

Examiners' Report
June 2016

GCE History 6HI03 C

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Introduction

It was pleasing to see a good standard of responses from candidates in the seventh session of the 6HI03 C examination. Many candidates wrote insightful comments which placed them in the higher grade categories. The paper was divided into two sections: Section (A) was an In-Depth Study question, and Section (B) an Associated Historical Controversy question. Unfortunately, some candidates continue to write too much generalised comment. As a consequence, their responses lacked precise analytical focus and detailed supporting evidence. Examiners want to see candidates who can use the sources and their own material effectively to answer the questions set.

Centres should note that the amount of space provided in the booklet for answers is more than enough for full marks.

Although a few responses were quite brief, there was little evidence on this paper of candidates having insufficient time to answer both questions. The ability range of those entering was diverse but the design of the paper allowed all abilities to be catered for. There were also very few rubric errors. As expected, there were far more entrants for

C2 – The United States, 1917-54: Boom, Bust and Recovery

than for

C1 – The United States, 1820-77: A Disunited Nation?

One pleasing trend is that very few candidates produced essays which were devoid of analysis. The main weakness in responses which scored less well tended to be a lack of sufficient knowledge, rather than lengthy descriptive writing without analysis. The paper provided candidates with the opportunity to develop their essay writing and to include source material as and when necessary.

There appears to be an increasing tendency for candidates to analyse and produce judgements in the main body of the answer and have cursory conclusions. Candidates can indeed sustain arguments by these means and this approach does not, in itself, prevent access to the highest levels. However, in some cases, judgements on individual issues and factors tended to be somewhat isolated, and ultimate conclusions were either only partially stated or implicit. Consequently, candidates should be aware that considered introductions and conclusions often provide a solid framework for sustained argument and evaluation.

The answers of a minority of less successful candidates in Section A suggested that they lacked the detailed knowledge base required to tackle Questions 1 and 2 and produced a catch-all commentary on the stipulated topic, with obvious repercussions. The best answers to these questions – and indeed those on the 1917-54 option - showed some impressive study of 19th and 20th century American history, with students producing incisive, scholarly analysis.

When attempting the Section (B) questions, a small number of candidates engaged more with the general debate of the set controversy, rather than the specific demands of the question and source package. This was most evident on Question 7, although it was still a small minority. The candidates' performance on individual questions is considered in the next section.

Question 1

On Question 1, stronger responses had a sharp focus on the failures and successes of the Missouri Compromise in the years 1820-50 in reaching a judgement (e.g. left huge potential territory for future 'free' states, widening sectional divide in the 1840s, necessity for a further Compromise agreement in 1850, assisted by the Gag Rule, slavery generally kept out of national political debate until 1846, 'free-slave' sectional balance preserved in the years 1836-48). Weaker responses tended to offer (1) unsupported assertions regarding the failure or success of the Missouri Compromise in the years 1820-50; (2) narratives of the 1820-50 period with weak links to some aspects of the Missouri Compromise's failures and/or successes but with no real consideration of the debate.

M/C

Tallentire Amendment
set-up $36^{\circ} 30' N$.
avoid conflicts military.
physically ~~is~~ sectional
division.

Texas
Nullification.
Mexican War
election
California

Econ Social Political

deeper South.
Callahan doctrine.
Wilford Proviso.
anti-slavery
society.

division in Congress
Texas / power
struggle

Mexican War
Western expansion
Manifesto.
Destiny.

Missouri Compromise ~~was~~ enabled
the North and South into conflicts and remained
armistice for 30 yrs until 1850 compromise
In the yrs of ~~the~~ 1820 to 1850, Missouri Compromise
~~to~~ was definitely not a failure in terms of
keep the Union in peace but it indeed started
the sectional tension in the following years.

Missouri Compromise physically set up the
at $36^{\circ}30'N$ to divide the nation into two
parts ~~at~~ but the line also fixed the problem
of new territory gained in the future. ~~Equality~~
The Equal number of free and slave states
implies there was a balance in the Congress.
Although there were hindsight suggesting ~~the~~
the unbalanced power in the House of Reps ~~is~~,
~~there~~ is the very fact of 30 years of ceasing
fire can not be ignored. The amendment of
baby slaves becoming free after 25 years was rejected
but this demonstrates there ~~was~~ ^{were} ideas of abolition
at this time. Therefore it started the political
division between the North and the South.

Economically, as the line was set up,
in ~~the~~ keeping slavery, Southern States aimed at
gaining more land from Mexico. The deeper
South believed western expansion ~~was~~ can help
them to further develop with the
economy.

Socially, after the Mexican War, the different ~~of~~ doctrines ~~of~~ that suggests there ~~were~~ ~~was~~ was national discussion about ~~the~~ excluding slavery. Also, Texas suggests ~~that~~ the issues of slavery was ~~a~~ vital as GAG rule ~~is~~ prevented people talking about the slavery. It took 9 yrs for Congress to decide whether it enters as free or slave. The Nullification Crisis suggests there was social division between states and the federal govt.

In conclusion, in the years 1820-1850, Missouri Compromise was not a failure as it kept North and South in peace and enabled them cease fire for 30 years.



ResultsPlus Examiner Comments

This Level 2 response illustrates two typical weaknesses of low-scoring essays:

- (1) it relies heavily on general statements about the impact of the Missouri Compromise rather than relevant detailed analysis
- (2) it is rather short which also adversely affects the range of the answer.



ResultsPlus Examiner Tip

To gain high marks on the Depth Study question, you must have a sound subject knowledge. Check the specification for the key topics.

Question 2

On Question 2, stronger responses had a sharp focus on the extent to which President Andrew Jackson preserved the political power of the privileged in the US (1829-37) and addressed both sides of the argument. This included consideration of relevant developments or issues such as Jackson's views/actions regarding Native Americans, slaves and women, his use of the 'spoils system' of federal appointments, his encouragement of formal national 'mass' parties and his campaign against the Bank of the United States.

Weaker answers tended to offer

(1) narratives about the Andrew Jackson's major measures in the years 1829-37 with few or no links to the issue of preserving the political power of the privileged (here, descriptive responses were likely to focus overwhelmingly on one or two key events/issues e.g. Jackson's campaign against the Bank of the United States);

(2) responses with weak development of one side of the argument.

Plan: - Bank war ~~is~~, double, egalitarian, accountability
- Electioneering: Party conventions, Democrat platform => disperse widely
- Indian removal & Worcester vs Georgia, minorities

Since the 1829-1837 premiership of President Andrew Jackson, there has been great deal of controversial debate as to whether he centralised power, retaining elitism, or dispersed it widely. Through examining the Bank War, his contribution to modern electioneering, and his policies to minorities, it can be derived that Jackson to a moderate extent "preserved power of the privileged".

Through the veto of the second bank recharter, it is credible

to say that Jackson largely broke down the "Political power of the privileged". The Bank had accumulated \$35 million dollars in capital, ^{twice the federal budget.} and despite being a national body mandated by the legislature, had no Congressional oversight. By vetoing the recharter, Jackson made the country more egalitarian through passing the funds to state banks, and in this sense broke down "political power of the privileged" through directing money (and hence political power) to the states, whereas before the veto the "power" lay with the economically advantaged bank directors such as millionaire Nicholas Biddle. Moreover, by passing regulation of credit to Congress, Jackson is not "retaining power of the privileged", but transferring power to those who have the appropriate ^{elected} mandate, rather than the "privileged" bank directors, appointed upon the basis of Cronyism. In this sense then, Jackson

did not maintain "power of the privileged", by dispersed power to less advantaged states, underpinned by taking power away from "privileged" ~~un~~ unelected bank directors.

