the literate middle classes and especially the students: Jahn and the burschenschaften movement; Wartburg in 1817; Hamburg in 1832; Young Germany in 1833; the Rhine Movement in 1840
- Fichte described 'Germany' as the Fatherland where all people spoke the same language and sang the same songs
- German poets and authors, such as the Grimm brothers, and composers such as Beethoven, encouraged feelings of national pride in the German states
- In 1830 anti-French feelings promoted 'the watch on the Rhine' and nationalist festivals such as Hambach (1832) also encouraged nationalist feelings.

#### **Opponents of nationalism**

- One-fifth of the population of the Austrian empire were German; the Austrian Emperor feared nationalism would encourage them to break away and join Germany; this would leave Austria weaker and cause other national groups in the Empire to demand their independence
- In 1815 Metternich became worried about the growth of liberal and nationalist student societies
- In 1819 Carlsbad Decrees banned student societies and censored newspapers
- The following year the power of the Diet was increased so that soldiers could be ordered to stop the spread of new ideas in any of the German States
- The particularism of the various German states – autonomous and parochial in many ways
- Popular apathy – most Germans had little desire to see a united Germany
- France and Russia feared that a strong, united Germany would be a political, economic and military rival to them.

#### **Attitudes of peasants**

- Golo Mann wrote that most Germans 'seldom looked up from the plough'. He doubted the influence of artists and intellectuals whom most Germans knew little or nothing about; nationalism attracted mainly the educated/business/middle classes
- But by the late 1840s peasants were demanding that remaining feudal dues should be cancelled by their German princes.

### **Political turmoil in the 1840s**

- Trade depression, unemployment and high food prices because of bad harvests led to revolutions throughout Europe
- In the German Confederation nationalists and liberals saw their chance; the rulers of the small states fled; elections were held to local assemblies and then to a national convention to create a united Germany; this convention or parliament met at Frankfurt.

### **The Frankfurt Parliament, divisions**

- This was the first serious attempt to challenge Austria's political power in Germany and Austrian opposition to the liberals and nationalists
- Failure of the Frankfurt Parliament – lack of clear aims and no armed force to enforce its decisions
- Nationalists could not agree on the size of a new Germany – should it include Austria and the Hapsburg lands and Prussia's Polish possessions?
- Should it be governed by a King or be a republic or a mixture of both?
- The Protestants of the North distrusted the Southern Catholics.

### **The collapse of the revolution in Germany, 1848-1849**

- Frankfurt Parliament failed to satisfy the needs of the starving workers who had helped create the revolution
- Parliament had to rely on the Prussian army to put down a workers' revolt
- Self-interest of German rulers led to opposition to the actions at Frankfurt
- Frederick William, King of Prussia, tried to take advantage of the defeat of the 1848 revolution to increase Prussian power to exclude Austria from the Confederation – the Erfurt Parliament
- Austria was still too strong in 1850 and was able to force Prussia to back down; at Olmutz it was agreed to return to the Constitution of 1815.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 26: To what extent were the weaknesses of the Weimar Republic the major reason for the rise of the Nazi Party between 1919 and 1933?

### **Marking Instructions**

The candidate evaluates the extent to which the weaknesses of the Weimar Republic were the major reason for the rise of the Nazi Party between 1919 and 1933, using evidence and arguments such as:

#### **Weaknesses of the Weimar Republic**

- 'A Republic without Republicans'/'a Republic nobody wanted' – lack of popular support for the new form of government after 1918
- 'Peasants in a palace' – commentary on Weimar politicians
- Divisions among those groups/individuals who purported to be supporters of the new form of government eg the socialists
- Alliance of the new government and the old imperial army against the Spartacists – lack of cooperation between socialist groups – petty squabbling rife
- The Constitution/Article 48 ('suicide clause') - arguably Germany was too democratic. 'The world's most perfect democracy – on paper'
- Lack of real, outstanding Weimar politicians who could strengthen the Republic, Stresemann excepted
- Inability (or unwillingness) of the Republic to deal effectively with problems in German society
- Lukewarm support from the German Army and the Civil Service.

#### **Other factors**

##### **Resentment towards the Treaty of Versailles**

- The Treaty of Versailles: acceptance by Republic of hated terms
- Land loss and accepting blame for the War especially hated
- Led to growth of criticism; 'November Criminals', 'Stab in the back' myth.

##### **Social and Economic difficulties**

- Over-reliance on foreign investment left the Weimar economy subject to the fluctuations of the international economy
- 1922/23 (hyperinflation) - severe effects on the middle classes, the natural supporters of the Republic; outrage and despair at their ruination
- The Great Depression of 1929 – arguably without this the Republic might have survived. Germany's dependence on American loans showed how fragile the recovery of the late 1920s was. The pauperisation of millions again reduced Germans to despair
- Propaganda posters with legends such as "Hitler – our only hope" struck a chord with many
- The Depression also polarised politics in Germany – the drift to extremes led to a fear of Communism, which grew apace with the growth of support for the Nazis.

##### **Appeal of the Nazis after 1928**

- Nazi Party had attractive qualities for the increasingly disillusioned voting population: They were anti-Versailles, anti-Communist [the SA took on the Red Front in the streets], promised to restore German pride, give the people jobs
- The Nazis put their message across well with the skilful use of propaganda under the leadership of Josef Goebbels
- The SA were used to break up opponents meetings and give the appearance of discipline and order
- Gave scapegoats for the population to blame from the Jews to the Communists.

**The role of Hitler**

- Hitler was perceived as a young, dynamic leader, who campaigned using modern methods and was a charismatic speaker
- He offered attractive policies which gave simple targets for blame and tapped into popular prejudice.

**Weaknesses and mistakes of others**

- Splits in the left after suppression of Spartacist revolt made joint action in the 1930s very unlikely.
- Roles of von Schleicher and von Papen. Underestimation of Hitler
- Weakness/indecision of Hindenburg.

**Any other relevant factors**

Question 27: “Through their economic policies the Nazis gave the people what they wanted”. How valid is this as a reason for the Nazis maintaining power between 1933 and 1939?

### **Marking Instructions**

The candidate evaluates the validity of the statement that the ‘Nazis gave the people what they wanted’ as a reason for the Nazis maintaining power between 1933 and 1939, using evidence and arguments such as:

#### **Success of Economic policies**

- Nazi economic policy – attempted to deal with economic ills affecting Germany, especially unemployment
- Nazis began a massive programme of public works; work of Hjalmar Schacht
- Nazi policy towards farming eg Reich Food Estate – details of various policies
- Goring’s policy of ‘guns before butter’. Popular once foreign policy triumphs appeared to justify it.

#### **Other factors**

##### **Social policies**

- Creation of the *volkgemeinschaft* (national community)
- Nazi youth policy
- Nazi education policy
- Nazi policy towards the Jews-first isolate, then persecute and finally destroy
- Nazi family policy – Kinder, Kirche, Kuche
- Kraft durch Freude programme
- A Concordat with the Catholic Church was reached; a Reichsbishop was appointed as head of the Protestant churches.

##### **Success of foreign policy**

- Nazi success in foreign policy attracted support among Germans; Rearmament, Rhineland, Anschluss
- ‘Much of Hitler’s popularity after he came to power rested on his achievements in foreign policy’ (Welch).

