

# General Certificate of Education

## History 5041/6041

*Alternative T Liberal Democracies, c1787–c1939*

# Mark Scheme

*2006 examination – June series*

Mark schemes are prepared by the Principal Examiner and considered, together with the relevant questions, by a panel of subject teachers. This mark scheme includes any amendments made at the standardisation meeting attended by all examiners and is the scheme which was used by them in this examination. The standardisation meeting ensures that the mark scheme covers the candidates' responses to questions and that every examiner understands and applies it in the same correct way. As preparation for the standardisation meeting each examiner analyses a number of candidates' scripts: alternative answers not already covered by the mark scheme are discussed at the meeting and legislated for. If, after this meeting, examiners encounter unusual answers which have not been discussed at the meeting they are required to refer these to the Principal Examiner.

It must be stressed that a mark scheme is a working document, in many cases further developed and expanded on the basis of candidates' reactions to a particular paper. Assumptions about future mark schemes on the basis of one year's document should be avoided; whilst the guiding principles of assessment remain constant, details will change, depending on the content of a particular examination paper.

## **CRITERIA FOR MARKING GCE HISTORY:**

### **AS and A2 EXAMINATION PAPERS**

#### **General Guidance for Examiners**

---

#### ***A: INTRODUCTION***

The AQA's AS/A2 History specification has been designed to be 'objectives-led' in that questions are set which address the assessment objectives published in the Board's specification. These cover the normal range of skills, knowledge and understanding which have been addressed by AS and A2 level candidates for a number of years.

Most questions will address more than one objective reflecting the fact that, at AS/A2 level, high-level historical skills, including knowledge and understanding, are usually deployed together.

The specification has addressed subject content through the identification of 'key questions' which focus on important historical issues. These 'key questions' give emphasis to the view that GCE History is concerned with the analysis of historical problems and issues, the study of which encourages candidates to make judgements grounded in evidence and information.

The schemes of marking for the specification reflect these underlying principles. The mark scheme which follows is of the 'levels of response' type showing that candidates are expected to demonstrate their mastery of historical skills in the context of their knowledge and understanding of History.

Consistency of marking is of the essence in all public examinations. This factor is particularly important in a subject like History which offers a wide choice of subject content options or alternatives within the specification for AS and A2.

It is therefore of vital importance that assistant examiners apply the marking scheme as directed by the Principal Examiner in order to facilitate comparability with the marking of other alternatives.

Before scrutinising and applying the detail of the specific mark scheme which follows, assistant examiners are required to familiarise themselves with the instructions and guidance on the general principles to apply in determining into which level of response an answer should fall (Section B for AS and Section C for A2) and in deciding on a mark within a particular level of response (Section D).

**B: EXEMPLIFICATION OF AS LEVEL DESCRIPTORS**

**Level 1:**

The answer is excessively generalised and indiscriminating amounting to little more than assertion, involving generalisations which could apply to almost any time and/or place.

**Exemplification/Guidance**

Answers at this level will

- be excessively generalised and indiscriminating with little reference to the focus of the question
- lack specific factual information relevant to the issues
- lack awareness of the specific context
- be limited in the ability to communicate clearly in an organised manner, and demonstrate limited grammatical accuracy.

**Level 2:**

***Either***

Demonstrates by relevant selection of material some understanding of a range of issues.

***Or***

Demonstrates by relevant selection of material, implicit understanding of a wider range of relevant issues. Most such answers will be dependent on descriptions, but will have valid links.

**Exemplification/Guidance**

*Either* responses will have the following characteristics: they will

- offer a relevant but outline only description in response to the question
- contain some irrelevance and inaccuracy
- demonstrate coverage of some parts of the question but be lacking in balance
- have some direction and focus demonstrated through introductions or conclusions
- demonstrate some effective use of language, but be loose in structure and limited grammatically.

*Or* responses will have the following characteristics: they will

- show understanding of some but not all of the issues in varying depth
- provide accurate factual information relevant to the issues
- demonstrate some understanding of linkages between issues
- have some direction and focus through appropriate introductions or conclusions
- demonstrate some effective use of language, but be loose in structure and limited grammatically.

### **Level 3:**

Demonstrates by selection of appropriate material, explicit understanding of some issues relevant to the question. Most such answers will show understanding of the analytical demands but will lack weight or balance.

#### **Exemplification/guidance**

These responses will have the following characteristics: they will

- present arguments which have some focus and relevance, but which are limited in scope
- demonstrate an awareness of the specific context
- contain some accurate but limited factual support
- attempt all parts of the question, but coverage will lack balance and/or depth
- demonstrate some effective use of language, be coherent in structure but limited grammatically.

### **Level 4:**

Demonstrates by selection of a wide range of precisely selected material, explicit understanding of the question and provides a balanced explanation.

#### **Exemplification/guidance**

These responses will have the following characteristics: they will

- be largely analytical but will include some narrative
- deploy relevant factual material effectively, although this may not be comprehensive
- develop an argument which is focused and relevant
- cover all parts of the question but will treat some aspects in greater depth than others
- use language effectively in a coherent and generally grammatically correct style.

### **Level 5:**

As L4, but contains judgement as demanded by the question, which may be implicit or partial.

#### **Exemplification/guidance**

These responses will have the following characteristics: they will

- offer sustained analysis, with relevant supporting detail
- maintain a consistent argument which may, however, be incompletely developed and in places, unconvincing,
- cover all parts of the question with a reasonable balance between the parts
- attempt to offer judgement, but this may be partial and in the form of a conclusion or a summary
- communicate effectively through accurate, fluent and well directed prose.

**C: EXEMPLIFICATION OF A LEVEL (A2) DESCRIPTORS**

The relationship between the Assessment Objectives (AOs) 1.1, 1.2 and 2 and the Levels of Response.

A study of the generic levels of response mark scheme will show that candidates who operate solely or predominantly in AO 1.1, by writing a narrative or descriptive response, will restrict themselves to a maximum of 6 out of 20 marks by performing at Level 1. Those candidates going on to provide more explanation (AO 1.2), supported by the relevant selection of material (AO1.1), will have access to approximately 6 more marks, performing at Level 2 and low Level 3, depending on how implicit or partial their judgements prove to be. Candidates providing explanation with evaluation and judgement, supported by the selection of appropriate information and exemplification, will clearly be operating in all 3 AOs (AO 2, AO1.2 and AO1.1) and will therefore have access to the highest levels and the full range of 20 marks by performing in Levels 3, 4 and 5.

**Level 1:**

*Either*

Is able to demonstrate, by relevant selection of material, implicit understanding of the question. Answers will be predominantly, or wholly narrative.