With regards to introducing techniques of modern electioneering, it would be credible to a moderate extent to say Jackson "retained power of the privileged", as the impact of him personally is questionable. Jackson lay the foundation for the modern Democrat party, extending their platform in response to calls from the electorate. In this way, Jackson transferred greater political leverage to the people (the "disadvantaged" by creating a party responsive to the electorate. More crucially however, Jackson utilised the national party convention as a system for nominating candidates. This is largely characteristic

from the "pushing" power away
the electorate to have more
say in nominations of candidates,
rather than the prior
system of allowing state legislatures
on their own to nominate
candidates. However, the significance of
this is lessened when taking into
account that these modern techniques
predated Jackson; Martin Van Buren
had utilised conventions in the
1820s in the New York Albany
regency. Thus, the impact of Jackson
personally in changing the focus of
politics to the electorate (taking
power from the "privileged") is moderate,
he did radically extend the democrat
platform and utilise modern
election methods where more
power was given to the electorate,
but ~~the impact~~ this was in
conjunction with other politicians,
and underpinned by a radically
politicised time in US history,
so the impact of Jackson in

transferring power to the electorate is lessened.

~~to~~ ~~regards~~ In respect to his policy toward human rights manifested in the Indian removal act, to say Jackson "preserved power of the privileged" would be to a very large extent a credible viewpoint. ~~Through~~ ~~the~~ In the short term, Jackson retained "power" to the white population by removing the Indians, sponsoring white supremacy through legislation. If Jackson was to have dispersed power to the disadvantaged, this would imply giving power to the economically and technologically lesser indigenous people, but through the act retained ~~the~~ "power" to the more "privileged" white population. Furthermore, in the long term, Jackson retains political "power" to those of having the "privilege" of being the executive. By explicitly ignoring Justice John Marshall's *Worcester vs*

Georgia ruling, ~~Jackson~~
~~can~~ (which deemed Indian removal unconstitutional), Jackson retains power to the ~~the~~ person "privileged" person controlling the executive branch by setting a long term precedent of subverting the judicial branch, establishing Presidential authority. This is a highly significant aspect of Jackson's presidency; through Indian removal he ~~centralised~~ "retained" power to the ~~politically~~ "privileged" white population, and to the executive branch, elevating the extent to which Jackson can be considered to have "retained power to the privileged".

Overall then, Jackson can be said to have "retained power to the privileged" to a moderate extent. Through the bank war, Jackson lessens the level of elitism in the US, diverging power to ~~sattelite~~ satellite state banks, rather than concentrating

power to the "privileged" bank directors. To a lesser extent this was true with his contributions to the Democrat party and electioneering Jackson undoubtedly transferred power to the electorate rather than "privileged" party elites, but this has to be taken as just one part of an organic development of politics, rather than a ~~sig~~ singular radical reformer, lessening his impact. Both of these aspects of Jackson are in many ways negated by the Indian removal, from which it can be derived Jackson had no interest in rational egalitarianism, only protectionism of "privileged" white interests. Thus, Jackson can be considered ~~to~~ to have "preserved political power to the privileged" to a moderate extent.



ResultsPlus Examiner Comments

This candidate has produced a good Level 4 answer by offering detailed knowledge within a focused analytical structure. Care has been taken to:

- (1) focus on the issue of preserving 'the political power of the privileged in the US'
- (2) develop the argument across several areas (e.g. the 'bank war', the development of 'modern' politics, and Indian removal).

Consequently the response has good range and depth.

Question 3

On Question 3, stronger responses had a confident grasp of the factors promoting the revival and decline of the KKK in the 1920s. These included the impact of the film *Birth of a Nation*, patriotic, anti-foreigner sentiment encouraged by World War One, the impact of the Red Scare, public revulsion at the KKK's violent activities, the KKK being undermined by immigration legislation and its own corruption/intimidation scandals.

High scoring responses offered good range and depth in their answer.

Weaker answers

(1) lacked development on the reasons for the revival and decline of the KKK – typically weak narratives or focused but largely unsupported responses;

(2) drifted from the question and offered generalised accounts of the 'intolerance' of 1920s' America (e.g. immigration);

(3) had weak or non-existent development of either revival or decline.

Why did the Ku Klux Klan revive so dramatically & then decline so rapidly in the 1920s?

PLAN: Factors → anti-immigration feeling post World War

1919-1929
357 lynchings

Quota Act 21, 24, 27, 29
360, 165, 150, 120

WORLD WAR I

- Birth of a Nation 1915
- Tyler & Clark
- Women KKK prohibition

congress 1921
15 month 3 mill by 1922

5 million 1926
600,000 women 1929
200,000 by 1930

decline

Why did the Ku Klux Klan revive so dramatically & then decline so rapidly in the 1920s?

The revival of the Ku Klux Klan and its rapid increase of popularity up to 1925 was mainly due to post-war frustrations and anti-immigrant feeling due to an increased sense of American nationalism and a government desire to become more isolationist after World War One. This factor,

combined with ~~the~~ effective advertisement techniques, social tensions concerning Prohibition, and the revival of latent racism after the release of Birth of a Nation in 1915, all contributed to the dramatic revival of the KKK ~~in~~ up to 1925.

~~The~~ The most important factor that contributed towards the dramatic revival of the KKK was anti-immigrant feeling following post-war frustrations and disappointments. By 1925, the KKK had reached peak membership of ^{over} 5 million.

~~The~~ The new influx of immigrants, and a particular ~~suspicion~~ suspicion towards hypernatized-Americans, were included in the KKK targets due to the work of Tyler ~~and~~ and Clark, who had broadened the horizons ~~of~~ of the KKK's bigotry to include Jews, Catholics and immigrants, as well as African Americans. German brewers were targeted in particular after the war, such as Budweiser, Pabst and Ruppert - in 1922 200 KKK members set fire to saloons across Arkansas, with both German brewers and ~~the~~ Prohibition as their motivations. Americans appeared to feel a profound anxiety about modern life following the huge social, economic and cultural changes after ~~the~~ World War One, and it is credible that this was a large contributor towards the ~~the~~ dramatic revival of the KKK during the 1920s. Overall, anti-immigrant feeling and post-war disappointments and frustrations were the most ~~important~~ valid contributor towards the dramatic revival of the KKK in 1920.

Another factor was the leadership and advertisement techniques employed by the KKK during the 1920s. After the release of *Birth of a Nation* in 1915

by D. W. Griffiths, which Wilson claimed was "all too terribly true", Simmons took advantage of the latent racism that had been reignited. When appearing before Congress in 1921, he impressed them and therefore avoided condemnation of the Klan; instead taking advantage of the publicity surrounding the Congressional Investigation,*
* and by 1922, within 15 months the KKK gained 3 million members.
~~Simmons~~ Simmons devised rituals, costumes and ceremonies that drew whites in and made them feel like they belonged to something, which was a credible contributor to the dramatic revival of the Klan ~~in~~ in the 1920s.

Publicists Tyler and Clark used techniques they had learnt during World War One selling liberty bonds, and devised a recruitment scheme that involved a \$10 membership fee, claiming '100% Americanism'. The advertisement techniques utilised by the Klan were a large contributing factor to its ^{dramatic} revival in the 1920s as they were extremely effective at drawing whites in.

The women of the Ku Klux Klan also played a major role in the dramatic revival of the KKK during the 1920. By 1925 600,000 women had joined - many supported Prohibition and promoted the 'purity of white womanhood'. They had a large influence and ~~they~~ managed to achieve the dismissal of all Roman

Catholic teachers in Texas. The inclusion of women in the Klan made it grow larger and contributed to its dramatic revival up to 1925, as it played on social

sentiment such as prohibition and a Pro-Bo women's society across America, and therefore rapidly increased membership, as it made people believe it was a moral decision to be a Klan member. This was also influenced by the fact that ~~the rapid decline of the Klan during~~ many authority figures were Klansmen - 16 senators were influenced to be elected to Congress by the Klan, and 5 congressmen were sworn Klansmen, as well as 20% of the Senate. In 1924 Edward Jackson was elected as ^{governor of} Indiana. The message sent out by this meant that there was a dramatic revival of the Klan amongst ordinary citizens during the 1920s.

