

Section B Question 8 (9389/21)

8 The Great Crash, the Great Depression and the New Deal, 1929–1941

- (a) Why did President Hoover struggle to deal with the impact of the Great Crash? [10]
- (b) In 1932, Franklin Roosevelt was described as ‘a cautious politician’. How far did Roosevelt’s domestic policies in the 1930s support this view? [20]

Mark scheme

8 The Great Crash, the Great Depression and the New Deal, 1929–1941

- (a) Why did President Hoover struggle to deal with the impact of the Great Crash? [10]

The Great Crash of October 1929 occurred within the first year of Hoover’s presidency. He struggled to deal with the downturn in the US economy because of the severity of the downturn and the miscalculations he made. Downturns had occurred before; there was quite a severe one in 1920–21, after the First World War. The economy had recovered from such setbacks. In 1929–30 Hoover had expected much the same to happen. In fact, the Crash was initially welcomed by some as a necessary correction to the excesses of the Roaring Twenties. Too many people had borrowed too much money in the 1920s and it was believed that some kind of economic contraction was an inevitable consequence. Hoover was affected by such beliefs. Not that he did nothing; he relied on traditional, limited means of trying to help the various states undertake their own efforts. He was opposed to the more radical solution of federal government taking direct action to address the consequences of the Great Crash. Some federal policies, not always with Hoover’s approval, such as the Smoot-Hawley tariff, arguably made things worse. It took FDR’s willingness to break with conventional wisdom that helped lift the USA out of the depression which the crash had led to – and even then his policies were not always the success that they were often claimed to be.

- (b) In 1932, Franklin Roosevelt was described as ‘a cautious politician’. How far did Roosevelt’s domestic policies in the 1930s support this view? [20]

The quote, from Walter Lippmann, a leading journalist of the era, challenges the usual view that Roosevelt was a radical reformer, someone who paid little regard either to the conventional thinking of the time or to traditional power blocs, such as bankers, capitalists and Southern Democrats. There are examples to support this interpretation, held at the time by left wing critics such as Huey Long. FDR’s policies did little to help African Americans because he could not afford to antagonise the powerful Southern Democrats in Congress. FDR did little to reduce the inequalities which many saw as a root cause of America’s social and economic problems. The National Recovery Administration [NRA] was based on the wartime War Industries Board. Though in 1933–37, FDR abandoned the goal of a balanced budget in preference for deficit financing, in 1937–38 he returned to a balanced budget, thus causing what became known as ‘the Roosevelt recession’.

On the other hand, there is also plenty of evidence that FDR was excessively incautious. His court-packing plan to reform the Supreme Court was the most radical of a series of political and economic initiatives taken by the president. The Social Security Act could hardly be described as excessively cautious and neither could both the Wagner Act which established collective bargaining rights for labour unions and the establishment of a minimum wage.

Example candidate response – high

Question	Part	
8	a	<p>The Great Crash ^{led to the Great Depression} had occurred ^{occurred} because of international economics ^{and structural defects} made worse by and inappropriate ^{and inappropriate} government perceptions and actions. The issue with structural defects related to America's overreliance on debt and borrowing to generate demand for goods produced by US industry. Another structural defect was that most states had gone on the gold standard during the 1920s, and they had to abandon this by the 1930s. Another structural defect was the Federal government policy setting low interest rates in 1927 and 1928 and high interest rates in 1929 and 1930. This magnified the boom, then slump.</p> <p>The issue with international economics was America's position as a leading exporter and leading creditor nation. It had loaned money to foreign countries to generate demand for goods produced by US industry. With the Great Crash of October 28, 1929, it had to call in those loans from countries such as Germany, which reduced demand for US goods. What also worsened the crisis, and may have reduced demand (although modern historians do agree, believing that international trade was responsible for a small part of US GDP) was the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act.</p> <p>This aimed to increase tariffs by up to 50%, which was the largest hike ever, and was bound to provoke a retaliation and further harm the economy. That it did, more by provoking a retaliation, than by reducing demand for US goods. Economists urged Hoover not to sign the bill, about which he had reservations but he signed anyway. Some think this worsened the crisis. Hoover's administration misjudged the scale of the crisis, believing that it was a necessary corrective to the excesses of the 1920s. Thus, limited intervention</p>

Example candidate response – high, continued

in his early years, and the Hooverites and Bonus marchers. He did take a turn towards more active intervention in late 1931. In 1932, there was his Reconstruction Finance Corporation and Emergency relief construction Act. However, at the same time, he tried to do the opposite, by restoring a balanced budget, and the increased direct taxes overall, through his Revenue Act June 1932.

Hoover also had it difficult because of the Federal Reserve Bank. It had only been established in 1913, and was too inexperienced to carry out its duties as lender of last resort. Membership was voluntary, and by ~~the~~ 1929, there were 25,000 banks in the USA. ~~By~~ only 30% had branched, and by 1933, 40% had closed, mainly in ^{late} 1930 and 1931 - credit had dried up. Claims that Hoover did nothing and did not care, were largely unfair.

The great crash completely changed the context of politics, and during the 3 following years of Hoover's Presidency, it got steadily and dramatically more. He believed the answer was not federal intervention - that it was ~~for~~ voluntary local business government cooperation. In particular, he refused to contemplate unemployment as a federal responsibility - he left this to private charity, states, and cities. He tried in his interregnum to commit FDR to his policies.

