



Cambridge International Examinations
Cambridge Pre-U Certificate

HISTORY (PRINCIPAL)

9769/03

Paper 3 US History Outlines, c. 1750–2005

For Examination from 2016

SPECIMEN MARK SCHEME

2 hours 15 minutes

MAXIMUM MARK: 90

The syllabus is approved for use in England, Wales and Northern Ireland as a Cambridge International Level 3 Pre-U Certificate.

This document consists of **36** printed pages.

These banding definitions address Assessment Objectives (AOs) 1, 2 and 4, and should be used in conjunction with the indicative content mark schemes for each question. Information about AOs can be found in the 2016–18 Cambridge Pre-U History syllabus.

Introduction

- (a) The banding definitions which follow reflect, and should be interpreted within the context of, the following general statement:

Examiners will give their highest marks to candidates who show a ready understanding of the relevant material and a disciplined management of the discussion the question provokes. They will be impressed more by critical judgement, careful discrimination and imaginative handling than by a weight of facts. Credit will be given for evidence of a good historical intelligence and for good use of material rather than for a stereotyped rehearsal of memorised information.

- (b) Examiners will use these banding definitions in combination with the paper-specific mark schemes.
- (c) It goes without saying that any explanation or judgement is strengthened if informed by the use of source material.
- (d) Examiners will also bear in mind that analysis sufficient for a mark in the highest band may perfectly legitimately be deployed within a chronological framework. Candidates who eschew an explicitly analytical response may yet be able, by virtue of the very intelligence and pointedness of their selection of elements for a well-sustained and well-grounded account, to provide sufficient implicit analysis to justify a Band 4 mark.
- (e) The Band in which an essay is placed depends on a range of criteria. As a result, not all essays fall obviously into one particular Band. In such cases a 'best-fit' approach will be adopted with any doubt erring on the side of generosity.
- (f) In marking an essay, examiners will first place it in a Band and then fine-tune the mark in terms of how strongly/weakly the demands of the Band have been demonstrated.

Band 5: 25–30 marks

The answer will be sharply analytical in approach and strongly argued. It will show that the demands of the question have been fully understood and that a conscious and sustained attempt has been made to respond to them in appropriate range and depth. It will be coherent and structured with a clear sense of direction. The focus will be sharp and persistent. Some lack of balance, in that certain aspects are covered less fully or certain arguments deployed less strongly than others, need not preclude a mark in this Band. The material will be wide-ranging and handled with the utmost confidence and a high degree of maturity. Historical explanations will be invariably clear, sharp and well developed and historical concepts fully understood. Where appropriate there will be conscious and successful attempts to engage with the historiography, to evaluate source material critically and to demonstrate an awareness of competing interpretations.

Band 4: 19–24 marks

The answer will be characterised by an analytical and argued approach, although there may be the occasional passage which does not go beyond description or narrative. It will show that the demands of the question have been very well understood and that a determined attempt has been made to respond to them in appropriate range and depth. The essay will be coherent and clearly structured and its judgements will be effectively supported by accurate and relevant material. Some lack of rigour in the argument and occasional blurred focus may be allowed. Where appropriate there will be a conscious and largely successful attempt to engage with the historiography, to evaluate source material and to demonstrate an awareness of competing interpretations. The material will be wide-ranging, fully understood, confidently deployed and well controlled with high standards of accuracy. Historical explanations will be clear and well developed and there will be a sound understanding of historical concepts and vocabulary.

Band 3: 13–18 marks

The answer will attempt an analytical approach, although there will be passages which do not go beyond description or narrative. It will show that the demands of the question have been understood, at least in large part, and that a conscious attempt has been made to respond to them. There will be an effective focus on the terms of the question and, although in places this may break down, standards of relevance will be generally high. Although it may not be sustained throughout the answer, or always fully supported, there will be a recognisable sense of argument. The material will be clearly understood, with a good range, and organisation will be sound. There will be a conscious attempt to draw conclusions and form judgements and these will be adequately supported. Some understanding of differing and competing interpretations is to be expected and some evaluation of sources may be attempted but probably not in a very sophisticated form. Historical explanations and the use of historical concepts and vocabulary will be generally sound but some lack of understanding is to be expected.

Band 2: 7–12 marks

The answer may contain some analysis but descriptive or narrative material will predominate. The essay will show that the demands of the question have been understood, at least in good part, and that some attempt has been made to respond to them. It will be generally coherent with a fair sense of organisation. Focus on the exact terms of the question is likely to be uneven and there will be a measure of irrelevance. There will be some inaccuracies in knowledge, and the range may be limited with some gaps. Understanding of the material will be generally sound, although there will be some lack of tautness and precision. Explanations will be generally clear although not always convincing or well developed. Some attempt at argument is to be expected but it will lack sufficient support in places and sense of direction may not always be clear. There may be some awareness of differing interpretations and some attempt at evaluating source material but this is not generally to be expected at this level and such skills, where deployed, will be unsophisticated.

Band 1: 1–6 marks

The answers will respond in some measure to the demands of the question but will be very limited in meeting these. Analysis, if it appears at all, will be brief and undeveloped. If an argument is attempted it will be lacking in real coherence, sense of direction, support and rigour. Focus on the exact terms of the question is likely to be very uneven; the answer is likely to include unsupported generalisations, and there will be some vagueness and irrelevance. Historical knowledge, concepts and vocabulary will be insufficiently understood and there will be inaccuracies. Explanations may be attempted but will be halting and unclear. Where judgements are made they will be largely unsubstantiated and investigation of historical problems will be very elementary. Awareness of differing interpretations and the evaluation of sources are not to be expected. The answer may be fragmentary, slight and even unfinished.

Band 0: 0 marks

No evidence submitted or response does not address the question.

Section 1: c. 1750–c. 1820**1 Assess the impact of the Seven Years War on relations between Britain and the American colonies before 1776.**

AO1 – Candidates should show awareness of Britain’s military commitment, the financial cost of the War, the response of the colonists to the conflict and the terms of the settlement of 1763. These points help explain relations between Britain and the colonies between 1763 and 1776. Reference to British policy, including the taxation measures introduced, the regulation of trade and the application of customs laws, the billeting of soldiers in the colonies and the greater involvement of the Westminster government in the affairs of the colonies could all be considered. The response of the colonists to these measures will need to be considered including overtly violent actions, peaceful protest and philosophical debate. The more positive impact of the War should also be considered, notably the opportunities presented by the acquisition of new lands and the removal of French influence in certain areas.

AO2 – Awareness of how the War’s impact varied within the 13 colonies would be helpful: regional differences between North and South and the coast and the inland areas could be assessed. Candidates could also compare the years before the War, i.e. before 1754, and the period of ‘salutary neglect’ with the years 1763–6. The connection between economic and political developments might also be emphasised.

2 ‘The outcome of the American War of Independence was determined largely by the leadership of George Washington.’ Discuss.

AO1 – The leadership of Washington should be explored thoroughly. Positive aspects of his leadership are many: his reputation for bravery in the Seven Years War, his steadiness at times of crisis, his qualities of integrity, selflessness and honesty, his skill in the organisation of the army, the wise deployment of his troops and the diplomatic finesse with which he co-ordinated with the French. However, he experienced military defeat, for example, at Brandywine; key battles like Saratoga had nothing to do with him; even the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown could be attributed more to the French than Washington.

AO2 – The suggestion that the war was ‘determined’ by Washington’s leadership should be addressed. Candidates should also consider other factors. The terrain, the difficulties of long lines of communication for the British, the significance of foreign intervention, the incompetence of British commanders, the contribution of other colonial commanders, the direction of Congress, the role of civilians were arguably relevant to the outcome. Connections between these points and Washington’s leadership could be identified. It could also be argued that his leadership was particularly important in the early phase of the War when he kept the army together at Valley Forge rather than later.