*Or*

Answer implies analysis but is excessively generalised, being largely or wholly devoid of specific information. Such answers will amount to little more than assertion, involving generalisations which could apply to almost any time and/or place.

**Exemplification/guidance**

Narrative responses will have the following characteristic: they

- will lack direction and any clear links to the analytical demands of the question
- will, therefore, offer a relevant but outline-only description in response to the question
- will be limited in terms of communication skills, organisation and grammatical accuracy.

Assertive responses: at this level, such responses will:

- lack any significant corroboration
- be generalised and poorly focused
- demonstrate limited appreciation of specific content
- be limited in terms of communication skills, organisation and grammatical accuracy.

IT IS MOST IMPORTANT TO DISCRIMINATE BETWEEN THIS TYPE OF RESPONSE AND THOSE WHICH ARE SUCCINCT AND UNDEVELOPED BUT FOCUSED AND VALID (appropriate for Level 2 or above).

## **Level 2:**

### *Either*

Demonstrates, by relevant selection of material, some understanding of a range of relevant issues. Most such answers will show understanding of the analytical demands but lack weight and balance.

### *Or*

Demonstrates, by relevant selection of material, implicit understanding of a wide range of relevant issues. Most such answers will be dependent on descriptions, but will have valid links.

## **Exemplification/guidance**

Narrative responses will have the following characteristics:

- understanding of some but not all of the issues
- some direction and focus demonstrated largely through introductions or conclusions
- some irrelevance and inaccuracy
- coverage of all parts of the question but be lacking in balance
- some effective use of the language, be coherent in structure, but limited grammatically.

Analytical responses will have the following characteristics:

- arguments which have some focus and relevance
- an awareness of the specific context
- some accurate but limited factual support
- coverage of all parts of the question but be lacking in balance
- some effective use of language, be coherent in structure, but limited grammatically.

## **Level 3:**

Demonstrates by selection of appropriate material, explicit understanding of a range of issues relevant to the question. Judgement, as demanded by the question, may be implicit or partial.

## **Exemplification/guidance**

Level 3 responses will be characterised by the following:

- the approach will be generally analytical but may include some narrative passages which will be limited and controlled
- analysis will be focused and substantiated, although a complete balance of treatment of issues is not to be expected at this level nor is full supporting material
- there will be a consistent argument which may, however, be incompletely developed, not fully convincing or which may occasionally digress into narrative
- there will be relevant supporting material, although not necessarily comprehensive, which might include reference to interpretations
- effective use of language, appropriate historical terminology and coherence of style.

#### **Level 4:**

Demonstrates by selection of a wide range of precisely selected material, explicit understanding of the demands of the question and provides a consistently analytical response to it. Judgement, as demanded by the question, will be explicit but may be limited in scope.

#### **Exemplification/guidance**

Answers at this level have the following characteristics:

- sustained analysis, explicitly supported by relevant and accurate evidence
- little or no narrative, usually in the form of exemplification
- coverage of all the major issues, although there may not be balance of treatment
- an attempt to offer judgement, but this may be partial and in the form of a conclusion or summary
- effective skills of communication through the use of accurate, fluent and well directed prose.

#### **Level 5:**

As Level 4 but also shows appropriate conceptual awareness which, together with the selection of a wide range of precisely selected evidence, offers independent and effectively sustained judgement appropriate to the full demands of the question.

#### **Exemplification/guidance**

Level 5 will be differentiated from Level 4 in that there will be:

- a consistently analytical approach
- consistent corroboration by reference to selected evidence
- a clear and consistent attempt to reach judgements
- some evidence of independence of thought, but not necessarily of originality
- a good conceptual understanding
- strong and effective communication skills, grammatically accurate and demonstrating coherence and clarity of thought.

---

**D: DECIDING ON MARKS WITHIN A LEVEL**

*These principles are applicable to both the Advanced Subsidiary examination and to the A level (A2) examination.*

Good examining is, ultimately, about the **consistent application of judgement**. Mark schemes provide the necessary framework for exercising that judgement but it cannot cover all eventualities. This is especially so in subjects like History, which in part rely upon different interpretations and different emphases given to the same content. One of the main difficulties confronting examiners is: “What precise mark should I give to a response *within* a level?”. Levels may cover four, five or even six marks. From a maximum of 20, this is a large proportion. In making a decision about a specific mark to award, it is vitally important to think *first* of the mid-range within the level, where the level covers more than two marks. Comparison with other candidates’ responses **to the same question** might then suggest that such an award would be unduly generous or severe.

In making a decision away from the middle of the level, examiners should ask themselves several questions relating to candidate attainment, **including the quality of written communication skills**. The more positive the answer, the higher should be the mark awarded. We want to avoid “bunching” of marks. Levels mark schemes can produce regression to the mean, which should be avoided.

So, is the response:

- precise in its use of factual information?
- appropriately detailed?
- factually accurate?
- appropriately balanced, or markedly better in some areas than in others?
- and, **with regard to the quality of written communication skills:**  
generally coherent in expression and cogent in development (as appropriate to the level awarded by organising relevant information clearly and coherently, using specialist vocabulary and terminology)?
- well-presented as to general quality of language, i.e. use of syntax (including accuracy in spelling, punctuation and grammar)? (In operating this criterion, however, it is important to avoid “double jeopardy”. Going to the bottom of the mark range for a level in each part of a structured question might well result in too harsh a judgement. The overall aim is to mark positively, giving credit for what candidates know, understand and can do, rather than looking for reasons to reduce marks.)

It is very important that Assistant Examiners **do not** always start at the lowest mark within the level and look for reasons to increase the level of reward from the lowest point. This will depress marks for the alternative in question and will cause problems of comparability with other question papers within the same specification.

## June 2006

### Alternative T: Liberal Democracies, c1787–c1939

#### AS Unit 2: The Emergence of Democracies, 1787–1832

#### Question 1

- (a) Use **Source A** and your own knowledge.

Explain briefly the meaning of ‘party advantage’ (line 2) in the context of the passing of the 1832 Reform Bill. (3 marks)

*Target: AO1.1, AO2*

- L1: Basic explanation of the term using the source, e.g. whoever passed a reform bill would benefit from increasing their support. 1

- L2: Demonstrates developed understanding of the term and its significance in relation to the context, e.g. links to the context of passage of the Reform Act. Before 1830 the Whigs had not been in power since 1807. Reform would benefit the Whigs because they were both enfranchising the middle classes who would show their gratitude by voting Whig, and by the removal of rotten or nomination boroughs, which predominantly favoured the Tories. May be linked to the Whig success in the election of 1832. 2-3

- (b) Use **Source B** and your own knowledge.