The rapid decline of the Klan came after 1925 as people ~~starting~~ ^{suddenly} uncovered the corruption behind it. Hiram Wesley Evans was unprepared for the dramatic growth of the Klan and failed to lead 5 million people and establish clear goals. The removal of Tyler and Clark in 1924 meant that publicity was less effective and the Klan lost a lot of support. Despite marches organised in 1926 and 1928 by Hiram Wesley Evans, many ~~figures~~ figures began to criticise the Klan after

D.C. Stephenson, the 'Grand Dragon' of Indiana, raped and murdered a 28 year old secretary, going against all traditional Klan virtues, ~~merit~~

~~merit~~ authority figures. This incident, combined with the reported 357 lynchings of African Americans and the murder of whites Daniel and Richards at Mer Rouge in 1922, meant that the rapid decline of the Klan was inevitable as authority figures began to criticise their unpardonable actions.

The criticism from authority figures was a major contributing factor to the rapid decline of the KKK 1925-1930. Criticism from Coolidge, as well as state laws ~~turning~~ turning against them all contributed to their rapid decline. The Chicago chief of police banned KKK marches; the Mayor of New York City ordered ~~a~~ a fine to anyone promoting 'racial hatred or religious bigotry', and many states including New York made it criminal to wear robes. This ~~action~~ diminished the influence of the KKK and limited their actions severely, ~~as this~~ which meant that their rapid decline was imminent. This, combined with the fading of post-war tensions and the economic boom taking hold, meant that the people of America filled their leisure time with other activities rather than fraternal organisations. ~~The~~ By 1930, the KKK had rapidly declined, diminishing

From over 5 million members in 1925 to only 200,000 in 1930.

*

To conclude, the ~~map~~ dramatic revival of the KKK was more apparent than real and the organisation was more significant for the "atmosphere it expressed" (Siegfried) than the power it possessed. Once the post-war tensions had faded by 1925, its rapid decline from 1925-1930 was inevitable, particularly as the corruption and violence behind it was uncovered.

(new para before conclusion)

* ~~Pro-immigration~~ ~~Pro-immigration~~

Anxieties ~~about~~ regarding immigration had been controlled following the Quota Acts of 1921, 1924, 1927 and 1929 which ultimately restricted immigration to 120,000 per year, ~~as~~ excluding Japanese and Chinese individuals who were not allowed in. This showed that the fading of post-war tensions resulted in the rapid decline of the KKK, and that much of their policies had been ~~reemerging~~ in order to gain publicity. ~~It~~ Ultimately, the federal government successfully controlled this with the Quota acts and calmed people's fears, resulting in the ~~map~~ rapid decline of the KKK 1925-1930.



ResultsPlus
Examiner Comments

This candidate has produced a strong Level 4 answer by offering detailed knowledge within a focused analytical structure. Care has been taken to

(1) focus on both the revival and decline of the KKK

(2) develop the argument across several areas, including immigration, new advertising techniques, internal corruption, and official condemnation of, and restrictions on, the organisation. Consequently the response has good range and depth.



ResultsPlus
Examiner Tip

If you use the key phrases from the question throughout your essay, this will help you to write a relevant analytical response.

Question 4

On Question 4, stronger responses had a confident grasp of the influence and activities of left-wing critics of the New Deal in the 1930s. In some cases, the role of right-wing critics was relevantly included in order to contextualise the extent of the left's influence over the shaping of policy.

High scoring answers offered good range and depth in terms of the influence left-wing critics brought to bear on specific New Deal policies or measures.

Weaker responses tended to offer

(1) a descriptive account of the main left-wing (and right-wing) critics of the New Deal with little or no consideration of how the left influenced the shaping of New Deal policies in the 1930s;

(2) an almost exclusive focus on one source of criticism (e.g. Huey Long); or

(3) a general account of all forms of opposition to New Deal measures, including the Supreme Court.

PLAN

LW = guarantor of adherence to socialist prom.
class-conscious policies

need to
LW

1) Scale of supp.

2) X with Y

3) Grassroots

Long = 8m. Solw 12% pop.

Townsend SSA

bearing:

CC = 30/40m. ^{note} dissenters

Long RA

pop. threat

Towns.

CC

WA

→ rhetoric

1) → not influence nat. but. acc. limitable for
disill. elect.

2) → fool's paradise - unsustainable modes of effecting rev.

3) → two party system

4) liberal Congr.

5) RW +

LoA:

SC disaffection

Left-wing critics arguably constituted a potent populist challenge to FDR's administration and as such forced the New Deal (ND) to become increasingly class-conscious and willing to adopt a libertarian approach, particularly in the Second New Deal. Yet, one should fundamentally consider that left-wing opposition to the New Deal was not

in essence attacking the premise of the New Deal, namely FDR's administrative efforts to combat the Depression, namely greater government interventionism, and as such did not perceptibly alter the nature of the New Deal, but rather accelerated the timetable for the implementation of many of its reforms, acting as a ~~good~~ guarantor of the programme's commitment to liberal paternalism.

Compared to their right-wing counterparts and the Supreme Courts, left-wing critics were constructive opposition, and through tapping into public sentiment at the time, increasingly desirous of the affirmative responsibility of federal government ~~for~~, was able to exercise greater influence over the course of the New Deal. Their simplistic parables offered disillusioned ~~at~~ citizens with enticing visions of economic justice and opportunity that the capitalist system had seemingly undermined. The sheer populist support garnered by left-wing opposition forced FDR to recourse to rhetoric of a similar vein in order to sustain support for the New Deal at a grassroots level. Yet crucially, the left

compelled FDR to act on his quasi-socialist promises and translate his rhetoric of uplifting the 'forgotten man' into reality.

The ~~sheer scale~~ of support for L in this sense, left-wing critics retained the weight to be able to exercise influence over the New Deal. The sheer scale of support for left-wing populist outfits heightened the exigency of acting to promulgate 'bold, persistent economic experimentation'; for example, Long's 'Share our Wealth' clubs had approximately 8 million members, with Long himself being estimated to comprise around 12% of the popular vote. Norman Thomas, leader of the Socialist Party, had increased votes such that in the previous election ~~the~~ party obtained a sizeable 800,000 (had tripled $\frac{1}{2}$ on their previous record) which demonstrated escalating leftist sentiment among the public, who as a result of the Depression were beleaguered by traditional middle-ground American politics which sought to advance the interests only of elite groups; hence FDR, 'democracy's aristocrat', would have presumably been required to demonstrate his liberal

credentials via New Deal policy is as to assuage such anti-elite majoritarian grassroots discontent. Father Charles Coughlin, furthermore, the radio priest rallied many supporters on the 'kibbe kelt', and through his weekly show 'The Golden Hour of the Little Flower', which had 30/40 million people tune in, had the ability to shape people's opinions on the New Deal and here spurred Roosevelt to more radical action as a result of his sheer grassroots hearing. Indeed, in order to undercut the ground from these demagogues, historians have noted a perceivable shift in the FDR administration's ideological leanings between the First and Second New Deals, which corroborates the argument that left wing critics were able to exercise considerable influence over shaping New Deal policy. For example, Long's promise of steeply graduated taxes on corporate and personal incomes such that no ~~for~~ personal fortune would exceed \$5 million, and each family would be guaranteed an annual income of \$2,500 as well as a car, radio and a minimum standard of living (stipend), could be seen as attempted

to be countered by FDR's Revenue Act (1935) which raised top rate on incomes exceeding \$50,000 from 59% to 75%, representing a philosophical shift - away from the tax-cutting, pro-wealth notions of the Republicans, and demonstrated that the New Deal was being increasingly coloured by left-wing sentiment. Moreover, Townsend's plan to allow ~~the~~ the elderly (over 60) as a guaranteed pension of \$200 a month was attractive to a demographic that felt fundamentally excluded by the initial New Deal measures undertaken, and so FDR's partial appropriation of such an economic notion in the 1935 Social Security Act, incorporating pensions for the elderly once again demonstrated how left wing criticism had shifted Roosevelt ideologically leftwards. Thus FDR was beginning to, through more liberally-coloured measures, combat the left's 'battle of invective against Pierce Franklin' and give the impression to the public that the New Deal was sufficiently taming the excesses of capitalism and uplifting the 'forgotten man'.