##### **Establishment of totalitarian state**

- Political parties outlawed; non-Nazi members of the civil service were dismissed
- Nazis never quite able to silence opposition to the regime
- Speed of takeover of power and ruthlessness of the regime made opposition largely ineffective
- Anti-Nazi judges were dismissed and replaced with those favourable to the Nazis
- Acts Hostile to the National Community (1935) – all-embracing law which allowed the Nazis to persecute opponents in a ‘legal’ way.

##### **Fear and state terrorism**

- The use of fear/terror through the Nazi police state; role of the Gestapo
- Concentration camps set up; the use of the SS.

### **Crushing of opposition**

- Opponents liable to severe penalties, as were their families
- Opponents never able to establish a single organisation to channel their resistance – role of the Gestapo, paid informers
- Opposition lacked cohesion and a national leader; also lacked armed supporters
- Lack of cooperation between socialists and communists – role of Stalin considered.

### **Propaganda**

- Use of Nuremburg Rallies
- Use of Radio
- Cult of the Leader: the Hitler myth
- Use of the Cinema: Triumph of the Will, the Eternal Jew, etc
- Role of Goebbels.

### **Any other relevant factors**

## Italy 1815 – 1939

Question 28: How successful were supporters of Italian nationalism up to 1850?

### Marking Instructions

The candidate assesses the success of supporters of Italian nationalism up to 1850, using evidence and arguments such as:

#### Supporters of nationalism

##### Educated middle class

- Risorgimento saw 'patriotic literature' from novelists and poets including Pellico, and Leopardi. These inspired the educated middle class
- Gioberti, Balbo and Mazzini promoted their ideas for a national state, this inspired nationalism amongst the middle classes.

##### Liberals

- Some liberals and business classes were keen to develop an economic state. Napoleon Bonaparte had built roads and encouraged closer trading. One system of weights, measures and currency appealed.

##### Popular sentiment

- French revolutionary ideals had inspired popular sentiment for a national Italian state.
- There was a growing desire for the creation of a national state amongst students; many joined Mazzini's 'Young Italy'
- Operas by Verdi and Rossini inspired growing feelings of patriotism
- The use of Tuscan as a 'national' language by Alfieri and Manzoni spread ideas of nationalism
- Membership of secret societies such as the Carbonari grew. Members were willing to revolt and die for their beliefs which included desire for a national state.

#### Opponents

##### Austria

- Resentment against Austria and its restoration of influence in the Italian peninsula and their use of spies and censorship, helped increase support for the nationalist cause. However, any progress made by nationalists was firmly crushed by the Austrian army. Strength of the Quadrilateral. Austrians never left Italian soil. Carbonari revolts in Kingdom of Naples 1820-1821, Piedmont 1821, Modena and the Papal States 1831 all crushed by Austrian army. During 1848-1849 revolutions, Austrian army defeated Charles Albert twice – Custoza and Modena, retook Lombardy and destroyed the Republic of St Mark.

##### Italian princes and rulers

- Individual rulers were opposed to nationalism and used censorship, police and spies as well as the Austrian army, to crush revolts 1820-1821, 1830 and 1848-1849.

##### Attitude of the peasants

- The mass of the population were illiterate and indifferent to politics and nationalist ideas. They did revolt during bad times as can be seen in 1848 – but their revolts were due to bad harvests and bad economic times and were not inspired by feelings of nationalism.

**Position of the Papacy**

- Pope Pius IX. Nationalist movement had high hopes of New Pope Pius IX, initially thought of as a liberal and sympathetic to nationalist cause. Hopes dashed when Pope Pius IX denounced the nationalist movement during 1848-49 revolutions.

**Failures of 1848 – 1849 revolutions**

- These showed that nationalist leaders would not work together, nor did they seek foreign help thus hindering progress. Charles Albert's 'Italia farad a se' declared that Italy would do it alone – she did not. Lombardy and Venetia suspected Charles Albert's motives and were reluctant to work with him. Venetians put more faith in Manin
- All progress was hampered when Pope Pius IX denounced nationalism. Charles Albert hated Mazzini and would not support the Roman Republic. Austrian military might based on the Quadrilateral defeated Charles Albert twice – at Custoza and Modena, retook Lombardy and destroyed the Republic of St Mark
- The French crushed the Roman Republic.

**Any other relevant factors**

Question 29: How accurate is it to argue that the appeal of fascism was the main reason why Mussolini came to power in Italy by 1925?

### **Marking Instructions**

The candidate evaluates the accuracy of the claim that the appeal of fascism was the main reason why Mussolini came to power in Italy by 1925, using evidence and arguments such as:

#### **Appeal of the Fascists**

- They exploited weaknesses of other groups by excellent use of Mussolini's newspaper 'Il Popolo D'Italia'
- The Fascio Italiano di Combattimento began as a movement not a political party and thus attracted a wide variety of support giving them an advantage over narrower rivals
- By 1921 – fascism was anti-communist, anti-trade union, anti-socialist and pro-nationalism and thus became attractive to the middle and upper classes
- Fascism became pro-conservative, appealed to family values, supported church and monarchy; promised to work within the accepted political system. This made fascism more respectable and appealing to both the monarchy and the papacy
- Squadristi violence was directed against socialism so it gained the support of elites and middle classes
- Violence showed fascism was strong and ruthless. It appealed to many ex-soldiers
- Fascists promised strong government. This was attractive after a period of extreme instability
- Fascists promised to make Italy respected as a nation and thus appealed to nationalists
- Fascist policies were kept deliberately vague to attract support from different groups.

#### **Other factors**

##### **Role of Mussolini**

- Key role in selling the Fascist message: Powerful orator – piazza politics
- He seized his opportunities. He changed political direction and copied D'Annunzio
- He used propaganda and his newspaper effectively and had an ear for effective slogans
- He dominated the fascist movement kept support of Fascist extremists (Ras)
- He relied on strong nerve to seize power and to survive the Matteotti crisis
- Mussolini manipulated his image, kept out of violence himself but exploited the violence of others.

##### **Weaknesses of Italian governments**

- Parliamentary government was weak – informal 'liberal' coalitions. Corruption was commonplace (trasformismo). Liberals were not a structured party. New parties formed: PSI (socialists), PPI (Catholic Popular Party) with wider support base threatening existing political system
- WWI worsened the situation; wartime coalitions were very weak. 1918; universal male suffrage and 1919 Proportional Representation; relied on 'liberals' – unstable coalitions. Giolitti made an electoral pact with Mussolini (1921); Fascists gained 35 seats then refused to support the government. Over the next 16 months, three ineffective coalition governments
- Fascists threatened a 'March on Rome' – King refused to agree to martial law; Facta resigned; Mussolini was invited to form coalition. 1924 Acerbo Law.

### **Resentment against the Peace Settlement**

- Large loss of life in frustrating campaigns in the Alps and the Carso led to expectation that these would be recognised in the peace settlement; Wilson's commitment to nationalist aims led to the creation of Yugoslavia and a frustration of Italian hopes of dominating the Adriatic
- 'Mutilated victory' – Italian nationalists fuelled ideas that Italy had been betrayed by her government.