How useful is **Source B** as evidence of Whig reasons for passing the Reform Bill in 1832? (7 marks)

Whilst candidates are expected to deploy own knowledge in assessing the degree to which the sources differ/the utility of the source, such deployment may well be implicit and it would be inappropriate to penalise full effective answers which do not explicitly contain ‘own knowledge’. The effectiveness of the comparison/assessment of utility will be greater where it is clear that the candidates are aware of the context; indeed, in assessing utility, this will be very significant. It would be inappropriate, however, to expect direct and specific reference to ‘pieces’ of factual content.

*Target: AO1.2, AO2*

- L1: Basic evaluation of the utility/reliability of the source either from own knowledge or based on provenance, e.g. Grey is the Prime Minister and leader of the Whigs therefore it is useful. May paraphrase the source, discussing what the source ‘tells’ or ‘shows’ with no real understanding of utility. 1-2

- L2: Developed evaluation of utility/reliability of the source in relation to the issue linking source, own knowledge and provenance. Own knowledge may be implicit (i.e. evident in the contextual understanding). The source discusses the united pressure of intelligent and property-owning (middle-class) men for reform, which the Whigs feel

compelled to respond to. Grey stresses that the Whigs are not giving in to any form of mass pressure, arguing that the ‘opinions of the mob’ are not of concern, and he rejects the Tory argument that they are responding to agitation. Reference may be seen to the need to convince the Lords of the necessity of the bill and the timing – the second bill was rejected in October 1831. **3-5**

L3: Developed evaluation, drawing conclusions about utility/reliability based on strengths and weaknesses and judged against the context, e.g. there are limits to the use of the source as Grey stresses ‘men of property’ and ‘intelligence’ to avoid scaring the Lords, but the Whigs were also concerned to try and win electoral advantage and saw the need for reform to prevent a more destructive revolution. **6-7**

(c) Use **Sources A, B** and **C** and your own knowledge.

‘Reform was introduced in 1832 solely to create a more democratic system of government.’

Explain why agree or disagree with this statement. *(15 marks)*

*Target: AO1.1, AO1.2, AO2*

L1: The answer is excessively generalised and indiscriminating, amounting to little more than assertion, involving generalisations which could apply to almost any time and/or place, based *either* on own knowledge *or* the sources. **1-4**

L2: ***Either***

Demonstrates, by relevant selection of material, *either* from the sources *or* from own knowledge, some understanding of a range of relevant issues.

***Or***

Demonstrates, by relevant selection of material, *either* from the sources *or* from own knowledge, implicit understanding of a wide range of relevant issues. Most such answers will be dependent on description, but will have valid links.

***Or***

Demonstrates, by limited selection of material, *both* from the sources *and* from own knowledge, implicit understanding of the relevant issues. These answers, while relevant, will lack both range and depth and will contain some assertion. **5-8**

L3: Is able to demonstrate, by relevant selection of material, *both* from the sources *and* from own knowledge, some understanding of the demands of the question. **9-11**

L4: Demonstrates, by selection of a wide range of precisely selected material, *both* from the sources *and* from own knowledge, explicit understanding of the question and provides a balanced explanation. **12-13**

L5: As L4, but contains judgement, as demanded by the question, which may be implicit and partial. **14-15**

## Indicative content

Reform can be seen as being introduced to create a more democratic system of government. The size of the electorate grew, from c11% of adult males to c18%, with huge growth in Scotland. Contemporary concepts of ‘democracy’ recognised the need to enfranchise the men of property and intelligence (Source B) that the country relied on for wealth creation. Furthermore, some of the more undemocratic features were removed; the uniform franchise replaced the range of qualifications in the boroughs and large cities without representation were enfranchised, e.g. Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield. Corruption (Source C) was also tackled, with the removal of rotten boroughs and many pocket boroughs. The primacy of the elected House of Commons was also established.

Balance for Level 4+ should involve consideration of one or both of the following arguments. Firstly, reform clearly stopped far short of democracy. Only 1 in 5 adult males could vote, the financial qualification for voting was preserved, and many large towns failed to gain representation (Doncaster). The corruption Source C describes could continue, as there was no secret ballot or restriction on treating or bribing.

Secondly, the Whigs clearly had other motives. The fear of destructive revolution may have been denied by Grey in Source B, but the need to ‘reform in order to preserve’ was clearly part of the Whig strategy given how near the country was to revolution (Source A). Furthermore, the Whigs hoped for very real party advantage (Source A). The enfranchisement of the middle classes would surely benefit the party which enfranchised them – the Whig success in the first election after the act was passed was in stark contrast to twenty years of defeats before 1832.

Judgement for Level 5 may recognise the limited democracy of 1832, but consider the context of such radical change in 1832.

## Question 2

- (a) Comment on ‘federalists’ (line 1) in the context of the USA in the years 1787 to 1789. (3 marks)

*Target: AO1.1*

- L1: Basic or partial explanation of the issue based on either the source or own knowledge – very generalised, e.g. a supporter of the new Constitution. **1**
- L2: Developed explanation demonstrating understanding of the issue based on both the source and own knowledge, e.g. a supporter of a strong central government, rather than the system that existed under the Articles of Confederation, where Congress was weaker than the individual state governments. **2-3**

- (b) Explain why the ‘new Constitution’ was admired by federalists. (7 marks)

*Target: AO1.1, AO2*

- L1: Demonstrates implicit understanding of the issue, e.g. it provided for strong central government. May paraphrase – the more it was examined the more they liked it. **1-2**
- L2: Demonstrates understanding of specific factors through relevant and appropriately selected material, e.g. Congress would have the power to raise taxes and to form a national army; legislation could no longer be vetoed; a simple majority replaced a 2/3rds majority making it easier to govern; a powerful President; Federal courts; the ability to coerce states. **3-5**
- L3: Demonstrates explicit understanding of a range of factors, and prioritises, makes links and draws conclusions in order to provide an explanation, e.g. may comment on political, economic and foreign policy powers, and draw comparisons between the weakness of the United States under the Articles of Confederation and the new Constitution. **6-7**

- (c) Was the desire to create a liberal democracy the most important factor in explaining the terms of the US Constitution of 1787?  
Explain your answer. (15 marks)

*Target: AO1.1, AO1.2, AO2*

- L1: The answer is excessively generalised and indiscriminating amounting to little more than assertion, involving generalisations which could apply to almost any time and/or place. **1-4**
- L2: ***Either***  
Demonstrates, by relevant selection of material, some understanding of a range of relevant issues.
- Or***  
Demonstrates, by relevant selection of material, some understanding of a wider range of relevant issues. Most such answers will be dependent on descriptions, but will have valid links. **5-8**
- L3: Demonstrates, by selection of appropriate material, explicit understanding of some of the issues relevant to the question. Most such answers will show understanding of the analytical demands but will lack weight and balance. **9-11**
- L4: Demonstrates, by selection of a wide range of precisely selected material, explicit understanding of the question and provides a balanced explanation. **12-13**
- L5: As L4, but contains judgement, as demanded by the question, which may be implicit or partial. **14-15**

## Indicative content

Answers need to consider whether the US Constitution was motivated by the desire to create a liberal and democratic country, or whether it was motivated by other, more practical, concerns. At lower levels, answers may simply describe the terms of the constitution, or talk generally about liberalism and democracy, without any direct reference to the terms of the constitution.