Many of the New Deal reforms were policies initiated by Hoover, it was ~~not~~ that in stark contrast to FDR, Hoover lacked the ^{personal} ~~power~~ and political skills to connect with the public and mould public opinion. However, some of his actions did not help the

Example candidate response – high, continued

		<p>authorized New York stockbrokers for short selling, and this encouraged Congress to authorize the stock exchange, which undermined the millions of investors and stock brokers to invest. By 1933, the state of the economy was very critical; GDP had fallen by 30%, GNP by 50%, international trade by 70%, and prices by 20%. Hoover's administration, whether laissez-faire, or ineffectively interventionist (pleading with employers to not let workers and maintain wages), failed to prevent the slide into depression. However, Hoover was also suffering from the laissez-faire policies of his & predecessors (Harding and Coolidge). He was more interventionist than those - he increased federal spending on public works and created a Federal Farm Board to stabilize commodity prices.</p>
<p>⑥</p>	<p>b</p>	<p>In contrast to Hoover, FDR's policies were dramatic. He brought all banks under national control and closed them all for a bank holiday, before reopening the ones he found to be solvent. In the first of his famous Fireside chats, he appealed successfully to the American public to reinvest their savings in the banks. In his famous First 100 Days, a plethora of schemes, proposals, and legislation was passed by a compliant Congress, glad to be given a lead. FDR was an activist, likely not a cautious politician; he believed it was the Federal government's responsibility to pull America out of the depression, and that the ultimate health of the economy rested with the Federal government.</p> <p>What lie behind all of FDR's best policies was the belief that the President had the responsibility and duty to introduce social reform, without challenging the basic capitalist structure of the nation. FDR</p>

Example candidate response – high, continued

Economists were certainly not cautious. The New Deal had been seen as a revolution, and in one way that it was, was FDR's inconsistent economic policy. At times he balanced budgets with reduced government spendings and at other times with deficit spending on Keynesian lines. He had little interest in economics and often encouraged competing proposals and avoided committing himself, but would paper over compromises and differences, and would balk the measures he felt could be sold to Congress and the American public.

FDR was an ultimate, dominant president par excellence, with unbridled optimism, and total belief in himself and the whole American system. He was willing to attempt the impossible. He was also an improviser and would experiment (frantically) with any ideas, however unorthodox and unconstitutional, and would discard the plans that did not seem to work. This would not support the view. He also had a consistent belief that US capitalism could only be saved with determined and purposeful intervention at a new level, even if this meant the brushing aside of normal constitutional constraints, the federal system, and the separation of powers.

His attempt to pack the Supreme Court, because it was ruling many New Deal acts unconstitutional, was certainly not cautious. His plan, to increase the Supreme Court up to ~~12~~¹² judges and to give the President the power to replace up to 6 judges who had reached the age of 70 was a bold response to the deadlock between the federal government and Supreme Court. His plan was too bold to get very far and widespread opposition soon caused it to

Example candidate response – high, continued

be dropped. However, still not cautious.

A radical line of attack against FDR was 'under from the left'. Those left-wing critics urged more drastic measures on FDR and accused him of timidity. Huey Long, a Louisiana Senator, was one of those opponents. He wanted a guaranteed minimum wage and limit on personal incomes. Another was Dr. Frances Townsend's crackpot remedy of a \$200 monthly pension for the over 60s provided that it was spent in the month. ~~Dr~~ Father Coughlin was known for his National Union of Social Justice. Also, little had been done to help ethnic minorities and women still suffered. There was little redistribution of wealth, this little relief.

What would also support this new view that although African Americans required seats in FDR's government, he was in practice, not willing to force civil rights legislation through Congress, for fear of antagonizing

Example candidate response – high, continued

the 22 Southern senators. Women and blacks were the last to be hired and the first to be fired. This would help to support the view.

However, there was also 'thunder from the right', which would certainly not accuse FDR of cautious policies. Hard-core conservatives opposed ~~FDR's~~ ^{the federal} management of the economy and this included the American Liberty League, which felt that the New Deals were a threat to free enterprise capitalism. ~~Through~~ their ranks in the Liberty League were ex-democratic candidates John Dawson and A. C. Smith. Right wingers opposed the high cost of social experiments, federal relief programmes and deficit spending. Also many states would not have called FDR cautious. Especially the Southern States saw FDR as a threat to state's rights and the Southern way of life.

The Constitution, much revered by the American public, seemed under threat, by the ~~the~~ daring politician. Furthermore, the rich did not see him as cautious - he had exponentially increased taxes - and they felt he was a traitor to his class, and always feared the New Deal would take a more radical turn, which was more out of the question. The New Deals were a form of socialism, which is synonymous with controlling, so FDR wasn't very cautious.

After 1936, ~~the~~ accusations of FDR's ~~discernment~~ ^{indecisiveness} became more strident, with his ^{rather obvious} plan to ~~take~~ ^{stack} the Supreme Court. However, FDR may have been cautious in that ~~the~~ ^{the} GNP in 1939 was what it had been in 1929, and therefore there was no real recovery or economic growth. Also, the New Deal may have been hampered by the Constitution for effective reform. The New Deals were cautious, pragmatic,

Example candidate response – high, continued

and undermined by the Supreme Court.

Nevertheless, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that although contradictory, contrary, and chaotic, ~~there~~ were no alternatives to the New Deal as the only set of measures that could be realistically applied. FDR was willing to take risks, and if he had done much more, he certainly would have been accused of socialism. Therefore, he did try to redistribute wealth and he seemed to grasp instinctively the importance of restoring consumer confidence in consumption and business confidence in investment for a US economy in tough times. He also realized it would take massive federal spending and high profile public works to get ~~the~~ a stagnant economy moving.

Politically, the New Deal may have been watershed. However, there were measures to regulate securities and banks which were to last for another 75 years and ~~to~~ ^{FDR} expanded the role of the Federal Reserve Bank. It was not cautious to institute the Tennessee Valley Authority which provided relief and employment over a seriously depressed area of the nation. He also established a system for the payment of national pensions and unemployment insurance (Social Security Act 1935).

Although modern historians argue that FDR's New Deal did little in terms of reducing the vast unemployment (19% were unemployed in 1937, 17% in 1939, and ⁱⁿ 1940, 8.1 million), I think it would be difficult to say FDR was cautious. He did make risky attempts, they did not always work. In 1937, a sudden downward plunge of the economy ended partial success, and federal spending was cut; it was clear the New Deal had run out of steam. However, even running for a third, unprecedented, ~~and~~ ^{even} maybe ^{even} constitutional term, FDR was not ^a terribly cautious politician!