3 To what extent did the Constitution of the United States, as it emerged by 1791, satisfy the aims of its authors?

AO1 – The authors were representatives of all 13 States but some individuals were more important than others, for example, Washington, Franklin, Hamilton and Madison. The States involved wanted a system that embraced all and provided a central government that was strong enough to preserve the Union. By establishing the two chambers of Representatives and Senate and giving Congress the powers to collect taxes and control the money supply did the Constitution achieve this? They wanted a system strong enough to defend the Union. By establishing a presidency with powers to make treaties and command the armed forces did the Constitution achieve this? They wanted to guard against the centralisation, even tyranny, of government. By limiting the terms of office holders, establishing the Supreme Court and introducing checks and balances between the different branches of government did they achieve this? They wanted freedom for each State to manage its own affairs. By allowing each State to retain its own government to deal with matters that concerned itself alone did the Constitution achieve this? They wanted to ensure that all States were regarded as the equal of each other despite their size or importance. By providing each State with two Senators did the Constitution achieve this? They wanted to preserve the interests of the richer landowners and merchants. By deferring the decision as to who should vote to individual States did the Constitution achieve this? Other aims and aspects of the Constitution might be emphasised.

AO2 – Analysis will be dependent on clear identification of the aims of those involved in drafting the Constitution and assessing the actual Constitution against them. Differences between the authors might be emphasised in order to argue that not all were satisfied with the Constitution. After all, four States were reluctant to ratify the Constitution even if they all did eventually. The Bill of Rights had to be added as the first 10 amendments to the Constitution to secure the support of sufficient States. The interests of the States and the central government may have been recognised in the Constitution but the emphasis on each varied between the authors, as proved in later years of crisis. There is scope to argue about individual aspects of the Constitution as well as the whole.

4 ‘Of all the factors that explain the expansion of slavery, c. 1750–c. 1820, the invention of the cotton gin in 1793 was the most important.’ Do you agree with this view?

AO1 – Eli Whitney’s invention transformed the cotton industry and helps explain its expansion and hence the expansion of slavery too. Before the invention of the cotton gin in 1793, slavery was confined to the south-east corner of the country and it was thought by some that it would die out as planters turned to alternative systems. Instead, the gin encouraged major expansion inland. Now, more labour was required to work new areas. Production figures reveal its impact.

AO2 – To assess whether the gin was the ‘most important factor’ candidates should look at other reasons for the expansion of slavery. Increased demand from Britain was a key stimulus. The Louisiana Purchase of 1803 provided the opportunity for planters to expand westwards. The abolition of the slave trade in 1808 increased the value of slaves. Slavery was increasingly seen as a distinctive mark of the Southern states and its society: the ‘peculiar institution’ was something to defend. The abolitionist movement lacked cohesion and influence and it was only in 1820 with the Missouri Compromise that the question of restraining slavery became a serious political issue.

5 Do the successes of Thomas Jefferson's presidency, 1801–9, outweigh the failures?

AO1 – Essentially, Jefferson's first term was a success but he was less effective in his second term. The most important achievement of his presidency was the Louisiana Purchase and candidates could assess how he went about this and consider its significance. The economy was prosperous, based on sound financial policies, and United States shipping expanded. However, there were problems, notably the rivalry between the Vice-President, Burr, and Hamilton, which climaxed in tragedy for both men. The second term was fraught with difficulties. US ships were increasingly subject to British interception as part of the economic warfare between Britain and France. The attack of the *Leopard* on the American ship, the *Chesapeake*, in 1807 put Jefferson under real pressure and he responded with the Embargo Act which was largely counter-productive and arguably started the drift to war with Britain in 1812.

AO2 – The examination of Jefferson's presidency might be organised in one of two ways: candidates could consider the successes and failures of the whole period in turn or look at the foreign and domestic record across the eight years. In doing so particular strands or themes of the presidency could be identified and a judgement made. A convincing case could be made either way in that the failures could be considered to have outweighed the successes as much as the reverse.

Section 2: c. 1820–1865

6 Assess the importance of slavery to the social and economic life of the South.

AO1 – Candidates should consider the economic importance of slavery, with emphasis on the cotton plantation system and the role of slave labour. They could also examine the debate on the economic impact of slavery. Many historians have argued that the ‘peculiar institution’ was an efficient economic system. However, others have claimed that it hindered the economic development of the South. The social importance of slavery could be examined in a similar way. It provided a clear hierarchical structure which arguably benefited both white and black Americans but it could be criticised as a form of social apartheid with one group exploiting another. Either way, slavery was important to the South. Culturally as well, the ‘peculiar institution’ was important to the South. It provided an identity characterised by contemporaries as ‘civilised’ by comparison with the industrial North; such a view served to justify white supremacy. Slavery was important politically as the mark of the distinctiveness of Southern states and the rights of individual states. The notion of States Rights was a politically sensitive issue throughout the years before the Civil War and candidates should draw on various crisis points to illustrate this.

AO2 – To fully assess the importance of the ‘peculiar institution’ to the South candidates should consider a range of reasons. Candidates should evaluate each reason to judge the intrinsic importance of each.

7 ‘The United States lost more than it gained from its conflicts with Mexico in this period.’ Discuss.

AO1 – Relations between Mexico and the US were essentially confrontational, with two major periods of crisis. The first of these was in the 1830s. Two years after becoming an independent state, Mexico allowed a small number of immigrants to settle in Texas. However, in 1834 these Texans many of whom had previously resided in the United States, declared themselves independent of Mexico and war followed in 1836–7. Defeat for Santa Anna led to the independence of Texas and its subsequent admission to the Union in 1844. On the face of it, this was a gain for the USA, given the size and potential of Texas. However, its inclusion in the Union created problems, not least in changing the balance between Northern and Southern States within the Union. The debate over the tariff in 1845 is an example of how Texas made national politics in Washington more acrimonious. The war against Mexico in 1846 was major even if brief. Again, the US made substantial gains. By the treaty of 1848, California and New Mexico (which included Arizona) were acquired and the appendix to this treaty with Mexico – the Gadsden Purchase – ensured more land was acquired south of the Gila River in 1853. As gold was discovered in California in 1848, its inclusion in the Union was timely. The land gained brought the USA from the Atlantic to the Pacific and effectively checked British ambitions in the western areas. On the other hand, the defeat of Mexico showed the consequence of the Monroe Doctrine of 1823 and made relations between the USA and other Central and South American countries difficult thereafter. The annexation of new lands also revived the debate about slavery and the Wilmot Proviso of 1846 (banning slavery in lands taken from Mexico) triggered the struggle between North and South that was to culminate in the Civil War of 1861.

AO2 – Candidates should focus on the effects of events. Candidates may decide for or against the view proposed but an examination of the gains and losses is needed. Some may conclude that the short-term gains were outweighed by the long-term losses or the other way round.

8 How democratic was the second party system?

AO1 – The ‘second party system’ refers to the period from the mid-1830s to the mid-1850s and the prominence of the Democrats and the Whigs. In support of the view that politics was democratic in this period, it could be argued that the parties did represent contrasting positions: Democrats preferred government to play a limited role in the affairs of the country and the Whigs favoured government intervention. Political campaigning was vigorous and involved large numbers of people: politics became the most popular activity for many. Elections at state and local level were more frequent and opportunities for involvement were considerable. President Jackson, with whom the notion of more democratic government is associated, supported the involvement of people in government and that politics should be open. However, women and most black people could not vote, the composition of both houses of Congress was rarely the same and so federal government struggled to do very much. Democrats held the majority in both houses in five of the seven Congresses. Furthermore, the spoils system, whereby patronage was used as a deliberate way of preserving and promoting party unity, could be said to have undermined the democratic nature of politics. The tension between individual states and their rights to decide on matters of local concern and the federal government was also a limiting factor.

AO2 – Candidates might adopt the approach outlined above or consider aspects of the politics of the time in turn, assessing how democratic they were: campaigning, the vote, States’ rights and patronage. Some comparison with other systems abroad or even with the years before the 1830s in the USA would be appropriate.