Higher level answers should link liberalism and democracy to the terms of the constitution. *Liberalism* (no religious tests for office) and, especially, *democracy*: House of Representatives elected by the people every two years; number of representatives in direct relation to the size of each states population; local state government remained; some separation of powers, e.g. the President could not be part of Congress, both Houses had to approve a bill for it to become law; no monarchy or elected positions. Alternatively they might reject ideas and focus on practical concerns, linked to specific terms.

Balance could be provided by some assessment of both liberalism/democracy and practical concerns. The practical concerns over the need to gain ratification by large and small states alike, the threats to stability in 1789 and the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation could all be mentioned, with reference to the ‘Great Compromise’ and the ‘3/5ths compromise’ on slavery. Practical terms of the constitution include the lack of *freedom* evidenced by the need for the 1791 Bill of Rights to guarantee freedom, limits to state power, Congress’s right to impose direct taxation on the states; and the lack of *democracy* – the property qualification to vote, gender, colour and age bars, Senators appointed by state legislators meaning indirect election at best, 2 senators per state, regardless of the state’s size, President had to be over thirty-five and was chosen by indirect election, the executive had immense powers. Reference to the desire to protect the rights of property, or to Beard’s economic analysis, may also be seen.

At Level 5, answers should consider both arguments before reaching a judgment – that the context meant that democracy had to be ensured, but liberalism was restricted by omission to prevent a re-occurrence of the problems the US faced under the Articles of Confederation. Answers at Level 5 should also discriminate between ‘liberalism’ and ‘democracy’, though there is no need to cover both ideas equally to achieve balance.

## Question 3

- (a) Comment on ‘reforms’ (line 2) in the context of the changes to the church brought about by the French Revolution in the years 1789 to 1791. (3 marks)

*Target: AO1.1*

- L1: Basic or partial explanation of the issue based on either the source or own knowledge, e.g. Church was subject to a series of reforms. May identify one reform or identify that the Church was brought under state control, or that the church was made to fit in with the ideas of the revolution. **1**
- L2: Developed explanation demonstrating understanding of the issue based on both the source and own knowledge, e.g. identifies the practical and principled reasons for Church reform as the reforms involved both the nationalisation of Church lands, and

the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. Priests also had to swear loyalty to the Revolution. Finally religious toleration was introduced. **2-3**

- (b) Explain why the church needed to be reformed in the years 1789 to 1791. (7 marks)

*Target: AO1.1, AO2*

L1: Demonstrates implicit understanding of the issue, e.g. the Church was the First Estate in the Ancien Regime and therefore needed to be reformed. **1-2**

L2: Demonstrates understanding of specific factors through relevant and appropriately selected material, e.g. sale of lands provided much needed revenue for the bankrupt state, the Civil Constitution was a both a practical and logical administrative reform and a development in line with liberty and equality (elections by active citizens), Voltaire and *philosophes* had been anti-clerical, the fundamental liberal belief in religious toleration. **3-5**

L3: Demonstrates explicit understanding of a range of factors, and prioritises, makes links and draws conclusions in order to provide an explanation, e.g. may argue that there were both ideological and practical reasons for reform, perhaps arguing that ideological reasons explain religious toleration, but that nationalisation of Church lands was practical, whilst the Civil Constitution was about bringing the Church under control. **6-7**

- (c) Was the desire to create a liberal democracy the most important factor in explaining the nature of the reforms of the French Revolution in the years 1789 to 1791? Explain your answer. (15 marks)

*Target: AO1.1, AO1.2, AO2*

L1: The answer is excessively generalised and indiscriminating amounting to little more than assertion, involving generalisations which could apply to almost any time and/or place. **1-4**

L2: ***Either***

Demonstrates, by relevant selection of material, some understanding of a range of relevant issues.

***Or***

Demonstrates, by relevant selection of material, some understanding of a wider range of relevant issues. Most such answers will be dependent on descriptions, but will have valid links. **5-8**

L3: Demonstrates, by selection of appropriate material, explicit understanding of some of the issues relevant to the question. Most such answers will show understanding of the analytical demands but will lack weight and balance. **9-11**

- L4: Demonstrates, by selection of a wide range of precisely selected material, explicit understanding of the question and provides a balanced explanation. **12-13**
- L5: As L4, but contains judgement, as demanded by the question, which may be implicit or partial. **14-15**

### **Indicative content**

Answers need to consider whether the reforms of this period were motivated by the desire to create a liberal and democratic country, or whether it was motivated by other, more practical, concerns. At lower levels, answers may simply describe the reforms, or talk generally about liberalism and democracy, without any direct reference to the specific reforms, beyond perhaps Church reform.

Higher level answers should offer analysis with reference to both the issues of liberalism and democracy. *Liberalism* is suggested by the abolition of privileges in terms of Feudalism, hereditary titles, Parlements and the absolute monarchy, along with religious toleration. *Democracy* could be addressed by considering the creation of a single chamber-elected legislature. Balance would be provided by considering evidence that there were still restrictions on freedom (*liberalism*) – privileges were maintained in the short term by the abolition of Feudalism with compensation – and *democracy*, with indirect elections and a limited franchise; by age, occupancy, occupation and level of tax paid. Membership of the National Assembly was restricted to those who paid the equivalent of fifty days' labour in taxes. The powers of the monarchy were also not extinguished. For Level 5, judgement is also required, though this may take the form of an extended conclusion. The practical pressures for reform (e.g. the Grande Peur, the financial weakness of the French state) may be mentioned as of greater importance than the ideological concerns.

**June 2006**

**Alternative T: Liberal Democracies, c1787–c1939**

**A2 Unit 5: The Development of Democracies**

**Question 1**

(a) Use **Sources A** and **B** and your own knowledge.