Examiner comment – high

Part a

Credit has been awarded for the fact that the candidate demonstrates good understanding of a range of relevant factors, explained in analytical depth and supported by appropriate factual evidence. For example, Hoover's initial lack of action in response to the impact of the Great Crash is explained by the statement that 'Hoover's administration misjudged the scale of the crisis, believing that it was a necessary corrective to the excesses of the 1920s'. That the candidate fully appreciates the impact of Hoover's belief in the concept of 'laissez-faire' is confirmed by the statement that 'he believed the answer was not federal intervention' and, therefore, 'in particular, he refused to contemplate unemployment as a federal responsibility'. The response goes on to demonstrate how Hoover eventually did take action to address the impact of the Great Crash, showing how he differed 'from the laissez-faire policies of his two predecessors' by being 'more interventionist'. Appropriate evidence is provided to explain why this action proved to be ineffective.

At times the response does lose some focus on the precise requirements of the question. However, this is a good response, its analytical style taking it well beyond a basic narrative/descriptive account of Hoover's response to the Great Crash.

Mark awarded for part a = 8 out of 10

Part b

Although this answer has a tendency to drift into unfocused narrative at times, the candidate has produced a balanced assessment of appropriately selected evidence, made a relevant judgement and developed a consistent argument which addresses the specific requirements of the question. Based on detailed knowledge and understanding of the topic, the response is analytical throughout.

A thorough evaluation of detailed factual evidence leads to the conclusion that 'it would be difficult to say FDR was cautious'. This is supported by detailed evidence. Balance is assured through a detailed consideration of the limitations of Roosevelt's New Deal strategies. In support of the general argument that Roosevelt was not a cautious politician, the candidate contrasts these views with the fact there was also 'thunder from the right', namely several groups accusing the President of threatening 'free enterprise capitalism' and 'states' rights' and instituting a 'form of socialism'.

In general, this is an excellent response, providing a clear, focused, well-supported and balanced argument.

Mark awarded for part b = 19 out of 20

Total marks awarded = 27 out of 30

Example candidate response – middle

8a) President Hoover struggled to deal with the Great Crash. He believed in the idea of Laissez-faire which means the government has little to do with the business. He believed that the economy would fix itself. He also

Example candidate response – middle, continued

That he didn't like to ~~spend~~ spend money to try and fix the economy. Hoover came up with many ideas such as job programs but he didn't want to run a deficit so he ~~never~~ never did any of them. Before ~~elections~~ he had the bonus army incident where ~~he~~ sent troops and tanks on World War I veterans to who wanted the bonus promised to him. This led to him becoming infamous helping Roosevelt win the election and before he left office he came up with quite a few ideas ~~but~~ ^{but} none of them went anywhere because Roosevelt didn't want to ~~share~~ share any credit with Hoover making him do very little for the crash.

8b) Roosevelt's domestic policies in 1930s mainly disagree with this statement. ~~In the~~ ~~1930s~~ After Roosevelt was elected he started doing lots of things that no president had ever done. He came up with the idea for the new deal which had ~~3~~ 3 R's standing for Relief, Recovery and Reform. Roosevelt would risk a lot to try a new idea. He set up the TVA (Tennessee Valley Authority) this idea was to hire people to build dams, bridges and other things

Example candidate response – middle, continued

because the Tennessee River would help up making it even harder to farm help bring in a new ~~way~~ way for people in the area to make money. They also helped ~~ge~~ people gain access to different things such as bridges, roads and electricity. He also set up a Construction agency which built ~~the~~ roads, bridges, schools, and government buildings. He also passed many acts which banned child labor, ~~and~~ created a ~~show~~ work day and a minimum wage of \$1.25. He also gave more power to trade unions and mediated it so they could do collective bargaining. He also ~~set~~ ~~a~~ passed an act to help ^{for} social security ~~and~~ making it so old people, disabled people, injured people and families without a father could receive money. His overall goal was to create jobs with government money. Then over time private industry would come ~~back~~ and with banks being more ~~rely~~ ~~able~~ people could put their money in and now it was safe. On the other hand many people felt that he wasn't doing enough. One person that opposed him was Huey Long. Because some felt that he wasn't doing enough they thought of him as a cautious politician. But Roosevelt was doing things no president had ever done before. He set up fire side chats which he addressed

Example candidate response – middle, continued

his ideas were working. ~~He was doing things that~~ He had the support from Congress because He had help from them. He didn't have the support of the Supreme Court so he tried to get some to retire but they told him he couldn't attack the Supreme Court. After this the Supreme Court didn't give him any more problems. Some of them retired and he was allowed to pick some new ones. I think that the Roosevelt's 1930s domestic policies show that he wasn't a completely cautious politician. He would take a risk to try and help the nation but some felt he wasn't doing enough.

Examiner comment – middle

Part a

Credit has been awarded for the fact that the response begins by outlining the reasons why Hoover struggled to deal with the impact of the Great Crash. The candidate demonstrates understanding of the question by referring to Hoover's assumption that 'the economy would fix itself', together with his belief 'in the idea of laissez-faire' and his determination to avoid a deficit budget.

These points are made, however, without further explanation or supporting factual evidence. For example, it could have been shown that Hoover had every reason to believe that the economy would recover naturally, just as it had done after previous downturns, such as that in 1920-21. Similarly, the candidate needed to explain the reasons behind, and the impact of, the federal government's belief in a 'laissez faire' attitude towards economic matters. The first part of the response is fully-focused, but lacking in explanatory depth. The second part is considerably weaker, relying on a series of generalised and unsupported assertions, drifting into irrelevance. For example, the candidate states that 'Hoover came up with many ideas such as work programmes but he didn't want to run a deficient [budget] so he never did any of them'; this rather vague and essentially inaccurate assertion clearly required elaboration. Similarly, the concluding statement is both confusing and of no relevance to the question.