9 How far do you agree that there was little chance of the Compromise of 1850 being a lasting solution to sectional disputes in the United States?

AO1 – The terms of the Compromise resolved all immediate issues. Politicians accepted the ‘finality’ of the Compromise; for example, both parties in 1852 campaigned on this theme. The risk of secession had been reduced. However, the Compromise was the result of political skill on the part of Senators like Clay and was not a reflection of any sincere appreciation of the positions of either section. Neither did the Compromise provide any guiding principles for the future. With California’s entry into the Union as a free state, the North had an advantage over the South and the practical implementation of the new Fugitive Slave Law was unknown. Events after 1850 were to test the Compromise and reveal the strength of underlying tensions. The Kansas-Nebraska crisis, the Dred Scott Case, Harper’s Ferry, the election of 1860 and the secession of some states in 1860–61 illustrate this.

AO2 – Some historians regard the Compromise as simply ‘an armistice’, implying a pause in the conflict between North and South. The validity of this notion could be explored by consideration of the years before 1850 as well as those afterwards. Reference could be made to the crisis of 1820 and the Missouri Compromise, the Nullification Crisis of 1832–33 and the arguments about the entry of Texas into the Union in 1846. The thrust of the interpretation is that conflict after 1850 was merely a continuation of earlier tensions that the Compromise of 1850 did little to resolve. The implied inevitability of conflict could be discussed. The crises of the 1850s proved divisive but the dangers of each could be assessed.

10 Discuss the view that superiority of resources best explains the North's victory in the Civil War.

AO1 – In terms of men, money and materials the North was better placed than the South from the beginning. Details about the population imbalance and the wealth of the North in terms of industry and trade should be examined. However, the strength of the South in these areas should be recognised. Southerner farmers made better soldiers than factory workers, many had military experience in Mexico and the system of slavery meant a greater proportion of men from the South were able to fight without affecting the economy. In addition, the quality of military commanders should be assessed. Arguably, both sides were served by able commanders. But did the North have more of them and were they better strategists? Candidates could refer to military events to explore this. Similarly, the political leadership of the Union could be compared with that of the Confederacy, taking into account their differing priorities. Was the fact that the South was forced to fight in the South a disadvantage or did the defensive nature of the conflict from the Southern perspective instil a stronger sense of right and determination? Transport and communications are factors that candidates may consider. The North dominated the inland waterways and railways and controlled the seas; the ways this affected the War could be assessed.

AO2 – If the apparent superiority of the North over the South at the start of hostilities was not as pronounced as it seems, the disparity became more obvious as time passed. The effects of the blockade of the South weakened the economy and losses of men in battle were more keenly felt in the South. The longer the war progressed, the more important the superiority of the resources of the North became. The importance of other factors should be weighed against that of resources with awareness of how they interrelated, for example, railways were important to move men, and the relationships between politicians and military commanders were important. Candidates should arrive at a clear judgement about the impact of resources on the outcome of the War.

Section 3: Themes c. 1750–c. 1900**11 ‘The Louisiana Purchase was the key factor in the expansion westward in the period c. 1750–c. 1900.’ Discuss.**

AO1 – The Louisiana Purchase was important in several ways. It was a huge area of land offering enormous scope for settlement. It extended the territory of the USA beyond the Mississippi and effectively provided a stepping stone to other land beyond the Rockies. The Lewis and Clark expedition of 1804–1806 could be assessed. It helped check any ambitions the British may have had in the western part of the land mass. The significance of these consequences should be considered. The conflict between the USA and Mexico in the 1840s, the acquisition of Texas and the subsequent colonisation of California and the land all the way to the Pacific might be regarded as key developments, not least because the land was acquired just as the gold rush began and settlers flocked west. It could be argued that the discovery of gold was itself a key factor in the expansion westward, in so far as people would have moved west even if the land had been occupied by the Mexicans and the same pressures would have followed as had been the case in Texas earlier. Some candidates might look at the years preceding the Louisiana Purchase as significant, perhaps highlighting the Seven Years War and the capture of land from the French between the Appalachians and the Mississippi, which might be tied to the following War of Independence. This in turn resulted in the removal of the Proclamation Line which had inhibited movement beyond the Appalachians. Candidates should not be penalised for omitting material on the period before 1800. The completion of the first transcontinental railway in 1869 could be considered a key factor: its construction brought settlers west and provided the means for many more to do so, and it encouraged other companies to do the same with similar results.

AO2 – Candidates should examine the effects of particular developments to test their validity as key factors. The interconnection of certain developments should be explored, not least to indicate the momentum generated by successive advances west. A judgement is required to decide whether the Louisiana Purchase was the most important factor.

12 To what extent was the way of life of the Native Americans deliberately destroyed in this period?

AO1 – ‘To what extent’ allows candidates to challenge the more orthodox view that the destruction of Native American society was deliberate genocide. Was the contrast in culture of settlers and Native Americans simply accidental, allowing no room for accommodation, or was the separation of the two a product of the deliberate refusal of one side or the other to find a means of co-existence? The near extermination of the buffalo was a major factor in the demise of Native American society but was this merely a result of greed and exploitation of the buffalo for profit or a deliberate ploy to deprive the Native Americans of an essential resource? Government policy will need to be assessed. Individual presidents such as Jackson have been accused of deliberately aiming to destroy Native Americans, for example, with the Indian Removal Act of 1830, but President Hayes was more sympathetic in the defence of Indian rights, as was the Supreme Court at times, and federal government policy in providing reservations for the Native Americans could be used to argue that the reverse was the case. Technological change such as the railway and the weaponry of white people could be assessed as accidental factors that allowed the latter to assert themselves rather than as developments that were deliberately deployed to destroy Native American society. Furthermore, the very open and haphazard way in which settlement in the west developed and its unplanned effects might be considered confirmation of the accidental destruction of Native American society. Internal divisions within Native American society might be considered a source of weakness, helping to undermine it or at least making it more susceptible to external forces.

AO2 – Different factors need to be identified and explored with an appreciation of the case that can be made for and against the proposition. Particular factors may be identified as more significant than others but ultimately a judgement about the interpretation should be made.

13 To what extent did the benefits of immigration outweigh its disadvantages in the years c. 1840–c. 1920?

AO1 – Some indication of the scale of immigration and the origin of immigrants has relevance if integrated into the analysis. The economic impact of immigration is important. Immigrants provided a plentiful and cheap supply of, largely, unskilled labour which was crucial to the expansion of companies and the national economy. The rate of economic development was, to an extent, tied to the rate of growth in immigration. The increase in the population of the USA helped expand the national market and demand for consumer goods. On the other hand, the influx of labour depressed wages and adversely affected the job opportunities of local Americans. Trade unions were weakened by the exploitation of migrants who were ignorant of their rights and whose main concern was to have a job on any terms. The influx of immigrants helped create the towns and cities of the USA: by 1910 33% of the 12 largest cities were composed of immigrants and a similar proportion of the children of immigrants. The impact of such a concentration of immigrants could be discussed: the development of ethnic neighbourhoods produced security and tolerance but also division and social tension. Often this fuelled racial hatred which erupted into violence (the Know Nothings of the 1850s, the KKK, random attacks on immigrants) and nationalist moves to limit the rate of immigration and even reverse the flow. However, it could be argued that tension was episodic and sporadic rather than a real reflection of society. In fact, candidates might consider that the extent of social integration was remarkable, given the rate of immigration, and conclude that the majority of immigrants made a success of the opportunities open to them. Politically, it could be argued that the inclination of urban immigrants to vote Democrat helped rebalance politics and provide a challenge to the Republican domination of politics. However, the tendency of migrants to vote as an ethnic group provided opportunities for corrupt practices and compromised the very principles of individuality on which US democracy was founded. Also, immigrants were often the scapegoats at times of political controversy.