Yet, there are a number of credible arguments that refute the notion that left-wing critics were paramount in challenging the New Deal to alter its course and essentially shift its objectives and hence specifications for relief, reform and recovery. Firstly, as left wing critics, unlike the right and the Supreme Court did not contend with the fundamental premise of New Deal legislation which through sparking the 'Big Bang' had significantly expanded the role of federal government and redefined American liberty to denote economic security, arguably their influence was not so significant in fundamentally altering the course of New Deal policy; left wing critics merely alleviated the timetable for the implementation of many liberal measures, reminding FDR of the exigency to account for the forgotten man. Perhaps the assembling of a more liberal Congress post 1935 ameliorated FDR's path to implementing such measures such as the Wagner Act (1937) which meant that left wing opposition was not pivotal or solely responsible. Second, many left

wing critics' schemes seemingly represented a 'fool's paradise' and were wholly non-implementable, unsustainable modes of recovery. (e.g. Townsend's pension plan would have necessitated half of the nation's income, not only a 2% tax on corporate incomes, and Coughlin's anti-Semitic indictments were not in good taste - making class enemies would unlikely effect recovery) which meant that the electorate would unlikely elect such fiery, incoherent, unworkable ideologues, too accustomed to the moderate two-party system, implying FDR did not face a real threat (politically) from the left and as such would not be forced to alter policy accordingly. In fact, FDR's agenda from the beginning was seemingly to enact social and economic change in America - 'my plan is as radical as American liberty itself' - and hence the left seemingly heightened the exigency of doing so, not unwittingly, charging the New Deal's philosophy on intent.

To conclude, left wing critics seemed to exert considerable influence over the New Deal as a result of their sheer grassroots backing; yet, the key effect of left wing opposition was to reiterate the national disillusionment with the excesses of ~~the~~ untempered capitalism, and compel FDR to adhere to his own rhetoric and initial agenda of enacting radical, 'bold, persistent economic experimentation', shifting his attention from the more moderate skepticism of saving capitalism. The left was a quarantone for FDR's radicalism.
(not reason



ResultsPlus
Examiner Comments

This Level 5 response offers a precisely focused and sustained analysis of the debate regarding the influence left-wing critics had on the shaping of the New Deal. Impressive range and depth is evident. The arguments deployed are reinforced with detailed support throughout and the essay is rounded off with a nuanced judgement in the conclusion.

Question 5

On Question 5, stronger responses were firmly focused on the issue of the irreconcilability of slavery and modernising capitalism in accounting for the outbreak of the Civil War, although, of course, the latter was linked to the other factors raised in the sources. High scoring answers also offered some balance in examining the debate and were likely to recognise the interaction of factors, particularly the links between slavery, economic outlook and secession. Weaker answers (1) generalised about the reasons for the outbreak of the Civil war in 1861 without offering specific development on the view that 'slavery and modernising capitalism were irreconcilable'; (2) simply described the evidence for the outbreak of the war presented in the three sources with little or no integration of own knowledge for

~~SECTION B PLANNING:~~

~~Intro -~~

- ~~- historical debate~~
- ~~- each source~~

- ~~- S1 - agrees, irreconcilable, compelling~~
- ~~- however S2 and S3 put forward views that are not without merit, with S2 suggesting revisionism and political failings and S3 implicating CD and conspiracies~~

~~P1 - Unlike the others S2 nonetheless agrees firmly with interpretation indeed it states it explicitly~~

~~P2 - In contrast to the previous source, S2 argues - - - the view is fairly persuasive~~

~~P3 - S3 strongly conflicts with the previous 2~~

Since the Civil War began in 1861, there has been fierce and active debate between historians as to its main, underlying cause. S1 suggests, agreeing with the interpretation of the question, that North and South went to war over the irreconcilable difference between slavery and modernising capitalism. Whilst this is a compelling argument, the views put forward by S2 and S3 are certainly not without merit, with S2 citing political failings and S3 arguing conspiracies and cultural differences as the main catalyst for conflict.

Despite the contrasting arguments voiced in S2 and S3, it

is undeniable that SI argues persuasively for these irreconcilable differences: "A dynamic Northern-based capitalism could no longer coexist with the outworn institution of slavery." To an extent this is somewhat accurate, as clashes of economies were demonstrated throughout the lead-up to war, as shown by the Northern economic crisis of 1857 and Buchanan's refusal to help ^(a Southern president). However the view that slavery was "outworn" is arguably misleading, ^{as Stamp argues,} considering that it had made the South's economy one of the most powerful in the world, with slave prices continuing to increase till 1860. Nonetheless ^{economic} the conflict between North and South ~~was~~ raised time and again: "Many in the South rejected pro-business attitudes as crude Northern consumerism." This further suggested how slavery had become embedded in both Southern culture and Southern psyche. ~~Certainly the~~

Moreover, the Southern economy's reliance on slavery forced them to expand, as overworking slaves and cotton picking rendered much of the land infertile. In order to maintain economic power they needed more space, and this made co-existence with Northern industry challenging at best: "In short, slavery and modernising capitalism were irreconcilable... Those in the anti-slavery camp regarded this conflict as a contest over the future of America." This demonstrates that economic interests, defined in the North by industry and the South by slavery, had become a

crucible for inescapable conflict; this was shown as early as the Mexican War, in which the North manipulated their economic stance and Southern debt in order to force the South to retreat. Consequently, S1 convincingly argues that, fundamentally, irreconcilable differences in economies and slavery was the catalyst for war in 1861. Indeed, historians Charles and Mary Beard view capitalism and economies as making open war inevitable.

S2, however, voices a conflicting interpretation ~~to~~ in comparison to S1. The source argues not for irreconcilable difference but for cultural differences reflected in conspiracy theories, and vast political failings: "It was due to fanaticism (on both sides), misunderstanding, misrepresentation, or perhaps politics." This view undoubtedly carries merit and accuracy: in the immediate aftermath of secession the role of incendiary fire-eaters in the South and their promotion of militaristic views ~~beginning~~^{beginning} in South Carolina, and strident Northern abolitionists certainly vocalised a great deal of conflict. Furthermore, S2's suggestion of "perhaps politics" is arguably true as well: as early as President Taylor and his two-faced campaign, until Lincoln's policy of silence after and prior to his inauguration caused sectional conflict and communicative misunderstandings. S2 moreover rallies against the fundamentalist and progressive historiographical arguments with persuasive evidence: "it was no part

of the Republican programme to smash slavery in the South. Nor did the territorial aspect of slavery mean much politically beyond agitation." This is clearly true: despite great instances of sectional, slave-based tensions, the South had never proved wholly willing to war over it, quickly submitting to Northern policies such as the retreat from expansion in ~~Texas~~^{Mexico} and accepting Texas as 1 state rather than the preferred 5. As a result, "the war was not down to slavery, economic grievance, states rights, or diverse civilisations." Compellingly, arguably with stronger evidence than S1, S2 disagrees that slavery and capitalism were irreconcilable, but that fault lay with politics and fanatical conspiracy theorists.