### **Role of the King**

- The King gave in to Fascist pressure during the March on Rome. He failed to call Mussolini's bluff
- After the Aventine Secession the King was unwilling to dismiss Mussolini.

### **Economic difficulties**

- WWI imposed serious strain on the Italian economy. The government took huge foreign loans and the National Debt was 85 billion lira by 1918. The Lira lost half of its value, devastating middle class savers. Inflation was rising; prices in 1918 were four times higher than 1914. This led to further major consequences:
  - no wage rises
  - food shortages
  - two million unemployed 1919
  - firms collapsed as military orders ceased.

### **Social and economic divisions**

- Membership of trade unions and PSI rose – strikes, demonstrations, violence. 1919/20 'Biennio Rosso' in towns – general strike 1920; army mutiny; occupation of factories
- Industrialists/middle classes were fearful of revolution. Governments failed to back the police so law and order broke down
- In the countryside, there was seizure of common land – peasant ownership increased.

### **Weaknesses and mistakes of opponents**

- D'Annunzio's seizure of Fiume was not stopped by the government
- Government failed to get martial law to stop fascist threat. Some liberals supported the Acerbo Law
- Socialist General Strike July 1922 – failed. Socialists' split weakened them; refused to join together to oppose fascism
- Liberals fragmented into four factions grouped around former PMs. They were too weak to effectively resist. Hoped to tame Fascists
- PPI were divided over attitude to fascism – right wing supported fascism. Aventine Secession backfired; destroyed chance to remove Mussolini.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 30: How important was the use of fear and intimidation in maintaining Fascist control over Italy between 1922 and 1939?

### Marking Instructions

The candidate evaluates how important the use of fear and intimidation was in maintaining Fascist control over Italy between 1922 and 1939, using evidence and arguments such as:

#### Fear and intimidation

- Mussolini favoured complete State authority with everything under his direct control. All Italians were expected to obey Mussolini and his Fascist Party
- The squadristi were organised into the MVSN – *Milizia Volontaria per la Sicurezza Nazionale* – the armed local Fascist militia (Blackshirts). They terrorised the cities and provinces causing fear with tactics such as force-feeding with toads and castor oil
- After 1925-6 around 10,000 non-Fascists/opposition leaders were jailed by special tribunals
- The Secret police, OVRA was established in 1927 and was lead by Arturo Bocchini. Tactics included abduction and torture of opponents. 4000 people were arrested by the OVRA and sent to prison
- Penal colonies were established on remote Mediterranean islands such as Ponza and Lipari. Conditions for those sentenced to these prisons were primitive with little chance of escape
- Opponents were exiled internally or driven into exile abroad
- The death penalty was restored under Mussolini for serious offences but by 1940 only ten people had been sentenced to death.

#### Other relevant factors

##### Establishment of the Fascist state

- Nov/Dec 1922 Mussolini was given emergency powers. Nationalists merged with PNF 1923. Mussolini created MSVN (fascist militia) – gave him support if the army turned against him – and Fascist Grand Council – a rival Cabinet. These two bodies made Mussolini's position stronger and opposition within PNF weaker. The establishment of a dictatorship began:
- 1926 – opposition parties were banned. A one party state was created
- 1928 – universal suffrage abolished
- 1929 – all Fascist Parliament elected.

##### Crushing of opposition

- Liberals had divided into four factions so were weakened
- The Left had divided into three – original PSI, reformist PSU and Communists – they failed to work together against Fascists
- Pope forced Sturzo to resign and so PPI (Catholic Popular Party) was weakened and it split
- Acerbo Law passed. 1924 elections – Fascists won 66% of the vote
- Opposition parties failed to take advantage of the Matteotti crisis. By walking out of the Chamber of Deputies (Aventine Secession) they gave up the chance to overthrow Mussolini; they remained divided – the Pope refused to sanction an alliance between PPI and the socialists. The King chose not to dismiss Mussolini
- Communists and socialists did set up organisations in exile but did not work together Communist cells in northern cities did produce some anti-fascist leaflets but they suffered frequent raids by OVRA
- PPI opposition floundered with the closer relationship between Church and State (Lateran Pacts).

### **Social controls**

- Workers were controlled through 22 corporations, set up in 1934; overseen by National Council of Corporations, chaired by Mussolini
- Corporations provided accident, health and unemployment insurance for workers, but forbade strikes and lock-outs
- There were some illegal strikes in 1930s and anti-Fascist demonstrations in 1933 but these were limited
- The majority of Italians got on with their own lives conforming as long as all was going well. Middle classes/elites supported fascism as it protected them from communism
- Youth knew no alternative to fascism, were educated as Fascists and this strengthened the regime. Youth movements provided sporting opportunities, competitions, rallies, camps, parades and propaganda lectures – 60% membership in the north.

### **Propaganda**

- Press, radio and cinema were all controlled
- Mussolini was highly promoted as a 'saviour' sent by God to help Italy – heir to Caesar, world statesman, supreme patriot, a great thinker who worked 20 hours a day, a man of action, incorruptible.

### **Foreign policy**

- Mussolini was initially extremely popular, as evidenced by huge crowds who turned out to hear him speak
- Foreign policy successes in the 1920s, such as the Corfu Incident, made him extremely popular. He was also able to mobilise public opinion very successfully for the invasion of Abyssinia
- Mussolini's role in the Munich Conference of 1938 was his last great foreign policy triumph
- As Mussolini got more closely involved with Hitler his popularity lessened. His intervention in Spain proved a huge drain on Italy's resources. The invasion of Albania was a fiasco. The Fascist Grand Council removed him in 1943.

### **Relations with the Papacy**

- Lateran treaties/Concordat with Papacy enabled acceptance of regime by the Catholic majority
- Many Catholics supported Mussolini's promotion of 'family values'.

### **Economic and social policies**

- Fascists tried to develop the Italian economy in a series of propaganda-backed initiatives eg the 'Battle for Grain'. While superficially successful, they did tend to divert resources from other areas
- Development of transport infrastructure, with building of autostrade and redevelopment of major railway terminals eg Milan
- One major success was the crushing of organized crime. Most Mafia leaders were in prison by 1939
- Dopolavoro had 3.8 million members by 1939. Gave education and skills training; sports provision, day-trips, holidays, financial assistance and cheap rail fares. This diverted attention from social/economic problems and was the Fascist state's most popular institution.

### **Any other relevant factors**

## **Russia 1881 – 1921**

Question 31: How important was working-class discontent in causing the 1905 revolution in Russia?

### **Marking Instructions**

The candidate evaluates the importance of working class discontent in causing the 1905 revolution in Russia, using evidence and arguments such as:

#### **Discontent of Working Class**

- At the start of the 1900s there was industrial recession which caused a lot of hardship for the working class
- The working class complaints were long hours, low pay, poor conditions, the desire for a constitutional government and an end to the war with Japan
- There was a wave of strikes in Jan 1905 with nearly half a million people on strike (10 times the number in the previous decade)
- In October there were two and half million people on strike as well as demonstrations carried out
- Soviets were speaking for the workers and expressing political demands.

