



2011 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 organisation of the answer, according to the degree to which the response:

establishes the context of the question and the relevant factors to be considered in the introduction demonstrates a development of the issue
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. The development is unstructured or random. 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. There is an attempt to develop an answer, though there may be some significant omissions. The conclusion may be implicit.
2 marks	The introduction establishes the context and indicates relevant factors. There is an identifiable development of the answer. 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. There is a coherent development directly related to the question. 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. There is a coherent development directly focused on the question. 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.

HISTORICAL STUDY: BRITISH HISTORY

Church, State and Feudal Society

Question 1: "The nobility received all of the benefits from the feudal structure while the peasants received none." How valid is this view of medieval society?

The candidate assesses whether or not nobles gained all of the benefits from the feudal structure, using evidence and arguments such as:

Arguments that the nobles received all the benefits and that the peasants received none

Nobles (and Kings)

- Nobles (and Kings) received feudal dues from their tenants. Royal lands amounted to one fifth of the cultivated land in the kingdom. Nobles and the church had most of the rest. Feudalism made monarchs much more powerful; nobles had judicial rights in their lands, and the right to call upon tenants to fight for them. Feudalism allowed the king to control the nobles, and the nobles to control their tenants.

Peasants

- The feudal term of villein or serf indicated a peasant who was not free to leave his home farm or village. They were bought and sold along with the land. They were expected to work at least three days a week in the lord's lands without recompense and hand over the best of their produce in exchange for the rent of their farmland.
- Peasants or villeins tended to work hard, mostly in the agricultural sector. All the work had to be done by hand and this resulted in long hours of backbreaking work.
- Not all peasants received the same amount of good farm land, and often it was the case that land was rotated amongst the peasants. This dissuaded them from attempts to improve the land; many did not put in the extra effort when next year their neighbour would reap the benefit.
- Accommodation was often very poor, especially for the lower strata of peasant society. Many peasants lived in poorly constructed one-bedroom dwellings, which they shared with their animals. A single hearth provided all the heat, lighting and cooking facilities.
- Firewood was at a premium; peasants were forced to pay a penny to their lord for the right to pick up fallen wood for the fires.
- Food was basic and in times of famine starvation was a real threat.

Arguments that nobles had problems as well as benefits

- The king and tenants in chief were supposed to offer protection, justice and guidance to their tenants. For example in England it was not uncommon for local lords to pay for several feasts throughout the year.
- The feudal structure did not just offer benefits for the nobility.
- Kings and Barons relied upon the loyalty of their followers, and needed to ensure that they did not lose that loyalty.
- Nobles still had duties to perform for the king, usually military service.

Arguments that the peasants received some benefits

- Peasants played an important part in feudal society, beyond the need for a productive class working in agriculture. It was expected that peasants would run their own day-to-day lives without the need for the feudal lord's presence. Local reeves and bailiffs, appointed by the peasants or the lord himself would act in his stead.
- Villeins had to organise themselves through the local manor court. The court dealt with sharing the land, fined those that broke the rules, and even brought murderers to trial.
- While work was hard the manor court ensured that everyone had a fair share of the good land to grow their crops. During bad times there were systems in place to share out food so that no one in the village went hungry.
- As the 12th century progressed famine became rare in England, since the manor system pulled in isolated communities and helped create new more viable villages throughout the kingdom.
- Improvements in agricultural equipment and the use of ploughs drawn by horses instead of oxen sped up the work and reduced the hours required in the field.
- Archaeological evidence points to homes occupied by small nuclear families, some with upper rooms that indicate a level of privacy previously thought impossible.
- Evidence of leisure activities included cards, chess pieces, musical instruments and even a football. Peasants were no longer bound to their lord's land as they once were.

Any other relevant factors

Church, State and Feudal Society

Question 2: “Despite its problems the Papacy maintained its authority in Scotland and England.” How valid is this view?

The candidate assesses the extent to which the Papacy maintained its authority in Scotland and England, using evidence and arguments such as:

Evidence of the Papacy maintaining its authority

- The simple fact that it was the church that crowned the kings led to the idea that the king was dependent on God for his role, and thus subservient to the church.
- Popes could apply religious sanctions against kings, through excommunication and interdicts. This was often used to bring political pressure against an opponent, as seen during the reign of King John in England and Robert Bruce in Scotland. The threat of such political powers was one way in which the church could enforce its will during the battle between itself and the state.
- The church’s importance within the feudal structure remained. Kings needed the literacy and numeracy skills of the clergy in order to help administer their realms; therefore the clergy could hold high office in government.
- The wealth of the church came mostly from large grants of land by nobles and especially kings. Thus the church became an integral part of the feudal structure, holding lands in both Scotland and England and being subject to military duties. The regular church was also politically important.
- The development of canon law, along with papal lawyers, helped to focus the arguments for papal authority. Christ was ‘Lord of the World’, and the pope as his vicar was the dispenser of his power. Thus he passed that power to the kings when the Church crowned them. The improving education of the population of Europe helped the church to train their priests in canon law and develop a Christendom-wide structure.

Evidence of decline of the church

The Great Schism

- Europe was divided between two popes. Within a few months of Urban VI’s election the majority of cardinals declared him deposed and elected a Frenchman, Clement VII, as pope in Avignon.
- Europe became divided between the two popes; allegiance divided along political lines, and local clergy followed the lead of their kings. Scotland and England supported different popes.
- The entire affair tarnished the reputation of the Papacy. People now condemned the political manoeuvring of the cardinals and the popes. Local bishops now looked to the secular kings of their area, rather than the Papacy, for guidance.

The Avignon Captivity

- While at Avignon the Papacy appeared to be more powerful than ever, but it was also seen as the tool of the French monarchy. The growing concern of the church in worldly matters, the increased taxation and pressure on kings meant that many questioned the autocratic nature of the Papacy and the church.

The Investiture Contest

- Henry I had many disputes with Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury over the choice of different bishops in his realm. Henry II argued with Becket over the trials of criminal clerics and the proper position of the church within England.
- William the Lion had the same issue when he tried to have his candidate for Bishop of St Andrews replace the Pope's choice. King David I used the monasteries to support his leadership and bring areas of the countryside under his law.
- In practice the king's hold over the English or Scottish churches tended to remain unbroken. Even after the murder of Becket, Henry retained the right to appoint bishops. The Scottish church remained free of control from the Archbishop of York thanks to the Papal Bull of 1192.
- Kings allowed the taxation of the church by the Papacy, but in England the royal government appointed most of the collectors and they kept the majority of the proceeds.
- The effects of excommunication and interdict were blunted through overuse. The Scottish church never carried out the excommunication of Robert Bruce, and the years of interdict in England seemed to have had little obvious impact.

Other Evidence

- Long term abuses by the clergy, heavy taxation and the lavish lifestyles of the higher clergy and the papal court increasingly brought the Papacy into disrepute. Monarchs could use this to challenge the Papacy.

Any other relevant factors

Church, State and Feudal Society

Question 3: How far can it be argued that David I of Scotland and Henry II of England successfully established centralised feudal monarchies?

The candidate assesses how far it can be argued that David I and Henry II successfully established centralised feudal monarchies using evidence and arguments such as:

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 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 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 by 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 barons' armies of Flemish knights.

Development of the justice system

- 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.
- 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.

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 attempt to establish more authority over the church in his dispute with Thomas Beckett.

Any other relevant factors

The Century of Revolutions 1603 – 1702

Question 4: “Religion was the most important cause of the challenge to the authority of James I in England.” How true is this assessment?

The candidate evaluates the importance of religion in causing the challenge to the authority of James I in England, using evidence and arguments such as:

Religion

- James I had lifelong hatred of Puritanism.
- Puritans existed in large numbers in House of Commons and were demanding church reform.
- King feared moves towards Presbyterianism; rejected the Millenary Petition at the Hampton Court Conference of 1604, saying “no bishops, no king”.
- King vowed to maintain episcopalian Church of England.
- King relaxed Recusancy Laws against Roman Catholics.
- Gunpowder Plot of 1605.
- King allowed son to marry Roman Catholic French princess and allow her to celebrate mass privately at court.

Other factors

Finance

- James I wanted to exist financially independently of Parliament.
- King manipulated statute books to re-impose anachronistic laws designed merely to raise revenue.
- Fiscal devices such as monopolies and wardships were imposed
- King alienated natural allies in House of Lords by selling honours and titles.
- Increases in customs duties led to Bates Case in 1606 which James I won, though Parliament declared duties illegal in 1610.

Politics

- Since days of Henry VIII MPs felt they could criticise Crown freely.
- James I asserted Divine Right of Kings.
- House of Commons opposed him.
- King conceded defeat in Goodwin Case.
- James I attempted to curtail Parliamentary freedom of speech by imprisoning outspoken MPs in the Tower of London when Parliament was dissolved.
- Attitude of James I unfavourable to Parliament.
- Royal favourites resented by political rivals.

Law

- James I appointed judges who would favour Crown.
- Parliament objected to abuse of power.
- King imposed martial law in towns where troops were preparing to embark on foreign campaigns.
- Parliament opposed to martial law.
- King billeted troops in homes of civilians to enforce law.

Any other relevant factors

The Century of Revolutions 1603 – 1702

Question 5: To what extent did religious issues bring about the English Civil War?

The candidate evaluates the extent to which religious issues brought about the English Civil War, using evidence and arguments such as:

Religious issues

- 1628 Charles I made William Laud Archbishop of Canterbury.
- Laud wanted to stamp out Puritanism and believed in authority and discipline of the Church and sacred status of clergy.
- Anyone who offended the Church was brought to trial.
- Laud's High Church policies were detested by all Puritans, including many MPs.
- Charles I authorised Laud's punishment of Puritan preachers and clamp-down on conventicles.
- Tight censorship of printed word to prevent criticism of High Church.
- 20,000 Puritans fled England to America in 10 years.
- 1637 Laud imposed Prayer Book in Scotland.
- Prayer Book fiercely opposed by members of Scottish Kirk.
- Thousands of Scots signed National Covenant pledging to defend Presbyterianism.
- Charles I lost 1st and 2nd Bishops' Wars in 1639 and 1640 in attempt to enforce Prayer Book.
- Charles I allowed Queen Henrietta Maria to celebrate Mass publicly at court with representative of Pope in attendance, which infuriated Puritans in Parliament.
- King influenced by wife who encouraged him to relax laws against Roman Catholics, Laud who encouraged him to promote High Church policies, and Thomas Wentworth whose work made king more absolute.

Other factors

Economic issues

- Charles I wanted to be financially independent, but resorted to anachronistic methods of raising revenue, such as forced loans, forest laws and distraint of knighthood.
- Methods unpopular with MPs.
- Tonnage and poundage tax allowed kings a share in profits from farm-produce.
- Parliament only voted to grant this to Charles I for 1 year, but he continued to raise it without their consent.
- King used Court of Star Chamber to impose heavy fines on those committing crimes against royal policy.
- Charles used legal loopholes to sell monopolies to companies rather than individuals.
- 1634 he re-imposed Ship Money and in 1635 extended the tax inland.
- Parliament opposed this, as there was no guarantee that it would always be used for ship-building.
- Financial crisis between 1640 and 1642, Charles I asked for Parliamentary funding for Bishops Wars, MPs took advantage, demanding abolition of prerogative courts and ship money, introduction of Triennial Act, and impeachment of Wentworth who was condemned to death.

Political issues

- Charles I believed in Divine Right, treated promises to Parliament lightly, was poor judge of character and surrounded by advisors unsuited to their positions.
- Parliament tried to introduce bills and Charles I disapproved.
- He imprisoned MPs who criticised his stance against them and some remained in prison for up to 11 years.
- House of Commons antagonised the king by impeaching serving government ministers.
- Impeachments designed to show that ministers were responsible to Parliament as well as Crown.
- When Parliament was asked to support Charles I's foreign policy it drew up Petition of Right in 1628 and forced king to sign it.
- Although it reduced King's powers, in 1629 Charles I dissolved Parliament because it criticised his levying of tonnage and poundage.
- Between 1629 and 1640 – "Eleven Years Tyranny" – Charles I ruled without Parliament.
- Threats of Scottish invasion in 1640-2 led to drastic action by Parliament in forming its own army.
- Rebellion in Ireland, hostilities broke out in Ireland as people rose up against ruthless policies imposed by Wentworth during 1630s.
- Political crisis, January 1642, Charles entered Commons to try and arrest 5 Puritan MPs, but they escaped.
- Civil War, Charles I left London for the north, joined by two-thirds of Lords and one-third of Commons, by March 1642 Parliament formed an army and king responded by raising standard at Nottingham.

Legal issues

- Charles I's use of Court of Star Chamber caused resentment in Parliament.
- MPs believed Star Chamber was being used as instrument for enforcing royal policy.
- 1637: people were outraged by sentencing of 3 men to be pilloried, have ears cropped and be imprisoned for life merely for writing Puritanical pamphlets.
- King allowed Archbishop of Canterbury to use Court of High Commission to put on trial anyone who opposed his religious policy and to persecute Puritans.
- Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Stafford, was king's chief minister from 1628
- Wentworth used Council of the North to enforce ruthless "Thorough" policies in north of England, put down rebellions and influence justice system.
- 1633, Wentworth was made Lord Deputy of Ireland.
- There he revived Ireland's fishing, farming and linen industries but this was merely to generate more money for Crown and make Irish subservient to king.

