

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL EXAMINATIONS
GCE Advanced Subsidiary Level and GCE Advanced Level

MARK SCHEME for the May/June 2008 question paper

9697 HISTORY

9697/05 Paper 5, maximum raw mark 100

This mark scheme is published as an aid to teachers and candidates, to indicate the requirements of the examination. It shows the basis on which Examiners were instructed to award marks. It does not indicate the details of the discussions that took place at an Examiners' meeting before marking began.

All Examiners are instructed that alternative correct answers and unexpected approaches in candidates' scripts must be given marks that fairly reflect the relevant knowledge and skills demonstrated.

Mark schemes must be read in conjunction with the question papers and the report on the examination.

- CIE will not enter into discussions or correspondence in connection with these mark schemes.

CIE is publishing the mark schemes for the May/June 2008 question papers for most IGCSE, GCE Advanced Level and Advanced Subsidiary Level syllabuses and some Ordinary Level syllabuses.



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Generic mark bands for essay questions

Examiners will assess which Level of Response best reflects most of the answer. An answer will not be required to demonstrate all of the descriptions in a particular Level to qualify for a Mark Band.

In bands of 3 or 4 marks, Examiners will normally award the middle mark/one of the middle marks, moderating it up or down according to the particular qualities of the answer. In bands of 2 marks, Examiners should award the lower mark if an answer just deserves the band and the higher mark if the answer clearly deserves the band.

Band	Marks	Levels of Response
1	21–25	The approach will be consistently analytical or explanatory rather than descriptive or narrative. Essays will be fully relevant. The argument will be structured coherently and supported by very appropriate factual material and ideas. The writing will be accurate. At the lower end of the band, there may be some weaker sections but the overall quality will show that the candidate is in control of the argument. The best answers must be awarded 25 marks.
2	18–20	Essays will be focused clearly on the demands of the question but there will be some unevenness. The approach will be mostly analytical or explanatory rather than descriptive or narrative. The answer will be mostly relevant. Most of the argument will be structured coherently and supported by largely accurate factual material. The impression will be that that a good solid answer has been provided.
3	16–17	Essays will reflect a clear understanding of the question and a fair attempt to provide an argument and factual knowledge to answer it. The approach will contain analysis or explanation but there may be some heavily descriptive or narrative passages. The answer will be largely relevant. Essays will achieve a genuine argument but may lack balance and depth in factual knowledge. Most of the answer will be structured satisfactorily but some parts may lack full coherence.
4	14–15	Essays will indicate attempts to argue relevantly although often implicitly. The approach will depend more on some heavily descriptive or narrative passages than on analysis or explanation, which may be limited to introductions and conclusions. Factual material, sometimes very full, will be used to impart information or describe events rather than to address directly the requirements of the question. The structure of the argument could be more organised more effectively.
5	11–13	Essays will offer some appropriate elements but there will be little attempt generally to link factual material to the requirements of the question. The approach will lack analysis and the quality of the description or narrative, although sufficiently accurate and relevant to the topic if not the particular question, will not be linked effectively to the argument. The structure will show weaknesses and the treatment of topics within the answer will be unbalanced.
6	8–10	Essays will not be properly focused on the requirements of the question. There may be many unsupported assertions and commentaries that lack sufficient factual support. The argument may be of limited relevance to the topic and there may be confusion about the implications of the question.
7	0–7	Essays will be characterised by significant irrelevance or arguments that do not begin to make significant points. The answers may be largely fragmentary and incoherent. Marks at the bottom of this Band will be given very rarely because even the most wayward and fragmentary answers usually make at least a few valid points.

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NOTE: All questions are to be marked using the generic marking bands scheme for source based and essay questions. In **Question 1** to attain the higher Levels [4–6] Candidates **must** relate the Sources to their historical context.

SECTION A

Source-Based Question

PRESIDENTIAL INAUGURAL ADDRESSES, 1849-1861

- 1 'Lincoln was the only President capable of dealing with the basic issues underlying the sectional conflict in the United States.' Using Sources A-E, discuss how far the evidence supports this assertion.

L1 WRITES ABOUT THE HYPOTHESIS, NO USE OF SOURCES. [1–5]

These answers will be about the Inaugural Addresses but will ignore the question i.e. they will not use the Sources as information/evidence to test the given hypothesis. Included at this level are answers which use the information taken from the Sources but only to provide an account rather than assessing the question.

L2 USES INFORMATION TAKEN FROM THE SOURCES TO CHALLENGE OR SUPPORT THE HYPOTHESIS. [6–9]

These responses use the Sources as information rather than as evidence i.e. Sources are used at face value with no evaluation/interpretation in context.