#### **Other Factors**

##### **Discontent with Repressive Government and its policies**

- There was discontent amongst various factions in Russian society
- The middle class and some of the gentry were unhappy with the government at the time
- The middle class was aggrieved at having no participation in government, and angry at the incompetence of the government during the war with Japan
- There was propaganda from middle class groups, Zemstva called for change, the Radical Union of Unions was formed to combine professional groups
- Students rioted, and carried out assassinations
- The gentry tried to convince the Tsar to make minor concessions
- Political groups did not really play a role although they encouraged peasant unrest, and strikes in the urban areas
- The Mensheviks had influence in the soviets and the Bolsheviks were involved in the Moscow Rising
- Russification: The National minorities were aggrieved at the lack of respect for their culture language and religion, and the imposition of the Russian language
- The National minorities harboured a great desire for independence or at least greater autonomy and began to assert themselves, such as Georgia which declared its independence.

##### **Economic problems**

- Worsening economic conditions such as famines in 1897, 1898 and 1901 had led to shortage and distress in the countryside. Urban workers conditions and pay also dreadful
- Economic recession between 1899 and 1903 had also led to growing unemployment throughout the Empire.

### **Discontent amongst the Peasants**

- The peasants had several grievances such as Redemption payments, high taxes, Land Hunger and poverty
- There was a wave of unrest in 1902 and 1903, which had gradually increased by 1905 There were various protests like timber cutting, seizure of lords' land, labour and rent strikes, attacks on landlord's grain stocks, landlords estates seized and divided up
- There were claims that peasants should boycott paying taxes, redemption payments and refuse to be conscripted to the army.

### **War with Japan**

- The war with Japan was a failure and humiliation for the country and moreover this was compounded by the heavy losses suffered by the Russian army
- The war was initially to distract the public from domestic troubles by rallying patriotism
- The incompetence of the government during the war made social unrest worse rather than dampening it
- Troops suffered from low morale after the defeat and were complaints about poor pay and conditions
- There were some sporadic but uncoordinated revolts although nothing too major
- There were mutinies by troops waiting to return from the war and on the Trans Siberian Railway
- In June there was the Potemkin mutiny although the planned general mutiny did not follow
- Generally though most of the troops remained loyal (unlike 1917).

### **Bloody Sunday**

- 22nd Jan 1905 Father Gapon, an Orthodox priest attempted to lead a peaceful March of workers and their families to the Winter Palace to deliver a petition asking the Tsar to improve the conditions of the workers
- Marchers were fired on and killed by troops
- Many of the people saw this as a brutal massacre by the Tsar and his troops
- Bloody Sunday greatly damaged the traditional image of the Tsar as the "Little Father", the Guardian of the Russian people
- Reaction to Bloody Sunday was strong and was nationwide with disorder strikes in urban areas, terrorism against government officials and landlords, much of which was organised by the SRs
- The situation was made worse by the defeat to Japan in 1905
- There was the assassination of government minister Plehve.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 32: To what extent did the Bolsheviks gain power due to the weaknesses of the Provisional Government?

### **Marking Instructions**

The candidate evaluates the extent to which the Bolsheviks gained power due to the weaknesses of the Provisional Government, using evidence and arguments such as:

#### **Weaknesses of the Provisional Government**

- The Provisional Government was an unelected government; it was a self-appointed body and had no right to exercise authority, which led it into conflict with those bodies that emerged with perceived popular legitimacy
- The Provisional Government gave in to the pressure of the army and from the Allies to keep Russia in the War
- Remaining in the war helped cause the October Revolution and helped destroy the Provisional Government as the misery it caused continued for people in Russia
- General Kornilov, a right wing general, proposed to replace the Provisional Government with a military dictatorship and sent troops to Petrograd
- Kerensky appealed to the Petrograd Soviet for help and the Bolsheviks were amongst those who were helped
- Some Bolsheviks were armed and released from prison to help put down the attempted coup.

#### **Other Factors**

##### **Appeal of the Bolsheviks**

- Lenin returned to Russia announcing the April Theses, with slogans such as “Peace, Land and Bread” and “All Power to the Soviets” which were persuasive
- Lenin talked of further revolution to overthrow the Provisional Government and his slogans identified the key weaknesses of the Provisional Government
- The Bolsheviks kept attending the Petrograd Soviet when most of the others stopped doing so and this gave them control of the Soviet, which they could then use against the Provisional Government
- The Bolsheviks did not return their weapons to the Provisional Government after they defeated Kornilov
- Bolsheviks were able to act as protectors of Petrograd.

##### **Dual power – The role of the Petrograd Soviet**

- The old Petrograd Soviet re emerged and ran Petrograd
- The Petrograd Soviet undermined the authority of Provisional Government especially when relations between the two worsened
- Order No.1 of the Petrograd Soviet weakened the authority of the Provisional Government as soldiers were not to obey orders of Provisional Government that contradicted those of the Petrograd Soviet.

##### **Economic problems**

- The workers were restless as they were starving due to food shortages caused by the war
- The shortage of fuel caused lack of heating for the workers in their living conditions
- The shortage of food and supplies made the workers unhappy and restless
- The Bolsheviks’ slogans appealed to them such as the workers control of industry.

### **The Land Issue**

- All over Russia peasants were seizing nobles land and wanted the Provisional Government to legitimise this
- The failure of the Provisional Government to recognise the peasants' claims eroded the confidence in the Provisional Government
- Food shortages caused discontent, and they were caught up by revolutionary slogans such as "Peace, Land And Bread".

### **The July Days**

- The Bolsheviks staged an attempt to seize power, rising in support of the Kronstadt sailors who were in revolt
- The revolt was easily crushed by the Provisional Government but showed increasing opposition to the PG, especially from the forces
- The revolt also showed that the PG was still reasonably strong and able to crush opposition such as the Bolsheviks who now appeared to be weakened.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 33: How important was the use of terror by the Reds in allowing them to win the Civil War?

### **Marking Instructions**

The candidate evaluates the how important the use of terror by the Reds was in allowing them to win the Civil War, using evidence and arguments such as:

#### **Terror (Cheka)**

- The Cheka was set up to eradicate any opposition to the Reds
- There was no need for proof of guilt for punishment to be exacted
- There was persecution of individual people who opposed the Reds as well as whole groups of people, which helped to reduce opposition due to fear, or simply eradicate opposition
- The Cheka group carried out severe repression
- Some of the first victims of the Cheka were leaders of other political parties
- 140,000 were executed by 1922 when Lenin was happy that all opposition had been suppressed.

#### **Other Factors**

##### **Organisation of the Red Army**

- The Red Army was better organized than the White Army and better equipped and therefore able to crush any opposition from the White forces
- Use of ex-officers from old Imperial Army
- Reintroduction of rank and discipline
- Role of Commissars.

##### **Role of Trotsky**

- Trotsky had a completely free hand in military matters
- HQ was heavily armed train, which he used to travel around the country
- He supervised the formation of the Red Army, which became a formidable fighting force of three million men
- He recruited ex-Tsar army officers and used political commissars to watch over them, thus ensuring experienced officers but no political recalcitrance
- He used conscription to gain troops and would shoot any deserters
- Trotsky helped provide an army with great belief in what it was fighting for, which the Whites did not have.