AO2 – The positive and negative impact of immigration should be assessed in relation to the factors identified as important. Some weighing of the significance of factors will be necessary before arriving at a judgement.

14 How far was the period 1865–1914 one of ‘unbridled capitalism’?

AO1 – Belief in ‘rugged individualism’ was deeply entrenched and, in some areas and amongst some groups, allied to the Protestant ethic of hard work and diligence. Similarly, the success of leading entrepreneurs like Carnegie, Rockefeller and Vanderbilt was revered in the USA as proof of the ‘rags to riches’ ideal. The victory of the North in 1865 symbolised the power of industry, and the dominance of Yankee entrepreneurs after the Civil War was significant in reinforcing acceptance of the principle of ‘unbridled capitalism’. The latter was accorded ‘scientific’ credibility by the prevailing theory of ‘social Darwinism’. Governments at federal and state level seemed to support ‘unbridled capitalism’ by inclining towards the entrepreneurs in disputes with the workers and towards a lack of regulation of big business. The philanthropy of rich capitalists was considerable and beneficial to many less advantaged and helps explain their acceptance of ‘unbridled capitalism’: there was something in it for the less fortunate too. Did the high level of immigration into the USA indicate the attractiveness of this principle? On the other hand, ‘unbridled capitalism’ had its critics. The excessive wealth and power of many capitalists – known as ‘robber barons’ – which fostered monopolistic tendencies in the economy was resented by many as overtly at odds with the widely held views on equality of opportunity. Trade unionists opposed the inequality in the distribution of wealth and the ability of big business to control prices and wages. Many feared the power of big business corrupted public life as politicians were susceptible directly or indirectly to pressure from the former. The actions of some states and the federal government to limit the operations of big business indicate some public opposition to ‘unbridled capitalism’.

AO2 – Most candidates might judge that acceptance of ‘unbridled capitalism’ was widespread but that there were limits to its acceptance as well as some overt hostility to the values enshrined in it. Candidates could discuss the complexity of attitudes by highlighting how attitudes within and between different social and economic groups varied. Some of the leading capitalists of the period were acutely aware of their social responsibilities and many workers accepted ‘unbridled capitalism’ as consistent with the more fundamental principles of ‘freedom’.

15 How much did the temperance movement owe to the contribution of women?

AO1 – Women played a significant role in the temperance movement. Their involvement with the churches and religious groups opposed to alcohol was widespread. Some of these were very influential, for example, the Women's Christian Temperance Union which from the 1880s had access to the top corridors of power. Women were active in organising protest marches in Washington and other cities and organising petitions against the sale and use of alcohol. The Anti-Saloon League enjoyed the support of women. There is room to consider the motives of women who backed Temperance. However, these organisations were not the preserve of women and the contribution of men in the activities of these groups and organisations was equally important. The conservative nature of society, especially in some States, helps account for the strength of the Temperance movement: by 1914, 18 States had banned alcohol. Women were an important influence in these States but the legislators were men and the support for reform had a wider constituency. The impact of the First World War should be emphasised. The argument that most beer was brewed by Germans and that, in the circumstances, it was unpatriotic to drink beer, was a powerful viewpoint that helped bring about the 18th Amendment and the Volstead Act.

AO2 – It would be relevant to comment on the commitment of women prominent in the movement and the persistence of their campaigning. Candidates could conclude that women acted as a chorus and produced a continuous noise but that the religious, moral and patriotic reasons for prohibition were not the preserve of women and that the timing of prohibition in individual States before 1914 and the national ban thereafter was due as much to circumstance as to the influence of women. Some candidates may question the strength of the Temperance movement anyway, given that it was observed more in the breach. There is scope here to consider the implementation of prohibition in the 1920s.

16 How beneficial were the railways to the economic and social development of the United States in the years c. 1865–c. 1900?

AO1 – Candidates could emphasise the extent of railway development. In 1860 there were 30,000 miles of track and by 1910 there were 192,000 miles. In 1865 the railways were largely confined to the lands east of the Mississippi but by 1914 an extensive national network had been established. These developments were beneficial in economic and social terms of production of key materials, engineering, employment and the mobility of labour. In addition, they created an economy which spanned the continents and expanded the market for goods. They connected towns and settlements which had previously been isolated and helped create certain places like Omaha and Seattle which owed their existence to their geographical importance as intersections for railways. They made it possible for agricultural products to reach the urban markets. However, the concentration of wealth and power in the hands of a small number of railway tycoons such as Vanderbilt posed dangers. The rates charged for freight were often a handicap for farmers and traders alike. Railway companies owned a vast amount of land – most of it granted by federal government to encourage initial investment – which gave them excessive power in the market of land. Candidates could argue that they took a disproportionate amount of federal money in various, often corrupt, ways such as the Crédit Mobilier scheme, so depriving other sectors of investment opportunities. Despite the romanticism attached to the navvies who built the railways, the labour force was exploited.

AO2 – The interconnection of factors and the difficulty of defining the exact contribution of the railways reflect the very complexity of the railway network itself. Candidates could place emphasis on different aspects of the story and probably reach different conclusions. Nonetheless, their priority should be to assess the evidence and in doing so show appreciation of the positive and negative impact of the railways. Some candidates may choose to compare the railways to the forms of transport they replaced as a way of determining their importance.

Section 4: 1865–1914**17 'Reconstruction policy failed to alter the prospects of black Americans.' Discuss.**

AO1 – The emancipation of black Americans in 1863 was significant both in raising their expectations and in arousing the fear of white southerners. The Black Codes of 1865 epitomised the prejudice of white southerners as they continued to discriminate against black Americans. The Freedman's Bureau, established in 1865, did much useful work until 1872, by providing food for black Americans, finding them work, establishing schools and so on. Yet many of its officers were corrupt and, hijacked by the Republicans, it made white people even less sympathetic to black Americans.

All newly elected governments in the south except Mississippi ratified the 13th Amendment abolishing slavery. The 14th Amendment of 1866, allowing equality of civil rights, undermined the Black Codes and protected black Americans against discrimination but it led to savage riots. The First Reconstruction Act effectively established military rule in the South and enforced acceptance of the 14th Amendment by all southern states by 1870. The 15th Amendment, ending racial discrimination in voting, was another advance for black Americans. The latter exercised their rights with limited effect: only in South Carolina did black Americans have a majority in the state legislature and only a few held posts of importance. The more altruistic carpetbaggers made a positive contribution to the situation of the black Americans in schools, for example, but when many returned disillusioned this advantage was lost. White people mobilised against these perceived threats and by 1877 controlled all state governments. Worse, the Ku Klux Klan emerged and the Democrats recovered their power in the south. With the compromise of 1877, federal troops were withdrawn from the South and the Democrats resumed control there.

AO2 – Candidates may differentiate between short term gains and longer term disappointments, between the theory of reform and protection for black Americans and the practice. Prominent issues and policies must be analysed. Many candidates will be able to set the history of federal policy in the broader political context of the rivalry between President Johnson (till 1868) and Congress and the ideological tension between North and South.

18 'Trades unions had little success in protecting their members between 1865 and 1914.'
Discuss.

AO1 – This was a period of rapid economic growth and as a result there was considerable scope for trade unionism. These were years of almost constant conflict between employers and their work forces. Two main unions dominated the movement after 1865: the Noble Order of the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor. Trade unions were generally weakened in this period by several factors. The size of the USA made the co-ordination of workers difficult. The large number of immigrants provided a cheap supply of labour so bargaining for higher pay was hard. The notion of collective action was contrary to the widely held beliefs of Americans in self-help and individualism. They were also suspicious of unions as socialist and by association undemocratic. As a result, unions struggled to recruit members or sufficient public support.