Any other relevant factors

The Century of Revolutions 1603 – 1702

Question 6: How important were the actions of James II in causing the Revolution of 1688-1689?

The candidate evaluates the importance of the actions of James II within a wide context of factors in causing the Revolution of 1688-1689, using evidence and arguments such as:

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.

Other factors

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.
- Charles II initially did not try to abuse power.
- In turn, Parliament realised that king could not live off own finances and granted him taxation on alcohol.
- Nevertheless, towards end of reign Charles II ruled without Parliament for 4 years.
- Divine Right preached from pulpits.
- It seemed old Stuart combative approach to rule was re-asserting itself over Parliament.

Religious issues

- Issue of church governance which arose before the 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.

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.

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 13th 1689.

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.
- 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.

Any other relevant factors

The Atlantic Slave Trade

Question 7: To what extent were Britain's military victories in the wars of the eighteenth century the main reason for the development of the Atlantic Slave Trade?

The candidate evaluates the extent to which British military victories in the eighteenth century were the main reasons for the development of the slave trade, using evidence and arguments such as:

Military victories

- The Treaty of Utrecht, at the end of the war of the Spanish Succession gave the British the **asiento** or right to be the sole supplier of slaves to Spain's colonies in South America for a period of 30 years. The contract for this was given to the newly formed South Sea Company. Queen Anne was given 22.5% of the Companies Stock.
- In 1714 George I inherited her shares and purchased more. Although in 1720 massive speculation in the company's shares produced the 'South Sea Bubble' where shares crashed ruining many of the investors. Nevertheless the company survived and between 1715 and 1731 transported approximately 64,000 African slaves.
- The Seven Years War was chiefly an imperial war fought between Britain, France and Spain and many of the most important battles of the Seven Years War were fought at sea to win control of valuable overseas colonies.
- Britain emerged from the war as the leading European imperial power, having made large territorial gains in North America and the Caribbean, as well as India. Slave labour was necessary to exploit these gains.

Other factors

The labour shortage

- Huge profits made from the trade in tropical crops created a demand for labour to work on plantations in the colonies. Crops such as sugar cane required a large labour force to plant, look after, harvest and process crop in harsh conditions.
- There was a high death rate among native populations due to lack of resistance to diseases brought by Europeans and ill-treatment at the hands of colonists created labour shortage in the West Indies.

The failure of alternative sources

- Few colonists were willing to work on plantations as manual labour. There was a limit to the number of British criminals who could be sent as forced labour.
- Some Britons, particularly Scots, sold themselves as indentured servants, but numbers were limited.

The legal position

- The legal status of slaves as property was long established. It took a series of court cases from the 1770s that dealt with the rights of former slaves within the British Isles to challenge the legality of slavery and the slave trade eg Granville Sharp's resolute campaign to prove the illegality of slavery in England that culminated in Lord Mansfield's decision in the Somerset case.

Racist attitudes

- The unequal relationship that was created as a consequence of the enslavement of Africans was justified by the ideology of racism – the mistaken belief that Africans were inferior to Europeans.
- Entrenched racism among members of the merchant and landowning classes meant that enslaving African captives was accepted by colonists.
- Many Europeans claimed that African captives would suffer if slave trade was abolished eg criminals and prisoners of war would be butchered and executed at home.
- Many colonists believed that slaves were fortunate to be provided with homes, protection and employment, in the care of enlightened Europeans rather than African despots.

Religious factors

- The Church of England had links to slavery through the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel missionary organisations which had plantations and owned slaves. The Church of England supported the laws not to educate enslaved Africans.
- Some Bible passages such as the Curse of Ham from Genesis were used to justify slavery. Other Bible passages such as Exodus were banned in British colonies because they could be interpreted as being anti-slavery.

Importance of slave trade to British economy

- 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.
- View that slavery provided the capital to finance the Industrial Revolution in Britain.
- Immense individual fortunes could be made: slavery ports like Bristol, Liverpool and Glasgow benefited, recent counter-view that profits were more modest [5-10%] and that slavery involved considerable risk on the part of the traders.
- Recent work calculates that as a % of national income, slavery's return was modest: considerably less than 5% of national income by the time of Industrialisation, however agrees that it was important to Britain's long-term economic development as it contributed to the commercial dynamism of Britain.

Any other relevant factors

The Atlantic Slave Trade

Question 8: "Fear of slave resistance and revolt determined how slaves were treated."
How valid is this view?

The candidate assesses whether the fear of resistance and revolt determined how slaves were treated, using evidence and arguments such as:

Safety and the fear of revolt

- Both on slave ships and plantations there was a constant fear of a slave revolt. On ships, security was paramount, as crews were heavily outnumbered by their cargoes. This meant that slaves were kept under decks for long periods. It also meant that they were usually shackled for the whole passage.
- As the number of revolts in slave ships grew so did the cost as larger crews were required.
- On plantations, there was fear of slave resistance, both overt and otherwise. Draconian legal codes were enacted by island assemblies (dominated by planters) covering the treatment/punishment of runaways as well as those who resisted openly.
- Escaped ex-slaves called Maroons raided plantations, killed militia and freed slaves. Due to the inability of the planters to crush them they entered into a Treaty with them which gave them some toleration in return for leaving the slave system alone.

Other factors

Humanitarian concerns

- Humanitarian concerns had little impact on the treatment of slaves in Africa or on the Middle Passage. Participants were not in daily close contact with slaves and did not get to know them personally.
- The West Indian plantations, on the other hand, were small communities. Where members of the owner's family were present, bonds of affection did grow between slaves and free. Where such personal ties did not exist, there was less moderation of the brutalities of slavery.

Religious concerns

- Slave traders/owners were able to point to the existence of slavery in the Bible, and use this as a justification for the institution.
- Slave traders/owners claimed that slaves were being exposed to Christianity; enslavement was therefore good for them, as it gave them a chance of eternal salvation.
- Some participants were religious and moderated their treatment of slaves accordingly.

Financial considerations

- In essence, the slave trade and the institution of slavery were commercially based. Most participants entered the trade or owned or worked the plantations as a means of income. Financial considerations were usually paramount.
- The debate over 'loose' or 'tight' pack on board slave ships had little to do with humanitarianism. In loose pack, slaves were treated better and had better conditions, but the prime motivation was to transport as many slaves as possible to the auctions in the West Indies, alive.
- To extract as much work from slaves as possible on the plantations, slaves were often beaten or worse.
- As slaves were property, bought and paid for, they were valuable. On the other hand, they were cheap enough to work, or beat, to death. This was known as 'wastage'.

Racism and prejudice

- There was ignorance of African culture and achievements. Africans were regarded by some Europeans as almost another species. This was used as an excuse for extreme brutality.

Any other relevant factors

The Atlantic Slave Trade

Question 9: To what extent was hostile propaganda the major obstacle to the abolition of the slave trade?

The candidate evaluates the extent to which hostile propaganda was the major obstacle to the abolition of the slave trade, using evidence and arguments such as:

Propaganda against abolition

- The pro slavery lobby issued pamphlets to try to counter the arguments of the abolitionists.
- 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.
- Abolitionists were accused of being radicals sympathetic towards the increasingly extreme revolutionaries in France.
- To be pro-abolition was seen as being unpatriotic as a result.
- Abolition, it was argued, would lead to the loss of the West Indian colonies to France or America.

Other factors

Events in France

- War with Revolutionary France from 1793, also took people's attention away from the abolition campaign.
- It 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 might be repeated in Britain.
- In 1794, the radical (Jacobin) national Convention voted to end slavery in the French Colonies.
- British government became suspicious of radicals as represented by mass petitions.

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 and was beaten by disease and the ex-slave army.

Attitude of successive British Governments

- These were influenced by powerful vested interests such as MPs and merchants from London, Liverpool and Bristol; abolitionists found it easier to win support from general public, most of whom could not vote, than persuade MPs to vote for abolition.
- Belief of slave owners and their supporters 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; there was fear that abolition would ruin the colonies.

The importance of the slave trade to the British economy

- The trade 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 relied on cheap, slave-produced cotton.
- British consumers benefited from cheap, slave-produced sugar.
- Ports like Liverpool, Bristol and Glasgow also benefited; names like Kingston Bridge and Jamaica Street show the importance of the trade in Glasgow.

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

Britain 1851 – 1951

Question 10: How important was the role of pressure groups in Britain becoming more democratic between 1851 and 1928?

The candidate evaluates the importance of the role of pressure groups in Britain becoming more democratic between 1851 and 1928 using evidence and arguments such as:

Role of pressure groups

- Impact of campaigns by Reform League and Reform Union in 1866-67 – large demonstrations.
- Dangers of withholding the franchise from working classes – alarm at Hyde Park riots of July 1866. Less evidence of popular pressure in 1884 Reform Act.
- Impact of campaigns by women's movements up to 1914 – role of NUWSS and WSPU in persuading people and keeping the issue in the news headlines, be it through outrages, or sympathy for their plight.

Other factors

Social and economic change

- The industrial revolution changed where people lived, how they worked, and how they felt about their position in society.
- Middle classes – wealth creators – argued they should have more of a say in running the country.
- Development of basic education and cheap popular newspapers raised working class political awareness.
- Spread of railways helped create national political identity. People were more aware of issues.
- Less fear of revolutionary “mob” – the skilled working class was more educated and respectable, as is shown in support for North in American Civil War by elements of artisan class; an argument for extending the vote in 1867.
- The skilled working class was vital to the economic success of Britain.
- Increasing urbanisation led to pressure for redistribution of parliamentary seats – 1867, 1885, 1918.
- Impact of the Great War on the key issue of votes for women; realisation of the economic role of women in wartime was a factor in passing the 1918 Act – fears of a revival of militant women's campaign.

Changing political attitudes

- Political reform was no longer seen as a threat of struggles for liberty in Europe and USA. Britain was usually supportive of this and therefore it was difficult to argue against democratic progress at home.
- American Civil War – influence of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address.
- Role of leaders like Gladstone of the Liberal Party in passing reforms, esp. 1880-85 government.
- Development of political beliefs that argued for intervention such as Socialism: Labour argued for universal suffrage.
- Women accepted into local government and school board elections.
- Role of World War One in speeding up processes that were already occurring. Example of Asquith's change of opinion towards women and the vote.

Political advantage

- Politicians often believed they could gain political advantages from passing reforms eg the 1867 Reform Act was passed by the Conservatives after being in opposition for many years – arguably trying to win votes: 'dish the Whigs'.
- Liberal party also tried to gain political advantage. John Bright argued for secret ballot, to free working class electorate from fear of retaliation by bosses and landlords.
- Corrupt and Illegal Practices Act – it is possible to argue that it was a pragmatic move by the Liberals. By limiting amount spent on elections, they might reduce advantages held by the wealthier Conservatives.
- Reforms of 1880s – it could be argued that they served as a distraction from foreign policy problems facing the Liberal government; Redistribution of Seats Act – Liberals hoped for political advantage from urban voters now being more fairly represented.
- In contrast the opportunity of coalition government during World War One may be considered in light of the fact that no one political party was behind the reform and, theoretically, all could benefit from the extension of the franchise to men and women.

Example of other countries

- Britain considered herself to be the cradle of modern democracy. Other nations had extended the franchise and Britain could not be seen to be falling behind.
- Influence of the United States of America spreading Liberal ideas: anti-slavery sympathy in Britain where Radicals supported the North.

Any other relevant factors

Britain 1851 – 1951

Question 11: “Changing attitudes in British society towards women was the major reason why some women received the vote in 1918.” How accurate is this view?

The candidate evaluates the statement that changing attitudes in British society towards women was a major reason why some women received the vote in 1918, using evidence and arguments such as:

Changing attitudes towards women

- The campaigns for women’s suffrage can be seen within the context of changing attitudes within society towards women in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The historian Martin Pugh stated that ‘their participation in local government made women’s exclusion from national elections increasingly untenable’. Millicent Fawcett argued that wider social changes were vital factors in the winning of the franchise.
- Women became increasingly active in public affairs – town councils, Boards of Guardians, members of political organisations.
- Educational opportunities slowly opened up to women: University, medical school, etc.
- Professions opened up to women: Law, Medical profession.
- Legal developments giving women rights over property: 1882 Married Women's Property Act, etc.

Other factors

The importance of the Great War

- Britain declared war on Germany on 4 August 1914 and two days later the NUWSS suspended its political campaigning for the vote. Undoubtedly the sight of women ‘doing their bit’ for the war effort gained respect and balanced the negative publicity of the earlier Suffragette campaign. A WSPU pro-war propaganda campaign encouraged men to join the armed forces and women to demand ‘the right to serve’.
- Women’s war work was important to Britain’s eventual victory. Over 700,000 women were employed making munitions.
- The creation of a wartime coalition also opened the door to change.
- The traditional explanation for the granting of the vote to some women in 1918 has been that women’s valuable work for the war effort radically changed male ideas about their role in society and that the vote in 1918 was almost a ‘thank you’ for their efforts. But the women who were given the vote were ‘respectable’ ladies, 30 or over, not the younger women who worked long hours and risked their lives in munitions factories.
- Another argument about the 1918 act is that it only happened because politicians grew anxious to enfranchise more men who had fought in the war but lost their residency qualification to vote and women could be ‘added on’ to legislation that was happening anyway.
- The war acted more as a catalyst, but the tide was flowing towards female suffrage before it started.