##### **Disunity among Whites**

- The Whites were an uncoordinated series of groups whose morale was low
- The Whites were a collection of socialists, liberals, moderates etc who all wanted different things and often fought amongst themselves due to their political differences. All of the Whites shared a hatred of Communism but other than this they lacked a common purpose
- No White leader of any measure emerged to unite and lead the White forces whereas the Reds had Trotsky and Lenin.

### **Superior Red resources**

- Once the Reds had established defence of their lines they were able to repel and exhaust the attacks by the Whites until they scattered or surrendered
- By having all of their land together it was easier for the Reds to defend. With the major industrial centres in their land (Moscow and Petrograd) the Reds had access to factories to supply weapons etc and swiftly due to their control of the railways. Control of the Railways meant they could transport troops and supplies quickly and efficiently and in large numbers to the critical areas of defence or attack
- The decisive battles between the Reds and Whites were near railheads
- The Reds were in control of a concentrated area of western Russia, which they could successfully defend due to the maintenance of their communication and supply lines
- Having the two major cities of Moscow and Petrograd in their possession meant that the Reds had the hold of the industrial centres of Russia as well as the administrative centres
- Having the two major cities gave the Reds munitions and supplies that the Whites were unable to therefore obtain.

### **Foreign Intervention**

- The Bolsheviks were able to claim that the foreign “invaders” were imperialists who were trying to overthrow the revolution and invade Russia
- The Reds were able to stand as Champions of the Russian nation from foreign invasion
- The help received by the Whites from foreign powers was not as great as was hoped for
- The Foreign Powers did not provide many men due to the First World War just finishing and their help was restricted to money and arms.

### **Propaganda**

- Whites were unable to take advantage of the brutality of the Reds to win support as they often carried out similar atrocities
- The Whites were unable to present themselves as a better alternative to the Reds due to their brutality
- The Reds kept pointing out that all of the land that the peasants had seized in the 1917 Revolution would be lost if the Whites won. This fear prevented the peasants from supporting the Whites.

### **Leadership of Lenin**

- Introduction of War Communism
- By forcing the peasants to sell their grain to the Reds for a fixed price the Reds were able to ensure that their troops were well supplied with and well fed
- The Whites’ troops were not as well supplied and fed as the Reds’ troops
- Skilled delegation and ruthlessness.

### **Any other relevant factors**

## **USA 1918 – 1968**

Question 34: How far can it be argued that the activities of the Ku Klux Klan was the most important obstacle to the achievement of Civil Rights for black people up to 1941?

### **Marking Instructions**

The candidate evaluates how far it can be argued that the activities of the Ku Klux Klan as the most important obstacle to the achievement of Civil Rights for black people up to 1941, using evidence and arguments such as:

#### **Activities of the Ku Klux Klan**

- Founded in 1860s to prevent former slaves achieving equal rights
- Suppressed by 1872, but in the 1920s there was a resurgence
- Black population in South terrified to campaign for civil rights by actions of KKK
- By 1925 it had three million members, including the police, judges and politicians
- Secret organisation with powerful members
- 1923 Hiram Wesley Evans became the Klan's leader
- Methods horrific: included beatings, torture and lynching
- Roosevelt refused to support a federal bill to outlaw lynching in his New Deal in 1930s – feared loss of Democrat support in South
- Activities took place at night – men in white robes, guns, torches, burning crosses
- The 'second' Klan grew most rapidly in urbanizing cities which had high growth rates between 1910 and 1930, such as Detroit, Memphis, Dayton, Atlanta, Dallas and Houston
- Klan membership in Alabama dropped to less than 6,000 by 1930. Small independent units continued to be active in places like Birmingham.

#### **Other Factors**

##### **Legal impediments**

- 'Jim Crow Laws' – separate education, transport, toilets etc – passed in Southern states after the Civil War
- 'Separate but Equal' Supreme Court Decision 1896, when Homer Plessey tested their legality
- Attitudes of Presidents eg Wilson 'Segregation is not humiliating and is a benefit for you black gentlemen'.

##### **Lack of political influence**

- 1890s: loopholes in the interpretation of the 15th Amendment were exploited so that states could impose voting qualifications
- 1898 case of Mississippi v Williams – voters must understand the American Constitution
- Grandfather Clause: impediment to black people voting
- Most black people in the South were sharecroppers they did not own land and some states identified ownership of property as a voting qualification
- Therefore black people could not vote, particularly in the South, and could not elect anyone who would oppose the Jim Crow Laws.

### **Divisions in the black community**

- Booker T Washington, accommodationist philosophy, regarded as an 'Uncle Tom' by many
- In contrast W E B De Bois founded the NAACP – a national organisation whose main aim was to oppose discrimination through legal action. 1919 he launched a campaign against lynching, but it failed to attract most black people and was dominated by white people and well off black people
- Marcus Garvey and Black Pride – he founded the UNIA (Universal Negro Improvement Association) which aimed to get blacks to 'take Africa, organise it, develop it, arm it, and make it the defender of Negroes the world over'.

### **Popular prejudice**

- After the institution of slavery the status of Africans was stigmatised, and this stigma was the basis for the anti-African racism that persisted
- The relocation of millions of African Americans from their roots in the Southern states to the industrial centres of the North after World War I, particularly in cities such as Boston, Chicago, and New York (Harlem). In northern cities, racial tensions exploded, most violently in Chicago, and lynchings – mob-directed hangings, usually racially motivated – increased dramatically in the 1920s.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 35: How important was the emergence of effective black leaders in the growing demand for Civil Rights between 1945 and 1968?

### **Marking Instructions**

The candidate evaluates the importance of the emergence of effective black leaders in the growing demand for Civil Rights between 1945 and 1968, using evidence and arguments such as:

#### **The emergence of effective black leaders**

- Martin Luther King – inspirational. Linked with SCLC. Peaceful non violence and effective use of the media
- Malcolm X – inspirational, but more confrontational. Articulate voice of Nation of Islam
- Stokely Carmichael – Black power and rejection of much of MLK’s non violent approach. A direct ideas descendant of Marcus Garvey
- All leaders attracted media coverage, large followings and divided opinion across USA
- Black Panthers attracted attention but lost support by their confrontational tactics
- Other leaders and organisations eclipsed by media focus on main personalities.

#### **Other factors**

##### **Effective black organisations formed**

- 1957 Martin Luther King and other black clergy formed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) to coordinate the work of Civil Rights groups
- King urged African Americans to use peaceful methods
- 1960 a group of black and white college students organised Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) to help the Civil Rights movement
- They joined with young people from the SCLC, CORE and NAACP in staging sit-ins, boycotts marches and freedom rides
- Combined efforts of the Civil Rights groups ended discrimination in many public places including restaurants, hotels, and theatres.

##### **Continuing racial discrimination pushed many black Americans to demand civil rights**

- The experience of war emphasised freedom, democracy and human rights yet in USA Jim Crow laws still existed and lynching went unpunished
- The Emmet Till murder trial and its publicity
- Education: 1954 Brown v Board of Education of Topeka; 1957 Little Rock Central High School
- Transport: 1955 Rosa Parks and the Montgomery Bus Boycott.