In general, this is a response which began well, but whose subsequent weaknesses suggest a lack of detailed factual knowledge.

Mark awarded for part a = 3 out of 10

Part b

The candidate displays a sound understanding of the question and makes a genuine attempt to develop a focused argument. The response largely disagrees with the view that Roosevelt was a cautious politician, basing this on the perception that he was 'doing lots of things that no President had ever done'. Examples of New Deal policies are provided to support this perception. There is an attempt to create a sense of balance with the statement that 'many people felt that he wasn't doing enough', the example of Huey Long being mentioned. The response does, however, suffer from a lack of depth and a tendency to drift into a basic narrative/descriptive style. For a higher mark, it was necessary to explain why many people, such as Huey Long, felt that Roosevelt was not going far enough with his policies, and to relate this to the key issue of whether he was being overly cautious. Similarly, the candidate describes Roosevelt's New Deal policies, rather than demonstrating how they challenge the view that he was cautious. In the final paragraph, the candidate describes Roosevelt's relationship with Congress and the Supreme Court, but does not link this to their argument.

In general, therefore, this is a sound response, but one which lacks analytical depth and, at times, allows the precise requirements of the question to drift out of focus.

Mark awarded for part b = 11 out of 20

Total marks awarded = 14 out of 30

Example candidate response – low

Section B
8a) President Hoover struggled to deal with the impact of the Great Crash because as a nation, the USA was not prepared for a ~~big~~ economic crisis of that ~~fortitude~~ ^{magnitude}. Policies were not in place to keep people from losing their life savings overnight, ~~jobs~~ job programs were not available, and there were no ~~retail~~ relief programs in place to help citizens out with expense. The US had never been exposed to such a horrific economic

crash, and President Hoover had no idea how to deal with it. The added pressure of ~~being the~~ bearing the brunt of many people's frustration added to the struggle.

When the stock market crashed, no one was ready. Banks collapsed and millions of people lost ~~any~~ every cent of their life savings. There were ~~not~~ protection policies and people began turning ~~to~~ on the government in ^{their} anger, which essentially fell upon President Hoover. He couldn't help the situation much either, because the country was already deep in to the crisis.

Some job programs were ~~put~~ ^{put} together, which consisted of national projects ~~put~~ together to provide jobs. The earnings on Mount Rushmore and the Hoover Dam on the Colorado River were a few of the projects and did help ~~but~~ but they did not provide enough work for the millions of citizens out of work across the country.

The lack of relief programs or funds also added to Hoover's struggle. When people lost their homes, they had no relief housing to go to for relief. Camps were constructed out of makeshift housing, and were called 'Hoovervilles'. This put an uncomplimentary spin on the way people viewed Hoover and made him even less popular as a leader. 'Hoover flags', or turned out empty ~~potholes~~ ^{pockets} were added to the 'blaming Hoover', and made his struggle ~~even~~ ^{even} greater.

The overall lack of preparation and absence of experience or programs to help the situation all added ~~to~~ ^{contributed} during ~~to~~ President Hoover's time in office, ~~which took~~ ^{which took} place in the onset of the Great Depression, and made him a ~~very~~ ^{very} unpopular ~~president~~ ^{President}. This blame and lack of support was probably the main reason for his struggle during that period.

Example candidate response – low, continued

§	8b)	<p>Franklin Roosevelt was known as a 'cautious politician' because of his reluctance to get involved in any of foreign affairs. He took steps to secure America's safety and this led to the USA becoming somewhat of an is isolationist nation. However, he later on did have to become involved in foreign affairs which does not support the idea of him being a 'cautious politician'.</p> <p>Roosevelt's policy of 'leave us alone and we'll leave you alone' did contribute to the idea of him being a cautious politician. He did not want to become involved in matters that did not affect America, and took steps to ensure that it ^{idea}. For the most part, other countries respected this policy, and the US ^{was} was ^{mainly} left alone.</p> <p>However, the New Deal did not contribute to the description of Franklin Roosevelt. This involved new jobs across the country, red ^{new} industries and increased standards of living across ^{all across} America. For a country that was in the middle of the greatest economic depression of all time, the New Deal was a very bold step for the President to take.</p> <p>Another event that did not support the 'cautious politician' description was the attack on the Hawaiian Islands (Pearl Harbor) by the Japanese in 1941. Up until then, Roosevelt had been reluctant to enter into the World War II which had been taking place since 1939. He hadn't wanted to get involved in something that didn't concern us. However, even though the Hawaiian Islands weren't at that point part of America, U.S. Navy ships and personnel were stationed there and were the target of the attack. Such a direct attack couldn't go unnoticed and Roosevelt quickly declared war on Japan. That was the end of isolationist America.</p> <p>Overall, 'cautious politician' does not sup describe Franklin D. Roosevelt entirely, and the ways in which he was cautious were outnumbered by the ways in which he was a bold leader.</p>
---	-----	---

Examiner comment – low

Part a

The candidate has adopted a largely narrative/descriptive approach, the second part of the response focusing mainly on the reasons for Hoover's unpopularity rather than on the reasons why he struggled to deal with the impact of the Great Crash. This leads to a concluding sentence which either appears to confuse cause and effect, or is the result of limited understanding of the precise requirements of the question. The response, however, does contain evidence of some understanding of the problems which confronted Hoover. Some valid points are made, but they require further explanation. Reference might have been made, for example, to the fact that, in its early stages, the Great Crash seemed to be just a normal downturn in the economic cycle, like that of 1920-21.

In general, the response does contain some implicitly relevant points, albeit ones lacking in explanatory depth, but it is largely a narrative about the impact of the Great Crash and its effects on Hoover's political reputation.