FOR EXAMPLE – For the hypothesis; in Source A Taylor simply ignores the sectional tensions which were to erupt later that year. Also in Source C Buchanan is clearly unrealistic in simply instructing abolitionists to be quiet and give up agitation.

Against the hypothesis; in Source B Pierce is being courageous in stating that the recent 1850 Compromise passed after years of debate should be obeyed by all sections of society; in Source E, the historian states that whatever Buchanan did, there would be serious problems, so in taking a stand he is facing up to the serious problems of sectional tension.

L3 USES INFORMATION TAKEN FROM THE SOURCES TO CHALLENGE AND SUPPORT THE HYPOTHESIS. [10–14]

These responses know that testing the hypothesis involves both attempting to confirm AND disconfirm it. However, Sources are still used only at face value.

FOR EXAMPLE – both sets of points used in L2 responses should be used in parallel so as to put the case both for and against the hypothesis. However, the information used is still taken at face value.

L4 BY INTERPRETING/EVALUATING SOURCES IN CONTEXT, FINDS EVIDENCE TO CHALLENGE OR SUPPORT THE HYPOTHESIS. [15–17]

These responses are capable of using Sources as evidence, i.e. demonstrating their utility in testing the hypothesis, by interpreting them in their historical context, i.e. not simply accepting them at face value.

FOR EXAMPLE – Taylor had no known political views and had never even voted in a national election; as a hero of the Mexican war he was an ideal compromise candidate while being a slave owner reassured the South. He was the last Southerner to be elected President until 1964 (Lyndon Johnson). Buchanan had spent long periods abroad, hence not

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involved in the bitter controversies, so he was uniquely placed to keep the Democrats united as Presidential candidates, being a Northerner from Pennsylvania but unusually sympathetic to Southern aspirations and hence hostile to any form of confrontation with the slave states. It could also be argued that Lincoln was not showing capability in pursuing policies certain to further divide the country, and in rejecting the many attempts at compromise being put forward between November and March.

- L5 BY INTERPRETING/EVALUATING SOURCES IN CONTEXT, FINDS EVIDENCE TO CHALLENGE AND SUPPORT THE HYPOTHESIS. [18–22]

These answers know that testing the hypothesis involves **both** attempting to confirm **and** refute the hypothesis and are capable of using the Sources in their historical context to do this (i.e. both confirmation and disconfirmation are done at this level.) For example all points made at L4 and other relevant contextual points that **show** alternative views based on interpreting/evaluating evidence are put forward.

- L6 AS L5 PLUS EITHER [23–25]

[A] EXPLAINS WHY EVIDENCE TO CHALLENGE/SUPPORT IS BETTER/PREFERRED OR
 [B] RECONCILES/EXPLAINS PROBLEMS IN THE EVIDENCE TO SHOW THAT NEITHER CHALLENGE OR SUPPORT IS TO BE PREFERRED.

For [A] the argument must be that the evidence for challenging or supporting the hypothesis is more justified. This must include a comparative judgement i.e. not just why some evidence is better but also why some evidence is worse.

For [B] include all L5 answers which use the evidence to modify the hypothesis rather than simply seeking to contradict/support, in order to improve it. For example, responses at this level may well argue that the term 'capable' is too vague and ambiguous to be used as an effective criterion in assessing and evaluating different Presidents' levels of ability.

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SECTION B

2 Evaluate the impact of the 'Gold Rush' of 1849 on America's westward expansion.

What is needed here is answers which are relevant to the question asked and which contain explanation or analysis not just description. The Gold Rush of 1849 occurred just after the US had annexed California as a result of the Mexican War; it was then a sparsely populated province of Mexico. The direct result of the Gold Rush was a dramatic increase in migration to California from the Eastern states, the land route being the most used. The result was a huge increase in population in California, from 15,000 in 1848 to almost 250,000 in 1852, with San Francisco growing from 150 to about 50,000. Because of serious problems of lawlessness California was fast tracked by Taylor to admission to the Union as a State as a matter of great urgency and was admitted as a Free State as part of the 1850 Compromise. This broke the Slave States' parity in the US Senate, hence making easier Congressional plans for westward development free of any Southern veto. These factors accelerated the dramatic increase in railroad development and made the US a transcontinental power for the first time. The axis of development shifted from North to South to East to West. The transcontinental railroad linking Atlantic and Pacific became a matter of urgency and was concluded in 1865.