Likewise, unlike S1, S3 cites conspiracy theories within cultural differences as the reason why North and South went to war in 1861. It is argued that secession, and implicitly, war, "was the product of logical reasoning within a framework of irrational perception." Indeed, this sense of "irrational perception" had been prevalent particularly in the 1850s, in which the South viewed publications such as 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' by Harriet Beecher-Stowe, or earlier still William Lloyd Garrison's newspaper 'The Liberator' as clear motifs of Northern abolitionist bias. Moreover, this was not one-sided - which the source does not mention - as the North viewed incidents such as Pierce's Ostend Manifesto and conflict

with Cuba as foolproof evidence of Southern desire for a slave empire. However the source also argues for the more immediate effect of conspiracy theories surrounding Lincoln: "The election of Lincoln was at once the expression of the will of the Northern people to destroy slavery, and the key to that destruction." This concurs with the view in the Southern mindset of Lincoln as a "rabid abolitionist". Similarly, "Implementing the power of the presidency, and in time the rest of the Federal machinery, slavery would be legally abolished in time." This view of conspiracies appears greatly during the period of secession, despite the fact that Lincoln was a minority president and did not control the legislature in Congress, the Senate, or the Supreme Court. Although S3 argues very convincingly for this, evidence still suggests that although ^{as Gerovase suggests} cultural difference ^{miscommunication} and sectional conspiracies were undoubtedly significant ~~was~~ a background catalyst, it is not wholly argued that it triggered open conflict.

As a result, although S1 and S3 have entirely conflicting interpretations, both argue compellingly, with S2's view of irreconcilable difference ^{between} ~~the~~ slavery and modernising capitalism particularly strong. Nonetheless, the evidence demonstrated by S2, in addition to the fact that political individuals and groups did on the whole hold the greatest power, suggests an alternate view to the

Interpretation of the question: that it was not irreconcilable differences that made war break out in 1861, but political actions and indeed conspiracies that caused civil war, as ~~based on~~^{supported} by numerous revisionist historians.



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Examiner Comments

This Level 4 response integrates source material and the candidate's own knowledge to good effect. The key arguments in the sources are identified, examined and extended (with own knowledge) to develop the argument. The conclusion also makes a clear judgement about the relative importance of 'irreconcilable' differences between slavery and modernising capitalism.



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Examiner Tip

During the planning stage, after you have identified the key issues raised by the sources, add your own knowledge to these points. That way you'll find it easier to integrate the two elements in the actual essay.

Question 6

On Question 6, stronger responses identified and developed arguments for and against the proposition from the sources, and considered to what extent the Confederate defeat was due to the South's problems in financing the conflict. Higher scoring answers also weighed this stated factor against superior Northern resources, sectional overreaction, and the impact of Lincoln's election, integrating relevant own knowledge. Weaker answers tended to be essays which (1) adopted a weak 'potted' summary approach to the sources; (2) included little or no own knowledge in support of their argument; (3) uncritically accepted a familiar viewpoint (e.g. the issue of states' rights in the South) and failed to consider properly the other arguments set out in the sources; (4) were largely narrative accounts of the Civil War.

1. Financing war → 5k% infl STAMPP 1. Tax^S N
 → \$800m + debt 2. Borrow + print money - least infl
 → Et larger loan Jan 63 15m 3. Slave owners 4. Slavery
 → impressment N 4. Income tax - Chase
 5. Loans + bonds - Chase

2. Died of States' Rights

1. Centralisation = unpop
 2. Brown (Ga)
 3. Vance (NC)

3. Davis

1. Unpop - unlikeable Linc
 2. ~~Fixing + regulating~~ Cabinet - Stephens + Brown McPherson + Source C
 3. Nationalism - counter
 4. ~~Taxing + regulating~~ - counter
 5. 'Undemised very institutions'...

SOURCES

Counter argument

Counter argument

While the ~~Confederacy~~ Confederacy began the war well with convincing victories and a strong general at the helm, she still did not secure an overall victory for a number of reasons. Her inability to finance the war sufficiently undeniably inhibited her ability to win, particularly as this had a harsh effect on her economy and resulted in dramatic debt and inflation, whereas the Union was successful in financing her side of the war.^{under Chase} Yet it could be argued that it was states' rights that caused the Confederacy's loss as this caused resentment and dissent amongst

Davis' governors, lowering morale. However some blame Davis for the defeat as he was not a likeable character and didn't work well with his cabinet. A lack of nationalism and a loss of morale also contributed, whereas the North was led well and kept up the will to fight.

Source 4 says that "Confederate failure can be seen in the field of finance", reflecting how the defeat was due to her inability to finance the war well. The source points out how she 'raised only 5.6% to finance the war from taxes' which meant that the Confederacy lacked capital to ~~pay~~ fund the war effort and provide the Confederacy with sufficient strength to defeat the Union which had strong industry (80% of all American factories) and huge wealth (the Union controlled roughly 100% of banking and shipping). It was particularly difficult for the South to tax because the rates couldn't keep in line with inflation. Instead the Confederacy had to 'borrow heavily' ~~to print money~~, as Source 4 writes. The Confederates relied on foreign loans such as the January 1863 Edinger loan from Europe of \$15 million. However these loans began to be recalled when she appeared to be a lost cause ^{and the South was left in over \$1000m debt} and this meant that the Confederates could not fund the war sufficiently, leading to defeat. Printing money ~~created 5000% inflation during the war which shattered the economy~~. Source 4 also says that the 'North financed two-thirds of its war effort' from loans and the South 'only two-fifths', highlighting how she was ineffective in financing the war, damaging her ability to win. Source 4 says that the Confederacy had to 'print money' which led to 5000% inflation, shattering the economy and making it so difficult to trade goods within the South as they were wildly unaffordable. The military blockade had squeezed the South as well and made these problems even worse as they couldn't buy

goods from abroad to support the armies or citizens. Source 4 also mentions how 'slave-owning classes continued to pursue profit' and not follow government policy which undermined the financing of the war, thus weakening the Confederates. The North, on the other hand, was well-financed by Chase a Secretary of the Treasury, who financed the war with the treasury, gold reserves, customs duties and tax revenue, inflationary

monetary policy and \$500m worth of bonds - Source 4 mentions how bonds 'sustained' the war effort. He also introduced the Morrill Tariff in 1861 to protect industry and reformed the banking system with the National Bank Act in 1863. He also 'introduced progressive income tax' as well which provided revenue for finance. In this way, 'the North handled its finances more wisely', as Source 4 puts it. ^{which is supported by Kenneth Stampp} However Josiah Morgan, the Confederate Ordnance Chief, was very successful in financing the war considering what they had - he managed to supply the armies and rebuild the arms and munitions industry basically from scratch. Yet in comparison to the North, the South's inability to finance the war led to its loss of the civil war.

Conversely, Source 5 claims that 'resistance to the Richmond government by the states' was responsible for Confederate defeat. This highlights how it was opposition to the war that led to their downfall because there was not enough motivation to fight hard enough for the Confederate cause. Source 5 uses the example of Owsley and his 'Died of States' rights' argument, which said that the South's commitment to promoting states' rights led to its defeat because it was unwilling to centralise industry and railways, for instance. This created disorder and disintegration, hence weakening the Confederate side and resulting in defeat. Source 5 also states that 'state governors grew particularly uncooperative', which relates to governors Brown and Vance. For example Brown, a Georgian governor, was opposed to conscription and fought against it by exempting thousands of Georgians from the draft by placing them in bogus militia units. Similarly, Vance undermined the Confederate cause by supplying North Carolina troops with

supplies that he retained just for them. Both of these governors defended their actions with states' rights theory; as Sarce 5 says, reflecting how this desperation not to admit to federal government weakened the Confederates so greatly that they lost the war. Yet McPherson says that this was not the case because Davis did centralise - for instance, he regulated train timetables and used impressment throughout the South to supply

the war, despite some states being opposed to this. So perhaps this wasn't even the case. In fact Sarce 6 says that the conflict within Confederate nationalism ~~was~~ was 'not between states' rights and a centralised war machine', highlighting ^{therefore} that this was not such a great issue and ^{cause} did not ~~lead to~~ Confederate defeat.