The NUWSS

- The NUWSS believed in moderate, ‘peaceful’ tactics to win the vote such as meetings, pamphlets, petitions and parliamentary bills. Membership remained relatively low at about 6,000 until around 1909 but grew to 53,000 by 1914 as women angered by the Suffragettes’ campaign found a new home.

The WSPU – the Suffragettes

- Emmeline Pankhurst formed the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) in 1903. WSPU adopted the motto 'Deeds Not Words'. The new strategy gained publicity with noisy heckling of politicians. Newspapers immediately took notice. The Suffragettes had achieved their first objective – publicity. Violent protest followed eg window smashing campaign and arson attacks aimed to provoke insurance company pressure on the Government. The prisons filled with Suffragettes.
- Women used starvation as a political weapon to embarrass the government. In response the government introduced the Prisoner's Temporary Discharge for Ill Health Act – the Cat and Mouse Act.
- The actions of the Suffragettes mobilised opinion for and against. It can be argued that were it not for the Suffragette campaign, the Liberal Government would not even have discussed women's suffrage before World War One. But for opponents the militant campaign provided an excellent example of why women could not be trusted with the vote.

Example of other countries

- By 1913 many states in the USA, in Scandinavia, Finland [1906] and countries in the British Empire, such as New Zealand [1893] had given the vote to women. This had not caused the disasters that had been predicted. In fact, most countries believed giving women the vote had helped them.

Any other relevant factors

Britain 1851 – 1951

Question 12: “The Liberals failed to deal with the real problems facing the British people.”
How valid is this view of the Liberals’ social reforms from 1906 to 1914?

The candidate assesses the statement that the Liberals failed to deal with the real problems facing the British people using evidence and arguments such as:

Social problems

- The problems could be summarised as poverty, especially among the ‘deserving poor’ of the old, the young, the sick and the unemployed.

The young

- 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 (1907) for children were made compulsory but no treatment of illnesses or infections found was provided until 1911.
- The Children’s Charter (1908) Act banned children under 16 from smoking, drinking alcohol, or begging. New juvenile courts were set up for children accused of committing crimes. Remand homes were opened for children awaiting trial and 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 legislation meant the Children’s Charter only helped improve conditions for some children.

The old

- Pensions Act 1908: people over 70 were given between 1 shilling and 5 shillings a week depending on any income they might have. Once a person over 70 had an income above 12 shillings a week, their entitlement to a pension stopped. Married couples were given 7/6d.
- Levels of benefits were low. Few of the elderly poor lived till their 70th birthday. Many of the old were excluded from claiming pensions because they failed to meet qualification rules. Nevertheless there was a high uptake and many people were grateful for their pension – ‘Thank God for that Lloyd George’.

The sick

- 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. It helped some who had previously got no help.

The unemployed

- 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 meet 'problems' eg working conditions

- In 1906 the 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 1908, miners secured an eight hour working day.
- 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.
- In 1911, a Shops Act limited working hours and guaranteed a weekly half-day holiday.

Limitations

- Aspects of poverty such as housing were not dealt with, posing the argument that Liberal reforms were not entirely successful in dealing with poverty and need.

Any other relevant factors

Britain and Ireland 1900 – 1985

Question 13: “The response of Unionists to the Home Rule Bill was the main reason for the growth of tension in Ireland up to 1914.” How valid is this view?

The candidate evaluates whether the response of Unionists to the Home Rule Bill was the main reason for the growth of tension in Ireland up to 1914 using evidence and arguments such as:

Unionist responses to the Home Rule Bill

- Setting up of the UVF was example of the willingness to use violence to further the cause of those opposed to Home Rule and an indication of the extent in the breakdown in peace in Ireland.
- Signing of the Solemn League and Covenant in Belfast at Town Hall, to the world’s press, 250 000 Ulstermen pledged themselves to use “all means necessary” to defeat Home Rule.
- The role of Carson and Craig. Sir Edward Carson’s theatrical political performances caught the public imagination and brought the case of the Unionists to the nation.
- Orange and Ulster Unionist groups were revived.
- Curragh Mutiny.

Other factors

Nationalist responses to the Home Rule Bill

- The Irish Volunteer Force (IVF) was set up. Members from the Gaelic League, the Gaelic Athletic Association, Sinn Fein and the IRB all joined hoping to use the IVF for their own purposes. By May 1914 it had 80 000 members, which also shows the extent in the breakdown in the willingness for peace in Ireland as a result of the Home Rule Bill.
- In 1913, a third private army was set up called Irish Citizen Army, under the leadership of James Connolly, a socialist. It had two clear aims. To gain independence for Ireland and set up a socialist republic, for working class of all religions to join up with to improve their lives.
- Minority opinions take different view: support for Irish Republic from groups like the Irish Republican Brotherhood – Connolly’s views; supporters of a workers republic: Griffith; or Sinn Fein; Pearse and his supporters. Very much minority views at this time.

The British position in Ireland

- In 1865 Gladstone wanted Home Rule and when the Liberals were re-elected in 1892 and Gladstone introduced the Second Home Rule Bill but the House of Lords, dominated by Conservatives were opposed to Home Rule and wanted to maintain the Union. Bill rejected.
- Support for the Unionists from British politicians like Bonar Law and the Conservative Party.
- In 1908 Bannerman was replaced as Prime Minister by Asquith, who by the end of 1909, declared that he was a supporter of Home Rule.
- After 1910 the Liberals needed the help of the Irish Nationalists to run the country as they would not have a majority otherwise so passed the third reform bill.
- With the support of John Redmond, the leader of the Nationalists, a Bill was passed to reduce the power of the House of Lords, which was dominated by Conservatives, from being able to block a Bill to only being able to hold up the passing of a Bill for two years. As a result the Home Rule Bill for Ireland, which was previously blocked by the House of Lords, could now be passed.

The Irish cultural revival and re-emergence of Irish Republicanism

- In 1884 the Gaelic Athletic Association was set up “for the preservation and cultivation of our national pastimes.” And games like Gaelic football and hurling became very popular.
- In 1883 the Gaelic League was also set up whose aim it was to revive, and preserve the Irish language and Gaelic literature.
- Setting up of Sinn Fein (Ourselves) by Arthur Griffith in 1904 to boycott all things British and for the Irish to set up their own parliament in Ireland, which Griffith thought would force the British Government to collapse.
- IRB was revived with Thomas Clarke recruiting young men in Dublin for the movement. These two groups both wanted an Ireland separate from Britain and both willing to use force.

Redmond and Home Rule

- Redmond believed that Home Rule Bill would lead to greater unity and strength in the Empire, which was supported by the majority in the south but vehemently opposed by those in Ulster.
- He also believed it would end ill-will, suspicion and disaffection in Ireland, and between Britain and Ireland.
- He believed Ireland would be happy, prosperous, united and loyal.
- Ireland would be peaceful at this time and could give up hostility towards Britain.
- Britain would be willing to treat Ireland equally, as part of the empire.
- Redmond’s Party consistently strong throughout Southern Ireland, where there was strong support for Home Rule.

Distinctive economic and religious features of the Northern Counties

- Ulster was mainly Protestant and feared that a government lead by Dublin would see the imposition of laws on Northern Ireland based on Catholic faith, which they were opposed to.
- Ulster was worried they would lose the benefits they enjoyed economically from being part of the British Empire, such as the linen industry and the shipbuilding industry.

Any other relevant factors

Britain and Ireland 1900 – 1985

Question 14: How important was British conduct during the Anglo-Irish War in preventing a peace settlement in Ireland between 1918 and 1921?

The candidate evaluates the importance of British conduct during the Anglo-Irish War in preventing a peace settlement in Ireland up to the Anglo Irish Treaty using evidence and arguments such as:

British conduct during the Anglo-Irish War

- Formation of the Black and Tans composed largely of World War I veterans, employed as auxiliaries by the Royal Irish Constabulary from 1920 to 1921 to suppress revolution in Ireland. Although it was established to target the Irish Republican Army, it became notorious for its numerous attacks on the Irish civilian population.
- Black and Tans used wholesale violence, theft, drunken rampages, attacks on villages such as the burning of Balbriggan, village creameries were burnt down and houses were destroyed.
- In March 1920 the Lord Mayor of Cork was shot dead by RIC men as well as murdering suspects, or “Shinners” as they were known, often on the merest of evidence, for being in the wrong place at the wrong time.
- Black and Tans fired in to the crowd killing 12 people and injuring 60 at Croke Park where there was a Gaelic football match taking place.
- The sacking of Cork City by the Black and Tans.
- RIC members were instructed to challenge Irish civilians from ambush and shoot them if they did not obey the RIC officers.
- RIC officers were encouraged to shoot suspicious looking people.
- If innocent people were killed then this could not be helped.
- No RIC officers were to get in to trouble for shooting people.
- Regular British Army also committed atrocities such as burning the towns of Mallow and Fermoy, but the Irish did not distinguish between them and the Black and Tans.
- The best houses in local areas to be taken and used, with the occupants evicted, if the local police station had been burned or destroyed, turning the Irish people against the British and increasing tension.

Other factors

Role of IRA

- IRA campaign also prevented peace in Ireland as their attacks on British troops and men working for Britain escalated the violence.
- Guerrilla tactics.
- Attacks on agencies of law and order: RIC, magistrates and police barracks.
- Ambush, assassination, the disappearance of opponents, the sabotage of enemy communications and the intimidation of local communities to not support the British forces.
- Attacks on British troops.
- Attacks on G-men (detectives concentrating on IRA atrocities).
- Attempted assassination of Lord French (Viceroy).
- Flying Columns: mobile IRA squads used in ambushes of RIC and army.
- Role of IRA leaders, particularly Michael Collins.

The General Election of 1918

- The success of Sinn Fein in this election, who opposed British rule, meant that Ireland would only want peace if Ireland gained independence from Britain.
- Sinn Fein won 73 seats, compared to winning none in 1910, showing increased resentment of British Rule.
- Sinn Fein membership had now reached 112 000.
- 34 were in prison, one had been deported, two were ill and 7 were absent on Sinn Fein business, so there was only 25 present when they held their first public meeting in January 1919. This meant control of the movement largely moved to the IRB and the IVF.
- Ballot boxes being stuffed and the “dead” voting. There were some complaints by soldiers that they did not get voting papers and these men were more likely to vote Nationalist rather than Sinn Fein. Moreover there were no Nationalist candidates in 26 of the constituencies, which helped the Sinn Fein party.
- Ulster Unionists won extra 10 seats and now had 26 seats in Westminster, making partition increasingly likely.

The Declaration of Independence and the Dail

- Republicans lead by Sinn Fein, did not attend Westminster, met at the Mansion House in Dublin and declared themselves “Dail Eireann” thus increasing division between Ireland and Britain.
- De Valera was made the President of Ireland, Arthur Griffith Vice President, Michael Collins was made the Minister of Finance which again caused division as these men were vehemently opposed to British Rule in Ireland.
- Most local councils in Ireland, except for those in Ulster, recognised the rule of this new assembly, as opposed to British Rule.
- By 1921 1000 Sinn Fein law courts had been set up and Collins raised £350,000 and many people paid their taxes to the Minister of Finance, Collins rather than the British Government.
- Dail failed to meet very regularly as many of its members were unable to meet but worked as couriers - carried communication between the different people in hiding but Irish were willing to even obey this rather than have British rule.
- Law and order maintained though as Dail relied on “alternative” courts, presided over by a priest or lawyer and backed up by the IRA. This system won the support of the Irish communities as well as the established Irish legal system but contravened British rule.
- Dail had won the support of masses, the Catholic Church and professional classes in Ireland thus increasing division between Ireland and GB as even the influential people of Ireland were moving away from British rule.
- Dail wrested power away from Britain to a reasonable extent due to military wing of the Dail.

Any other relevant factors

Britain and Ireland 1900 – 1985

Question 15: How important were political differences between the Protestant and Catholic communities in contributing to the developing crisis in Northern Ireland up to 1968?

The candidate evaluates the importance of political differences between the Protestant and Catholic communities in contributing to the developing crisis in Northern Ireland up to 1968 using evidence and arguments such as:

Political Differences

- Parliament in Northern Ireland opened June 1921, limited control and could be overruled by Westminster. James Craig the first Prime Minister refused to speak to Boundary Commission.
- Third of Ulster was Catholic and wanted unification the Protestant two thirds did not want it.
- Only on average 10 or 12 Nationalists in parliament whereas average 40 Unionists so Nationalists views were rarely listened to. In Westminster 10 or 12 Unionists to 2 Nationalists.
- Unionists support increased after De Valera in 1932 called for a Republic “in fact” and banned Governor General, right to appeal to Privy Council External Relations Act passed.
- 1959 Eire became a Republic, which heightened Unionist fears about pressure to end partition.
- In April 1951 Eire leader Browne forced to resign after party leaders insisted he respect the Catholic Church’s stance on matters, Unionists worried about Catholic rule if Ireland unified.
- Unionists fears about giving Catholics fairer treatment so Orange Order and UVF revived.

Other Factors

Economic Issues

- De Valera’s economic war with GB worried Unionists that GB might abandon them.
- Depression in 30s saw unemployment of over 25% for Catholics, but Protestants were mainly employed.
- South was poor, so North financially better off as part of the United Kingdom.
- North benefited greatly economically from helping GB during WWII eg factories, farms.
- Unemployment fell to 5% even some from the south employed, eg aircraft and ship building.
- Ulster shared mainland British suffering during war eg rationing.
- WWII underlined the economic and strategic importance of Ulster to Britain.
- Ulster benefited greatly from being part of British Welfare state, payments 50% – 67% higher than those in south for Unemployment benefit.
- GB gave extra money to Ulster to set up Welfare state 1961-63 £60m average, £160m by 1972.
- 1950’s Eire had one of the poorest standards of living in Western Europe.