AO2 – Candidates may assess the success of trade unions by a range of criteria: membership, public support, conditions of workers, relationship with government, legal status. In considering these criteria, success may be judged in relative or absolute terms. Candidates must indicate that there is an argument. The Noble Order of the Knights of Labor enjoyed some success. Their leader from 1879, Terence Powderly, was an effective orator and propagandist who did much to arouse interest in and support for trade unionism and tried to attract workmen of all kinds. The Knights won a famous victory against the railroad giant Jay Gould in 1884. However, they suffered a severe setback in 1886 when bombs were set off during a strike in Chicago and they never recovered the loss of public support. In that year the American Federation of Labor was formed, dedicated to the twin aims of shorter hours and higher wages. Although membership was limited to skilled workers, there were over 500,000 members by 1900. Two other unions fared badly in the 1890s. Strikes by the Iron and Steel Workers' Union in 1892 and the American Railway Union in 1894 were defeated by employers who were prepared to ask for troops to break the workers and which the federal government was prepared to deploy. However, government was not entirely opposed to trade unionism. In 1902–1903 Roosevelt intervened in a mining dispute in Pennsylvania and, on this occasion, Roosevelt threatened to use federal troops to run the mines unless the employers settled. Also, the Clayton Anti-Trust Act of 1914 confirmed the right to strike, picket and boycott as well as limiting the use of injunctions by employers.

19 Why was the Populist movement short-lived?

AO1 – Candidates could consider three factors to explain why the Populist movement was short-lived: its constituency; the economic context; and the political circumstances. Populists were mainly farmers and, although they were numerous, their constituency was limited. They also lacked unity until 1892 when groups such as the Greenbackers and the Farmers' Alliances joined forces, if loosely. The movement's aims were too varied, with demands for inflationary fiscal initiatives, co-operative ventures and reform of transport arrangements, which diluted their appeal, and efforts made from 1892 to win over industrial workers were unsuccessful. The Populists were a movement born of straitened times and when times became easier their support fell away. Problems of nature, such as serious droughts from the mid-1880s to the mid-1890s and plagues of grasshoppers, caused much distress. The fall of prices due to over-production at home and foreign competition reduced incomes. This was a period, in general terms, of depression.

Yet by the end of the century these pressures had eased. Farmers gained from the high tariff introduced in 1897, while the influx of gold with inflationary tendencies and problems for foreign farmers allowed US farmers opportunities abroad. There was, therefore, little reason to campaign for redress of concerns that had, to some extent, been addressed. The Populist movement was short-lived for political reasons too. The impact of the Populists on the political stage should be recognised: several State governors and legislatures favoured them; they competed in Presidential elections with Weaver polling one million votes in 1892; and Bryan came very close to beating McKinley in 1896. However, they failed to make an impact on southern white farmers, for whom race remained their first concern, or on the industrial workers. Both Democrats and Republicans adopted parts of the Populist platform and adapted themselves to the challenge it posed so that it gradually lost its discrete credentials and effectively merged with the traditional parties.

AO2 – Candidates could analyse different factors and decide which to prioritise. Some may question whether in fact the movement was short-lived. They might consider whether it began in 1867 with the Granger Movement or in 1892 when Populists merged to form the People's Party. They might also consider whether the movement ended at the turn of the century or whether it continued for a time after that.

20 How typical of the foreign policy of the United States in the period c. 1880–1914 was its intervention in Cuba from 1898?

AO1/AO2 – Candidates could argue that intervention was typical of US foreign policy in general. The revolt of 1895 and the sinking of the *USS Maine* in 1898 were events unique to Cuba, and the island's proximity to the USA made it strategically of specific significance. However, the overriding importance of ideological, economic and strategic interests and designs which explain US intervention there were typical of US foreign policy elsewhere. Ideologically, intervention in Cuba was in line with the Monroe Doctrine, as was intervention in Panama in 1901–1903 and in Venezuela in 1902. Theodore Roosevelt's 'Corollary', which extended the Monroe Doctrine by claiming the right to interfere in the internal affairs of countries in Latin America, was applied in the Dominican Republic in 1905 and Nicaragua in 1912. Similarly, imperial theory justified intervention in Cuba on the grounds of bringing civilisation to the areas concerned. This was argued when intervening in the Philippines in 1898–1901 or in China in the early twentieth century. 'Manifest destiny' was also invoked to explain intervention in Cuba as the Caribbean was seen as a natural extension of the American orbit. Similarly, intervention in Mexico in 1913 was justified on the same grounds.

In all cases it could be argued that these motives were merely cloaks to disguise other more practical reasons for intervention. Cuba was important economically (sugar, tobacco) and a key cog in control of the Caribbean. Trade and military factors were clearly important in the case of Panama. The Philippines, where the 'open door' policy was applied, were important as a base for control of trade in the Far East and China. Candidates could discuss concerns in the USA to exploit opportunities for expansion and thus gain parity with other major powers before it could be outmanoeuvred by them. Overall, US intervention in Cuba can be seen as in line with US ambitions to establish a global empire, even if this would be informal in its structure.

Answers that focus entirely on US intervention in Cuba will not be addressing the question properly. Some candidates may treat individual actions and events as separate episodes, which might work, but there is the risk of repetition of analysis. Those who identify broader motives and examine each in turn with reference to certain examples as illustration should provide a more satisfactory analysis. Judgements will probably agree with the interpretation.

21 How 'progressive' was the presidency of Theodore Roosevelt?

AO1 – Progressivism is associated with those who wanted to clean up politics and business and to solve social and environmental problems. Although Roosevelt dubbed them the 'muckrakers' he is often considered to be the most progressive President of the early-twentieth century. His policies marked a considerable shift from those of his predecessors. Roosevelt's example helped inspire others to take their civic responsibilities seriously. In his State of the Union address in 1901, he supported reform of the civil service to reward merit, conservation of resources and greater regulation of business. These aspirations were encapsulated in his 'square deal' philosophy. His intervention in the miners' dispute of 1902–1903 was instrumental in resolving it. In the area of conservation, his Newlands Act of 1902 promoted irrigation schemes and the preservation of national parks. The commission of 1908 set aside 148 million acres as timber reserves. He supported various Acts to regulate the food, drugs and meat industries. He did much to improve the investigation of the activities of trusts with the Elkins Act and the Hepburn Acts, and the Sherman legislation was often invoked. However, Roosevelt's progressivism was limited. The courts were inclined to favour big business although the Supreme Court was more sympathetic to the findings of the Commission. His policies alienated many conservative Republicans who had close links to big business. Campaigners complained he did not do enough. To some extent he was constrained by the charge of 'socialism' levied at him by his enemies to which he was sensitive as a moderate reformer. Candidates could argue that the real advances in this period were achieved at a local level, rather than through the work of the federal government. The fact that urban deprivation and the rapaciousness of business were still very evident indicates the limits to the success of Roosevelt as a progressive.

AO2 – Candidates could argue that the term 'progressive' is useful in describing the presidency of Roosevelt but they should also assess the limitations to the application of this term. It would be appropriate to compare Roosevelt with Taft and Wilson (usually regarded as progressive Presidents) who succeeded him. In doing so, a more refined judgement about the argument for assessing Roosevelt as 'progressive' may be constructed.

Section 5: 1914–1953**22 ‘A great peacemaker.’ How appropriate is this view of Woodrow Wilson?**

AO1 – Answers are likely to focus on Wilson’s role in negotiating the Treaty of Versailles with emphasis on his Fourteen Points. Candidates should consider the timing of the presentation of the Fourteen Points and the opportunities they presented to the Germans to sue for peace, as well as the framework they provided for the peace talks. Candidates could also explore the expectation placed on Wilson in 1919 (regarded by many as a saviour) as the major player and mediator in the peace process. His religious convictions are also relevant. He kept the USA out of the First World War until 1917, perhaps an indication of his commitment to peace. The award of the Nobel Peace Prize could be assessed as a mark of the views of contemporaries. However, perhaps Wilson did not deserve the peace prize. The extent to which the Fourteen Points were compromised should be examined with reference to the actual terms agreed. The fact that the USA failed to ratify the Treaty or support the League of Nations, arguably his main objective, deserves special analysis. It could be argued that the failings of the Treaty were so great that, far from making peace, it contributed to the outbreak of the Second World War. The reluctance of Wilson to relent on the Allies’ repayment of loans to the USA made reparations, which were to be so damaging in the future, a key issue. Was US intervention in Russia in 1920 to check communism evidence of Wilson as a warmonger rather than peacemaker? On the other hand, Wilson regarded the defeat of communism as essential to protect the peace.