Sarce 6 also talks about how it was Davis who was responsible for Confederate loss of the Civil war. The Sarce talks about how Davis was seen by many Southerners as a tyrant, which underlines how Davis was generally not very popular - he was cold and aloof and didn't even want the presidency and he was not a good communicator which harmed his popularity. This undermined the war effort because it was difficult to unite behind such a man. ~~Sarce~~ This was the antithesis of the Union leader - Lincoln was called by Chase 'very near being a perfect man' and he was an excellent communicator - his Gettysburg address in November 1863 inspired the people after 23,000 deaths, a stark contrast to Davis. Sarce 6 also talks about how 'his largely undistinguished cabinet was always arguing', showing how the cabinet did not work well together and in fact Davis often changed members, distorting relationships. There was also no two party system in the Confederate Congress which led to more arguments and little action. This hugely weakened the South and this poor leadership was not sufficient to lead the Confederacy to victory. Yet Lincoln's cabinet was strong, as Davis Gordon stresses, and this 'team of rivals' worked well together. Davis also faced opposition from within his cabinet - for instance Stephens openly said he was 'weak and vacillating' and he and Brown publicly embarrassed and discredited Davis. Such dimming

weakened the side enormously, leading to defeat. This duality can also be seen by the refusal of border states to back the cause which took away strength from the Confederates as Maryland had the American capital and Kentucky controlled an essential part of the Ohio River as well as the fact that they had large populations. Lincoln said himself "I would love to have God on my side but I must have Kentucky." Source 6 also

mentions the conflict between the 'elites' conservatism and its preference of rebellion" which highlights further duality within the South which greatly weakened her - for instance the elites were against ^{the} suppression of freedoms that came with the war, such as impressment of slaves and being told what to grow, leading to undermining of the cause. This was also seen with the demoralisation of draft evaders in places like North Carolina and Alabama who refused to fight for the cause, greatly limiting the Confederates' ability to win the war. Source 6 mentions how the war effort 'steadily undermined the very institutions and values that secession was supposed to preserve', partly countering Source 5 by saying states' rights were in fact somewhat disregarded and highlighting how morale diminished as the South lost the sight of what they were fighting for, leading to defeat. However Rollin Osterweis stresses how nationalism was strong in the South to the end of the war and McPherson claims that it was defeat that led to lost morale, not vice versa so ~~perhaps~~ this was not the reason for Confederate loss.

Therefore the main reason why the Confederacy lost the war was her inability to ~~not~~ finance the war well as this damaged morale and weakened her ability to fight the strong and wealthy Union. While states' rights may have held back the South somewhat, this was not large enough to have a significant effect on the outcome of the war. ~~Furthermore~~ Davis may have also contributed to defeat as a weak leader but nationalism in the Confederacy did remain strong so this was not a reason for Confederate defeat but some duality did weaken the South.



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Examiner Comments

Here, the candidate has produced a Level 3 answer overall by taking some information from the sources and attempting to integrate a decent amount of own knowledge to develop the argument. However, there is scope to cross reference the sources in a more systematic way, as the structure used here is essentially source by source.



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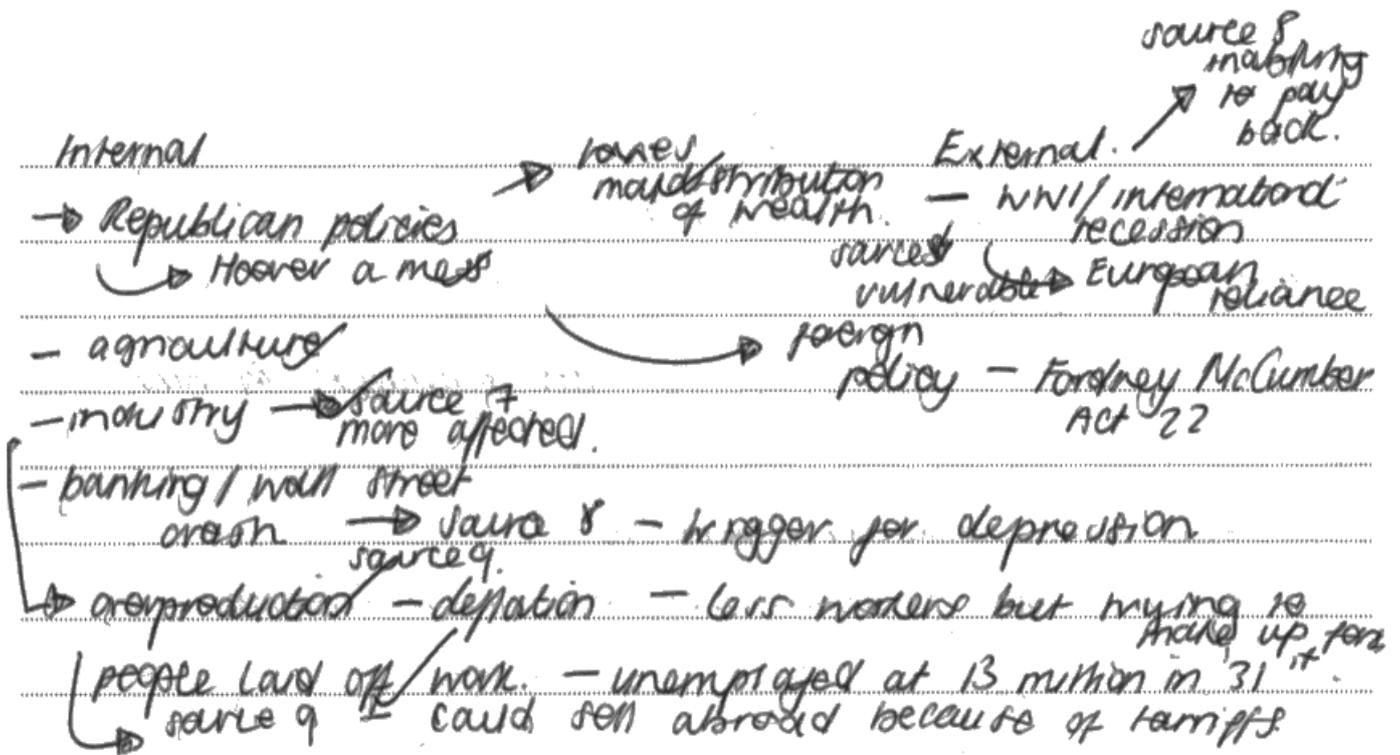
Examiner Tip

When planning your answer, read through the sources carefully and list all the support and challenge points you can. This will help you to cross-reference effectively in your answer.

Question 7

On Question 7, stronger responses demonstrated a firm grasp of the controversy over the reasons for the economic downturn in the USA from 1929 and assessed the source arguments confidently. Here, candidates' own knowledge was often extensive, although this was not a definite requirement. More importantly, own knowledge (e.g. the international economic problems or the issues of overproduction and maldistribution) was firmly tied to addressing the debate within the sources and was convincing. Good understanding of the relationship between the sources, and exploration of these links using own knowledge, was also found.

Weaker responses were answers which (1) relied on a descriptive account of the US economic downturn from 1929 which was inadequately linked to both the question and the sources provided; (2) adopted a weak 'potted' summary approach to the sources or else included little or no own knowledge in support of their argument; (3) uncritically accepted a familiar viewpoint (e.g. the role of international economic factors or overproduction) to explain the Depression and failed to consider properly the other arguments set out in the sources.



The economic downturn of the late 1920's and early 1930's has been greatly blamed on issues within the USA such as industry's fall in demand as well as the role of ineffective Republican policies in managing the economy. However as McElvaine suggests, the 'internal problems (of the USA) ... had an (negative impact) on the American Depression eight times greater than foreign ones. Pressure

from the war-damaged economies of Europe negatively affected the state of the US economy, although it must be greatly argued that the role of the US government proves that the country was a breeding ground for economic depression ~~from the start~~ since the war.