Cultural Differences

- 1923 Education Act amended, but Catholic Church retained control over Catholic schools.
- Protestants refused to acknowledge cultural identity of Catholics.
- In Eire, Irish language to be used in government and taught in schools.
- Gaelic League and other language groups sprung up. Irish music and dance thrived.
- Gaelic football, hurling, were more popular than soccer, rugby and cricket in Eire.

The Unionist Ascendancy in Northern Ireland

- Ulster was not willing to sever links with Britain, but ensure Unionist control.
- B Specials set up and RUC; both were issued with guns.
- Special Powers introduced – internment, prohibit meetings, special courts, death penalty.
- Votes in local Councils restricted to householders and property owners so Catholics ruled out.
- Boundaries redrawn to secure Unionists councillors (gerrymandering).
- Proportional Representation abolished to reduce Catholic influence in politics.
- Unionist Councillors favoured Protestants for housing and job vacancies.
- Revival of Orange Orders in 60s, Protestants favoured in 70s.
- Role of Brookeborough: Ulster Unionist leader and Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, 1943-1963: kept Unionists largely unified.

Continuing Threat of IRA

- Catholics in North turned to IRA to defend them from Orange rioters.
- IRA shootings, Kevin Higgins assassinated, attacked Garda barracks led to Public Safety Act.
- During war attacked mainland Britain eg Coventry.
- Upsurge in violence in 50s but came to nothing and ended by 1962, a failure after which they were divided.

Issues of Civil Rights

- Catholics set up NICRA for equal rights, as young Catholics benefited from better education.
- Campaign for Social Justice set up, 1966 nationalists commemorate Easter Rising in Belfast.
- June 1966 Ian Paisley starts riot taking his supporters in to a Catholic area.
- Coalisland to Dungannon march, Peaceful Civil Rights march charged by police in 1968.
- October 1968 police in Londonderry attack NICRA march with violence, captured by media.
- Homeless Citizens League, Derry Citizens Action Committee (John Hume) set up.
- Devlin's People's Democracy Belfast – Londonderry march attacked by RUC and B Specials.
- Well known Nationalists and IRA members seen in Civil Rights marches.

Any other relevant factors

Historical Study: European and World History

The Crusades, 1071 – 1204

Question 16: “The Pope’s desire to channel the military power of the knightly class was the main reason for calling the First Crusade” How valid is this view?

The candidate evaluates the Pope’s desire to channel the military power of the knightly class as the main reason for calling the First Crusade, using evidence and arguments such as:

Arguments for the importance of the Pope’s desire to channel the military power of the knightly class:

- The introduction of Norman feudalism across Western Europe had created the knightly class. Their dedication to learning the arts of war had created a culture based around the skills of fighting. Even tournaments had come to be seen as integral part of the culture and as entertainment.
- However, for knights to use their skills in anger was a sin.
- Pope Urban had long considered how he could turn the nature of Western knighthood to a less aggressive, less damaging activity.
- Urban saw the Crusade as a way to channel this aggression in a way that would be of benefit to Christianity.
- Urban was well aware of the growing political instability of Italy. Northern Italy with its growing urban centres and rich Lombard provinces was a tempting target for both the Norman knights and the German Emperors. By calling a Crusade the Pope could channel this aggression away from Italy and the Church while at the same time exerting a moral control over the armed knights. This was a simple step from the already successful “Peace of God” and “Truce of God” attempts by the church in the 1020s.

Other factors

Papal authority and the Investiture Contest

- By 1075 the relationship between the Church and the Holy Roman Emperor, the church’s supposed protector, had deteriorated badly. Pope Gregory VII had excommunicated Henry IV and Henry invaded Rome.
- Henry IV, the Holy Roman Emperor, had been locked in a power struggle with Urban over the Investiture contest, which had led to popes, including Urban, fleeing Rome. This was part of an ongoing struggle between the Church and State over the appointment of Bishops. The desire of the reforming popes (trained at Cluny) was to firmly establish the dominance of the papacy in this area.
- The papacy was anxious to re-join the two halves of the Christian church. Since the Great Schism of 1054, where the Pope of Rome and Patriarch of Constantinople excommunicated each other, it had been the goal of every pope to become head of the Greek Orthodox Church. The Crusade seemed to offer Pope Urban the opportunity to achieve this. A papacy that was able to accomplish this would be less vulnerable to the problems that had plagued the Papacy in the previous decades.

Fear over the expansion of Islam

- Pope Urban used the fear of Islamic expansion in his famous speech at Clermont in 1095. He pointed to the successful Reconquista in Spain. El Cid had captured Valencia in 1094 from the Moors.
- The Holy Lands had been annexed by the expanding Turks.
- There was a potential threat to the important pilgrimage routes; it was this threat that inspired the People's Crusade.
- However, Alexius was seen as a bulwark against this eventuality and his letter asking for help was taken very seriously.

Threat to Byzantium

- Urban pointed to the threat of the Turks to Byzantium, a topic that was already talked about across Europe. He claimed that the loss of Anatolia had 'devastated the Kingdom of God.' What Urban was referring to was the Disaster at Manzikert, where Emperor Romanus IV had been defeated by the Seljuk Turks. However, this battle happened in 1071, and had led to the Turkish conquest of Anatolia (modern Turkey). For centuries Byzantium had been the bulwark against the expansion of Islam, and in little over two decades half the empire had been swallowed up by the Turks. However, what Urban failed to mention is that the Empire was also under threat of attacks from Normans from Sicily.
- Urban used the fear of the fall of Byzantium as propaganda; he included details of Turkish actions such as torture, human sacrifice and desecration.
- The Seljuk Turks had been threatening the Empire for decades. There was fear in Europe that if it was allowed to fall then the expansion of this new aggressive Islamic group into central Europe would be hard to resist.
- The city of Constantinople was the largest Christian city in the world. Its fall to the forces of Islam would be highly damaging to the papacy and the Christian world.
- Byzantium was home to the Orthodox church, saving it would help re-establish cordial relations with the eastern Christians.

Any other relevant factors

The Crusades, 1071 – 1204

Question 17: “The success of the Crusaders was due to divisions amongst the Muslim states.”
How valid is this view of the First Crusade?

The candidate evaluates the success of the Crusaders with regard to the divisions amongst the Muslim states, using evidence and arguments such as:

Arguments for the importance of the division amongst Muslim states

- The Islamic response to the First Crusade was slow in getting under way. During the crusade Muslim leaders were more willing to fight among themselves than join forces against the common enemy. In fact many did not even realise that this was a common enemy. Kilij Arslan, for example, expected the ‘Princes Crusade’ to be no more of a concern than Peter the Hermit’s followers. Thus he was off raiding his Muslim neighbours when Nicaea came under attack.
- Kerbogha’s army abandoned him at the battle of Antioch in 1098. Many had feared that his victory would allow him to gain a semblance of authority over the other Seljuk Turkish leaders. There was tension in his army as the Turks mistrusted the Arab speaking Muslims and the different tribes of nomads. The lack of unity was clear among the divisions of Ridwan of Aleppo and Duquaq of Damascus.
- The fundamental division of Muslim between the Fatimids and the Seljuks is illustrated in the Egyptians seizure of Jerusalem. The Egyptian army used siege engines to reduce the walls of Jerusalem in a siege that lasted 6 weeks. This not only damaged the defences of the city but reduced the number of defenders available. The Fatimids even sent embassies to the crusaders offering them Jerusalem in exchange for an alliance against the Seljuks.
- For the Muslims this was not seen as a holy war, at least at the outset. To them, unifying to face the Christians was a more dangerous idea than the crusaders themselves.
- Religious divisions between Sunni and Shiite Islam.

Other factors

Military importance of the knight

- The First Crusade had been unexpected by local Muslim leaders. Those that had witnessed the ineptitude of the People’s Crusade expected Christian knights to be as inept in combat. However Christian knights were often ferocious fighters, used to long campaigns in Europe, whereas the knights of the East were seen as gentlemen of culture and education.
- The mounted tactics of the knights were relatively unknown in the east and the sight of the largest concentration of knights in history assembled on the field was a truly awesome sight. This full frontal charge of the knights was in contrast to the tactics deployed by the Islamic forces. Their hit and run horse archers were not prepared for this aggressive style.
- Crusading knights used aggressive combat tactics, and utilised heavier armour and barding for their horses. The constant fighting of the 12th century had well prepared the organised and disciplined knightly classes for warfare. Many, such as Raymond of Toulouse, had combat experience against the Moors in Spain.

Misunderstanding of the Crusaders' intent

- Muslims misunderstood the threat of the Western knights. Many saw this as another expedition from Byzantium and thought them soldiers of Alexius. Such raids had occurred before; however this was different. Here the Christians had an ideological motivation not yet encountered by the Islamic leaders.

Help from Byzantium

- The First Crusade was the only Crusade to have significant support from Constantinople. Even though Alexius's army did not participate in the Crusade itself, they did cause problems, diverting a lot of Muslim resources.
- Alexius also provided much needed supplies at the sieges of Antioch and Jerusalem.

Religious Fervour

- The sheer determination of the Crusaders helped them through incredible hardships during their passage through the Taurus Mountains and at the sieges of Antioch and Jerusalem. Because they believed God would help them, they attempted the impossible, where most armies would have surrendered eg Battle of Antioch and the belief in the Holy Lance.
- The Muslims did not really understand this idea of a 'Holy War'; they assumed the crusaders were after land and territory and therefore they tended to underestimate what the crusaders could achieve.

Any other relevant factors

The Crusades, 1071 – 1204

Question 18: To what extent can it be argued that Richard I was a greater military leader than Saladin?

The candidate assesses the extent to which it can be argued that Richard I was a greater military leader than Saladin, using evidence and arguments such as:

Arguments to suggest that Richard was a greater military leader than Saladin

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.

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.

Use of Tactics

- Richard took his time to march to Jerusalem. He organised his men into well defended columns marching down the coastal route using his fleet to carry plenty of supplies.
- This way he was able to protect his vulnerable supply line from Turkish raids.
- Richard was enough of a military tactician to realise that he did not have the men to capture Jerusalem.
- Richard always lined up with the Templars in battle which was seen as the fiercest part of the fighting.

Arguments to suggest Richard was able to exploit Saladin's mistakes

- Saladin's decision to spare the crusaders at Tyre, in order to allow them a safe haven to board ships for the west was a grave military error. Conrad was able to successfully take over the defence of the city and use it as a base for the third crusade.
- Saladin was unable to keep his large army in the field for the whole year round. Many men were needed back on the farms, or were only expected to provide a certain number of days service.
- The fall of Acre to Richard's forces.
- The Battle of Arsuf, where Richard was outnumbered 3 – 1, and his men had fallen into Saladin's ambush. Richard held his men together and his all out cavalry charge smashed the Muslim forces.
- Saladin should have been able to capture or kill Richard at Jaffa; however, he failed to keep control of his men, whom were reluctant to fight Richard due to his growing reputation as an unbeatable opponent.

Arguments to suggest that Saladin was a greater military leader than Richard

Leadership

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

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

The American Revolution 1763 – 1787

Question 19: "Disagreement over the frontier was the key issue between Britain and the colonies by 1763." To what extent is this true?

The candidate evaluates the extent to which disagreement over the frontier was the key issue between Britain and the colonies by 1763, within a wide context of factors, using evidence and arguments such as:

Land claims/The Proclamation of 1763

- Quarrels arose after individual colonists and land companies unwittingly violated treaties agreed between Britain and Indian tribes.
- The Royal Proclamation of 1763 was issued October 7, 1763, by King George III following Great Britain's acquisition of French territory in North America after the end of the French and Indian War/Seven Years' War. The purpose of the proclamation was to organise Great Britain's new North American empire and to stabilise relations with Native North Americans through regulation of trade, settlement, and land purchases on the western frontier.
- The proclamation created a boundary line (often called the *proclamation line*) between the British colonies on the Atlantic coast and American Indian lands (called the Indian Reserve) west of the Appalachian Mountains. The proclamation line was not intended to be a permanent boundary between white and American Indian lands, but rather a temporary boundary which could be extended further west in an orderly, lawful manner. The proclamation outlawed private purchase of Native American land, which had often created problems in the past; instead, all future land purchases were to be made by Crown officials "at some public Meeting or Assembly of the said Indians". Furthermore, British colonists were forbidden to move beyond the line and settle on native lands, and colonial officials were forbidden to grant lands without royal approval. The proclamation gave the Crown a monopoly on all future land purchases from American Indians.
- Almost immediately, many British colonists and land speculators objected to the proclamation boundary, since there were already many settlements beyond the line (some of which had been temporarily evacuated during Pontiac's War), as well as many existing land claims yet to be settled. Indeed, the proclamation itself called for lands to be granted to British soldiers who had served in the Seven Years' War. Prominent American colonists joined with land speculators in Britain to lobby the government to move the line further west.

Other factors

The Seven Years War

- The war highlighted the status of the colonies as territories to be fought over by imperial powers. Britain, France and Spain all viewed America as a potential possession. The British fought the Seven Years War which prevented the colonies being ruled by France. Victory in 1763, and the acquisition of Canada, should have made British rule more secure, but the removal of the French threat meant that many colonists saw less need for British protection.

