

**MARK SCHEME for the October/November 2011 question paper
for the guidance of teachers**

9697 HISTORY

9697/53

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, which would have considered the acceptability of alternative answers.

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

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

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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.

| 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 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 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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- 1 'It is unfair to blame Buchanan for his handling of the secession crisis of 1860–1861.'
Using sources A–E, discuss how far the evidence supports this assertion.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|--|---|--|---|---|
| | SOURCE & CONTENT | ANALYSIS [L2–3] | CROSS-REFERENCE TO OTHER SOURCES | OTHER [e.g. Contextual knowledge] | EVALUATION [L4–5] |
| A | The retiring US President puts the case against the federal government using force against seceding states in a keynote speech, late 1860. | Source A shows Buchanan's approach to the crisis, opposing the use of force, being willing to consider the break-up of the USA. Yes. | Buchanan's caution in using federal power justified by C and D, criticised by B and both criticised and explained by E. | Buchanan a 'lame duck' president and thus unable to take effective action. Also a Democrat & thus pro-South. Historical reputation is poor. | In more normal times, Buchanan's approach might seem reasonable. In extraordinary times, as 1860, it shows poor judgement. No. |
| B | A Northern newspaper comments on the President's speech, two days later. | Source B uses very strong language to criticise an 'incendiary' speech which will widen the divisions between North and South. No. | The New York Times' strong criticism of A is partly supported by E while C & D shows B's assessment of South's demands to be accurate. | New York a leading Northern city and one of its newspapers is likely to take a critical view of Buchanan's speech. | Language might be strong, source might be partial, but criticisms of Buchanan merited by context. No. |
| C | Leading Southern Democrat puts the case for secession, three days later. | Source C shows the deep-seated hostility of the South towards the new Republican president. This suggests Buchanan could do little to contain the crisis. Yes. | C, which is supported by D and explained by E but opposed by B, helps explain Buchanan's caution. | Strong momentum for secession in South after Lincoln elected president. Evidence that Buchanan did little in response – or could do little? | C's case based on election of new president, not skills of the old one. Context supports C. Yes. |

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| D | A Southern Democrat's speech resigning [NB] from the US House of Representatives, early 1861. | Source D shows the depth of hostility to US economic policy. South being forced to secede in response to US pressure. No mention of Buchanan. Yes. | D's willingness to secede predictably supported by C and not by B. No link with either A or E. | In early 1861, lame duck Congress & presidency with states already seceding, Texas following on 1.2.1861. | Context suggests that by early 1861 Buchanan lacked the authority to contain the secession crisis. Yes. |
| E | Secondary account of Buchanan's role in the secession crisis, undated. | Source E criticises Buchanan but argues he faced an impossible situation & helped postpone war & reduce seceding states. Yes. | E calls Source A 'a missed opportunity', which is supported by B's furious response to A. His defence of Buchanan not really supported by other sources. | Other historians usually more critical of Buchanan. Context suggests the criticism is merited. | Little in other sources or context to support E's defence of Buchanan. No. |

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

These answers will write about Buchanan's handling of the secession crisis of 1860–1861 and might use the sources. However, candidates will not use the sources as information / evidence to test the given hypothesis. If sources are used, it will be to support an essay-style answer to the question.

L2 USES INFORMATION TAKEN FROM THE SOURCES TO CHALLENGE OR SUPPORT THE HYPOTHESIS [6–8]

These answers use the sources as information rather than as evidence, i.e. sources are used at face value only with no evaluation / interpretation in context.

L3 USES INFORMATION TAKEN FROM SOURCES TO CHALLENGE AND SUPPORT THE HYPOTHESIS [9–13]

These answers know that testing the hypothesis involves both attempting to confirm and to disprove it. However, sources are still used only at face value.

L4 BY INTERPRETING / EVALUATING SOURCES IN CONTEXT, FINDS EVIDENCE TO CHALLENGE OR SUPPORT THE HYPOTHESIS [14–16]

These answers 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 their face value.