One major internal role that mainly affected the Great Depression was the actions of the Republican^s governments since the 1920's. The ~~major~~ main laissez-faire ideology impacted greatly on their policies, with the belief that government intervention is less than necessary as quoted by a former president Coolidge - 'the chief business of the American people is business'. This ultimately allowed low regulation on businesses and corruption within the stocks, despite the role of Federal Reserve Board proactively doing to improve the situation. Likewise, the role of Treasury Secretary, Andrew Mellon in lowering taxes for the rich, ~~is~~ ~~also~~ from 50% to 20% in an attempt for 'trickle down economics' greatly strengthened the gap between the rich and poor and as insinuated by McElvaine, the 'maldistribution of wealth'. Kennedy makes reference to role of Hoover and his view on asserting that the Depression was based on international factors, however it could be argued that his ideas and policies didn't improve the situation. Tariffs such as the Fordney McCumber Act and Hawley Smoot Tariff in 1930 greatly worsened the trade of the USA, as quoted by McElvaine to the 'shrink of \$2 billion of America's GNP'

This terrible choice of foreign policy*, as well as his ideas of rugged individualism and voluntarism as instructed by Watkins, greatly suggests that Hoover could be seen as an unsuccessful lame duck president.

* as seen through his failure to get rid of the gold standard in 1931 and the worrying backlash from Britain, who in turn raised the tariffs. As a result, as Watkins notes in source 9, 'nothing could be sold abroad' and as well as this nothing could also be sold domestically. This ultimately was the reason why the Great Depression affected the USA greatly as referred to in source 7.

Additionally, both McElwaine and Watkins make reference to the role of industry and agriculture in bringing about economic downturn to the USA. The aftermath of the war ~~led to~~ put farmers in a 'weak position' as the internationally they were ~~unable~~ ^{because of tariffs} to sell bushels of wheat fell from \$4 to \$1 quickly. As well as this, the boom of the 1920's meant that the higher standard of living required more meat consumption, thus sales of grain went down.

The role of the ~~the~~ previous government in restriction of wheat and grain due to prohibition and failed legislation such as Hoover's Agricultural Marketing Act 1929, meant that many farmers suffered in an industry that was facing great decline in the ~~1930s~~ since the 1910's as a

result of terrible weather conditions of the dustbowl and droughts, arguably suggesting that the agricultural industry was doomed from the depression only worsened it. Similarly, Hatcher argues that the industry suffered many setbacks due to fall in demand.

Critics argue that the deflation in prices in the late 1920s as well as the 'maldistribution of wealth' caused by Mellon in source 7 both led to a lack of disposable income for many working class to afford as Watkins states, 'increasingly workers could not afford to buy the very goods they were producing.' As well as, source 9 argues that overproduction was one of the major problems created by the crash. 'Many workers, mostly African Americans, were laid off at work, as more products were made to compensate, for them, with the output per worker at 43 per cent.' (Watkins) The failure to spend meant a lack of demand and no one was able to buy and sell goods. This arguably notes that industry and agriculture were already ~~is~~ feeling the USN internally before the wall Street crash of 1929.

On the other hand, it could be argued that the USA suffered the depression mainly due to international dimensions such as the aftermath of the First World War. Kennedy notes the impact WWI specifically had on the USA especially in terms of reparations. America had ~~just~~ given out loans to 'Allied governments (Britain and France)' as well as Germany under the Dawes Act 1924 as a result of the hyperinflation the previous year. However, Kennedy notes that the 'current financial merry-go-round' was inherently unstable. In this case, both

Britain and France had already suffered from their own mini-depressions in 1920's and ultimately built a heavy reliance on both American loans and goods. Thus, the inadequacy of the Hawley Smoot Tariff in 1930, greatly diminished the need for foreign trade as seen by McEwaine, 'the world collapse was cutting \$1.5 billion from American exports between 1929 and 1933'. This ultimately meant as reiterated by Watkins, '(USA) couldn't sell enough of it abroad and even more significant, they couldn't sell enough at home.'
Pregnantly, the Wall Street Crash was the final trigger for the US and their ~~for~~ international relationships. The financial merry-go-round mentioned ~~for~~ by Kennedy was greatly halted by 1929 Wall Street Crash, 'knocking a crucial link out of the circuit of international cash flow.' USA wanted their money back for

reimbursement, but no one could pay back. This suggests to a great extent that the Great Depression was fuelled by international dimensions, which had a domino effect on the state of the economy and subsequent depression.

In conclusion, the role of the Republican policies, and more specifically the inadequacy of Hoover and his 'too-little-too-late' attitude were to blame for the severity of the Great Depression, most specifically his

ideas of free trade and minimal international intervention also managed to affect the external problems such as by the granting of loans to Europe on trade. However, it must be argued that the struggle of American industry greatly affected the economy of the USA and ultimately suggested that it was simply an underlying disaster, waiting to happen.



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Examiner Comments

This Level 3 response illustrates a common limitation in answers to the Controversy question. Although the candidate demonstrates secure own knowledge regarding the reasons for the 1929-33 economic downturn in the US, the sources are used for illustration or brief 'starter' points rather than to drive the argument forward.

Question 8

On Question 8, stronger responses had a good understanding of the economic/social performance debate surrounding the New Deal in the 1930s. Source arguments were assessed with some confidence although there was often uneven development across the package as a whole.

At the higher levels, candidates' own knowledge was often extensive, although this was not a definite requirement. More importantly, such knowledge was firmly tied to addressing the debate within the sources. Good understanding of the relationship between the sources (e.g. the conclusions reached by Source 10 and Source 11 on the experience of black Americans under the New Deal are not mutually exclusive) and exploration of these links, using own knowledge, was found.

Weaker responses tended to be (1) a largely unsupported commentary on the New Deal's ability to deliver economic improvement and/or social success which was inadequately linked to the sources provided; (2) a basic 'potted' source by source commentary with little or no cross-referencing which prevented the development of a support/challenge approach; (3) a generalised narrative account of the measures introduced under the New Deal which barely addressed the question.

Whilst the New Deal (ND) was unable to effect complete economic recovery, it did help to mitigate the 'psychological Depression', crucially expanding the role of federal government and committing itself to promulgate 'bold, economic experimentation'. Source 10 and all the sources offer balanced interpretations of the effectiveness of the ND in allowing "modest but definite recovery" (12) whilst also providing "something" (11) which allowed the partial achievement of a "more just society" (10), creating the conditions for future socio-economic change and an alleviation in the economy. Yet, we must also contextualise the scale and severity of the Depression which is evident in that FDR was the ND's ad hoc series of

emergency measures would be unable to wholly uplift the nation's economy. Although, one may definitely propose the ND to have set in motion a "halfway revolution" (10).