Old colonial system

- Britain treated colonies merely as a source of revenue, and plundered valuables from America. Those in New England and the Middle Colonies objected to being used as a dumping ground for British goods. Wealthy Southern plantation owners objected to members of the British government attempting to control them. Frontiersmen were frustrated at British attempts to prevent them from going beyond the Frontier. However, being part of the Empire meant protection from the British Army against the French and Indians.

Navigation Acts

- Passed in 1650s, these stated that colonists could only sell their goods to the British, could only buy goods from the British, and could only use British shipping. Royal Navy enforced the Acts by patrolling east coast of colonies for rogue Dutch, French or Spanish ships. However, the acts gave colonists a guaranteed market. During the Whig Ascendancy in mid-1700s many colonists were able to ignore the Acts as Royal Navy was unable to enforce them as strictly.

Political differences

- The colonies were more advanced politically than Britain, each having its own elected Assembly which passed local laws and raised local taxes, and so they resented the lack of representation in the British Parliament which sought to control their lives. However, the British Empire provided an order to the existence of the colonies. Britain acted out the role of Mother Country. Britain appointed a governor for each colony, whose payment by the colony ensured an element of control for the colonists over the governor.

George III

- When George III ascended the throne in 1760 he oversaw a re-imposition of British rule over the colonies. This was seen as tantamount to foreign invasion by many colonists who had acted in an independent spirit during the Whig Ascendancy. Colonies had their own militia and did not feel British Army was required in America. However, George III aimed to ensure the security of the colonies by maintaining a British military presence and together with Parliament planned an economic strategy to raise money from the colonists to pay for this.

Neglect by Britain

- During the Whig Ascendancy, colonist assemblies had assumed powers which should have been exercised by governors, and they resented Parliament's attempts to reverse this trend.

Any other relevant factors

The American Revolution 1763 – 1787

Question 20: How far were the views of Edmund Burke typical of British opinion towards the conflict with the American colonists in the period between 1763 and 1781?

The candidate assesses how far the views of Edmund Burke were typical of British opinion towards the conflict with the American colonists in the period between 1763-1781, within a wide context of factors, using evidence and arguments such as:

Edmund Burke

- Burke studied American situation and took colonists' demands seriously.
- He made speeches in House of Commons, citing common bond of 'Englishness' which existed between Britain and America, and urging Parliament to 'loosen the reins' on colonists or lose America for good.
- However, Burke's views were dismissed as alarmist by many Parliamentarians.

George III

- George III, popular in Britain, sacked Grenville after Stamp Act and appointed Pitt (Earl of Chatham) as Prime Minister.
- He supported Parliament's right to tax colonies.
- He asserted his view that problems in America were 'localised' in New England, and declared colonies to be in 'rebellion' after 1775.
- However, king's actions led colonists to call him a tyrant, and critics in Britain, notably Burke, believed his actions to have accelerated move to war.

Parliament

- In House of Lords, Lord Sandwich and others disregarded warnings of impending crisis and seriously underestimated colonists' forces.
- However, as well as Burke and Chatham, others such as John Wilkes spoke in favour of radical change in policy towards America.

Earl of Chatham

- He had been Prime Minister during Seven Years War and again in mid-1760s when he repealed Stamp Act.
- He became more aware of colonists' plight in his final years, and repeatedly warned of impending situation in America.
- However, Chatham's warnings fell on deaf ears, as Parliament ignored his pleas for conciliation and his assertion that America could not be beaten if war broke out.

Thomas Paine

- Paine had been in America since November 1774, making republican speeches and meeting with colonists.
- He published 'Common Sense' in January 1776 and it sold 100,000 copies in America, and more than that in Britain and Europe.
- However, Paine was a radical, too radical for many colonists.
- Some in Britain read his work out of fascination rather than because they agreed with him.
- In America, many who may have been influenced by 'Common Sense' were already considering independence after rejection of Olive Branch Petition.

Also

- **British cotton industrialists** – Mill owners, including some MPs, wanted speedy resolution to crisis to ensure continued supply of raw materials from colonies.
- **Cotton workers** – Mill workers wanted trade to be maintained in order to preserve jobs.
- **Scotland and Ireland** – some Scots and Irish sympathised with colonists' resentment of "English" rule and understood their calls for greater autonomy.

Any other relevant factors

The American Revolution 1763 – 1787

Question 21: How important was French intervention to colonial victory in the American War of Independence?

The candidate evaluates the importance of French intervention to colonial victory in the American War of Independence, within a wide context of factors, using evidence and arguments such as:

French intervention

- 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. The strength of the French navy meant Britain had to spread its forces worldwide, thus reducing its effort in the colonies. The entry of France into the war may have encouraged Spain and Holland to follow suit within the next two years. French intervention on the part of Admiral de Grasse preceded the final British surrender at Yorktown. 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.

Other factors

British military inefficiency

- On several occasions British generals did not act appropriately to orders received. Orders from London were misinterpreted. One example was 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

- This caused a delay in communications between London and the generals, with orders from Britain often overtaken by events by the time they reached America.

George Washington

- Washington was an inspirational leader, a self-made Virginian whose choice as Commander of the Continental Army gave heart to many. He 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. His speeches to troops offered them the incentive of independence if they won the war. However, Washington benefited from luck on several occasions, such as when inefficiency led the British into traps or when the French arrived at Yorktown.

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.

Role of other foreign powers

- 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

The French Revolution, to 1799

Question 22: To what extent did the Third Estate have the greatest cause for complaint under the Ancien Regime?

Candidates assess the extent to which the Third Estate had the greatest cause for complaint under the Ancien Regime by using evidence and arguments such as:

The role of the Third Estate

- The bourgeoisie – often individually wealthy, this social group nonetheless resented the privileges and exemptions enjoyed by the First and Second Estates. Although they had displayed their talents in business, the law and in education members of the bourgeoisie were denied access to political power and suffered higher tax burdens than their social ‘superiors’. Businessmen were particularly bitter about trade barriers, different regional weights and measures and restrictive trade and working practices which inhibited the free inter-flow of trade and industrial expansion. Intellectually astute, they had taken on board the ideas of the Philosophes which had called for a more rational, fair and equal society where privileges, exemptions and restrictive practices would be ended. It is hardly surprising that the bourgeoisie were at the head of revolutionary political, social and economic change during 1788 and 1789.
- The Peasantry – as was said above, the peasants laboured under a hugely unfair burden of taxation. Their grievances were compounded by the failure of the grain harvest in 1789. This hit agricultural incomes and the economic crisis peaked at the point when the political future of France was being decided in the newly-formed National Assembly (June). The ending of feudalism (August 1789) also had much to do with peasant discontent reaching its peak during the ‘Great Fear’ in the countryside in July.
- The urban workers – the economic crisis in agriculture hit manufacturing in 1789 when rising bread prices cut the demand for manufactured goods. Lay-offs and falling incomes intensified revolutionary fervour in the great cities such as Paris. Overall, the greatest threat to the Ancien Regime came from the bourgeoisie but the influence of other social groups cannot be ignored.

Role of the Clergy

- The Clergy was split into the Upper and Lower Clergy. The Upper Clergy were almost wholly exempt from the payment of taxes and were tenacious in holding onto the privilege. The Catholic Church owned 10% of land in France and extracted tax (the tithe) from the peasantry in order to fund the Church’s operations.
- The Lower Clergy often sympathised with the peasants in their parishes who suffered under an enormous burden of taxation relative to income and this precipitated tensions within the hierarchy of the Church. It also explains why some of the clergy were prepared to lead protests against the Ancien Regime on behalf of their parishioners – eg in drawing up Cahiers des Doleances in preparation for the meeting of the Estates-General in 1789. The Cahiers revealed a catalogue of discontent and provided a platform from which an attack on the privilege, venality and exemption from taxation rife in the Ancien Regime – privileges and exemptions enjoyed by the Upper Clergy – could be launched.
- Moreover, attempts to increase government income through a Land tax levied on the Church and the Nobility were met by bitter opposition in the Assembly of Notables among whose number the Upper Clergy were prominent. This precipitated a financial crisis and the convocation in 1788 of the Estates-General. This decision led directly to the attack on privilege which culminated in the collapse of the Ancien Regime in 1789 with the establishment of the National Assembly in June, the end of feudalism in early August and the Declaration of the Rights of Man in late August.

Role of the Nobility

- Like the Clergy, the Nobility were almost wholly exempt from taxation. As a result they, too, have to accept a considerable degree of culpability for the Revolution. As with the Clergy, the Nobility was split – between the traditional Nobles of the Sword and the more recently ennobled Nobles of the Robe. The former gained access – often through birth rather than merit – to the highest and most lucrative offices of the State, Church and the Army. The ‘old’ nobility sought to protect these privileges against the ‘new’ nobility – and, indeed, the bourgeoisie. Clearly this precipitated tension and a desire for change.
- Many of the leaders of the movement which sought revolutionary change in 1788 and 1789 were drawn from the ranks of the lesser nobility. Their intellect, organisation and education made them formidable opponents of the Ancien Regime – often in alliance with the numerically larger bourgeoisie. It is also worth noting that the Assembly of Notables (bitter opponents of reform) counted many of the traditional nobility among their number.

Any other relevant factors

The French Revolution, to 1799

Question 23: To what extent was Louis XVI responsible for the failure of constitutional monarchy in 1792?

The candidate evaluates how far Louis XVI was responsible for the failure of constitutional monarchy in 1792, using evidence and arguments such as:

The Role of Louis

- Even before the outbreak of revolution in July 1789, Louis had shown himself incapable of making the strong decisions necessary to save the monarchy by dismissing Finance Minister Calonne in the face of opposition from the nobility to the major tax reforms needed to save France from bankruptcy.
- After the Declaration of the Rights of Man in August 1789, Louis failed to openly endorse its principles and in the weeks ahead seemed to be preparing for a counter-revolution through the build-up of troops at Versailles. This aroused considerable suspicion and, even at this early stage, made the achievement of a constitutional monarchy unlikely.
- The so-called March of the Women which forced the Royal family back from Versailles into the Tuileries indicates how Louis' actions during July to September had robbed the monarchy of much support.
- In June 1791 the Royal Family attempted to escape the Revolution by slipping across the border. They were stopped at Varennes and returned to Paris. The mistrust generated by his persistent ambivalence towards the Revolution brought a significant upsurge of support – particularly in Paris – for a Republic. Although not the end of the monarchy, Louis' actions in June 1791 made its demise increasingly certain.
- Even before his veto on decrees against 'refractory' clergy and émigrés in December, Louis' actions during 1791 had done the monarchy immeasurable harm. His lukewarm support for the reforms of the Constituent Assembly had generated popular hostility in Paris from the spring of 1791 onwards.

Other factors

The émigrés promoted anti-revolutionary sentiment abroad which damaged the monarchy at home.

- The Declaration of Pillnitz (August 1791) in which Austria and Prussia threatened to intervene against the Revolution had been inspired by the king's émigré brothers. This intensified suspicion of the monarchy.

The National Assembly's decision to introduce the Civil Constitution of the Clergy

- This caused great controversy in a traditionally Catholic country and created deep divisions which polarised the Revolution. The monarchy – since it was historically associated with the Church – was irrevocably damaged in the eyes of the radicals who exploited the king's unease over the Civil Constitution for their own ends.
- Louis' failure to openly endorse this and his support for émigré nobles (many of whom had left France in the aftermath of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy) increased the hostility of large sections of the population towards the monarchy.

The Declaration of War (April 1792) and the Manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick (July 1792)

- These events radicalised the Revolution to the point where the position of the monarchy became impossible because of the king's identification with the enemy. Partly, as was said above, this was Louis' own fault but it should be remembered that France declared war on Austria in April 1792 and it suited the radical anti-monarchists who thought that a successful war would bring them increased support at home and prove a decisive blow to the monarchy. The final overthrow of the monarchy in August 1792 had become inevitable under the pressures exerted by the war.

Any other relevant factors

The French Revolution, to 1799

Question 24: “The constitution of 1795 was the main reason for Napoleon’s coup of 1799.”
How valid is this view?

The candidate evaluates the importance of the constitution of 1795 in bringing about Napoleon’s coup of 1799, by using evidence and arguments such as:

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.

Other factors

The context of government in 1794/5

- 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.

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 (see above) 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 (where the two-thirds majority rule did not apply) returned a royalist majority.

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.

Role of Napoleon Bonaparte

- Napoleon's swift rise through the military had not gone unnoticed by people like Sieyes. He was a popular war hero owing to successful campaigns in Italy against the Austrians and Egypt against the Mamlukes. He had shown himself willing to put down the mob in Paris as well: 'the whiff of grapeshot'. Yet he was unwilling to be a pawn and had political ambitions of his own.

Any other relevant factors

Germany 1815 – 1939

Question 25: How important were cultural factors in the growth of national feeling in Germany between 1815 and 1850?

The candidate evaluates the importance of cultural factors in the growth of national feeling in Germany between 1815 and 1850 using evidence and arguments such as:

Cultural factors – ‘Romanticism’

- The main unifying force was language – 25 million Germans spoke the same language and shared through it the same culture and literature.
 - Writers and thinkers (eg Heine, Fichte, Goethe, Brothers Grimm, Schiller, Hegel) encouraged the growth of a German consciousness.
 - Post-1815 nationalist feelings first expressed in universities.
 - The Hambacherfest and student demonstrations – little accomplished by the students.