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L5 BY INTERPRETING AND EVALUATING SOURCES IN CONTEXT, FINDS EVIDENCE TO CHALLENGE AND SUPPORT THE HYPOTHESIS [17–21]

These answers know that testing the hypothesis involves attempting both to confirm and disconfirm the hypothesis, and are capable of using sources as evidence to do this (i.e. both confirmation and disconfirmation are done at this level).

L6 AS L5, PLUS EITHER (a) EXPLAINS WHY EVIDENCE TO CHALLENGE / SUPPORT IS BETTER / PREFERRED, OR (b) RECONCILES / EXPLAINS PROBLEMS IN THE EVIDENCE TO SHOW THAT NEITHER CHALLENGE NOR SUPPORT IS TO BE PREFERRED [22–25]

For (a) the argument must be that the evidence for agreeing / disagreeing is better / preferred. This must involve a comparative judgement, i.e. not just why some evidence is better, but also why other evidence is worse.

For (b) include all L5 answers which use the evidence to **modify** the hypothesis (rather than simply seeking to support/contradict) in order to improve it.

Level 6: as for L5 PLUS:

Either (a) Although there is evaluated evidence both to support and to challenge the claim that Buchanan should not be blamed for his handling of the secession crisis, the evidence in support of the claim is stronger than the evidence against. The main source clearly against the thesis, Source B, is too partial to be relied on. Though supporting E, Source B is countered by Sources C and D, which suggest that the secession crisis was not caused by Buchanan's handling of events. Sources C and D show how deep-rooted the secession crisis was, Source E just how little room for manoeuvre Buchanan had. Thus the evaluated sources, on balance, support the claim rather than undermine it.

Or (b) While the evaluated sources give some sense of the situation facing Buchanan in early 1861, only Source C really conveys just how difficult that situation was because it is the only contemporary source to refer directly to imminent secession. No mention is made of the procession of Southern states from the Union in early 1861. Contextual knowledge is essential to understanding the gravity of the situation facing Buchanan as he entered the final weeks of his presidency. He was a lame-duck president. The Southern states feared the arrival of Lincoln, a president elected by Northern states only. As Source E mentions, Buchanan at least delayed the onset of war and helped ensure that fewer states joined the South than would have been the case, had he taken a firmer line. Thus a more valid claim would be one which asserts that Buchanan should be praised for his handling of the secession crisis in 1860–1861.

NB: The above descriptions, and especially columns 2–5, indicate possible approaches to analysing and evaluating the sources. Other approaches are valid, if supported by sound knowledge and understanding of the period and/or skills of source evaluation.

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2 Assess the reasons for opposition in the United States to President Polk's aggressive expansionist policies.

The main form of Polk's aggressive, expansionist policies was the war with Mexico, 1846–8. It provoked opposition because it was:

- A war: some Whigs argued that the USA should concentrate on developing its existing economy and that expansion, if it happened, should come through trade and missionary work, not military force.
- An aggressive war: most Whigs believed that Polk had deliberately provoked war. The House of Representatives decided the war was 'unnecessarily and unconstitutionally begun' by Polk.
- An expansionist war: by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo the USA gained New Mexico and California. N.B. Texas became part of the USA just before the start of Polk's presidency.
- An expansionist war which potentially strengthened 'slave power' within the USA, thus upsetting the delicate balance between slave and free states. However, the annexation of Texas, a slave state, was more important in this respect. To offset its effect, the Wilmot Proviso was introduced in 1846.

In addition Polk was criticised for not being expansionist enough in that:

- He settled the dispute with the UK over Oregon by conceding land beyond the 49th parallel.
- He did not take more Mexican lands, as some Eastern Democrats argued he should.

N.B. The 'manifest destiny' of the USA is not relevant here.

3 'The explanation for the outcome of the Civil War lies in the weaknesses of the South rather than the strengths of the North.' Assess the validity of this view.