Mark awarded for part a = 5 out of 10

Part b

In general, this response is influenced by some confusion on the part of the candidate about the requirements of the question. While the candidate attempts to present a balanced assessment, most of the evidence provided relates to Roosevelt's foreign rather than domestic policies and is largely irrelevant.

Credit has been awarded because the candidate has recognised that Roosevelt's New Deal policies challenge the view that he was a cautious politician: 'the New Deal was a very bold step for the President to take'. This judgement remains an assertion, however, since no real evidence is provided to support it beyond the vague and generalised claim that 'this involved new jobs across the country, new industries and increased standards of living all across America'. Appropriate supporting evidence might have included Roosevelt's departure from 'laissez-faire' policies and his dealings with the Supreme Court. The judgement is also unbalanced since there is no attempt to consider a counter-argument, such as the view of many left-wing critics, like Huey Long, that the New Deal did not go far enough to address the problems confronting the USA as a result of the Depression.

In general, therefore, this response suffers from inadequate focus on the precise requirements of the question and a general lack of range and depth.

Mark awarded for part b = 6 out of 20

Total marks awarded = 11 out of 30

Section C Question 11 (9389/21)

11 International Relations, 1933–1939

- (a) Why did the German occupation of the Rhineland in March 1936 meet no resistance? [10]
- (b) To what extent did Mussolini pursue a consistent foreign policy in the period from 1922 to 1939? [20]

Mark scheme

11 International Relations, 1933–1939

- (a) **Why did the German occupation of the Rhineland in March 1936 meet no resistance?** [10]

Hitler's Germany entered the Rhineland in defiance of both the Treaty of Versailles and the Locarno agreements. Knowing that his army was not yet ready to fight a major war, Hitler realised that this was a gamble. Even moderate resistance would have forced an embarrassing withdrawal. France, in particular, would feel threatened by the German occupation of the Rhineland and might be expected to take action against it. In reality, although Britain and France protested vigorously, no action was taken against Germany.

Hitler had already split potential opposition to his aggressive foreign policy. He realised that the Stresa Front (an agreement between Britain, France and Italy in April 1935 to resist any further changes to the Treaty of Versailles) was weak and had exploited these weaknesses. In signing the Anglo-German naval agreement of June 1935, Britain had effectively, and without consulting either France or Italy, condoned Hitler's breaking of the Treaty of Versailles by increasing Germany's military capabilities. By 1936, Mussolini's Italy was adopting its own aggressive foreign policy and was allying itself more with Germany than with Britain and France. France did not feel able to confront Germany alone. With public opinion heavily anti-war, neither Britain nor France were prepared to risk a major war against Germany. Appeasement seemed a safer option. Moreover, Hitler claimed that he was merely righting the wrongs of the Treaty of Versailles and offered to sign a peace treaty which would last for 25 years.

(b) To what extent did Mussolini pursue a consistent foreign policy in the period from 1922 to 1939? [20]

In support of the view that Mussolini pursued a consistent foreign policy, it could be argued that his primary aim remained constant – to make Italy ‘*great, respected and feared*’. He claimed that ‘*The 20th century will be a century of Italian power*’. Italy’s territorial claims had been ignored at the Paris peace settlement. Most Italians saw this as humiliating and a reflection of its government’s weakness. Mussolini encouraged ultra-nationalism by talking of the Mediterranean as ‘*mare nostra*’ and seeking a glorious foreign policy. He adopted an aggressive foreign policy whenever circumstances allowed, for example:

- taking Fiume in 1923 in complete contrast to the weakness shown by the previous government over the D’Annunzio incident
- ignoring the League of Nations in forcing Greece to pay compensation over the Corfu incident
- successful invasion of Abyssinia in 1935, in contrast to failure in 1896
- forming the Rome-Berlin Axis and the Anti-Comintern Pact
- invasion of Albania in 1939
- forming the Pact of Steel in 1939.

In challenging the view, it could be argued that, prior to the mid-1930s, his main aim was to make Italy secure rather than ‘great and feared’. Italy was in no position to challenge the power of other European nations. For much of the period he was more concerned with Italy’s security than with its aggrandisement. Fiume and Corfu were little more than propaganda exercises from which Italy gained little (Italy was forced to leave Corfu when Greece paid compensation – Corfu might have provided Italy with a useful naval base with which to challenge British naval supremacy in the Mediterranean). Prior to 1934, Mussolini’s foreign policy was based on diplomacy, which gained Italy respect but did not make it great or feared (e.g. forming defensive alliances, successfully opposing Hitler’s attempt to take control of Austria in 1934, playing a leading role in the peaceful negotiations at Locarno). It was only

Example candidate response – high

11(a) The German occupation of the Rhineland in 1936 was met with no resistance because Britain and France were practicing a strict policy of appeasement. This policy prevented them from taking any action against Hitler's aggressions.

Britain's policy of appeasement was based on many premises. They did not feel the need to take action against German occupation of the Rhineland, because they

Example candidate response – high, continued

believed it was justified. Even at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference Britain believed that German punishments were too hard. These punishments included the demilitarization of the Rhineland. ~~But~~ Britain did not see Germany's actions as aggressive ones that could lead to war. ~~The~~ British appeasement was also based off of the belief that Hitler had peaceful intentions. ~~It~~ In 1935 the year before the Rhineland occupation, Britain and Germany had signed the Anglo-German Naval Agreement which limited the size of the German military. British officials were confident that Germany would remain true to this.

France's policy of appeasement was based almost entirely off of insecurity and ^{the} fear to challenge the growing German power. France did not believe Hitler had good intentions, but they were in no place socially, politically, or

Example candidate response – high, continued

economically to risk challenging Hitler and starting a major war. There was still fear amongst many in France of going to war against Germany. They were scared from the previous Great War and the Franco-Prussian War.

The French also knew that if they were to take action against Hitler, there was no guarantee of support from the United States or Britain. The USA was practicing isolationism, while Britain was practicing appeasement.