Other factors

Economic factors

- Urbanisation and industrialisation in the German states led to frustration at the political fragmentation of Germany which can be argued to be the most important obstacle to German economic development. Middle-class businessmen called for a more united market to enable them to compete with foreign countries.
- Prussian economic expansion proceeded steadily in the 19th Century. Prussia's gain of territory on the River Rhine after 1815 (leading to a drift in power away from Austria and towards Prussia as the latter began to build on the rich resources such as coal and iron deposits) meant it had good reason to reach an agreement with neighbours to ensure relatively free travel of goods and people between its lands in the east and the west. Businessmen complained that tax burdens were holding back economic development. Prussia created a large free-trade area within Prussia herself which aided the needs of businessmen.
- The Zollverein was the ‘mighty lever’ of German unification. By 1836, 25 of the 39 German states had joined this economic free-trade area (Austria was excluded).
- Railway/road development from the 1830s onwards ended the isolation of German states from each other. They enabled the transport and exploitation of German natural resources. Economic co-operation between German states encouraged those seeking a political solution to the issue of German unity.

Political factors

- Ideas of the French Revolution appealed to the middle classes in the German states.
- German princes had stirred national feeling to help raise armies to drive out the French, aiding the sense of a common German identity with common goals.
- Growth of Liberal political beliefs.
- The 1848 Revolutions in Germany raised consciousness greatly even though they failed.

Military factors

- The impact of Napoleonic wars meant many Germans saw that Napoleon/France had been able to conquer the separate, autonomous German states before 1815 due to their divisions.
- Growth of *Burschenschaften* pre-1815 dedicated to driving French from German soil – zealous but lacking a clear idea of how best to accomplish the task.

Any other relevant factors

Germany 1815 – 1939

Question 26: To what extent was resentment towards Prussia among the German states the main obstacle to German unification by 1850?

The candidate evaluates the extent to which resentment towards Prussia among the German states was the main obstacle to German unification by 1850, using evidence and arguments such as:

Background

- Nationalism was the idea that people with a common culture, language and history should have the right to rule themselves.
- Post-1815 nationalist feelings first expressed in universities of *Burschenschaften*.
- Pre-1815 dedicated to driving French from German soil – zealous but lacking a clear idea of how best to accomplish the task.

German states and Prussia

- Northern German states were mostly Protestant and southern states mainly Catholic.
- Generally, the northern states looked to Prussia for help and protection while the southern states looked to Austria.
- Many German states were suspicious of the motives of Prussia within 'Germany', believing it was striving to dominate the area.
- Jealousy existed among many German states towards Prussia – economic success of Prussia was envied.
- Prussian military strength was both admired and looked on with trepidation by many German states.

Other factors

Particularism

- The leaders of the German states also obstructed unification – protective of their individual power and position. They wanted to maintain the status quo which would safeguard this for them.

Austrian strength

- The states within 'Germany' had been part of the moribund Holy Roman Empire, traditionally ruled by the Emperor of Austria.
- Post-1815 the chairmanship of the *Bund* was given to Austria on a permanent basis, partly as she was considered to be the major German power.
- Metternich's work – to oppose liberalism and nationalism. His use of the weapons of diplomacy and threats of force. Use of the police state, repression and press censorship. Smaller German states were in awe of the power and position of the Austrian Empire. Austrian control over the administration and management of the empire, stamping authority on the *Bund*.
- Karlsbad Decrees and the Six Articles.
- Post-1815 Austrian military strength and bureaucracy continued to decline in effectiveness; shift in balance of power between Austria and Prussia.
- Treaty of Olmutz, 1850 – signalled the triumph of Austria and humiliation of Prussia. German nationalism was now a spent force apparently.

Weakness of nationalism

- Nationalists were divided over which territory should be included in any united Germany; *grossdeutsch* and *kleindeutsch* arguments.
- Failure of the Frankfurt Parliament – lack of clear aims and without an armed force to enforce its decisions. Lack of decisive leadership. Divisions among the ‘revolutionaries’ regarding aims and objectives. Self interest among German rulers led to opposition to the actions at Frankfurt.
- Popular apathy – most Germans had little desire to see a united Germany, nationalism affected mainly the educated/business classes.

Attitude of foreign states

- Foreign concerns over the idea of a united Germany.
- None of the Great Powers wanted to see the creation of a strong Germany which might upset the balance of power.
- Britain, Russia, Austria and France were all happy to see the German states weak and divided.

Any other relevant factors

Germany 1815 – 1939

Question 27: How important were economic factors in the rise to power of the Nazi Party between 1919 and 1933?

The candidate evaluates the importance of economic factors in the rise to power of the Nazi Party between 1919 and 1933, using evidence and arguments such as:

Economic factors

- 1922/23 (hyperinflation) – severe effects on the middle classes, the natural supporters of the Republic; outrage and despair at their ruination.
- Difficulties faced by farmers in Schleswig-Holstein gave the Nazis their first electoral breakthrough in 1928.
- 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 – unsere letzte hoffnung" 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.

Other factors

Weakness of the Weimer

- The Constitution/Article 48 ('suicide clause') – arguably Germany was too democratic. 'The world's most perfect democracy – on paper.'
- The Treaty of Versailles – acceptance by Republic of hated terms.
- 'A Republic without Republicans'/'a Republic nobody wanted' – lack of popular support for the new form of government after 1918.
- Lack of real, outstanding Weimar politicians who could strengthen the Republic, Stresemann excepted.
- 'Peasants in a palace' – commentary on Weimar politicians.
- Lukewarm support from the German Army and the Civil Service for Weimar.
- Inability (or unwillingness) to deal effectively with problems in German society by the Republic.
- Lack of authority.

Weaknesses and mistakes of opponents

- Alliance of the new government and the old imperial army against the Spartacists – lack of cooperation between socialist groups – petty squabbling rife.
- Divisions among those groups/individuals who purported to be supporters of the new form of government eg the socialists.
- Political intrigue – roles of von Schleicher and von Papen.

Role of Adolf Hitler and Appeal of the Nazis after 1928

- Hitler's oratory – ability to put into words the outrage and frustrations of millions of Germans over a variety of issues.
- The Storm Troopers (SA) – Hitler's contribution to the setting up of the private army of the Nazi Party. To a worried middle-class they looked like the only political party willing to take on the Communists.
- Post 1925 – Hitler's decision to improve the efficiency of the Nazi Party, develop the effectiveness of its organisation, especially its propaganda machine.
- Hitler's uncompromising stance against the Treaty of Versailles struck a chord with millions of Germans.
- Hitler's alliance with Hugenberg offered the Nazi Party widespread publicity – propaganda.
- Hitler's ruthlessness/pragmatic approach to matters – for example in his hard-headed negotiations with von Papen.
- Hitler's policies – something for everyone, despite often contradictory policies.
- Hitler gave people somebody to blame for their problems: November Criminals, Jews, etc.

Any other relevant factors

Italy 1815 – 1939

Question 28: How important was the role of Mazzini in the growth of Italian nationalism between 1815 and 1850?

The candidate evaluates the importance of Mazzini to the growth of Italian nationalism between 1815 and 1850, using evidence and arguments such as:

Role of Mazzini

- Radical nationalist Mazzini not only inspired dreams of a united, democratic Italian republic through his written works, but also formed an activist movement 'Young Italy' whose aim was to make these dreams a reality.
- Low literacy levels lessened the impact of his writing.
- Failure of Young Italy revolts in the 1830s damaged his credibility.
- Lack of popular support for the Roman Republic.

Other factors

Cultural factors

- The Risorgimento was inspired by Italy's past. Poets such as Leopardi glorified and exaggerated past achievements kindling nationalist desires. Poets and novelists like Pellico inspired anti-Austrian feelings amongst intellectuals as did operas such as Verdi's 'Nabucco' and Rossini's 'William Tell.'
- There was no national 'Italian' language – regional dialects were like separate languages. Alfieri inspired 'Italian' language based on Tuscan. The poet and novelist Manzoni wrote in 'Italian'. Philosophers spread ideas of nationalism in their books and periodicals.
- Moderate nationalists such as Gioberti and Balbo advocated the creation of a federal state with the individual rulers remaining but joining together under a president for foreign affairs and trade. Gioberti's '*On the moral and civil primacy of the Italians*' advocated the Pope as president whilst Balbo, in his book '*On the hopes of Italy*', saw the King of Piedmont/Sardinia in the role.

Effects of the French Revolution

- 'Italian' intellectuals had initially been inspired by the French Revolution with its national flag, national song, national language, national holiday and emphasis on citizenship.

Role of Bonaparte

- Napoleon Bonaparte's conquest inspired feelings of nationalism – he reduced the number of states to three; revived the name 'Italy'; brought in single system of weights and measures; improved communications; helped trade inspiring desire for at least a customs union. Napoleon's occupation was hated – conscription, taxes, looting of art – led to realisation that, individually, the Italian states were weak.

Resentment of Austrian Rule

- After the Vienna settlement in 1815, hatred of foreign control centred on Austria. The Hapsburg Emperor directly controlled Lombardy and Venetia; his relatives controlled Parma, Modena, Tuscany. Austria had strong ties to the Papacy and had alliances with other rulers. Conscription, censorship, the use of spies and the policy of promotion in the police, civil service and army only for German speakers was resented.
- Austrian army presence within towns like Milan and the heavily garrisoned Quadrilateral fortresses ensured that 'Italians' could never forget that they were under foreign control and this inspired growing desire for the creation of a national state.

Role of Nationalist Societies

- The growth of secret societies, particularly the Carbonari, led to revolts in 1820, 1821, 1831. Also 'Young Italy' and their revolts in the 1830s.
- By 1850s development of moderate nationalist groups like the National Society which rejected revolt and looked to Piedmont's liberal political system and growing economic power as the best way to achieve unity.

Economic factors

- Wealth lay in land (landowners were often reactionary) and trade (where the educated bourgeoisie were more receptive to ideas of liberalism and nationalism).
- Realisation that closer economic ties would benefit the Italian state.

Role of Pio Nono

- The election of a new, seemingly reformist Pope, Pius IX, in 1846 inspired feelings of nationalism particularly amongst businessmen and traders as he wished to form a customs union.

Any other relevant factors

Italy 1815 – 1939

Question 29: How important was the influence of Austria in preventing the unification of Italy between 1815 and 1850?

The candidate evaluates how important the influence of Austria was in preventing the unification of Italy between 1815 and 1850 using evidence and arguments such as:

Austrian strength

- Following Vienna Settlement Austrian Emperor Francis I had direct control of Lombardy and Venetia. Relatives of the Austrian Hapsburg Emperor controlled Parma, Modena and Tuscany (Central Duchies). Austria had agreements with the other states.
- Lombardy and Venetia were strictly controlled – censorship, spies, conscription (8 years), policy to employ German speakers (Austrian) in law, police, army civil service so controlled others (non Austrian).
- Austrian army was 'common sight' in major cities and in the Quadrilateral fortress towns on Lombard/Venetian border (Verona, Peschiera, Legnano, and Mantua). Austrian army sent in by Metternich to restore order following the Carbonari-inspired revolts in 1820, 1821 and 1831.
- Austria had first class commander, Radetsky. In 1848 Charles Albert's army won two skirmishes but Radetsky awaited reinforcements then defeated Albert at Custoza forcing an armistice. Radetsky re-took Milan in August.
- After Albert's renewal of war Radetsky took just three days to defeat him again (Novara). He then besieged Venetia until the Republic of St Mark surrendered on 22 August 1849. Austrians re-established control across north and central Italy.

Other factors

Popular indifference

- Patriotic literature inspired intellectuals and students but did not reach the vast majority of the population who were illiterate (90% in some areas). The mass of the population were indifferent to nationalist ideas.

Geography

- Geographical difficulties hindered the spread of nationalist ideas. It also led to problems of economic development: the industrial north and the rural south.

Attitudes of Italian rulers

- Individual rulers were opposed to nationalism. Pope Pius IX denounced nationalism in 1848.

Nationalist divisions/weakness

- Secret societies lacked clear aims, organisation, leadership, resources and operated in regional cells.
- Young Italy movement dead by 1850.
- Moderate nationalists feared extremists like Mazzini.
- The 1848/49 revolutions showed that nationalist leaders did not trust one another (Manin and Charles Albert) or would not work together (C. Albert and Mazzini).
- Failure to capitalise on Austrian weakness in 1848.
- There was division between those desiring liberal changes within existing states and those desiring the creation of a national state.

Any other relevant factors

Italy 1815 – 1939

Question 30: To what extent did Mussolini achieve power by 1925 as a result of the weaknesses of Italian governments?

The candidate evaluates the extent to which Mussolini achieved power by 1925 as a result of the weaknesses of Italian governments using evidence and arguments such as:

Weaknesses of Italian governments

- Parliamentary government was weak and ineffective. Liberals had no party structure. A narrow support base. Coalitions were corrupt. Bribery commonplace (trasformismo).
- New parties with wider support base threatened existing political system. Universal male suffrage and PR worsened situation resulting in unstable coalitions. Giolitti made electoral pact with Mussolini (1921). Fascists gained 35 seats then refused to support government. Liberals fragmented into at least four different factions grouped around former PMs.
- Once Mussolini was PM these groups felt they could control him and believed he could tame the extreme fascists. Majority of 'liberals' supported the Acerbo Law. Aventine Secession played into Mussolini's hands.
- Weak governments failed to deal with Italy's internal problems.
- Coalitions failed to deal with Italy's growing post WWI economic problems:
 - foreign loans and massive national debt
 - spiralling inflation
 - low wages
 - food shortages
 - escalating unemployment, strikes, demonstrations and occupation of factories
 - violence of both socialist and fascists.
- They did little to support the police as law and order broke down and fears of civil war/revolution grew.
- The government did not stop D'Annunzio's seizure of Fiume Government ineffective over 'Biennio Rosso'.
- Weaknesses of the monarchy: King caved in over 'March on Rome'.