Weaknesses of the South include:

- Political leadership, i.e. Jefferson Davis, but not really its military leadership. Davis could not impose his will upon the Confederacy.
- An agrarian economy, which meant it lacked the manufacturing industries needed to provide war *materiel* – and to develop a navy to match the North's.
- A confederate system of government, which made efficient coordination of the war effort almost impossible.
- A slave-based society. Externally, this made it impossible for the UK and France to support the South while within the South it caused strained relations among different sections of whites, as well as effectively excluding the slave minority from the war effort.
- International isolation. Had the UK and France supported the South, as had been expected, then the balance of forces would have changed dramatically.

Strengths of the North include:

- Political and, eventually, military leadership, i.e. Lincoln and Grant. Lincoln was able to impose his will on the Union, e.g. suspension of habeas corpus.
- More of an industrial economy with a manufacturing base and most of the railways of the USA.
- Control of the US navy, which enabled the North to impose an effective economic blockade on the South.
- A unifying cause, at least from September 1862 when Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation.

To achieve the highest bands candidates need to consider both aspects of the question and use their knowledge and understanding to focus sharply on the question.

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4 Account for the widespread unrest among American farmers in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

Farming is a business which can experience over or under production simply because of changes in the weather from year to year. Thus planning for the future is hard. American farmers in the late 19th century felt that their lives were made even harder by various aspects of US life, including:

- **High tariffs**
This made the price of machinery expensive as US manufacturers were protected against foreign competition.
- **Transport costs**
Railway companies exploited their vital role in moving crops to industrial regions.
- **Bank credit**
Banks charged excessive rates of interest.
- **US currency**
In 1873 the US went on the gold standard as silver was no longer legal tender. In 1875 the Specie Payment Restoration Act made the greenbacks, paper dollars used to finance the civil war, convertible into gold from 1879, in effect reducing their supply. Farmers saw these moves as deflationary.

The situation of Southern cotton farmers and mid-Western grain producers were not helped in the 1880s by international prices being depressed by cotton from Egypt and grain from Russia.

Thus various attempts were made to represent farmers' interests, including:

- 1870s: the Greenback Movement
- 1880s: Farmers' Alliances
- 1890s: the Populist movement

'Account for' means give reasons for, rather than give an account of and candidates will be best rewarded when they focus on why there was widespread unrest.

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5 Why did African Americans find it so difficult to secure their constitutional rights between 1900 and 1965?

The reasons varied slightly over a period of more than 60 years but key points include:

- **White Opposition**

This opposition ranged from the brutalities of the Ku Klux Klan, which experienced a revival in the 1920s, to the racism of Southern politicians, both in Southern states and the federal government.

The predominance of Southern Democrats in the US Senate was major obstacle to the passage of Civil Rights legislation. It took President Johnson (a southerner), in an era of civil rights protest to overcome this opposition.

- **African American differences**

- In terms of political strategies and tactics, African Americans had for long disagreed, most famously in the 1900s between the gradualism of Booker T Washington and the radicalism of W E B Du Bois.

- The different experiences of African Americans in the rural South still using 'Jim Crow' laws and those in the urban North, with less obvious discrimination, caused a difference of political focus.

Only in the 1950s were these several divisions minimised, with obvious effect.

- **Lack of Presidential leadership**

For electoral reasons, most Presidents were slow to help African Americans gain constitutional rights. Neither Theodore Roosevelt nor Woodrow Wilson nor FDR wanted to antagonise their white supporters any more than they had to. Even after 1945, Eisenhower and Kennedy remained cautious.

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6 To what extent did the achievements of the New Deal outweigh its shortcomings?

Which aspects of the New Deal should be seen as achievements and which as shortcomings can be a matter of some dispute in itself. Achievements and shortcomings are not exact opposites.

Achievements [as identified by the centre left]

- **Economic**
In the 1930s unemployment was reduced from 25% to 15%. Also the banking system was stabilised.
- **Political**
Legitimacy for the republican system of government under threat from economic failures, e.g. increased voter turnout.
- **Social**
Plenty of reforms to assist marginal and/or disadvantaged groups, e.g. new immigrants, the old, e.g. Social Security Act 1935.
- **Governmental**
Establishment of various agencies and reforms which outlasted 1930s, e.g. Glass-Steagall Act, Securities and Exchange Commission.
- **Cultural**
FDR and his reforms restored people's faith in US capitalism and US democracy.