AO2 – Answers weighted to the examination of the Treaty of Versailles would be reasonable. However, candidates should analyse the terms of the Treaty carefully with some sense of their importance in creating peace in the short term and long term. Wilson’s shortcomings may be excused as the necessary compromises of a diplomat dealing with others of contrasting views rather than an indication of a man without principles; and candidate might argue that he should be judged as much for his intentions in Paris as the actual outcome of Versailles. The fact that his efforts to gain support for the treaty in the USA led to the collapse of his health may be considered a sign of the sincerity of his commitment to peace.

23 'The causes of the Great Depression can be traced to the economic prosperity of the 1920s.'
Discuss.

AO1 – Candidates should do more than simply outline the characteristics of the economic prosperity of the 1920s. The decade saw higher levels of employment, wages and consumer spending. Candidates could comment on the rate of expansion of the car and consumer industries as well as the building sector and the dependency of so many workers on jobs in these fields. However, over-production ran ahead of supply and proved unsustainable. Prosperity stoked speculation and a dramatic rise in the stock market, the collapse of which in 1929 sparked the Great Depression. Candidates might explain how individuals – with access to easy credit and hire purchase facilities – and institutions were over-exposed, which undermined confidence in the economy. On the other hand, stock markets are, by their nature, unpredictable, and downturns at other times, before and since 1929, have not led to economic depression. The prosperity of the 1920s should be set against the poverty of so many in the decade – farmers, black Americans – which acted as a brake on growth. In addition, the roots of the depression could be traced to the weakness of the banking system. The laxity of controls over the reserves of banks and the close connection of private banks to specific economic sectors made them vulnerable at times of crisis. This could be widened into a debate on government policy in general. Was the 'laissez-faire' philosophy of the 1920s appropriate or should companies have been regulated more closely and more help been given to farmers and other groups? Connected to this is the issue of foreign trade. The constraints on overseas trade brought about, in large part, by the effects of the First World War, might be considered a root cause of the Depression. However, was this partly due to the protectionism of the US governments of the 1920s?

AO2 – Candidates should assess the prosperity of the 1920s as one factor among many. Some candidates are likely to focus on the boom and to note that it helped cause the Depression. In analysing different causes, the links between factors should be identified to demonstrate how complex the economic problems of the time were. Candidates are likely to diverge in their assessment of whether prosperity was the main economic problem of the 1920s or merely of secondary importance.

24 How accurate is the claim that the New Deal 'saved the system of private profit and free enterprise from ruin'?

AO1 – Candidates could consider the following: the extent of the economic crisis facing the USA when Roosevelt assumed the presidency; the actions of Roosevelt to restore the banking and financial sectors and to provide jobs (public works of the 'Alphabet Agencies'); the scale and effect of government policy but also its limitations. Candidates with a broader view of how the system of free enterprise was saved will be aware of the importance of the attempts made to protect workers (social security, trade union rights, mortgages) as ways of gaining the trust of the workforce. Similarly, efforts to improve the image of capitalism with regulation of advertising and quality could be assessed. Candidates could highlight the industrial disputes of the 1930s and the hostility of conservatives who saw Roosevelt's policies as socialist. It could also be argued that Roosevelt's style and approach helped save private profit. His high-profile optimism helped convince Americans that problems would be resolved and election results could be deployed as evidence of the confidence of the electorate in him. Nonetheless, when the economy faltered in 1937–8, Roosevelt was damaged politically by what contemporaries dubbed 'Roosevelt's Recession'. Would the economy have stalled further and the system of free enterprise collapsed if the Second World War had not provided the stimulus needed and the opportunity to match the US system against that of dictatorship and state control?

AO2 – Candidates should identify common features of the Alphabet Agencies and discriminate between them in terms of their impact and value. Candidates should be aware of the moral rehabilitation of capitalism under Roosevelt even if they recognise that he should not be given all the credit for this. Some candidates may conclude that the claim had validity in the short term but that it is less convincing when considering the years after 1936. Others may dismiss the claim as an exaggeration of the effectiveness of the New Deal.

25 How significant was the role of the United States in the defeat of Germany in the Second World War?

AO1 – The factual content should include the following main topics: the role of the USA in the D-Day operations (some candidates might argue that the landings were rather later than they might have been – 1943 may have been possible, so did the USA delay the defeat of Germany?); the subsequent ‘drive on Berlin’ (the US strategy of a ‘broad front’ rather than ‘a dash’ for Berlin could be discussed, and perhaps linked to the Soviet Union in that Soviet troops reached Berlin ahead of the Americans and so brought the war to an end sooner); US actions in Africa and then Southern Italy; the role of the USA in other aspects of the war, such as in terms of naval and aerial conflict; and the nature of US military technology, supplies, propaganda and ideology. Candidates may consider the role of key figures such as Eisenhower or Patton.

Candidates may also consider other factors. The role of the Soviet Union in the defeat of Germany is important: its contribution was to divide German forces and occupy the bulk of their army, thereby reducing resistance to the Americans in the West. It might also be argued that the internal weaknesses of Nazi Germany, for example the excessive reliance on Hitler, contributed significantly. The role of Britain could also be considered as a factor in so far as Britain stood alone until 1941 (really 1942) in Europe, that it was British forces that inflicted a major blow at El Alamein in 1942 and that without Britain the Americans would not have been able to enter the war in Europe at all, and certainly could not have launched the D-Day landings from Britain, for example. The US Lend-Lease deal with Britain, without which Britain would have struggled to stay in the war in the first two years, could also be considered, along with US bombing raids over Germany (again only possible with Britain as a base).

AO2 – Candidates should show an understanding of relevant historical concepts, such as attrition, the use of propaganda, alliances and unconditional surrender and should display an awareness of the complex nature of this period of military history. They might conclude that the USA shared with the Soviet Union the main responsibility for the defeat of Nazi Germany.

26 How far was US foreign policy concerned with the defence of its own national interests in the period 1945–53?

AO1 – Candidates should define the national interests of the USA. Candidates could focus on US political, economic and strategic (military) interests, aware that they were often intertwined. Politically, the thrust of US policy was to check communism and to defend, and even promote democracy. There is significant scope for candidates to consider the US response to the Soviet occupation of Eastern Europe, and events in China and Korea. The Truman Doctrine could be considered and set against the record of US actions in the period to support people threatened by oppression. The effectiveness of the USA was mixed and this may be reflected in the judgements of candidates. Economically, US governments were concerned to secure the trade and business interests of the country. Reference to the Marshall Plan would be appropriate and candidates could concentrate on US efforts to revitalise the economies of Western Europe. However, others may stress the importance of Japan after the fall of China to the communists and the efforts of US governments to build Japan's economy. Again the effectiveness of US policy is contentious. Strategically, the USA was concerned to defend its influence and power worldwide. The strength of the US military, with particular emphasis on the expansion of her nuclear capacity, could be assessed, and candidates could refer to the Soviet response and the beginning of the arms race. Furthermore, US support for Taiwan, support of France in Vietnam, the establishment of NATO and the US role at the UN are all possible options for candidates to select from.

AO2 – An analysis of a range of events and developments that challenged the USA is needed. Candidates could include some assessment of the relative importance of the events and developments selected. Links between them should be recognised. Judgements should be tied firmly to the notion of national interests.