Other factors

Socialist weaknesses

- Revolutionary socialists dominated the leadership of PSI (socialists) and they refused involvement in 'liberal' coalitions. Biennio Rosso frightened middle/upper classes who feared communism. 1919 elections PSI did well but could not form government.
- Split into moderates, radicals and communists in 1921 – 1922 General Strike failed. Moderates failed to join an anti-fascist coalition. In 1925 Mussolini banned socialist parties.

PPI weaknesses

- Pope Pius XI constantly undermined Sturzo's PPI. PPI was divided over its attitude to fascism – the right preferred fascism over socialism. The left were anti-fascist. Mussolini exploited this by including two right wing PPI in his coalition.
- Pius directly negotiated with Mussolini over existing problems between church and state, and effectively sidelined Sturzo. PPI officially abstained over Acerbo Law. Pope rejected PPI involvement in the anti-fascist coalition of 1924. By 1926 Mussolini had banned all opposition parties.

Appeal of fascism

- Fascism promised strong government.
- Squadristi violence directed against socialism so gained support of elites and middle classes.
- Violence showed fascism was strong and ruthless.
- Appeal to nationalism, capitalising on the resentment towards the Paris Peace Settlement.

Mussolini's skills

- He seized his opportunities and changed political direction offering support to conservative elites: Pope; king; army.
- He kept fascist policies vague to attract support from different groups.
- He copied D'Annunzio's tactics – direct action; flags, banners, salutes, songs – fascism seemed dynamic.
- He used 'piazza politics' and his newspaper effectively.
- He outmanoeuvred fascist extremists.

Any other relevant factors

Russia 1881 – 1921

Question 31: How secure was the Tsar's hold on power in the years before 1905?

The candidate assesses how secure the Tsar's hold on power was in the years before 1905, using evidence and arguments such as:

The Secret Police, 'Okhrana'

- The Secret police was set up to ensure loyalty to the Tsar and weed out opposition to the Tsar.
- The Secret police would do this by spying on all people of society irrespective of class. Would infiltrate opposition groups to find their key leaders, etc.
- Large numbers were exiled however they were unable to completely eradicate all of the ideas opposing the Tsar.

The Church

- The Church helped to ensure that the people remained loyal to the Tsar.
- The Church preached to the peasants that the Tsar had been appointed by God and that they should therefore obey the Tsar.
- The Church also ensured that the peasants were aware of the Fundamental Law.

Fundamental Law

- This was used to impose the authority of the Tsar over the peasants as it stated "To the emperor of all Russia belongs the Supreme and unlimited power. God himself commands that his supreme power be obeyed out of conscience as well as out of fear."

The Army

- The Army was controlled by officers who were mainly upper class and therefore conservative and loyal to the King.
- The army ensured that the population and the peasants in particular were loyal to the Tsar.
- Most of the soldiers had been peasants themselves, but had been taught to be loyal to the Tsar.
- The army was used to crush insurgence and to enforce order in the country and loyalty to the Tsar.

Civil Service

- The Civil Service was set up to ensure loyalty to the Tsar and weed out opposition to the Tsar.
- The Civil Service spied on all people of society irrespective of class with those showing any sign of opposition to the Tsar being imprisoned or sent in to exile.
- Large numbers of people were exiled however they were unable to completely eradicate all of the ideas opposing the Tsar.
- The Civil Service mainly employed middle class people, which therefore ensured the loyalty of the middle class people in general.
- The Civil Service was responsible for enforcing laws on censorship and corruption as well as about meetings, which made it very difficult for the revolutionaries to communicate.

Censorship

- Censorship controlled what people were able to read which therefore meant the Civil Service could control what University lecturers could say and also controlled access to schools as well as limiting books available in libraries. As a result the Civil Service were able to prevent reading anti-Tsarist literature.

Russification

- Russification was an effort to restrict the influence of the national minorities in the Russian Empire by insisting that Russian was the first language.
- The law and government of the country were conducted throughout the Russian Empire in the Russian language, which maintained the dominance of the Russian culture over that of the minority cultures.
- Due to Russification, discrimination of minority peoples became more widespread. There was State intervention in religion and education by the Tsarist government over the minority people to ensure Russification.
- The Tsarist state treated subjects from minority areas as potential enemies and inferior.

Zubatov Unions

- The Zubatov Unions were used to divert the attention of the workers away from political change by concentrating on wages and conditions in the factories
- The Zubatov Unions reduced the chances of the workers being influenced by the revolutionary groups.
- Unions in 1903 became involved in strikes and so were disbanded due to pressure from employers.

Revolutionary Groups Weak

- There were various revolutionary groups like the Social Revolutionaries (peasants unhappy at the mir system), Social Democrats (disillusioned and angry town workers) and Liberals (who wanted a British style parliament).
- The revolutionary groups alone were not powerful or popular enough to affect change.
- The revolutionary groups were further weakened by the fact they were not very organised and they did not cooperate.

Any other relevant factors

Russia 1881 – 1921

Question 32: To what extent was the power of the Tsarist state weakened in the years between 1905 and 1914?

The candidate assesses the extent to which the power of the Tsarist state was weakened in the years between 1905 and 1914 by using evidence and arguments such as:

October Manifesto

- The Duma received legislative powers, ie agree to new laws.
- The electorate was widened, and promised freedom of speech, to have meetings and liberty of conscience.
- This split the revolutionary forces with the moderate liberals accepting it.
- On the face of it there was change, but...

Duma (parliament) granted to buy off the middle classes

- Before Duma met the Tsar took back much of the power he had conceded. He announced the “Fundamental Laws” whereby the Supreme autocratic power belonged to the Tsar, in that no law could be passed without his approval.
- The Duma had two chambers. The first house was elected and the second house (state council) would be largely dominated by the Tsar and could veto lower chamber proposals.
- The Tsar could appoint and dismiss ministers who were not responsible to the Duma.
- The Tsar could dissolve the Duma, but had to call elections for a new one.
- Article 87 meant the Tsar could issue decrees “in exceptional circumstances” when the Duma was not sitting.

The Duma

- 1st Duma: Lasted from April to June 1906. Dismissed for demanding a full democratic parliament. “Vyborg Group” of liberals who resisted were arrested and banned from future elections.
- 2nd Duma: Lasted from Feb to June 1907. Few liberals in this Duma as most of them were part of the “Vyborg Group”. Closed due to the Tsar’s resentment to criticism of the administration of the army, thus showing power of Tsarist state.
- 3rd Duma: Lasted from 1907 to 1912. The rich dominated it and only 1 man in 6 could now vote. This Duma was very right wing and was accused of merely rubber-stamping Tsarist policies, however it helped Stolypin bring about Land Reform which was disliked by the nobles, questioned ministers, discussed state finances, and made proposals to modernise the army, showing that Tsarist policy could change, but was it weakened?
- 4th Duma: lasted from 1912 to 1914. It was of a similar make up to the 3rd Duma. It also criticised the government at times, such as it’s handling of the Lena goldfield strike and the very heavy-handed style of the government in repressing working class protest, but although critical did it weaken the Tsarist State? Dissolved itself at the start of WWI.

Stolypin cracked down on Revolutionaries

- Government ministers in reality helped the Tsar in some ways: role of Stolypin.
- Many of the revolutionaries were stamped out.
- Stolypin set up tribunals, which sentenced to death every terrorist captured by the secret police.
- There was a reduction in opposition to the Tsar and his running of the country.
- The Soviets were crushed in 1905 as they were a focal point of opposition to the Tsar.

Agricultural Reforms

- Stolypin introduced these important reforms to win the support of the peasants. Redemption payments were ended.
- Peasants were given complete freedom to leave the Mir and they could turn their holdings in to their own property, this was to produce a rich class of peasants and help farming.
- These reforms reduced opposition to the Tsar as the peasants became loyal to the Tsar and allowed him to rule as he wished.

June 1907 Electoral Law Change

- Franchise restricted to favour the gentry and urban rich at the expense of the workers, peasants and nationalities, which tended to reinforce Tsarist power.

Army remained loyal to the Tsar.

- After 1905 this enabled the Tsar to repress opposition such as revolutionaries.

Any other relevant factors

Russia 1881 – 1921

Question 33: How important was Bolshevik propaganda in the success of the 1917 October revolution?

The candidate evaluates how important Bolshevik propaganda was in the success of the October revolution in 1917 using evidence and arguments such as:

Bolshevik Propaganda

- 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 and appealed to important groups such as the workers and peasants.
- Lenin talked of further revolution to overthrow the Provisional Government and his slogans identified the key weaknesses of the Provisional Government.

Other factors

The Provisional Government Lacked Authority

- The Provisional Government was an unelected government; it was a self-appointed body and had no right to exercise authority.

The Petrograd Soviet

- The old Petrograd Soviet re-emerged and ran Petrograd.
- 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 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.

The War

- 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.

Workers

- 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 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.

Kornilov Affair

- 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 helped.
- Some Bolsheviks were armed and released from prison to help put down the attempted coup.
- The Bolsheviks did not return their weapons to the Provisional Government after they defeated Kornilov.
- Bolsheviks were able to act as protectors of Petrograd.

Any other relevant factors

USA 1918 – 1968

Question 34: To what extent was racism the main reason for changing attitudes towards immigration in the 1920s?

The candidate evaluates the importance of racism in explaining changing attitudes towards immigration in the 1920s, using evidence and arguments such as:

Prejudice and racism

- Changing nature of immigrants. Old Immigrants – WASPs mainly from North and West of Europe. New Immigrants – mainly from Southern and Eastern Europe. New immigrants were Catholic or Jewish – worried WASP America.
- New immigrants unfamiliar with democracy – viewed as a threat to the American constitution.
- New immigrants continued to wear traditional dress and looked out of place.
- Huge numbers of new immigrants entering America after 1900.
- Prejudiced views saw new immigrants as inferior people and threats to ‘traditional values’.
- Nativism – America for Americans.
- Rebirth of KKK appealing to 100% Americanism.
- Anti Immigration legislation of 1920s heavily stacked against ‘new’ immigrants from southern and eastern Europe.

Other factors

Anti immigration attitudes had already existed before 1920s

- Change in attitudes already apparent in the 19th century. 1884 Immigration Restriction League.
- 1882 Federal Immigration Act.
- Chinese Exclusion Act.
- 1913 Alien Land Law.

Isolationism, the First World War and anti immigration

- Wanted to keep out of foreign problems and concentrate solely on America.
- Many immigrants during the First World War had sympathies for their mother country. Many German immigrants had supported the German side in the war and society was split when the USA joined the war against Germany.
- Many citizens felt hostile to anything foreign.
- When the war ended, most Americans wanted a return to isolationism.

Social fears/fear of crime

- Immigrants congregated in ghettos – blamed for high crime rates in cities.
- Fears of un-American values being promoted.
- Media promoted fears of immigrants bringing crime to USA and Sacco and Vanzetti case seemed to confirm the link between political extremism, foreign influence and crime.

Economic fears

- Trade unions believed that anything they did to improve conditions or wages was wrecked by Italian or Polish workers who were prepared to work longer hours for lower wages.
- 1919 strikes – new immigrants were used as ‘strike breakers’. Caused huge resentment and an increase in the desire to stop immigrants coming into the country.

Fear of communism/revolution

- Russian revolution in 1917 had established the first Communist state committed to spreading revolution and destroying capitalism. Many immigrants came from Russia and Eastern Europe.
- Activities of Wobblies (The Industrial Workers of the World) and anarchist groups raised suspicion.
- Bomb scares and widespread strikes in 1919 heightened tension.
- ‘Red Scare’ 1919 looked as if revolution was imminent. Palmer Raids – August 1919.

Any other relevant factors

USA 1918 – 1968

Question 35: “The weakness of the US banking system was the main reason for causing the Great Depression of the 1930s.” How accurate is this statement?

The candidate evaluates the accuracy of the statement that the weakness of the US banking system was the main reason in causing the Great Depression of the 1930s, using evidence and arguments such as:

Weakness of the US banking system

- Major problem was lack of regulation.
- Banking system was made up of hundreds of small, state-based banks.
- When one bank collapsed it often led to a ‘run’ on other banks, resulting in a banking collapse and national financial crisis.

Other factors

Saturation of the US market

- New mass-production methods and mechanisation meant that production of consumer goods had expanded enormously.
- Cars, radios and other electrical goods had flooded the market and more was being made than people could buy.
- By 1929 those who could afford consumer goods had already bought them.
- Throughout the 1920s business had benefited from low tax policies. The result of this was that the bottom 40% of the population received only 12.5% of the nation’s wealth.
- In contrast, the top 5% owned 33% of the nation’s wealth. Therefore, domestic demand never kept up with production.

International debt issues

- Results of the First World War on European economies.
- All European states, except Britain, placed tariffs on imported goods.
- US economy could not expand its foreign markets.