To what extent do these two sources agree on the impact of parliamentary reform on the Liberal Party in the years 1867 to 1906? (10 marks)

*Target: AO1.1, AO1.2*

- L1: Extracts simple statements from the sources or refers to own knowledge to demonstrate agreement/disagreement on the issue/event which is the subject of debate. 1-2
- L2: Demonstrates explicit understanding of aspects of agreement/disagreement on the issue/event which is the subject of debate, with reference to either sources and/or own knowledge. 3-5
- L3: Demonstrates explicit understanding of similarity and difference of interpretation in relation to the debate and offers some explanation. 6-8
- L4: Uses appropriately selected material, from both sources and own knowledge, to reach a sustained judgement on the extent of similarity and difference in interpretation in relation to the debate. 9-10

**Indicative content**

There is some agreement between the sources. **Source B** argues that the hope was that the Liberals would win support from the working class following reform. Own knowledge may point to the Liberal victory in 1868 and Gladstone's commitment to enfranchising agricultural workers in 1884. **Source A** agrees with this, pointing out that the Liberal Party had to adopt new political organisations to integrate the working class into the party, and adjust their policies. Own knowledge may talk about Liberal Party organisation and policies to appeal to the masses, including the 1871 Trades Union Act and the Liberal Social Reforms.

However, **Source B** argues that the Liberals tried to adapt their policies but did not go far enough and therefore failed to commit themselves to social reform, and so the working class needed their own party to represent their own interests. The Liberals therefore lost support. Own knowledge may be used to illustrate this loss of support between 1906 and 1910 when twelve Lib-Lab MPs defected to the Labour Party, or to discuss the failure to commit to radical social reform, discussing the limits to minimum wage legislation etc. **Source A**, however, argues that the 1867 Reform Act made very little impact on the party in terms of leadership (Asquith was the first non-landed leader and he was still a wealthy lawyer), control of policy and the social composition of MPs.

Judgement may be provided by arguing that there is more agreement than is first evident – the failure to change leadership, and the leaders’ failure to make decision-making more democratic was one of the reasons for the working class seeking their own party. Alternatively it may be argued that Source A focuses on the whole period, whilst Source B focuses purely on 1867, therefore there is inevitable disagreement due to a change of focus.

(b) Use **Sources A, B** and **C** and your own knowledge.

‘The growth of democracy had little impact on Britain in the years 1867 to 1914.’  
Assess the validity of this view with reference to **two** of the following: the Conservative Party, the Liberal Party, the Labour Party. (20 marks)

*Target: AO1.1, AO1.2, AO2*

- L1: Is able to demonstrate, by relevant selection of material, *either* from the sources *or* from own knowledge, implicit understanding of the question. Answers will be predominantly, or wholly, narrative. **1-6**
- L2: ***Either***  
Demonstrates, by relevant selection of material, *either* from the sources *or* from own knowledge, some understanding of a range of relevant issues. Most such answers will show understanding of the analytical demands but will lack weight and balance.
- Or***  
Demonstrates, by relevant selection of material, *both* from the sources *and* from own knowledge, implicit understanding of a wide range of relevant issues. These answers, while relevant, will lack both range and depth and will contain some assertion. **7-11**
- L3: Is able to demonstrate, by relevant selection of material, *both* from the sources *and* from own knowledge, explicit understanding of the issues relevant to the question. Judgement, as demanded by the question, may be implicit or partial. **12-15**
- L4: Demonstrates, by selection of a wide range of precisely selected material, *both* from the sources *and* from own knowledge, explicit understanding of the demands of the question and provides a consistently analytical response to it. Judgement, as demanded by the question, will be explicit but may be limited in scope. **16-18**
- L5: As L4, but also shows appropriate conceptual awareness which, together with a selection of a wide range of precisely selected evidence, offers independent and effectively sustained judgement appropriate to the full demands of the question. **19-20**

### **Indicative content**

Answers should assess the impact of the growth of democracy. The democratic developments include the 1867, 1884 and 1918 Reform Acts, the 1872 Secret Ballot Act, the 1885 Redistribution Act, the 1883 Corrupt and Illegal Practices Act, the 1911 Parliament Act. Answers should use all the sources, regardless of the two groups they choose to cover.

Evidence that the growth of democracy made little impact might include:

**Conservative Party:** still one of the two main political parties in the two-party system, still controlled the House of Lords (**Source C**), still able to pass legislation in the interests of the elite (Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act 1875), leadership still the same (**Source A**) – landowners, Salisbury passed power to his nephew Balfour etc.

**Liberal Party:** still one of the two main political parties, still frustrated by the Lords rejecting bills (Home Rule 1894, Education 1906), leadership still same (**Source A**), MPs still middle-class etc.

**Labour Party:** no universal male suffrage before 1918 meant very limited support – only 42 seats in 1914, very limited impact on social reform (**Source B**) as OAPs not universal, no minimum wage figure set etc.

Balance and judgement would be provided by challenging the statement:

**Conservative Party:** success after 1874 compared to lack of power 1832 to 1867 suggest reform benefited the party, redistribution definitely favoured the party electorally, new organisation to integrate the working class, e.g. clubs providing cheap beer and billiards, Primrose League (**Source A**), adjusted policies e.g. Disraeli and Empire, Artisans' Dwelling Act etc, Conservative-dominated Lords lost their absolute veto (**Source C**) and progressive taxation was introduced, party shifted from being the party of land to the party of business, seeking to protect employers against the Unions.

**Liberal Party:** new party organisation (**Source A** and Birmingham 'caucus' and 1877 National Liberal Federation), policies (**Sources A, B and C** – progressive taxation, pensions, National Insurance), public backing to tackle the Lords following the 1910 'Peers versus People' election etc.

**Labour Party:** working-class voters demanded the party (**Source B**), which was formalised as the Labour Party in 1906, when it won thirty seats. This had risen to 42 by 1914. Influence on the Liberals ensured social reforms were passed, especially Trade Disputes Act of 1906 and the Trade Union Act of 1913.

At Level 1, answers will be generalised, with comments about the political parties that lack any real focus. The sources may be paraphrased, but not used as part of an effective answer. Alternatively, answers may describe some of the democratic reforms.

At Level 2, answers will offer analysis, though this may be limited to brief links between the democratic developments and the impact on party fortunes using the sources. Alternatively, answers may be seen that lack balance. This may be because they focus on the impact on one party only, offering evidence both in agreement with the statement and also challenging it by arguing that the democratic developments did have a significant impact on the political party. Alternatively, answers may consider two parties but either agrees completely or disagree completely with the statement.