27 What best explains the widespread fear of communism in the United States in the period 1945–53?

AO1 – McCarthyism and McCarthy's 'crusade' against communism is at the heart of this question but candidates should make it clear that the fears expressed in the USA in the second half of the 1940s had little to do with McCarthy, who really only assumed a prominent position against communists from 1950. The role of McCarthy is important to analyse as, to some extent, the basis of the fears of communism in the USA at this time was the opportunism of McCarthy, whose charges against so many were fabricated. Equally, others were prepared to exploit McCarthyism for their own ends. This was particularly so with Hoover, who was happy to fan the fears generated by others to argue for more agents and an increase in the power of the FBI. The Republican Party was also willing to back McCarthy as a way of damaging the Democrats in their pursuit of the presidency: it was not coincidental that they abandoned McCarthy after gaining the White House in 1953. Personal, institutional and political reasons help explain the fear of communism evident in the USA. Beyond that, the fear of communism could be set in the context of the Cold War and events abroad. There is scope to consider the Soviet consolidation of power in Eastern Europe, the Berlin Blockade, China and the war in Korea as well as other developments. Truman's Doctrine could be considered a reflection of these factors and the subsequent involvement of the USA in the events indicated a measure of the sincerity of US fear of communism. Suspicion of espionage, later fuelled by McCarthy, might also be assessed. Similarly, at home, fear of communism was based on the influx of refugees from Eastern Europe, assumed to have communist leanings given Soviet domination of the region. Such fears fed into the legacy of the 'red scares' of the 1920s.

AO2 – Candidates should comment on the quality of the evidence. Much of the evidence at the time was speculative. The opening of the archives in the Soviet Union in the 1990s and the access allowed to the files of the NSA in the USA confirms that the fears of the 1945–53 period had some justification, though they also show that such fears were exaggerated.

Section 6: 1953–2012**28 'In domestic policy, President Eisenhower sacrificed the interests of the poor and needy to those of big business.' How far do you agree with this assessment?**

AO1 – Eisenhower had clear aims: to balance the budget, to lower taxes, to reduce the role of the federal government and to check 'socialism'. These aims interlinked and, in pursuit of these aims, big business was the beneficiary. Three members of his Cabinet were former executives of General Motors and appointments to offices at other levels of government showed a similar bias. Policy reflected this. Subsidies to the TVA were slashed and atomic power plants were sold off as Eisenhower believed the production of power was the responsibility of business, not government. He gave the rights to offshore oil drilling in the Gulf to the States on the coastline, rather than to the federal government, in order to further the interests of big business. The Office of Price Administration was abolished, removing any restraint on pricing by big business. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation – important in the New Deal – was abolished. Farmers were supported against falling prices because of overproduction even though the subsidies used to do this were funded centrally. Investment in transport (highways and the Great Lakes-St Lawrence seaway) helped big business. Taxes which favoured big business and the rich were reduced. On the other hand, Eisenhower pursued policies that helped the poor and needy. The minimum wage was raised. Money was found for low cost housing. Measures were introduced to improve health care and education. He also intervened in the civil rights issue. Legislation was passed to address the problems faced by black Americans in exercising their rights to vote. The 'Brown v Board of Education of Topeka' decision led to the 'Little Rock Nine' incident of 1957 in which Eisenhower intervened, sending federal troops to enforce the access of black American children to a white school.

AO2 – Candidates should consider those aspects of domestic policy from which big business seemed to gain and assess the degree to which such measures were also of benefit to workers and the country as a whole. The effects of transport improvements, for example, cut both ways. Indeed, there were more people in work in 1960 than in 1952. Similarly, 'welfare' measures could also be seen as of benefit to big business, which preferred a healthy, educated and content work force.

29 How successful was the domestic policy of President Kennedy?

AO1 – Candidates should focus on the areas of policy in which Kennedy hoped to make reforms. On the economy he aimed to reduce unemployment and stimulate growth. The reduction of tariffs (Trade Expansion Act) and taxes on business (Revenue Act), spending on defence and the space programme, and the encouragement to States to spend federal grants had some success. Unemployment fell from 6.5% to 5.3% and inflation from 3.5% to 1.3% (1960–4). However, it was only in 1963 that he proposed a tax cut on personal incomes, but some of the largest corporations, especially in the steel industry, were unco-operative and levels of unemployment remained high. Poverty was at high levels which Kennedy aimed to reduce. The minimum wage was increased, job training schemes were introduced, deprived areas were targeted for investment. However, much of the investment was misdirected, various programmes were blocked in Congress, and property developers seemed to gain more from housing initiatives than the homeless. The Equal Pay Act was applied to female employment and although not all women were covered, 171,000 benefited. Kennedy's healthcare scheme was rejected by Congress. His plans for the building of new schools also failed to gain support, although he did succeed in providing more money for graduate schools in science and engineering. In the field of civil rights Kennedy promised more than he delivered. He responded to events rather than directed them. For example, the Freedom Rides of 1961 forced the administration to intervene to insist on de-segregation on inter-state transportation.

AO2 – Candidates could treat issues discretely but they should also be aware of the linkages between them, for example, that efforts to tackle poverty were intrinsically connected with the aim of reducing unemployment. Alternatively, candidates could deal with Kennedy's successes and then his failures. Despite the limitations of the 'New Frontier', its vision and inspiration was important for the future and much of what he envisaged was achieved subsequently. Perhaps any failure was due less to his weakness than to the opposition of Congress, religious groups and vested interest.

30 'His administrations did little to resolve the divisions in US society.' Assess this view of Nixon's presidency.

AO1 – Although the emphasis will be on domestic affairs, there is room for consideration of foreign policy. Divisions over civil rights should be addressed. Arguably, Nixon exacerbated them with policies designed to win the support of white people in the south, for example, those limiting voting rights, modifying housing rights for black Americans and his efforts to halt the de-segregation of schools. However, the Supreme Court blocked many of his measures and his strategy ended the dominance of the Democrat Party in the south. Nixon also promoted affirmative action and appointed James Farmer, head of CORE, to HEW. The Black Panther Party was weakened by the operations of the CIA, which reduced their activities but at the cost of further alienating the black population especially the young. Radicals of other sorts – political activists, gay rights campaigners and feminists – were divisive forces. Nixon's appeal to the 'silent majority' helped marginalise revolutionary elements, and concessions to women on education and abortion helped mollify the feminists. However, disaffected youth adopted alternative lifestyles and the gay rights movement expanded. Economic divisions continued to plague US society. 'Stagflation' worsened during Nixon's presidency (the 'Nixon recession') which Nixon addressed. Abandoning the fixed exchange rate devalued the dollar but helped the export trade and tax cuts stimulated spending. However, a wage freeze and Nixon's attempt to end handouts to the poor (rejected by the Senate) served to maintain, if not widen, the gap between the rich and the poor. Vietnamese policy might be assessed for the divisions it caused. The release of the Pentagon Papers, the disaster of the invasion of Laos, the heavy losses in Vietnam and the Kent State shootings all served to widen divisions in society. However, Nixon did adopt the policy of Vietnamisation, and talks with the Vietcong might be considered as measures that helped resolve divisions. The Watergate Scandal is likely to be highlighted as epitomising the divisions in society.

AO2 – Candidates should discuss how Nixon's policies reflected or helped resolve division. Emphasis could be placed on particular areas of policy and weighting the issues would be appropriate. Was Watergate more a symbol of division rather than anything more substantial?

31 To what extent can it be argued that the Vietnam War was lost in the American media rather than on the battlefield?

AO1 – Candidates should include specific reference to the way in which events, such as the My Lai massacre, were treated by the media. Candidates should consider the question by topics or by themes: an assessment of the way the media affected American public opinion; the anti-war movement; and the political outcomes, such as Nixon's electoral victories. Candidates should also refer to other factors relating to the war, such as the problems associated with fighting a guerrilla army, the terrain, tactics, supply lines, bombing strategies and so-called 'hearts and minds'.