By 1890 there were five different transcontinental routes. In turn this enabled westward development to expand much more rapidly and spelt doom for the survival of the Plains Indian nations. High quality answers [21–25] will be consistently analytical, well argued and with high quality supporting material relevantly deployed. Good answers [18–20] will be mostly analytical/explanatory but with some irrelevance in structure or argument and the quality of supporting material. The overall impression will be of a good solid answer. Bare pass answers [11–13] will be largely descriptive or narrative and relevance and accuracy may vary.

3 How close did the Confederacy come to 'winning' the Civil War?

Many answers may just list the reasons the Union won the war, but this is to miss the point of the question. It is essential to define what 'winning' meant for the Confederacy. This could be stated as preventing the Union from conquering and retaining its large territory with a hostile population, then being able to negotiate a recognition by the Union of the de facto independence of the Confederacy. Though in hindsight the victory of the Union appeared inevitable (candidates will list usual reasons such as population, industry, finance, naval blockade etc), European opinion was that the Confederate bid for independence would succeed. It merely had to wage a defensive war and was not obliged to take the initiative. The population knew the lie of the land and were fighting for their homes and the South had the benefit of internal communications. It was also doubtful whether the Northern population had the tenacity and commitment to fight a long war to force the Southern population into staying in a Union they wished to leave. There were two occasions when the Confederacy came close to achieving its aims. A Confederate victory in Gettysburg could have resulted in the Northern commitment to war (which had been promised to end by Christmas 1861) being seriously weakened and would probably have led to British and French recognition of the Confederacy. Secondly, in mid 1864 Lee's continued and dogged resistance in the Wilderness campaign produced acute war weariness in the North, where there was great resentment at the introduction of conscription. Lincoln himself thought he would lose the 1864 Presidential election and a Democratic victory would probably have led to an armistice followed by peace negotiations. The situation was transformed by Sherman's capture of Atlanta making the Confederacy's position hopeless. Perceptive candidates may point out that the weaker force militarily may sometimes bring about a favourable outcome by sheer persistence, relying on war weariness and failure of the will to continue fighting by their stronger opponents, Vietnam being an obvious example. High quality answers [21–25] will be consistently analytical, well argued and with high quality supporting material relevantly deployed. Good answers [18–20] will be mostly analytical/explanatory but with some irrelevance in structure or argument and the quality of supporting material. The overall impression will be of a good solid

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answer. Bare pass answers [11–13] will be largely descriptive or narrative and relevance and accuracy may vary.

4 'Progressivism was simply a set of superficial reforms which evaded rather than addressed the ills of American Society.' How far is this judgement valid?

Candidates should attempt to define Progressivism even though it is a loose label which applied to both Republican Presidents (Roosevelt) and Democratic ones (Wilson) who both faced opposition within their own parties. It was a general description applied to men of goodwill, both inside and outside politics, who believed that most of America's ills could be cured through greater democracy, openness and frank media coverage of the 'muck raking' kind. They believed that by exposing political problems to the light of day such as corrupt city bosses, ruthless corporations and unspecified special interests it was assumed that when this was done these evils would be rectified by public opinion, working through the political process. It was not a revolutionary or even a radical movement, the emphasis being on efficiency, moderate social reform and especially structural political reform at the state and local level, such as primaries, referendums and directly elected Mayors and Senators. It could be argued that the quotation is too harsh; a great many ills were successfully addressed by the Progressives, particularly in public health, housing, social care, penal reform and more direct accountability of elected officials. However, it was selective in its concerns, with labour unions, African Americans and farmers being largely ignored. In support of the quotation the Progressives assumed that the basic free enterprise system of the US needed only minor reforms; there was little interest in greater social and economic equality. It was a middle class movement, earnest and self righteous, which believed that all would be well if people like themselves were running affairs. It should be remembered that Socialism was advancing rapidly; Debs gained 6% of the Presidential vote in 1912. Progressivism provided a softer and more moderate reform alternative to socialism. High quality answers [21–25] will be consistently analytical, well argued and with high quality supporting material relevantly deployed. Good answers [18–20] will be mostly analytical/explanatory but with some irrelevance in structure or argument and the quality of supporting material. The overall impression will be of a good solid answer. Bare pass answers [11–13] will be largely descriptive or narrative and relevance and accuracy may vary.