All three sources comment on unemployment as a means of gauging economic improvement. Whilst source 10 uses unemployment to impress the ND's inability to effect economic recovery, "as late as 1941, the unemployed numbered six million", source 12 counters this, instead citing that the ND essentially "checked the downwards deflationary spiral" through numerous "direct federal public works expenditure" (12). The CCC, for instance employed 500,000 over 87 years, injecting \$5560 into the economy; the WPA, moreover, employed around 20% of the workforce in its duration and at one point employed 2 million; source 11 states, however, that the "CCC... and the WPA" were "discriminatory which implies that as employment opportunities were not equitable, socio-economic recovery can be deemed partial indeed this is accurate as the CCC employed 17-24 year

olds, who were mainly ~~of~~ white and all men, thus discriminatory on the basis of gender; the WPA, however, did make efforts to include members of ethnic minorities in its schemes which contradicts

source 11's stance, and in fact Collier from the Indian Reorganization Act committee actively encouraged Native American participation in such schemes so as to boost employment across the demographic. The sources, furthermore comment on the invisible dividend of "hope for ultimate orderly recovery" (12) that the ND through expanding the role of government was able to bring, which is difficult to quantify but vital to appreciate when considering the 'paralysing fear' the Depression had brought to the country whose economic confidence had been severely depleted. Hence perhaps it is somewhat reductive to solely consider unemployment figures ("numbered six million", 10) to appreciate the extent to which the ND ~~was~~ a fundamentally socio-economic and political programme brought about recovery, as the programme seemingly necessitates a more qualitative analysis. Whilst it is true that unemployment,

albeit reduced by 9 million, remained at around 17% of the workforce in 1939, none of the sources overly comment on criticise FDR's ability to do so, recognizing that fundamental constraints perhaps meant full

economic recovery and "prosperity in peacetime" (10) was not attainable. Some 10's comment that the ND brought a "halfway revolution" (10) can be applied to FDR's fiscal conservatism and hence inadequate commitment to promulgate "eventual deficit spending" (12); his vacillation between fiscal expansion and contraction frustrated the implementation of a genuinely Keynesian policy of pump priming to boost aggregate demand and output; having prematurely cut ~~deficit~~ ^{government} spending, FDR squandered 66% of the gains made in 1933-7⁴ in employment and output terms which in turn meant that "modest... recovery" (12) was "paralleled" (12), and "not until the war year of 1943 did the army of jobless finally disappear" (10). Whilst this is indeed accurate, as by 1944, unemployment reached 1.2% due to the USA having become the 'arsenal of democracy', we must not negate

the ND's role in helping to institute, albeit "eventually" (12) and through pragmatism, not conviction, the intellectual economic framework, and tripartite consensus between government, labour,

and private enterprise in order for the ND to war economy to operate successfully and induce whole recovery. Thus, whilst the ND due to the scale of the intractable Depression and residual intellectual framework unable to bring full economic recovery, one must consider it crucially, having "left many problems unresolved" (10) in terms of the macroeconomy, mitigated the psychological Depression.

The ND furthermore sought to achieve a more holistic and socio-psychological and political recovery, evidenced in its objectives of 'saving capitalism' and 'uplifting the forgotten man'; indeed, all three sources comment on the ND's reformist impulse to avert social chaos. Sower 10 states the

ND achieved a "more just society", which exhibits racism as it, akin to source 11's stance ("failure to embrace a racial agenda" counterbalanced with "unprecedented gestures") implies that whilst unable to overhaul the institutions of a racist society, the ND began to redefine economic liberty to denote security and transform the

intellectual milieu. For instance, the ND was "recognising groups which had largely been unprotected" such as "industrial workers" (10) which seemed to have "halted the relentless erosion of labour standards" (12) - ~~the~~ source 12 comments on the NIRA as a piece of industrial legislation, commenting that it "seemed to prevent matters from getting worse" (12); well-intentioned, the NIRA instituted a \$11 / 40 hour week ^{NMW} in order to democratise consumer spending power; yet, the NIRA was a fundamentally flawed, unworkable piece of legislation, with the ^{SS7} codes drawn up merely boosting the power of large corporate enterprises who regulated these practices and as such were allowed to institute anti-competitive practices to squeeze small business with.

insufficient economies of scale. The NRA has been labelled the 'Negro Run Around' as it encouraged the layoff of black employees to cut costs, hence contradicting source 11's ~~argument~~ ~~fat~~ statement - "failure to embrace a racial agenda", and contradicting source 12's stance - "halted erosion of labour standards"; although an

attempt at forming a corporate state was forged, the ND was unable to sufficiently uplift the forgotten man - a pragmatic recognition of the fact that big business would ultimately constitute the lynchpin of recovery and hence must not be antagonised was the pragmatic opportunity FDR's recognition, adherent to source 10's contention - "halfway revolution". Moreover, the 1935 SSA constituted the cornerstone of a neo-liberal welfare state, advancing this national hope, but contained many flaws; the Southern Caste meant that FDR had to exclude disproportionately black sharecroppers and domestic servants; the prevalent fiscal conservatism

ensured the act was self-financing by payroll taxes and hence constituted short-run leakages from the circular flow of income. In the view of this, source 11's stance is perhaps overly optimistic as, in spite of recognizing accurately that "most of them needed more than they got".

Yet, fundamentally, the ND's willingness to confer a more humanitarian character on measures taken, "recognizing" (10) public sentiment to be

increasingly desirous of and favorable to the 'Big Bang' of federal government, and thus "in the light of a reaction from previous governments" (11) provide "hope for ultimately orderly recovery was significant in forming a coalition of blacks, eastern liberals, urban Democrats and old Progressives who maintained that the ND's instilling of a left-liberal intellectual climate, in spite of conservative provisions intimated greater social success than governments hitherto.

To conclude, the ND vitally helped restore economic confidence in the social, political and economic institutions of America, and despite being unable to effect whole economic recovery, did bring "modest" (12) improvement, creating the conditions for social success and change in America. All sources offer nuanced, largely balanced arguments; it can ~~not~~ be argued that social success utterly surpassed economic improvement, and that many of FDR's economic measures of relief, reform and recovery had an essentially socio-political inclination to them which perhaps gave the impression that sup



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Examiner Comments

This impressive Level 5 response possesses several strengths. The candidate uses the sources provided, together with own knowledge, to assess the 'limited economic improvement/considerable social success' viewpoint. The sustained analysis offers ample range and depth. This integrated approach is then rounded off with a clear judgement in the conclusion.



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Examiner Tip

To gain high marks on the Controversy question, you must have a sound subject knowledge. Check the specification for the key topics.

Paper Summary

The following recommendations are divided into two parts:

In Depth Study question

- Candidates must provide more factual details. Candidates need to ensure their subject knowledge conforms to the specification. Weaker responses usually lacked range and/or depth of analysis.
- Stay within the specific boundaries of the question – for example, some candidates explored issues outside of the relevant time periods.
- More candidates would benefit from planning their answers more effectively.
- In order to address the question more effectively, candidates need to offer an analysis not provide a descriptive or chronological account. Many candidates produced answers which were focused and developed appropriately.
- Some candidates need to analyse key phrases and concepts more carefully.
- Some candidates could have explored links and the interaction between issues more effectively.

Associated Historical Controversy question

- It is suggested that the students who perform best on Section B tended to be those who read the sources carefully, accurately and critically; recognised themes and issues arising from the sources, then used these to address the question. Some candidates potentially limited themselves by closing off possible areas of enquiry by seeking to make the evidence of the sources fit the contention in the question, without full thought to the issues within the sources, or by using the sources to illustrate arguments without relating evidence to other sources or own knowledge.
- Candidates need to treat the sources as a package to facilitate cross-referencing and advance a convincing line of argument. Many weaker responses were 'potted' summaries of each source which failed to develop a support/challenge approach.
- Candidates need to integrate the source material and their own knowledge more effectively to substantiate a particular view. Weaker responses were frequently too reliant on the sources provided and little or no own knowledge was included.
- Candidates should avoid memorised 'perspectives' essays and base their responses on the issues raised by the sources instead. The Associated Historical Controversy question is an exercise in interpretation not historiography.
- That said, there were very few really weak responses. The impression was that the substance of the source at least enabled candidates offer some development and supporting evidence. In such cases though, candidates often struggled to extend issues with own knowledge, or really analyse the given views.
- There was also a correlation between those candidates who reviewed all sources in their opening paragraph and high performance. Whilst a telling introduction is not essential, the process of carefully studying the sources to ascertain how they relate to the statement in the question, prior to writing the main analysis, allows candidates to clarify and structure their arguments.

Grade Boundaries

Grade boundaries for this, and all other papers, can be found on the website on this link:

<http://www.edexcel.com/iwantto/Pages/grade-boundaries.aspx>

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Llywodraeth Cynulliad Cymru
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