Shortcomings [as identified by left]

- **Economic**
GNP in 1939 the same as in 1929, i.e. no economic growth, thus no real **recovery**.
- **Political**
New Deal too centrist, too pragmatic, too limited by the (unelected) Supreme Court, thus no effective **reform**.
- **Social**
Little help to ethnic minorities, e.g. African Americans, little redistribution of wealth, thus no real **relief**.
- **Governmental**
Federal government too hamstrung by US constitution to introduce necessary radical reform.

Another perspective on the New Deal is to identify its **drawbacks**, which might be identified with the right, which labelled the New Deal as a form of socialism which increased the role of the state and thus undermined the best features of the US society and economy.

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7 To what extent were President Roosevelt's policies towards Germany, Italy and Japan ineffective?

Candidates may recount the story of international affairs in the 1930s and early 1940s in order to highlight American ineffectiveness in its dealings with the Fascist powers. Supporting evidence should be detailed and related to the question. Key events – with US policy highlighted in bold – include:

- 1935 Events leading to the Italian invasion of Abyssinia
US Neutrality Act; FDR refuses to consider oil sanctions proposed by League of Nations
- 1936 German occupation of the Rhineland; start of Spanish Civil War – Italy and Germany help fascists, ignoring international efforts at non-intervention
US Neutrality Act renewed
- 1937 Sino-Japanese War in which Japan sinks a US destroyer, the *US Panay*
FDR makes his quarantine speech against dictators but fails to back it up
- 1938 Germany acquires Austria and dismembers Czechoslovakia, helped by UK and France
USA marginal to events though FDR does try to become more interventionist
- 1939 Germany invades Poland, Italy Albania: start of Second World War
USA maintains neutrality policy; cash and carry
- 1940 Germany defeats France; Italy into the war
Destroyers-for-bases deal with UK; 'arsenal of democracy' speech; sanctions on Japan
- 1941 German invasion of USSR; Pearl Harbour
Lend-Lease; US aid to USSR; Atlantic Charter; further sanctions vs. Japan, i.e. oil

If the aim of FDR's policies towards the three fascist powers was to affect their foreign policies, then they were completely ineffective – though oil sanctions against Japan drove it to war vs. USA.

If the aim of FDR's policies was to support the anti-fascist powers within the framework of US public opinion, then his policies did have some effect: as fascist aggression increased, US support for anti-fascist powers increased.

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8 Account for the sustained economic boom in the United States between 1945 and 1968.

This requires a knowledge and understanding of economic history rather than social.

- **Firstly, the sustained economic boom.**

In these 23 years America experienced an unprecedented period of continuous economic growth. Its GNP rose by 30% in the 1950s and another 40% in the 1960s. Unemployment rose above 6% only once in this period, 1958, when it reached 6.8%. The usual figure ranged from 3% to 5%. [The current level is 9.0%]

- **Secondly, the causes of the boom:**

- **Federal government management of the economy**
either to even out the business cycle or to stimulate economic growth and ensure high employment, e.g. interstate highways 1956+
- **Technological innovation**
e.g. transistor, computer, jet aircraft, colour television
- **US defence expenditure**
on the Korean war and the Cold War
- **Baby boom generation**
US population grew by 19% in the 1950s, creating a demand for more houses and schools and to the growth of suburbs and exurbs
- **Consumer society**
with the increasing use of credit cards and 'hire purchase' to buy consumer goods and services, e.g. cars and holidays
- **US competitive advantage in a new system of international economic cooperation (i.e. the IMF, OEEC and GATT) based on the gold-dollar standard**
e.g. the dollar shortage in the first decade after the war

Stronger answers will focus on causes rather than features of the boom.