5 Analyse the principal factors which secured major successes for the Civil Rights movement between 1945 and 1968.

Candidates will inevitably focus on African Americans, but credit should be given to those responses which deal with the less publicised struggles of Hispanics, Native Americans and Asian Americans. As a result of the World War II all forms of racial and ethnic discrimination became unacceptable among political elites and opinion formers. Because of Southern Democrats' control of key congressional committees in both Houses, Civil Rights legislation affecting the States could make no progress. Starting with President Truman, Executive Orders were used to advance Civil Rights; for example, discrimination was outlawed in Federal employment and in the armed forces. Even Eisenhower who had little enthusiasm for Civil Rights felt obliged to send Federal troops into Little Rock to enforce desegregation in schools in Arkansas. The first main factor putting Civil Rights on the agenda was the Cold War, where the Soviet Union lost no opportunity to mock America's free world credentials when discrimination against African Americans existed in Southern states. This became particularly acute, when from 1957 onwards there were African embassies in Washington which was only separated by the Potomac from Virginia where there was rampant discrimination. Secondly, a key turning point was the unanimous Supreme Court decision in the Brown case that segregation on racial lines in schools was unconstitutional and in the following year that desegregation should proceed with 'all deliberate speed'. Thirdly, encouraged by the above, African Americans started pursuing much more aggressive tactics in pursuit of civil rights, such as bus boycotts, sit-ins in lunch counters and other public places. These were often illegal, but non violent, though there also developed a

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more militant Black Power movement. Fourthly, the influence of television coverage highlighted the extreme brutality of law enforcement in the Deep South (e.g. 'Bull' Connor, Alabama police chief with his savage dogs). The impact on moderate Northern opinion was profound.

Fifthly, there was the skilful and charismatic leadership of Dr Martin Luther King, educated, a Christian pastor, moderate and non violent who made skilful contacts with the media. He also developed close ties with the younger Democratic leaders inside and outside Congress. Sixthly, but by no means least, was President Johnson's ruthless, but effective forcing through of the Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act through Congress, being able to break the power of the Southern Chairman of Committees, particularly in the Senate. He also was able to drive through the 24th Constitutional amendment which prevented States denying the vote in any primary or general elections by poll taxes or other taxes. As a former majority leader of the Senate and a Texan he was able to do what Kennedy had never really attempted. He was also able to use his Presidential powers to ensure that Civil Rights legislation was obeyed and enforced in all the Southern states. By 1968 there were several Black Mayors, an increase in the number of African American Congressmen and also one Supreme Court Justice, Thurgood Marshall, who had been the advocate for the NAACP in the Brown case. However, it should be stressed that the socio-economic position of African Americans and other minorities remained much lower than that of White Americans. High quality answers [21–25] will be consistently analytical, well argued and with high quality supporting material relevantly deployed. Good answers [18–20] will be mostly analytical/explanatory but with some irrelevance in structure or argument and the quality of supporting material. The overall impression will be of a good solid answer. Bare pass answers [11–13] will be largely descriptive or narrative and relevance and accuracy may vary.

6 Which were the more typical of 1920s America: Prohibition and intolerance or the Jazz Age and increasing social freedom?

The best answers may well query the simplistic alternatives offered in the question. Prohibition affected everyone while the vast majority of Americans were untouched by the 'Jazz Age', the Charleston craze etc. What is needed here is a balanced discussion with relevant material. There had been a sharp reaction against Wilson's policies and Progressivism with the elections of 1920 showing massive majorities for Harding and Republican control of both houses Congress and complete dominance of all levels of all US government, except for some large cities, throughout the 1920s. Isolationism was dominant with the feeling that America had been let down by devious European allies and should in future stay clear of any European wars. However, in some ways the 1920s were quite progressive; there were rapid technical advances in automobiles, aviation and electrical appliances and a long economic boom which raised living standards, though farmers in particular and African Americans missed out on this. Hollywood movies created a whole new culture which swept the whole country and there was also a degree of female emancipation with women receiving the vote. Hoover's claim that America was on the verge of abolishing poverty was taken as a realistic goal. On the other hand there was a sharp increase in intolerance of un-American ideologies combined with considerable repression; there was a wave of 'Red scares' which applied to all forms of socialism. The Klan had a dramatic and spectacular growth in the 1920s preaching intolerance, not only against African Americans but also against Catholics (Al Smith in 1928) and foreigners in general. There was a large increase in lynchings, mainly against African Americans, unchecked by the forces of law and order and largely ignored by Federal politicians and the mass media. Prohibition was unpopular (and unenforceable) in the cities, but had support in rural areas. Censorship of books, films and school curricula was the norm, the most famous example being the Scopes 'Monkey trial' in Tennessee. A balanced view might be that the 1920s represented the last revolt of the countryside and the old America against the cities and the modern age. High quality answers [21–25] will be consistently analytical, well argued and with high quality supporting material relevantly deployed. Good answers [18–20] will be mostly analytical/explanatory but with some irrelevance in structure or argument and the quality of supporting material. The overall impression will be of a good solid answer. Bare pass answers [11–13] will be largely descriptive or narrative and relevance and accuracy may vary.