At Level 3, answers will offer weight of supporting evidence from both the sources and own knowledge, and consider evidence of both significant impact and limited impact. Answers may offer judgment only implicitly by being aware of this balance.

At Level 4, answers should offer a wide range of evidence from the sources and their own knowledge, and show synoptic understanding. This may be by considering the inter-relationship of party fortunes; answers may be seen that argue that the positive impact on the Labour Party was matched by the negative impact on the Liberal Party and that the two parties fortunes were intrinsically linked, or that the Conservative Party benefited from the

changes far more than the Liberals, or that the Conservative Party benefited from the changes in the pre-1900 periods, the Labour Party post-1900 (and the Liberals lost out).

At Level 5 judgment will be explicit and sustained, perhaps recognising the changes across the period, or that democratic developments were not the key factor in creating change.

## Section B

Questions 2-7 are synoptic in nature and the rewarding of candidates' responses should be clearly linked to the range of factors or issues covered in the generic A2 Levels of Response mark scheme and by the indicative content in the specific mark scheme for each question.

### Standard Mark Scheme for Essays at A2 (*without* reference to sources)

*Target: AO1.1, AO1.2, AO2*

L1: ***Either***

Is able to demonstrate, by relevant selection of material, implicit understanding of the question. Answers will be predominantly or wholly narrative.

***Or***

Answer implies analysis, but is excessively generalised, being largely or wholly devoid of specific information. Such responses will amount to little more than assertion, involving generalisations which could apply to almost any time and/or place. **1-6**

L2: ***Either***

Demonstrates, by relevant selection of material, some understanding of a range of relevant issues. Most such answers will show understanding of the analytical demands, but will lack weight and balance.

***Or***

Demonstrates, by selection of appropriate material, implicit understanding of a range of relevant issues. Most such answers will be dependent on descriptions, but will have valid links. **7-11**

L3: Demonstrates, by selection of appropriate material, explicit understanding of a range of issues relevant to the question. Judgement, as demanded by the question, may be implicit or partial. **12-15**

L4: Demonstrates, by selection of a wide range of precisely selected material, explicit understanding of the demands of the question and provides a consistently analytical response to it. Judgement, as demanded by the question, will be explicit but may be limited in scope. **16-18**

L5: As L4, but also shows appropriate conceptual awareness which, together with the selection of a wide range of precisely selected evidence, offers independent and effectively sustained judgement appropriate to the full demands of the question. **19-20**

## Option A: France, 1848–1905

### Question 2

‘The Second Republic fell because it failed to solve France’s political and economic problems.’

How far do you agree with this view of the reason for the collapse of the Second Republic in 1852? (20 marks)

Use standard mark scheme for essays at A2 (*without* reference to sources).

Marks as follows:

**L1: 1-6      L2: 7-11      L3: 12-15      L4: 16-18      L5: 19-20**

### Indicative content

Answers will consider the political and economic failures, but it would be reasonable to argue that, as there was not just failure in these spheres, the cause of collapse could lie in the actions of Louis Napoleon. Assuming weight, this balance would indicate explicit judgement at Levels 4/5.

Political problems include the inability to manage an electorate with universal suffrage, the Conservative Constituent Assembly and the June Days, the problems of a constitution with popular election for President. They also relate to the divisions in the country that the Republic could not heal (between the radical Parisians and the conservative/monarchist Provinces, the division amongst republicans between ‘Reds’ and the moderates, between landowners and the working class etc.), whilst economic policy was a failure - taxes on land-owning classes in favour of working class, failure of ‘*le droit de travail*’.

Balance for Level 3+ may be provided by arguing that Louis Napoleon was the key factor in causing the Second Republic to fail, referring to his appeal (nephew and heir to Bonapartism, symbol of order, army support, Church support, actions in the *coup d’état* of 1851/852),

Synoptic understanding for Level 4+ may involve assessing the relative importance of the political and economic factors and/or considering how Louis Napoleon utilised the political problems.

### Question 3

To what extent do you agree that the survival of the Third Republic in the years 1870 to 1905 was the result of its own strengths, rather than the weaknesses of its opponents? (20 marks)

Use standard mark scheme for essays at A2 (*without* reference to sources).

Marks as follows:

**L1: 1-6      L2: 7-11      L3: 12-15      L4: 16-18      L5: 19-20**

### Indicative content

The republic did have important strengths and positive achievements that helped it survive – politically it achieved stable government with the consistency of membership of the government and continuity amongst the civil service, **socially** it was able to create support for moderate republicanism and enjoy the support of influential figures, e.g. Zola, whilst **economically** it ensured the continuation of a stable population, increase in industrial wages and in agricultural yields.

However, it also suffered from scandals, inherent weaknesses and economic failure. These could include: **political** instability caused by the frequent changes in government, the scandals and threats, **economically** the decline in agricultural wages, the agricultural depression 1873-1896, long working hours in industry etc., **socially** the failure to deal with the conflict between the left and reactionary forces as typified by the Dreyfus case. This evidence might be used to argue that the weaknesses of the regime's enemies were therefore critical in explaining its survival. These weaknesses include the revolutionary left having been destroyed by the extermination of the Commune, divisions amongst monarchists, socialists and Catholics who saw each other as the main threat, Boulanger's indecisiveness and the damage the Dreyfus Affair did to the reputation of the right, especially the Army and the Church.

Synoptic understanding may involve assessing the relative importance of the social, economic and political strengths of the regime, or showing the links between the strengths of the Republic and opponents' weaknesses, e.g. the damage done by Zola to the right's reputation.

---

**Question 4**

‘Government intervention in French citizens’ lives was minimal before 1870, but grew extensively during the Third Republic.’

Assess the validity of this view of the years 1852 to 1905. (20 marks)

Use standard mark scheme for essays at A2 (*without* reference to sources).

Marks as follows:

**L1: 1-6      L2: 7-11      L3: 12-15      L4: 16-18      L5: 19-20**

**Indicative content**

After 1870 the Third Republic did increasingly intervene in French citizens’ lives, separating church and state, removing education from church hands, introducing divorce laws and passing a range of economic legislation, e.g. 1892 Labour Law cutting women’s working hours, Meline’s tariff law, Millerand’s labour laws (social insurance, minimum wages, 8-hour day for postal workers, maximum working hours set in 1900 and 1904, etc.).

However, balance for Level 3+ might be offered by providing evidence of intervention pre-1870, for example taxes on land-owning classes in favour of working class and ‘*le droit de travail*’ pre-1852, and the creation of three banks in 1852–1853 at the behest of the government, the government guaranteed minimum rates of interest to be paid on the shares of railway companies, urban renewal under Louis Napoleon.