##### **Influence of Second World War**

- Black soldiers talked about ‘the Double-V-Campaign’: Victory in the war and victory for Civil Rights at home
- Philip Randolph is credited with highlighting the problems faced by black Americans during World War Two
- Planned March on Washington in 1941 to protest against racial discrimination
- Roosevelt’s response – Executive order 8802
- Roosevelt also established the Fair Employment Practices Committee to investigate incidents of discrimination
- Creation of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) 1942
- Beginning of a mass movement for Civil Rights.

##### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 36: To what extent did the Civil Rights campaigns of the 1950s and 1960s result in significant improvements in the lives of black Americans?

### **Marking Instructions**

The candidate assesses the extent to which the Civil Rights campaigns of the 1950s and 1960s resulted in significant improvements in the lives of black Americans, using evidence and arguments such as:

#### **Aims of Civil Rights movement**

- Were mainly pacifist and intended to bring Civil Rights and equality in law to all non-white Americans
- More radical segregationist aims of Black Radical Movements.

#### **Role of NAACP**

- Work of NAACP in the Brown v Topeka Board of Education, 1954
- Work of NAACP in the Montgomery Bus Boycott, 1955.

#### **Role of Congress of Racial Equality [CORE]**

- Organised sit-ins during 1961 and freedom rides
- Helped organise march on Washington
- Instrumental in setting up Freedom Schools in Mississippi.

#### **Role of SCLC and Martin Luther King**

- Emergence of Martin Luther King and the SCLC
- Little Rock, Arkansas - desegregation following national publicity
- Non-violent protest as exemplified by Sit-ins and Freedom Rides
- Birmingham, Alabama 1963: use of water cannon: Reaction of Kennedy
- March on Washington, August 1963 - massive publicity
- Martin Luther King believed that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 'gave Negroes some part of their rightful dignity, but without the vote it was dignity without strength'
- March 1965, King led a march from Selma to Birmingham, Alabama, to publicise the way in which the authorities made it difficult for black Americans to vote easily.

#### **Changes in Federal Policy**

- Use of executive orders: Truman used them to appoint black appointments, order equality of treatment in the armed services: Kennedy signed 1962 executive order outlawing racial discrimination in public housing, etc
- Eisenhower sent in army troops and National Guardsmen to protect nine African-American students enrolled at Little Rock Central High School: Kennedy sent troops to Oxford, Mississippi to protect black student: James Meredith
- Johnson and the 1964 Civil Rights Act banning racial discrimination in any public place, Voting Rights Act of 1965: by end of 1965 over 250,000 Blacks newly registered to vote, Affirmative Action, etc.

#### **Social, Economic and Political changes**

- Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965 irrelevant to the cities of the North
- Economic issues more important in the North
- Watts riots and the split in the Civil Rights movement
- King and the failure in Chicago
- Urban poverty and de facto segregation still common in urban centres – failure of King's campaign to attack poverty.

**Rise of black radical movements**

- Stokely Carmichael and Black Power
- Malcolm X publicised the increasing urban problems within the ghettos of America
- The Black Panthers were involved in self-help schemes throughout poor cities
- Kerner commission 1968 recognised US society still divided.

**Any other relevant factors**

## **Appeasement and the Road to War, to 1939**

Question 37: To what extent did fascist powers use diplomacy to achieve their aims?

### **Marking Instructions**

The candidate assesses the extent to which fascist powers used diplomacy to achieve their aims using evidence and arguments such as:

#### **Fascist diplomacy as a means of achieving aims:**

- Aims can be generally accepted as destruction of Versailles, the weakening of democracies, the expansion of fascist powers and countering communism
- Diplomacy and the protestation of 'peaceful' intentions and 'reasonable' demands
- Appeals to sense of international equality and fairness and the righting of past wrongs eg Versailles
- Withdrawal from League and Disarmament Conference
- Anglo German Naval Treaty 1935 - Germany allowed to expand navy. Versailles ignored in favour of bi lateral agreements. A gain for Germany
- Prior to Remilitarisation of Rhineland Hitler made offer of 25 year peace promise
- Diplomacy used to distract and delay reaction to Nazi action.

#### **Economic reasons**

- Use of economic influence and pressure, eg on south-eastern European states
- Aid supplied to Franco (Spain) was tactically important to Hitler. Not only for testing weapons but also access to Spanish minerals.

#### **Pacts and alliances**

- The German-Polish Non-Aggression Pact between Nazi Germany and Poland signed on January 26, 1934 – normalised relations between Poland and Germany, and promised peace for 10 years. Germany gained respectability and calmed international fears
- Rome-Berlin axis – treaty of friendship signed between Italy and Germany on 25 October 1936
- Pact of Steel an agreement between Italy and Germany signed on May 22, 1939 for immediate aid and military support in the event of war
- Anti-Comintern Pact between Nazi-Germany and Japan on November 25th, 1936. The pact directed against the Communist International (Comintern) but was specifically directed against the Soviet Union. In 1937 Italy joined the Pact Munich Agreement – negotiations led to Hitler gaining Sudetenland and weakening Czechoslovakia
- Nazi Soviet Non-Aggression Pact August 1939 – both Hitler and Stalin bought time for themselves. For Hitler it seemed war in Europe over Poland unlikely. Poland was doomed. Britain had lost the possibility of alliance with Russia.

#### **Rearmament**

- Open German rearmament from 1935
- The speed and scale of rearmament, including conscription
- The emphasis on air power and the growing threat from the air
- By 1939, Hitler had an army of nearly 1 million men, over 8,000 aircraft and 95 warships
- Mussolini embarked on a rearmament programme to protect Italy from worldwide depression. His building of a modern navy seriously threatened British domination of the Mediterranean as a result.

### **Military threat and force**

- Italy's naval ambitions in the Mediterranean – 'Mare Nostrum'
- Italian invasion of Abyssinia – provocation, methods, and relatively poor performance against very poorly equipped enemy
- German remilitarisation of Rhineland – Hitler's gamble and timing, his generals' opposition, lack of Allied resistance
- Spanish Civil War – aid to Nationalists, testing weapons and tactics, aerial bombing of Guernica
- Anschluss – attempted coup 1934; relations with Schuschnigg; invasion itself relatively botched militarily; popularity of Anschluss in Austria
- Czechoslovakia – threats of 1938; invasion of March 1939
- Italian invasion of Albania – relatively easy annexation of a client state
- Poland – escalating demands; provocation, invasion
- The extent to which it was the threat of military force which was used rather than military force itself – eg Czechoslovakia in 1938; and the extent to which military force itself was effective and/or relied on an element of bluff – eg Rhineland.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 38: "A reasonable settlement under the circumstances." How valid is this view of the Munich agreement of 1938?

### **Marking Instructions**

The candidate assesses the validity of the statement that the Munich agreement of 1938 was a "reasonable settlement under the circumstances", using evidence and arguments such as:

#### **Munich reasonable under circumstances**

- Czechoslovakian defences were effectively outflanked anyway following the Anschluss
- Britain and France were not in a position to prevent German attack on Czechoslovakia in terms of difficulties of getting assistance to Czechoslovakia
- British public opinion was reluctant to risk war over mainly German-speaking Sudetenland
- Military unpreparedness for wider war – especially Britain's air defences
- Lack of alternative, unified international response to Hitler's threats
- Failure of League of Nations in earlier crises
- French doubts over commitments to Czechoslovakia
- US isolationism
- British suspicion of Soviet Russia
- Strong reservations of rest of British Empire and Dominions concerning support for Britain in event of war
- Attitudes of Poland and Hungary who were willing to benefit from the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia
- Munich bought another year for rearmament which Britain put to good use
- Views of individuals, politicians and media at this time.