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- 7 'Though always expressed in terms of high moral principles, US foreign policy from 1913 to 1945 was in fact driven by the relentless pursuit of US national interests.' How accurate is this comment?

A taxing question covering two world wars, the Versailles Conference and the inter war period. A thematic approach is essential for the higher levels as a narrative will easily get bogged down in detail. An obvious starting point is that all nations pursue foreign policies which are seen as being in pursuit of their perception of national self interest, but it can be argued that the United States is unusual in seeming to find it necessary to cover its policies with protestations of high moral principles to justify them. Examples of this high mindedness would be Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points, his championship of the League of Nations, his asserting the rights of self determination of small nationalities, the Kellogg-Briand Pact, the Atlantic Charter and FDR's championship of the United Nations. It could be argued that the US only entered the war to prevent the Central Powers' victory which seemed only too likely after the collapse of Russia in 1917, which endangered the massive loans and credits made to Britain and France. Wilson went to great length to ensure that the League's remit did not affect the Monroe Doctrine (i.e. US dominance of the American continent.) The Kellogg-Briand Pact was meaningless, as there was no enforcement mechanism other than the self restraint of nation states. The US terms for the transfer of 50 destroyers to Britain were so harsh as to both shock and dismay Churchill who felt that America was taking advantage of Britain's desperate plight. Even after Pearl Harbour the US did not declare war on Germany; only when Germany declared war on the United States did America enter the European war. It could be argued that American assistance to Britain before this was simply to prevent Germany's dominance of the whole eastern Atlantic seaboard as well as the European land mass. Roosevelt's insistence in the Atlantic Charter that nothing should be done to shore up Britain and France's colonial empires appeared high minded, but it could be argued that the US simply wanted to replace Britain and France's dominance in the Middle East with its own. The United Nations appeared to embody noble ideals, nevertheless it was intended to be firmly under US control, being located in New York City, financed by the US, with a US veto over Security Council decisions and being able to prevent for many years any hostile decisions of the General Assembly. High quality answers [21–25] will be consistently analytical, well argued and with high quality supporting material relevantly deployed. Good answers [18–20] will be mostly analytical/explanatory but with some irrelevance in structure or argument and the quality of supporting material. The overall impression will be of a good solid answer. Bare pass answers [11–13] will be largely descriptive or narrative and relevance and accuracy may vary.

8 Assess the impact of television on American society and politics from 1950 to 1968.

By 1960 television had become the most important leisure time activity of Americans and was almost universal. The social effects were quite complex. All TV networks were owned by commercial firms who relied on advertising and television in the 1950s has been called a 'continuous celebration of conformity and consumerism.' In 1961 the head of the FCC described television as a 'vast wasteland'. However, it was not just a conservator of existing values but also a spur to social change, always however within the values of the American socio-economic system. Many millions glimpsed new possibilities for themselves and this had the effect of raising expectations which might otherwise have been dormant. The political effects were more dynamic and this was particularly true of the North seeing for the first time the reality of African American conditions in the Deep South in news programmes. On the other hand African Americans observed for the first time the vastly superior lifestyle of the Northern working class. Politicians could now effectively appeal to voters directly which destroyed the hold of the party bosses in the cities, e.g. Jim Curley in Boston. However, appearance mattered much more than content; Richard Nixon's 'Checkers' speech was watched by 58 million and saved his Vice Presidential bid. In 1952 and 1956 Eisenhower made skilful use of brief 'spot' adverts. A turning point which Candidates will nearly all mention was the famous TV debates between Kennedy and Nixon which had never before been attempted in Presidential elections. Appearance was crucial, not content, with the television audience thinking that JFK had won while the radio audience thought

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the reverse; since then these confrontations between Presidential candidates have in effect become mandatory. Television coverage of Martin Luther King's civil liberties campaign made him into a national figure and put his cause at the centre of the political agenda, while the appalled reaction to 'Bull' Connor and his fierce dogs had the effect of shifting Northern opinion in favour of King.

By 1968 television coverage of the Vietnam war had effectively destroyed LBJ's presidency; for the first time the reality of a war had been brought into American households, (cf Korea). Television coverage caused the first mass antiwar movement against the government in modern history. High quality answers [21–25] will be consistently analytical, well argued and with high quality supporting material relevantly deployed. Good answers [18–20] will be mostly analytical/explanatory but with some irrelevance in structure or argument and the quality of supporting material. The overall impression will be of a good solid answer. Bare pass answers [11–13] will be largely descriptive or narrative and relevance and accuracy may vary.