The policy of appeasement was the the major factor that allowed Hitler to occupy the Rhineland without Britain or France taking action. ~~Hitler also~~

Example candidate response – high, continued

ii(b) Mussolini's foreign policy between the period of 1922 to 1939 was largely inconsistent. Between the years of 1922 to 1934 Mussolini developed friendly relations and avoided ~~the~~ hostility. Despite being angered by Italy's embarrassment at the Paris Peace conference, Italy was at risk of being politically isolated.

which was the last thing Mussolini wanted.

Aside from the 1923 aggressions of Corfu and Fiume, Mussolini was friendly and cooperative during this period. Mussolini attended the 1925 Locarno conference where he agreed to join with Britain to take action against any country who violated, German, French, or Belgium borders. This conference showed a willingness to cooperate. Mussolini also prevented Hitler's troops from achieving Anschluss with Austria in 1934. He was concerned about Austrian sovereignty. Mussolini was also one of the first countries to formally recognize ^{the} USSR.

But in the period of 1935 to 1939 Mussolini developed a far more aggressive foreign policy. This demonstrates his inconsistency. In 1935 Mussolini was losing ^{the} favor of the Italian people and was anxious for an overseas

Example candidate response – high, continued

political success. So that year Mussolini invaded the African Nation of Abyssinia as a propaganda exercise. 1936 Mussolini's aggression continued when he became involved in the Spanish civil War to protect Fascist interests. And in 1939 Mussolini invaded Albania as another propaganda exercise.

Mussolini's foreign policy shifted majorly after 1934. He practiced two very different policies during his time in power.

However it can be argued that despite Mussolini practicing an inconsistent form of foreign policy. His aims and beliefs remained consistent. From the time Mussolini came into power ^{and} ~~and~~ to 1939, his aims remained the same. To achieve Mare Nostrum (freedom of the seas), to make Italy great, and to make the 20th Century one of Italian power. ~~For~~ He may have had differing ways of obtaining

Example candidate response – high, continued

his aims at different times, but his foreign policy and fascist beliefs were always constant.

Ultimately Mussolini's foreign policy was largely inconsistent. In the period of 1922-1934 Mussolini did not align himself with those who shared his political beliefs, and failed to obtain any of his aims. While in 1935-1939 he formed worthwhile alliances such as the Rome Berlin Axis and the Anti-Comintern Pact in 1936. Also the Pact of Steel in 1939. During this period Mussolini obtained new territory and developed a stronger more aggressive foreign policy.

Examiner comment – high**Part a**

The candidate has a clear understanding of the question's requirements and has identified a range of relevant factors to explain why the German occupation of the Rhineland met no resistance. Britain, France and the USA are properly identified as potential opponents of an aggressive action which was in direct contravention of the Treaty of Versailles. Valid explanations are provided to show why these countries, both individually and collectively, chose not to intervene. Britain's policy of appeasement towards Hitler's Germany is explained by the British view that the Treaty of Versailles had been too harsh. It was felt that Hitler 'had peaceful intentions'. The response highlights the fact that the French 'had no guarantee of support from the United States or Britain' if they decided to confront Hitler, and that this was because 'the USA was practising isolationism, while Britain was practising appeasement'.

More factual depth could have been provided at times. For example, the different attitudes of Britain and France towards Germany, both during and after the Paris Peace Conference, might have been explained more fully: the French desire to keep Germany weak owing to its own security fears, contrasted with Britain's desire for an important trading partner to recover economically as quickly as possible. Similarly, the full significance of the Anglo-German Naval Agreement might have been highlighted.

Nevertheless, this is a fully-focused response which supports a range of relevant factors with appropriate evidence, shows how the various causes are interconnected and reaches a valid conclusion.

Mark awarded for part a = 9 out of 10

Part b

The candidate demonstrates a good understanding of the requirements of the question and has developed a consistent argument supported by appropriate and accurate factual evidence. This argument is based on the judgement that 'Mussolini's foreign policy was largely inconsistent' because it 'shifted majorly after 1934' when a 'more aggressive' approach was adopted. Balance has been provided by showing how, while his methods may have changed dramatically after 1934, Mussolini's 'aims and beliefs remained consistent'. Greater detail might have been used to show exactly what these aims were, beyond the statement that he wanted to 'make Italy great'; for example, the phrase 'mare nostrum' implied rather more than simply 'freedom of the seas'. Similarly, more depth might have been given to the impact of Mussolini's early aggressions against Fiume and Corfu on his political/diplomatic thinking. The view that Mussolini was 'angered by Italy's embarrassment at the Paris Peace Conference' also required further elaboration. Some valid points would have benefited from greater depth. For example, an attempt could have been made to explain why Mussolini's popularity in Italy was in decline. Similarly, consideration might have been given to the issue of why Mussolini changed his attitude towards Hitler, increasingly perceiving him as an ally to be gained rather than an enemy to be feared.

This is a fully-focused, balanced and well-argued response, based on detailed knowledge and understanding of the topic.

Mark awarded for part b = 16 out of 20

Total marks awarded = 25 out of 30

Example candidate response – middle

11a) The German occupation of the Rhineland in March 1936 met no resistance for various reasons including appeasement, friendly relations, and Hitler's Foreign Policy and goals.

First off throughout 1934-38, Britain and France followed the policy of appeasement in which they would not go against militarily towards Hitler's actions, and let Hitler do things according to his foreign policy.