#### **Munich not reasonable**

- A humiliating surrender to Hitler's threats
- Another breach in the post-WW1 settlement
- A betrayal of Czechoslovakia and democracy
- Czechoslovakia wide open to further German aggression as happened in March 1939
- Further augmentation of German manpower and resources
- Furtherance of Hitler's influence and ambitions in Eastern Europe
- Further alienation of Soviet Union
- Poland left further exposed
- A British, French, Soviet agreement could have been a more effective alternative
- Views of individuals, politicians and media at this time.

#### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 39: To what extent did the occupation of Czechoslovakia in March 1939 lead to the outbreak of World War Two six months later?

### **Marking Instructions**

The candidate evaluates the extent to which the occupation of Czechoslovakia in March 1939 led to the outbreak of World War Two six months later, using evidence and arguments such as:

#### **The occupation of Bohemia and the collapse of Czechoslovakia**

- British and French realisation, after Hitler's breaking of Munich Agreement and invasion of Czechoslovakia in March 1939, that Hitler's word was worthless and that his aims went beyond the incorporation of ex-German territories and ethnic Germans within the Reich
- Promises of support to Poland and Rumania
- British public acceptance that all attempts to maintain peace had been exhausted
- Prime Minister Chamberlain felt betrayed by the Nazi seizure of Czechoslovakia, realised his policy of appeasement towards Hitler had failed, and began to take a much harder line against the Nazis.

#### **Other factors**

##### **British abandonment of the policy of Appeasement**

- Events in Bohemia and Moravia consolidated growing concerns in Britain
- Czechoslovakia did not concern most people until the middle of September 1938, when they began to object to a small democratic state being bullied. However, most press and population went along with it, although level of popular opposition often underestimated
- German annexation of Memel (largely German population, but in Lithuania) further showed Hitler's bad faith
- Actions convinced British government of growing German threat in south-eastern Europe
- Guarantees to Poland and promised action in the event of threats to Polish independence.

##### **Importance of Nazi-Soviet Pact**

- Pact – diplomatic, economic, military co-operation; division of Poland
- Unexpected – Hitler and Stalin's motives
- Put an end to British-French talks with Russia on guarantees to Poland
- Hitler was freed from the threat of Soviet intervention and war on two fronts
- Hitler's belief that Britain and France would not go to war over Poland without Russian assistance
- Hitler now felt free to attack Poland
- But, given Hitler's consistent, long-term foreign policy aims on the destruction of the Versailles settlement and lebensraum in the east, the Nazi-Soviet Pact could be seen more as a factor influencing the timing of the outbreak of war rather than as one of its underlying causes
- Hitler's long-term aims for destruction of the Soviet state and conquest of Russian resources - lebensraum
- Hitler's need for new territory and resources to sustain Germany's militarised economy
- Hitler's belief that British and French were 'worms' who would not turn from previous policy of appeasement and avoidance of war at all costs
- Hitler's belief that the longer war was delayed the more the balance of military and economic advantage would shift against Germany.

### **British diplomacy and relations with the Soviet Union**

- Stalin knew that Hitler's ultimate aim was to attack Russia
- Lord Halifax, the British Foreign Secretary was invited by Stalin to go to Russia to discuss an alliance against Germany
- Britain refused as they feared Russian Communism, and they believed that the Russian army was too weak to be of any use against Hitler
- In August 1939, with war in Poland looming, the British and French eventually sent a military mission to discuss an alliance with Russia. Owing to travel difficulties it took five days to reach Leningrad
- The Russians asked if they could send troops into Poland if Hitler invaded. The British refused, knowing that the Poles would not want this. The talks broke down
- This merely confirmed Stalin's suspicions regarding the British. He felt they could not be trusted, especially after the Munich agreement, and they would leave Russia to fight Germany alone. This led directly to opening talks with the Nazis who seemed to be taking the Russians seriously by sending Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop and offering peace and land.

### **The position of France**

- France had signed an agreement with Czechoslovakia offering support if the country was attacked. However, Hitler could all but guarantee that in 1938, French would do nothing as their foreign policy was closely tied to the British
- French military, and particularly their airforce, allowed to decline in years after 1919
- After Munich, French more aggressive towards dictators and in events of 1939 were keen on a military alliance with the Soviet Union, however despite different emphasis on tactics were tied to the British and their actions.

### **Developing crisis over Poland**

- Hitler's long-term aims for the destruction of Versailles, including regaining of Danzig and Polish Corridor
- British and French decision to stick to their guarantees to Poland.

### **Invasion of Poland**

- On 1 September 1939, Hitler and the Nazis faked a Polish attack on a minor German radio station in order to justify a German invasion of Poland. An hour later Hitler declared war on Poland stating one of his reasons for the invasion was because of "the attack by regular Polish troops on the Gleiwitz transmitter"
- France and Britain had a defensive pact with Poland. This forced France and Britain to declare war on Germany, which they did on September 3.

### **Any other relevant factors**

## **The Cold War 1945 – 1989**

Question 40: How effectively did the Soviet Union control Eastern Europe up to 1961?

### **Marking Instructions**

The candidate assesses how effectively the Soviet Union controlled Eastern Europe up to 1961, using evidence and arguments such as:

#### **The international context**

- 1955 - emergence of Nikita Khrushchev as leader on death of Stalin. He encouraged criticism of Stalin and seemed to offer hope for greater political and economic freedom across the Eastern European satellite states
- Speech to 20<sup>th</sup> Party Congress, Feb 1956: Khrushchev attacked Stalin for promoting a cult of personality and for his use of purges and persecution to reinforce his dictatorship. Policy of de-Stalinisation
- Development of policy of peaceful co-existence to appeal to the West
- Development of policy of different roads to Socialism to appeal to satellite states in Eastern Europe who were becoming restless.

#### **Demands for change and reaction: Poland (1956)**

- Riots sparked off by economic grievances developed into demands for political change in Poland
- On the death of Stalinist leader Boleslaw Bierut in 1956 he was replaced by Wladyslaw Gromulka, a former victim of Stalinism which initially worried the Soviets
- Poles announced their own road to Socialism and introduced extensive reforms
- Release of political prisoners (and Cardinal Wyszynski, Archbishop of Warsaw); collective farms broken up into private holdings; private shops allowed to open, greater freedom to factory managers
- Relatively free elections held in 1957 which returned a Communist majority of 18
- No Soviet intervention despite concerns
- Gromulka pushed change only so far. Poland remained in the Warsaw Pact as a part of the important 'buffer zone'. Political freedoms were very limited indeed. Poland was a loyal supporter of the Soviet Union until the 1980s and the emergence of the Solidarity movement.