Economic boom of the 1920s

- Republican administrations’ policy of Laissez-Faire.
- Failure to help farmers who did not benefit from the 1920s boom.
- Low capital gains tax encouraged share speculation which resulted in the Wall Street Crash.
- The depression was also due to the actions – or inactions – of President Hoover.

Wall Street crash

- Atmosphere of uncertainty in October 1929 and shareholders began to sell their stocks.
 - 24 October 1929 Black Thursday.
 - 29 October 1929 Black Tuesday.
 - Share collapse caused panic.
- Stock market crash did play a role in the depression but its significance was as a trigger. Collapse of credit, and of confidence.

Any other relevant factors

USA 1918 – 1968

Question 36: How important was the emergence of effective organisations to the development of the Civil Rights campaigns after 1945?

The candidate evaluates the importance of the emergence of effective organisations to the development of the Civil Rights campaigns after 1945 using evidence and arguments such as:

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.

The emergence of effective black leaders

- Martin Luther King.
- Malcolm X.
- Stokely Carmichael.

Other factors

Evidence of continuing racial discrimination

- 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.

Legal changes

- Education: 1954 Brown v Board of Education of Topeka; Little Rock Central High School.
- Transport: 1955 Rosa Parks and the Montgomery Bus Boycott.

Effects of the 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.
- March on Washington.
- 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

Appeasement and the Road to War, to 1939

Question 37: To what extent does disappointment over the terms of the Peace Settlements of 1919 explain the aggressive nature of fascist foreign policies in the 1930s?

The candidate evaluates the disappointment over the terms of the Peace Settlements of 1919 as an explanation for the aggressive nature of fascist foreign policies in the 1930s using evidence and arguments such as:

Terms of the Paris Peace Settlement

- German desire to get revenge for defeat in WW1.
- Determination to revise/overturn Paris Peace Settlement – German resentment of war guilt, reparations, disarmament, lost territory. Italian resentment of failure to gain control of Adriatic.

Other factors

Economic difficulties

- Germany and Italy's post-WW1 economic difficulties – eg labour unrest, unemployment, inflation.
- Fascist economic policies in Italy in the 1920s – relative recovery.
- The impact of the world economic crisis 1929-32 on the German and Italian economies, intensified international competition and protectionism.
- Continuing economic problems in the 1930s, eg needs of rearmament and domestic consumption.
- Economic imperatives, eg need for additional resources, leading to aggressive, expansionist foreign policies, eg Italy in Abyssinia, German drive to the east.

Imperialism

- Mussolini's 'Roman' ambitions in the Mediterranean and Africa; Hitler's ambitions in Eastern Europe and Russia.
- Militarism – fascist glorification of war; Prussian/German military traditions.

Ideology

- Pathological hatred of communism, anti-Soviet crusade; contempt for democracy.
- Irredentism, eg Hitler's commitment to incorporation of all Germans within Reich.

Leadership

- Extent to which foreign policies driven by Hitler's and Mussolini's own beliefs, personalities, charismatic leadership.

Weakness of the League of Nations

- Failure of the League. Divided response of other powers, eg British appeasement, French political divisions, US isolationism, mutual suspicion of Soviet Russia; relative weakness of successor states in East Europe.
- Example of success of Japan in Manchuria in defiance of League.
- No League enforcement powers.
- Not a League of all nations.
- Seen as victors' club to enforce unfair terms of 1919 settlements.

Any other relevant factors

Appeasement and the Road to War, to 1939

Question 38: To what extent does British public opinion explain the policy of appeasement between 1936 and 1938?

The candidate evaluates the extent to which British public opinion explains the policy of appeasement between 1936 and 1938 using evidence and arguments such as:

British public opinion

- Versailles too harsh
- Early Nazi foreign policy justifiable – “only going in own front garden” – Rhineland 1936.
- Peace Pledge Union – 11 million signatures for anti war position.
- Peace Ballot 1935.
- Fulham by-election often used as evidence for appeasement support – questionable.
- Oxford Union debate – no strong support to fight for King and Country.
- Fear of bombing – as seen in newsreels (Guernica 1937) and also ‘Things to Come’ movie.
- Fear of return to horrors of Great War and also new technology fears – gas bombing of civilians.
- More important issues to spend money on.
- Many felt European problems were not our concern.
- Distractions of the Abdication crisis.

Other factors explaining the policy of appeasement between 1936 and 1938

- Military weakness.
- run-down state of armed forces following WW1.
- Army: conscription ended post-WW1, scaled right down in size.
- Navy: not so run-down but not fully maintained; many obsolete ships.
- Air Force: lack of adequate air defences and fear of aerial bombing.
- Multiple threats – Japan in the East, Italy in the Mediterranean and North Africa, Germany in Central Europe.
- Warnings of Chiefs-of-Staff.
- Exaggerated assessments of German military strength.
- 1919 Peace Settlement was seen as too harsh on Germany and there was sympathy for what were seen by many as genuine grievances.
- Reluctance to enforce Treaty provisions and preference for policy of making concessions.
- Economic difficulties – impact of 1929-32 economic crisis and depression, reluctance to further damage international trade and commerce.
- Fear of communism – suspicion of Soviet Russia; Nazi Germany seen as a buffer and destabilising the Nazi regime might lead to questions over communist revolution in Germany.
- Perceived lack of reliable allies (but there are doubts as to how reliable Britain was as an ally herself).
- Failure of League of Nations, eg Manchuria, Abyssinia.
- French political divisions, military weakness and Maginot mentality.
- US isolationism.
- Mutual suspicions vis-à-vis Soviet Russia.
- Relative weakness of Eastern European successor states.
- Doubts over commitment of Empire and the Dominions in event of war.
- Italy also appeased in vain attempt to prevent alliance with Germany.
- Belief that Hitler would moderate views in power and be reasonable.
- Chamberlain’s personal convictions and control of foreign policy.

Any other relevant factors

Appeasement and the Road to War, to 1939

Question 39: "Munich was a triumph for British foreign policy". How valid is this view?

The candidate assesses the extent to which the Munich Agreement could be described as a triumph for British policy using evidence and arguments such as:

Munich a victory?

- Hitler himself was dissatisfied by Munich – felt 'robbed' of a war with the hated Czechs.
- 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:
 - geography – difficulties of getting assistance to Czechoslovakia
 - public opinion – 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
 - French doubts over commitments to Czechoslovakia
 - US isolationism
 - mutual suspicion of Soviet Russia
 - strong reservations of rest of British Empire and Dominions concerning support in event of war.
- Attitudes of Poland and Hungary – willing to benefit from dismemberment of Czechoslovakia.
- Munich bought another year for rearmament which Britain put to good use.

Munich a defeat

- 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 – destruction of Czechoslovakia, 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 was a more effective alternative.

Any other relevant factors

The Cold War 1945 – 1989

Question 40: How important were ideological differences between east and west in the emergence of the Cold War up to 1955?

The candidate assesses the importance of ideological differences between east and west in the emergence of the Cold War up to 1955 using evidence and arguments such as:

Ideological differences

- Impact of 1917 Bolshevik revolution in Russia on relations with the Western powers: Soviet withdrawal from WW1, involvement of West with anti-Bolshevik Whites: ideological differences between Communist and Capitalism. WW2: suspicion of USSR by allies because of Nazi-Soviet Pact of 1939.

Other factors

Experience of the Second World War

- Tensions within the wartime alliance as the defeat of Nazism became clear. Soviet Union felt they had done the bulk of the land fighting and wanted security for the USSR. Stalin determined to hang on to land gained and create a series of sympathetic regimes in Eastern Europe. The USA wanted to create a free trade area composed of democratic states. Exemplification through Yalta conference: Soviet actions in Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, etc and Allied actions in Western Europe, Greece.

Impact of the atom bomb and arms race

- Use of atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki had one aim of impressing the USSR and making them ready to make concessions in Eastern Europe. Stalin refused to be intimidated and in fact it made him even more suspicious of the USA and determined to make the Soviet Union a nuclear power as soon as possible; the development of the arms race.

The status of post-war Germany: Berlin crisis in 1949

- The Potsdam Conference and policy over Germany whereby the allied sectors remained free as compared to Soviet sector which was stripped of assets as reparations. The economic status of Germany: creation of Bizonia in West. Contrast between the developing capitalist west and centrally controlled east: introduction of Deutsche mark in West led to the Berlin Blockade in 1949.

Changing Soviet and Western diplomacy

- Truman and the policy of containment: British power had been destroyed; decline in their world commitments, specifically in Greece where civil war raged between Communists and Royalists. Fear of similar problems in Italy when allied troops left. Truman acknowledged world dividing into two hostile blocs in his speech to support free peoples and oppose totalitarian regimes.
- Marshall Plan exemplifies differences. Rejected by Soviets.
- Hardening of Western attitudes. Fulton speech by Churchill. Creation of competing military alliances.
- Creation of NATO and Warsaw Pact further polarised the world.

Cold War sealed with a Hot War: Korea

- Stalin encouraged Communist North Korea to invade Capitalist South. This led to American-led UN intervention on behalf of the South, and resultant Chinese intervention. Soviet and American pilots fought each other across Korea. Stalemate along 38th parallel.

Any other relevant factors

The Cold War 1945 – 1989

Question 41: “The Cuban Crisis of 1962 was a direct consequence of the domestic pressures on Khrushchev.” How accurate is this view?

The candidate assesses the accuracy of the view that the Cuban Crisis of 1962 was a direct consequence of the domestic pressures on Khrushchev using evidence and arguments such as:

Domestic pressures of Khrushchev

- Ongoing deadlock over Berlin and criticism of Khrushchev at home over cuts in the armed forces, economic failures and the issues surrounding de-Stalinisation, Hungary 1956, etc.
- Khrushchev believed a foreign policy coup would help improve matters for him at home.
- Khrushchev aware of need to raise the Soviet standard of living and to greatly expand his country's space program. He sought to increase international standing of USSR and his own authority.
- Khrushchev became premier after outmanoeuvring rivals. He needed to maintain authority.
- Khrushchev wanted to avoid war with the Western nations and, at the same time, increase economic competition between Communist and non-Communist countries. The policy, known as peaceful co-existence, caused bitter quarrels between the Soviet Union and China. Khrushchev needed to maintain his status in Communist bloc.
- Khrushchev worried that if the Soviet Union lost the arms race it might invite a first strike from the United States. Soviet missiles placed in Cuba would solve that problem.

Other factors leading to the Cuban Crisis of 1962

Miscalculation by Khrushchev

- Khrushchev felt that Kennedy was a weak president after the Bay of Pigs, June 1961.
- Summit in Vienna to discuss Berlin. USA did little to oppose construction of Berlin Wall.
- Khrushchev felt that Kennedy lacked power and support to make concessions over the arms race. Events were to prove him wrong.
- Khrushchev had been advised that the installation could be done secretly and that the Americans would not discover the missiles until long after. The advice was wrong.

Ideological reasons

- Khrushchev was sympathetic to Castro. Some historians argue that he wanted to use Cuba as a launch pad for revolution in Central America. Missile deployment would provide protection for the revolution.

American policy over Cuba

- Domestic pressures for Kennedy as an explanation for the Cuban Crisis of 1962.
- In 1960 Kennedy became President. He promised tougher defense policies and progressive health, housing, and Civil Rights programs. But Kennedy won by just over 100,000 votes. He lacked a reliable majority in congress.
- Kennedy needed to show he had strength and determination to gain respect and support.
- Kennedy already embarrassed by Bay of Pigs fiasco where 1400 Cuban exiles landed and were crushed by Castro's army.
- Argument that this forced Castro to start preparing to defend himself against another attack and drew him closer to Khrushchev and the Soviet Union. Castro asked for significant conventional military aid.
- Kennedy under some pressure from CIA to continue to destabilise Castro's Cuba.
- America was very sensitive about the presence of a Communist state so close to Florida. American aggression seemed to be confirmed by the United States practising the invasion of a Caribbean island with a dictator named Orsac: Operation Mongoose overseen by Robert Kennedy.

The nuclear arms race

- The Soviets wanted to place nuclear missiles in Cuba because they were trying to balance out the number of nuclear arms between themselves and the United States.
- The United States had placed their Jupiter missiles in Turkey and now the USSR felt very threatened. Kennedy had originally placed the Jupiter missiles in Turkey in 1961 because the United States had feared the possible nuclear capabilities of the Soviet Union. These missiles became a major threat to the Soviets because they were capable of striking anywhere in the USSR. Counter view that the missiles were obsolete.
- In order to defend themselves, and let the United States know what it was like to be surrounded by a deadly threat, the Soviets placed missiles in Cuba.

Any other relevant factors

The Cold War 1945 – 1989

Question 42: How important was the danger of Mutually Assured Destruction in forcing the superpowers into attempts to manage the Cold War?

The candidate evaluates the importance of MAD in forcing the superpowers into attempts to manage the Cold War, using arguments and evidence such as:

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.
- In this it worked as the threat of nuclear war seemed very close on the discovery of Soviet nuclear missiles in 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.

Other factors

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.

Economic reasons

- 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.

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.

However there were also times of great tension between the superpowers.

- The Second Cold War – Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 and the advent of the Reagan presidency led to poor relations between the superpowers.
- Technology – also allowed both sides to continue to develop powerful armaments despite agreements. Intermediate and battlefield nuclear technology for example.

Any other relevant factors

[END OF MARKING INSTRUCTIONS]