Furthermore, there were limits to intervention post-1870 – women did not benefit from the 1892 law as it was not implemented, attempts to introduce income tax by the Bourgeois were defeated by the Senate, there were limits to legislation relating to working hours. The inherent conservatism of the majority and the rejection of interventionism by even radicals on the left meant there was little demand for action. Synoptic understanding for Level 4+ may involve appreciation of the changing levels of intervention covered by comparing levels of state intervention in the two periods.

Reference to the reactive nature of governments due to their lack of longevity, or to the essential conservative nature of French society that meant there was little demand for government intervention, may be seen as examples of judgement, though neither of these lines of argument is necessary for Level 5. It may also involve consideration of ‘extensively’ – did the changes really amount to any more than a gradual imperceptible growth in state activity?

## **Option B: The United States, 1840–1890**

### **Question 5**

To what extent was the outbreak of civil war in America in April 1861 the consequence of long-term economic differences between states, rather than the result of the election of Lincoln as President in November 1860? (20 marks)

Use standard mark scheme for essays at A2 (*without* reference to sources).

Marks as follows:

**L1: 1-6      L2: 7-11      L3: 12-15      L4: 16-18      L5: 19-20**

### **Indicative content**

Long-term economic differences relate to the plantation system in the southern states compared with the industrial base of the North. The northern states required tariffs to protect their fledgling industry from cheap (British) imports, an issue that reached a head in the panic of 1857. The southern states wanted free trade as they benefited from exporting their raw products, mainly cotton, to Britain. ‘King Cotton’ was worth more than all the other exports of the USA put together in the 1840s. These two economic systems required different types of manpower – slavery in the southern states, free movement of labour in the North. The South seceded from the Union to preserve their economic system, fearing Federal tariffs and abolition of slavery. The North went to war after the Federal garrison at Fort Sumter was attacked.

Balance for Level 3+ will also require consideration of the other synoptic factor identified in the question, the election of Lincoln. This was also a factor behind South Carolina’s secession, followed swiftly by the other six states from the Deep South. Lincoln was backed by the Anti-Slavery Society and was considered to be an abolitionist. Furthermore, he won the election without any southern state supporting him. The South no longer felt represented in the Union, and sought to leave.

Synoptic links for Level 4+ and judgement might take the form of arguing that both the long-term economic differences and the threat of Lincoln relate to slavery, the issue that divided North and South.

## Question 6

‘Black Americans’ lives improved in theory, but in practice they were still discriminated against economically and politically.’

How far do you agree with this view of the years 1865 to 1890? (20 marks)

Use standard mark scheme for essays at A2 (*without* reference to sources).

Marks as follows:

**L1: 1-6      L2: 7-11      L3: 12-15      L4: 16-18      L5: 19-20**

### Indicative content

Theoretical improvement includes **politically**, 13<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> Amendments, new constitutions for southern states, election of Negroes to federal and state positions e.g. Revels and Bruce were both Senators from Mississippi; **economically**, right to hold property, to be paid a wage, admission to university and schools with the attached long-term economic benefits.

Balance for Level 3+ will require understanding that the verdict is flawed. Discrimination clearly continued, especially after 1877 – **politically**, negroes elected were the pawns of carpetbaggers and their election only lasted c10 years after 1865, intimidation of negro voters in the South, Ku Klux Klan, 1874 Democratic majority in House of Representatives and the Democrats resurgence which meant reduced federal and state protection, poll tax and the ‘grandfather clause’, exclusion from votes in Democratic primaries, literacy tests in 1880s; **economically**, southern states imposed laws requiring negroes to hire themselves out by the year, with no right to leave employment, or to strike, significance of the poll tax in revealing continued poverty.

Synoptic understanding for Level 4+ may be demonstrated by considering the relative advances economically and politically, or by considering that the advances were more than theoretical, given federal attempts to make good their word, e.g. the Enforcement Acts.

### Question 7

‘Federal governments’ intervention in American citizens’ lives was minimal before 1865, but grew extensively following the civil war.’

Assess the validity of this view of the years 1840 to 1890. (20 marks)

Use standard mark scheme for essays at A2 (*without* reference to sources).

Marks as follows:

**L1: 1-6      L2: 7-11      L3: 12-15      L4: 16-18      L5: 19-20**

### Indicative content

After 1865 federal governments clearly intervened in American citizens’ lives in all spheres. The 13<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> Amendments gave rights to black Americans, citizens in the southern states were disenfranchised, Enforcement Acts, southern state governments restricted Black Americans’ freedoms after 1877; government provided subsidy for stagecoach routes; attempts by federal government to control big business when it acted undemocratically (1877 Interstate Commerce Act & the 1890 Sherman Anti-Trust Act); tariffs to protect agriculture; 350,000 names on the pensions list.

Balance for Level 3+ may be offered by providing evidence of intervention pre-1865, including the Homestead Act and the Emancipation Proclamation. Furthermore, there is evidence of limited intervention post-1865 in white citizens’ lives. Judgement for L4+ may involve assessment of the state rights that the Constitution protected and which Federal government could not ignore, with comments on the limited action by states. It may also involve consideration of ‘extensively’ – did the changes really amount to any more than a gradual imperceptible growth in state activity?

**June 2006**

**Alternative T: Liberal Democracies, c1787–c1939**

**A2 Unit 6: Great Britain and Appeasement in the 1930s**

**Question 1**

(a) Use **Source A** and your own knowledge.

Assess the validity of the view in **Source A** about the reasons why Baldwin's governments (1933–1937) appeased Nazi Germany. (10 marks)

*Target: AO1.1, AO2*

- |     |  |             |
|-----|--|-------------|
| L1: | Summarises the content of the extract and the interpretation it contains.  | <b>1-2</b>  |
| L2: | Demonstrates understanding of the interpretation and relates to own knowledge.   | <b>3-5</b>  |
| L3: | As L2, and evaluation of the interpretation is partial.  | <b>6-8</b>  |
| L4: | Understands and evaluates the interpretation and relates to own knowledge to reach a sustained and well supported judgement on its validity. | <b>9-10</b> |

**Indicative content**

Pearce and Stewart argue that before 1936 the policy of appeasement was followed because of the lethargy of British governments and because of the need to be fair to Germany. After 1936 policy was motivated by fear of German power and concerns over the inadequacy of Britain's defences, which meant *there was no alternative to appeasement*. A Level 1 answer would identify the interpretation.