Britain began friendly relations with Germany since the Locarno Treaties in 1925, when Britain saw Germany's willingness to work with other countries, along with the World Disarmament Conference in

Example candidate response – middle, continued

which Germany requested to return to the same level of the other countries. Britain always felt bad for Germany and fully intended for Germany to rebuild itself again because they were a major consumer of British exports as well as ~~the~~ great trading partners. Additionally, Britain felt ~~that~~ that the Treaty of Versailles was too harsh on Germany; therefore, Germany's request to return at equilibrium of other countries seemed reasonable. To Furthermore the friendly relation Germany signed ~~with~~ a ten-year non aggression treaty with Poland which demonstrated to Britain and the rest of Europe that Germany had no intention to conquer Poland; this was appreciated by Britain. The Anglo-German Naval Agreement also showed their friendly relations, in which Germany was able to build its navy to 35% of Britain's navy. All these demonstrations of Britain's enthusiasm and relationship with Germany demonstrated why

Example candidate response – middle, continued

Germany met no resistance when occupying and even militarizing the Rhineland in 1936.

Attributing to the policy of appeasement from Britain and France along with friendly relations with Britain and the development of friendly relations with France by the Dawes Plan and Locarno treaties, Hitler's goal was to build up its military and gain lost territory and he did so through his foreign policy which in turn led him to being able to be seen as justifiable, honourable, and peaceful by major powers like Britain. Since they viewed Hitler's Germany in such way, when he occupied the Rhineland in March he was able to meet no resistance by other powers and follow his goals.

11b) Mussolini took over the government by 1922 when he organized the March on Rome so that there would be a stop to the communist general strike. The chancellor of Italy invited him to make a new government due to his powerful intentions for ~~the~~ Italy (Italian prime minister opposed this action). Therefore from the beginning it was evident that he would have a powerful, determined, and strong foreign policy which makes it consistent to a large extent from the ~~the~~ period of 1922 to 1939.

Mussolini showed powerful foreign policy from the beginning when he invaded Fiume, which Italy had tried doing, but was ordered to leave a year later and followed. Mussolini opposed this action and Fiume, the frailty of Yugoslavia, had no choice (due to no competition in resources of that of modern weapons of Italy) but to accept

Example candidate response – middle, continued

vital for much needed raw materials. ~~Following this~~ ^{the following} year Mussolini signed the Rome Berlin Axis and created an alliance with Hitler, as well as signing the Anti Comintern Pact with Germany and Japan showing his strength, force, and alliance within those three countries. Also ~~in the same~~ ^{in the same} year, Mussolini aided Franco's nationalists in the Spanish Civil War in hopes to spread Fascism. He did so until the end of 1939. In 1939 he abrogated the Pact of Steel ~~if~~, demonstrating military ability and alliance with Hitler if war were to ~~break~~ ^{break} out which showed that he was prepared. Mussolini kept a consistent aggressiveness in his foreign policy since The March on Rome all the way until ~~his~~ his signing in the Pact of Steel.

On the other hand, it is viewed the Mussolini was not consistent to ~~a~~ a large extent in his foreign policy in the period of 1922-1939, and in fact ~~it~~ ^{it} was fluctuating between aggressive to non aggressive and then back to an aggressive foreign policy.

To begin with, Mussolini indeed started aggressively and forcefully by his March on Rome but by 1925

Example candidate response – middle, continued

he began to adopt a more friendly foreign policy in fear of isolation, which was unhealthy and unwanted by any country. Therefore, the Locarno Treaties marked the first attempt to socialize and form alliances between countries in Europe. He demonstrated his attempt to work with other countries and raise the "Locarno spirit". ~~He also signed the Kellogg-Briand Pact in 1928, although an unsuccessful pact, it~~ ~~included his intention to prevent war in the~~ Locarno treaties, ~~he~~ he signed the Treaty of Mutual Guarantee in which ~~the~~ Italy and Britain would defend any country who fell victim of acts of aggression by another country in violation of the Locarno treaties. This showed his willingness to protect and be respected and liked by other countries. Additionally he signed the Kellogg-Briand Pact in 1928, although an unsuccessful pact, it demonstrated his intention to prevent war and bring peace.

This friendly foreign policy from 1925 ended in 1935 when he invaded Abyssinia. Along with this invasion that fully turned his foreign policy.

Example candidate response – middle, continued

Throughout his friendly era he was also invading areas and building his military while acquiring ~~money~~^{money} from other countries like Greece. He then returned to an aggressive foreign policy when he created an alliance with Hitler and ignored the non-intervention agreement he signed. Instead he intervened in the Spanish civil war to aid Franco and therefore showed his lack of cooperation and aggressive intentions ~~towards~~ at the end of ~~the~~ the period of 1922 to 1939.

All in all, Mussolini had a consistent foreign policy to a large extent in the period from 1922 to 1939. Although he demonstrated friendliness in the middle of the period, he was consistently aggressive and one of the key events that should be determined violent and powerful attempt to strengthen Italy was when he left the League of Nations for imposing small economic sanctions for violating its covenant ~~and~~ and invading Abyssinia in 1935. This demonstrated that he would do anything to gain power in any way, militarily or politically; Mussolini was ~~consistently~~^{largely} consistently aggressive in his foreign policy in the period from 1922 to 1939.

Examiner comment – middle

Part a

The candidate demonstrates a clear understanding of the demands of the question and makes a genuine attempt to identify and explain reasons why the German occupation of the Rhineland met no resistance. The response goes beyond a basic descriptive approach, but does tend to be a little lacking in both range and depth.

The response is mainly focused on Britain's lack of opposition to the German occupation of the Rhineland. Appropriate evidence is provided to justify the view that Britain believed Hitler's intentions were 'justifiable, honourable and peaceful'. The answer shows sound understanding, with appropriate examples, of Britain's attitudes towards Germany in 1936. The response is less convincing with reference to France's lack of opposition to the occupation. The candidate clearly understands that Franco-German relations had been improved by 'the Dawes Plan and Locarno Treaties', but misses the crucial fact that the French remained highly sceptical of German intentions throughout the 1920s, and that their concerns regarding a possible threat to their national security were heightened once Hitler came to power. For example, it was French refusal to compromise on the issue of armaments which led Germany to withdraw from the World Disarmament Conference.