#### **Demands for change and reaction: Hungary (1956)**

- Hungarians had similar complaints: lack of political freedom, economic problems and poor standard of living
- Encouraged by Polish success, criticism of the Stalinist regime of Mátyás Rákosi grew and he was removed by Khrushchev
- Popular upsurge of support for change in Budapest led to a new Hungarian government led by Imre Nagy, who promised genuine reform and change
- Nagy government planned multi-party elections, political freedoms, the withdrawal of Hungary from the Warsaw Pact and demands for the withdrawal of Soviet forces
- Nagy went too far. The Soviet Union could not see this challenge to the political supremacy of the Communist Party and the break-up of their carefully constructed buffer zone. They intervened and crushed the rising brutally
- Successful intervention, but lingering resentment from mass of Hungarian people, through some economic flexibility allowed the new regime of Janos Kadar to improve economic performance and living standards.

### **Demands for change and reaction: Berlin (1961)**

- Problem of Berlin – a divided city in a divided nation
- Lack of formal boundaries in Berlin allowed East Berliners and East Germans to freely enter the West which they did owing to the lack of political freedom, economic development and poor living standards in the East
- Many of those fleeing (2.8 million between 1949 and 1961) were skilled and young, just the people the communist East needed to retain. This was embarrassing for the East as it showed that Communism was not the superior system it was claimed to be
- Concerns of Ulbricht and Khrushchev: attempts to encourage the Western forces to leave Berlin by bluster and threat from 1958 failed
- Kennedy of America spoke about not letting the Communists drive them out of Berlin. Resultant increase in tension could not be allowed to continue
- Building of barriers: barbed wire then stone in August 1961 to stem the flood from East to West
- Success in that it reduced the threat of war and the exodus to the West from the East to a trickle
- Frustration of many in East Germany. Propaganda gift for the US and allies.

### **Military and ideological factors**

- Buffer zone could not be broken up as provided military defence for Soviet Union
- Use of force and Red Army to enforce control in late 40s and early 50s
- Need to ensure success of Communism hence policy.

### **Domestic pressures**

- Intention to stop any further suffering of Soviet Union in aftermath of WW2 made leadership very touchy to change
- Some economic freedoms were allowed, but at the expense of political freedoms
- Need to stop spread of demands for change.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 41: To what extent were the Superpowers' attempts to manage the Cold War between 1962 and 1985 prompted by the economic cost of the arms race?

### **Marking Instructions**

The candidate evaluates the extent to which the superpowers' attempts to manage the Cold War between 1962 and 1985 were prompted by the economic cost of the arms race, using arguments and evidence such as:

#### **Economic cost of arms race**

- Developments in technology raised the costs of the arms race
- The development of Anti-Ballistic Missile technology and costs of war led to SALT 1 and the ABM treaty
- Limiting MIRV and intermediate missile technology led to SALT 2
- The cost of 'Star Wars' technology also encouraged the Soviet Union to seek better relations
- Khrushchev's desire for better relations between the Superpowers in the 50s and 60s was, in part, about freeing up resources for economic development in the USSR. He hoped this would show the superiority of the Soviet system
- Gorbachev wanted to improve the lives of ordinary Russians and part of this was by reducing the huge defence budget eg Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty, December 1987.

#### **Other factors**

##### **Mutually Assured Destruction**

- The development of vast arsenals of nuclear weapons from 1945 by both Superpowers as a deterrent to the other side; a military attack would result in horrific retaliation
- So many nuclear weapons were built to ensure that not all were destroyed even after a first-strike, and this led to a stalemate known as MAD. Arms race built on fear.

##### **Dangers of military conflict as seen through Cuban Missile Crisis**

- In this it worked as the threat of nuclear war seemed very close on the discovery of Soviet nuclear missiles on Cuba in 1962. Before Khrushchev backed down nuclear war was threatened. It also illustrated the lack of formal contact between the Superpowers to defuse potential conflicts
- Introduction of a 'hot-line' between the Kremlin and White House in order to improve communication between the Superpowers. Khrushchev and Kennedy also signed the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, the first international agreement on nuclear weapons.

##### **Technology: The importance of verification**

- American development of surveillance technology (U2 and satellites) meant that nuclear weapons could be identified and agreements verified
- Example of U2 flight over Cuba where Anderson photographed nuclear sites
- Also U2 and satellite verification to make sure the Soviets were doing as promised at the negotiating table
- Some historians think Arms Control would never have taken root, but for the ability of the sides to verify what the other was doing.

##### **Co-existence and Détente**

- Policies of co-existence and détente developed to defuse tensions and even encourage trade
- Role of others like Brandt in West Germany in defusing tension through their policies of Ostpolitik, etc.

##### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 42: How important was the role of Gorbachev in ending the Cold War?

### **Marking Instructions**

The candidate evaluates the role of Gorbachev in ending the Cold War using evidence and arguments such as:

#### **Role of President Mikhail Gorbachev**

- Gorbachev saw that the USSR could not afford a new arms race. The Soviet economy was at breaking point. Commitments to the arms race and propping up allied regimes meant consumer goods and other things such as housing that mattered to Russian people were neglected
- Gorbachev implemented policies of Perestroika and Glasnost which aimed to reform the Soviet economy and liberalise its political system
- Gorbachev worked to improve relations with the USA. He took ideology out of his foreign policy, as exemplified by arms agreements to allow the USSR to concentrate on internal matters: Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty, Dec 1987, Nuclear Weapons Reduction Treaty, 1989
- Gorbachev told leaders of the satellite East European states in March 1989 that the Soviet army would no longer help them to stay in power.

#### **Other factors**

##### **Role of President Ronald Reagan**

- Unlike many in the US administration Reagan actively sought to challenge Soviet weakness and strengthen the west in order to defeat Communism. In 1983 he denounced the Soviet Union as an 'Evil Empire'
- Programme of improving US armed forces, including nuclear weapons and he proposed a Star Wars missile shield to challenge the belief in MAD (SDI). He was very charming when he met Gorbachev and visited Soviet Union.

##### **Western economic strength**

- Allowed America to embark on the Star Wars weapons programme
- Perception of the affluent West through television and consumer goods undermined Communist claims of the superiority of their economic system.

##### **Withdrawal of the Soviet Union from Afghanistan**

- Symptom of the problems of Soviet Union
- Intervention in Dec 1979: conflict with the Mujaheddin. Russian army morale crumbled when over 20,000 Soviet soldiers died, as did support at home
- The conflict showed the weaknesses of the Soviet economy. War led to a slump in living standards for ordinary Russians
- Russians began to question the actions of their own government. Gorbachev withdrew troops in 1988.

### **Failure of Communism in Eastern Europe**

- Strong Polish identity and history of hostility with Russia. By 1970s, Poland in economic slump. Emergence of opposition around Gdansk in 1980: industrial workers strike led by Lech Walesa, who argued for the creation of an independent trade union. Solidarity grew to nine million members in a matter of months. Movement suppressed in 1981 by General Jaruzelski's government
- Multiparty elections in Poland, after Soviet troops left, victory for Solidarity.
- Czechoslovakia, political prisoners released in November 1989 and by the end of the month, the communist government had gone. No Soviet intervention
- Opening of the Berlin Wall: division of Germany finally came to an end
- Soviet domination ended
- Perestroika and Glasnost and end of Communist rule in USSR.

### **Any other relevant factors**

[END OF MARKING INSTRUCTIONS]