For Level 2, own knowledge is required and could include reference to: British governments' inertia due to more pressing economic concerns or due to the fact that Nazi foreign policy seemed to offer little threat to British interests; the belief that Versailles had been too harsh given that the principle of National Self-Determination had not been applied to Germans, that Germany was only entering her back-yard of the Rhineland, and the inadequacy of the German military to counter external threats given the failure of international disarmament; fear of the three-fold threat to British security and the inadequacy of British air-defences, the impossibility of separating Italy from Germany after the events of 1936 which meant there was no alternative.

However, evaluation of these arguments should be made for Level 3 and above. The 1935 General Election campaign saw Baldwin promise no great re-armaments, evidence of the importance of public opinion as well as the motives Pearce and Stewart mention. Furthermore, alternatives to appeasement may be considered – an alliance with the Soviet Union, for example. Very strong answers may show full evaluation by pointing out that such

an alliance was impossible due to fears of Communism, the position of Poland and military concerns about the credibility of the Red Army after the purge of 1937.

(b) Use **Source B** and your own knowledge.

How useful is **Source B** as evidence of pacifism in the 1930s? (10 marks)

*Target: AO1.1, AO2*

- L1: Summarises the content of the extract in relation to the issue presented in the question. **1-2**
- L2: Demonstrates some appreciation either of the strengths and/or of the limitations of the content of the source in relation to its utility/reliability within the context of the issue. **3-5**
- L3: Demonstrates reasoned understanding of the strengths and limitations of the source in the context of the issue and draws conclusions about its utility/reliability. **6-8**
- L4: Evaluates the utility/reliability of the source in relation to the issue in the question to reach a sustained and well supported judgement. **9-10**

### **Indicative content**

The Peace Ballot was the major attempt to sample public opinion in the 1930s. Since late 1934 volunteers conducted a house-to-house canvass of the populace to obtain answers to five questions. The ballot was closely associated with the League of Nations Union.

The source is useful because it was the largest sampling of opinion in the 1930s. It was a national poll, making it more useful than a by-election, and it focuses specifically on issues relating to international relations and disarmament, making it more useful than the 1935 General Election which was fought on a host of issues, mainly domestic. Some of the questions are specifically focused on assessing public pacifism, for example, “Are you in favour of an all-round reduction in armaments by international agreement?” and “Are you in favour of an all-round abolition of national military and naval aircraft by international agreement?”

However, the poll is only one snapshot of opinion. The questions were guiding respondents to ‘pacifist’ conclusions, for example it would be difficult not to be in favour of all-round reduction in armaments. The poll is more in favour of international disarmament and collective security than of pacifism, as the answer to the last two questions make clear – many members of the pacifist movement in Britain did not consider economic sanctions to be consistent with pacifism, whilst 6.7 million people would support military sanctions. This was made clear later in the year with the public outcry against the Hoare-Laval Pact, which also supports the public’s antipathy towards pacifism.

It may be argued that the perception was that the poll revealed pacifism in the 1930s when it was published in 1935, and this is more important than any retrospective analysis, or that all polls reflect those who conduct them.

- (c) Use **Sources A, B** and **C** and your own knowledge.

‘Government policy in the 1930s towards Italian and German aggression was rarely motivated by the need to reflect the opinion of the British public.’

Assess the validity of this view. (20 marks)

*Target: AO1.1, AO1.2, AO2*

- L1: Is able to demonstrate, by relevant selection of material, *either* from appropriate sources *or* from own knowledge, implicit understanding of the question. Answers will be predominantly or wholly narrative. **1-6**
- L2: ***Either***  
 Demonstrates, by relevant selection of material, *either* from the sources *or* from own knowledge, some understanding of a range of relevant issues. Most such answers will show understanding of the analytical demands, but will lack weight and balance.
- Or***  
 Demonstrates, by relevant selection of material, *both* from the sources *and* from own knowledge, implicit understanding of a wide range of relevant issues. These answers, while relevant, will lack both range and depth and will contain some assertion. **7-11**
- L3: Is able to demonstrate, by relevant selection of material, *both* from the sources *and* from own knowledge, explicit understanding of the issues relevant to the question. Judgement, as demanded by the question, may be implicit or partial. **12-15**
- L4: Demonstrates, by selection of a wide range of precisely selected material, *both* from the sources *and* from own knowledge, explicit understanding of the demands of the question and provides a consistently analytical response to it. Judgement, as demanded by the question, will be explicit but may be limited in scope. **16-18**
- L5: As L4, but also shows appropriate conceptual awareness which, together with the wide range of precisely selected evidence, offers independent and effectively sustained judgement appropriate to the full demands of the question. **19-20**

### Indicative content

The question rejects the idea that public opinion was a factor influencing the formation of British foreign policy in the 1930s. Clearly there is much evidence to support this view. Good answers will identify the other factors and argue for the importance of **British morality and guilt** following Versailles (Source A), Britain’s need to repair her **economy** following the Wall Street Crash in 1929, Britain’s **military weakness** (2 divisions versus 81 Nazi divisions in 1938) and **diplomatic weakness** (fear of facing both Germany and Italy after the Spanish Civil War and the Rome-Berlin Axis as well as Japan after the Anti-Comintern Pact, plus the lack of reliable allies) which meant Britain had no alternative to appeasement (Source A) and the **personal motives of Neville Chamberlain**, including his need for a personal victory (hence Munich), as well as his personal hatred of war following his loss of his cousin in the First World War and his awareness of the vulnerability of Britain. Source B might also be used to argue that 6.7 million wanted military action to prevent war, yet Britain appeased Mussolini in Abyssinia (Source C) and Hitler at Munich. Sources B and C could be used to argue that public opinion was unclear anyway and there could be reference to the lack

of reliability of evidence that indicates pacifism, for example the East Fulham by-election being fought on domestic issues.

However, an answer with balance for L3+ and wide-range for Level 4+ would need to consider the role of public opinion. Source B can be used to suggest that there was widespread support for appeasement, and that more importantly, that is how the government perceived public opinion. Baldwin promised no new rearmaments to win the 1935 General Election, mindful of the loss of East Fulham to the pacifist candidate in the by-election. Source C does offer evidence of newspaper support for the Hoare-Laval Pact. The Oxford Union debate, the Oxford by-election of 1938 and the response to Munich from the thousands keen to ‘bless Mr Chamberlain’ all suggest British public opinion was pacifist and the policy of appeasement reflected this attitude.

Explicit judgement at Level 4+ may take the form of arguing that British government policy sometimes reflected pacifist concerns, but that it never actively considered them to be of primacy compared to objective military and diplomatic factors. Crowds greeting Chamberlain after Munich reacted to policy, rather than instigating it. Clearly this is not the only way of offering explicit judgement.