Mark awarded for part a = 6 out of 10

Part b

The candidate demonstrates a very clear understanding of the requirements of the question, and has made a genuine attempt to provide a focused and balanced assessment, supported, often in considerable detail, by appropriate factual evidence. While demonstrating how Mussolini veered 'between aggressive to non-aggressive and then back to an aggressive foreign policy', the response contains a sustained argument. The argument could have been made more effective with deeper analysis of Mussolini's foreign policy aims, showing how his desire to make Italy 'great, respected and feared' remained constant throughout, although his methods of achieving this varied according to circumstances. There are a few rather vague assertions such as the statement in the introduction that Mussolini had 'powerful intentions for Italy'.

More attention might have been paid to the issue of why Mussolini alternated between an 'aggressive' and a 'friendly foreign policy' in an attempt to achieve his aims. At times, the candidate adopts a rather narrative/descriptive approach, as a result of which the response drifts into factual detail which is not directly relevant to the question. For example, unnecessary information is provided regarding both the Fiume and Corfu incidents, while the repeated references to the 'March on Rome' serve no real purpose.

This response shows very good knowledge of Mussolini's foreign policy, a very clear understanding of the specific requirements of the question and a largely successful attempt to reach a focused judgement based on detailed assessment of the evidence.

Mark awarded for part b = 15 out of 20

Total marks awarded = 21 out of 30

11A The German occupation of the Rhineland in March 1936 met no resistance due to several factors. Primarily, Britain and France had foolishly adopted the policy of appeasement to avoid ~~that~~ World War II and therefore did not resist Germany. Secondly, Britain and France saw nothing truly wrong with Germany's reoccupation of the Rhineland and felt no need to resist. Lastly, Britain and France were in no state to counter Germany. The combination of these factors of Britain and France's policy of appeasement, lack of care, and prioritization of fixing their own countries caused them to avoid resisting Germany's ~~occupation~~.

11B: Benito Mussolini had an inconsistent foreign policy. In Throughout the 1920s and early 1930s, his foreign policy was more passive and not truly fascist. However, when the mid-to-late 1930s rolled around, Mussolini shifted his policy into a much more aggressive phase. Although Mussolini pursued a "consistent" foreign policy, it was only consistent for about a decade before he pursued a more aggressive foreign policy.

Example candidate response – low, continued

Initially, Mussolini had earned such overwhelming support ~~with~~ for his new fascist government that he didn't feel it was necessary to have an aggressive foreign policy. Mussolini would much rather fix the problems within his own country than dispute with others. However, once everything seemed to be fixed, the Italian people were not as enthusiastic about Mussolini anymore. Therefore, Mussolini changed his foreign policy almost instantly and invaded Abyssinia to impress the Italian people. The invasion of Abyssinia directly contradicted his involvement with the League of Nations as a part of his previous foreign policy. Basically, Mussolini abandoned his pursuit of a peaceful foreign policy as soon as there was a hint of doubt from the people of Italy.

Example candidate response – low, continued

Despite the drastic change of Italy's foreign policy, seen in the 1930s, Mussolini did have some consistency in his policy. Post World War I, Italy, like much of Europe at the time, was a mess. There was economic chaos, no leadership, and a constant fight between the political parties of the time. In response to this, Mussolini's initial priority would be to "restore Italy to its former glory." This meant that a peaceful foreign policy would be necessary in order to focus on repairing Italy itself. Mussolini was somewhat consistent with this policy until for around a decade until he abandoned it for a more aggressive one that truly captured the fascist way. Overall, Mussolini had consistency in each of his foreign policies, but the fact that he...

Example candidate response – low, continued

... changed one halfway through suggests otherwise.

Fundamentally, Mussolini's pursuit of a consistent foreign policy was quite contradictory. Even though ^{Mussolini} he was consistent while he was using the foreign policy of that time the fact that he abandoned a more peaceful policy just so he could invade Abyssinia, enter the Spanish Civil War, and help start World War II is unforgivable and clearly shows the inconsistency within Mussolini's foreign policies.

Examiner comment – low

Part a

Credit has been awarded for the candidate's identification of a number of relevant factors explaining why the German occupation of the Rhineland met no resistance. However, the response reads as a list of causal factors, lacking in explanatory and analytical depth. For example, appropriate reference is made to the policy of appeasement, but there is no explanation of why this policy was adopted by Britain and France beyond the statement that they wished 'to avoid World War II'. In order to achieve higher marks, the candidate needed to demonstrate deeper levels of understanding. For example, the impact of economic depression could have been used to explain the reluctance of Britain and France to devote limited financial resources to developing their armed forces with the result that both countries were unprepared for, and greatly feared, the outbreak of another war. To some extent, this would also have explained their adoption of appeasement, avoiding the simplistic assertion that the policy was 'foolish'.

Mark awarded for part a = 3 out of 10

Part b

The candidate shows understanding of the requirements of the question, and makes a genuine attempt to provide an explicitly focused response. There is a relevant and sustained argument, based on the view that Mussolini followed a '*peaceful*' foreign policy prior to 1934, but thereafter adopted a more aggressive approach, highlighted by the invasion of Abyssinia. The argument is, however, supported by very limited factual evidence. For example, the candidate states that Mussolini followed a rather 'passive' foreign policy 'throughout the 1920s and early 1930s'. Since no factual evidence is provided to back up this statement, it is an unsupported assertion. The response is also unbalanced because there is no real attempt to provide a viable counter-argument to the view that Mussolini's foreign policy was inconsistent. For example, the point that Mussolini's foreign policy aims 'to restore Italy to its former glory' remained consistent throughout, but that his methods of achieving them changed according to circumstances, could have been developed further. Similarly, Mussolini's early actions regarding Fiume and Corfu could have been used to show that he had always been willing to adopt aggressive methods.

In general, this is a fully-focused response, but it lacks both balance and factual depth.

Mark awarded for part b = 8 out of 20

Total marks awarded = 11 out of 30