AO2 – It could be argued that the role of the media has been exaggerated and that more traditional military factors explain America's failure to win. Nixon's escalation of the bombing campaigns, despite the media and the anti-war movement, might be used to suggest that domestic opinion was not that important. Alternatively, an awareness of the role of television, newspapers and student and/or counter-culture leaflets provide a different perspective. It may also be possible to place the main emphasis on 'battlefield' factors, so long as the 'media' topic is given adequate coverage.

32 How justified is the view that President Reagan's main domestic achievement was the expansion of the economy?

AO1 – 'Reaganomics' was characterised by 'supply side' economics and an attempt to reduce welfare. The emphasis was on tax cuts and reduced government spending. Unemployment and inflation fell significantly and GDP rose faster than at any time since the Second World War. However, defence spending escalated and created a huge budget deficit that remained a problem after Reagan's second term and overall economic performance was no better than the average for OECD countries. Further, the stock market crash of 1987 wiped 20% off the value of stocks. However, relative to US economic performance since the 1960s the record was impressive. Reform of the federal judicial system might be considered a major achievement too. Reagan's appointments changed the colour of the district and appeal courts and the Supreme Court. This ensured more conservative judgements, for example, on restricting affirmative action. However, Reagan was unable to secure all the appointments he wanted, and on issues like abortion, the existing law was upheld. He achieved a reduction in social welfare (on Medicare, Medicaid, food stamps) and linked welfare to work. However, the governors of States and Congress (Democrat) rejected his scheme of block grants to the States.

AO2 – Candidates could judge Reagan by the aims he set himself or they may choose to judge his record by the outcome of his policies in a broader context. There is scope to argue that the economic record of the Reagan years may be considered his main achievement. Some assessment of the relative significance of Reagan's policies is needed in the short or the longer term.

Section 7: Themes c. 1900–2000

33 'The power of the presidency increased mainly in times of war.' Consider this claim with reference to the period 1933–74.

AO1 – The War Powers Act of 1942 gave Roosevelt the power to deploy troops and control of executive war policy. The Office of War Mobilisation Act of 1943 gave the White House power to co-ordinate the conduct of the War at home. Some might argue that Roosevelt abused his power with the relocation of 112,000 Japanese in 1942. However, the president was monitored and his power checked to some extent by the Supreme Court, which upheld individual rights, and by Congress, which scrutinised government spending and the activities of the armed forces.

Since 1945 successive presidents have sent troops to war: Truman sent troops to Korea and Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon sent troops to Vietnam, largely without the approval of Congress. Kennedy and Johnson used executive powers to do so; the Tonkin Resolution extended presidential powers in South-east Asia; and Nixon bombed and invaded Cambodia illegally. Congress passed the War Powers Act of 1973, obliging the president to consult Congress before sending troops abroad and to secure Congressional approval for a war of longer than 60 days. However, the Act has never been invoked: it had little effect in curbing the powers of the presidency.

Presidential powers were also increased in periods of peace, most notably under Roosevelt who took control of the banks and established the Alphabet Laws. In fact, Roosevelt had unprecedented power, so much so that many accused him of dictatorial tendencies. The law of 1948 restricting to two terms the period that a president could hold office was a reaction to this. Some might argue that the Truman Doctrine was a measure that allowed the president *carte blanche* to commit troops abroad whenever he deemed there to be a communist threat, but it could be argued that this was a Cold War measure. During peacetime, presidential powers were limited by the Supreme Court, which constrained Roosevelt in the 1930s, and by Congress, which limited Kennedy's ability to implement his domestic agenda. Nixon's demise illustrated how a president who assumed unconstitutional power could be undone.

AO2 – The underlying assumption is that the powers of the presidency did increase in wartime, and some candidates might challenge this. Candidates should assess the extent to which the powers of the presidency were increased in peacetime, as well as in times of war.

34 Was the Second World War the most important factor explaining the economic development of the United States in the years 1941–80?

AO1 – The Second World War was significant in explaining the economic development of the USA in the period. The stimulus to production, productivity, profits, employment, shipping and trade was considerable. Candidates might suggest that the Second World War merely confirmed a supremacy already established by 1941, although the backdrop of the Great Depression and the New Deal might make that difficult to sustain. Alternatively, the short-lived nature of the boom and the structural distortion created in the economy might be assessed. Although about 50% of industrial production was in consumer goods and the rest government purchases and war materials, it was the latter that provided 'full employment' and stimulated the former. The following factors might also be considered. Marshall Aid could be seen as a means to asserting US economic supremacy in Europe, although some may link this to the War and regard it as an extension of the latter. The poverty and insularity of communism might be assessed, offering the USA a free hand to assert itself in the Cold War period. The strength of US corporations and their dominance in certain fields might also be considered to be a key factor allowing a discussion of technologies, the enterprise culture, federal government policy in the USA and the nature of the American labour market. If the Second World War is considered significant, many candidates may link that to the factor of foreign wars and high defence spending throughout this period. Reference to US involvement in various wars and the arms race would be appropriate.

AO2 – The impact of the Second World War should be at the heart of the answer and candidates should debate the significance of it. War in general throughout the period might be considered the most important factor, of which the War was merely one example. Furthermore, weaknesses in the US economy might be considered to indicate that its development was hindered in the longer term.

35 How convincing is the argument that after the Second World War a distinctively US style of art and architecture emerged?

AO1/AO2 – Candidates must assess the hypothesis that the Nazi invasion of France, and specifically the occupation of Paris, prompted a flight from Europe of the major artists and collectors and that after 1945 the epicentre of the modern art business became America, or more specifically New York. Evidence might be that the major post-war art movements of abstract expressionism and Pop Art seemed to be centred in New York. Indeed, post-war pop culture in general was distinctly American. Art dealers and collectors such as Peggy Guggenheim seem to embody the wider notion of a flight from Paris back to New York. In the 1920s and 1930s, Paris had undoubtedly exerted a great pull upon American writers and artists but after the war the pull was possibly in the opposite direction. In the 1950s, the United States discovered its first major indigenous modern artist in Jackson Pollock. Many artists of European descent such as de Kooning and Rothko had relocated to the USA and remained there for their working lives. Architectural styles as well as architects are difficult to pigeon-hole by nationality. Cross-fertilisation and the commissioning of architects world-wide in the 20th century means a case can be made that there is no distinctly US style of architecture any more than there is in any other country. Rather, there are architectural styles that are universal, notably Modernism and Postmodernism. The former, characterised by simplified form, flat sides, horizontal and vertical lines, glass and iron etc., and the latter, which blended some aesthetic elements of the pre modern era, were the styles in Europe and Australia as well as America. So, La Defense in Paris can be equated with the likes of the Seagram Building in New York City (1958). Sky-scrapers may have been first built in America but they were a style of building adopted elsewhere. Some architects claimed to be representative of a distinctly American style of architecture. Frank Lloyd Wright was one and his influence on subsequent generations of American architects, such as Louis Kahn, Buckminster Fuller or Charles and Ray Eames, was immense and ensured a continuity of style in the USA. This could be characterised by the emphasis on spaces – open plans and the blurring of indoor and outdoor spaces – for example, The Case Study Houses (1945–66) in and around Los Angeles. Some argue that Postmodernist architecture started in America (influence of Robert Venturi might be stressed: museums in Seattle in 1985 and San Diego 1996), but if originally distinctive, it too became a universal style.

Candidates should be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts such as Modern Art itself, *avant garde*, abstract expressionism and popular culture. Candidates could argue that something as complex as ‘Modern Art’ would not have one particular home. The rise of French New Wave cinema, for example, might be used to undermine arguments for American predominance. It might also be argued that the rise of New York as the centre of Modern Art marketing and production is not quite the same thing as the idea of the United States as a whole becoming the home of Modern Art. It could be pointed out that during the McCarthy era much of America was very hostile to all *avant garde* art, much of which was seen as un-American. There is, however, an argument which states that the abstract expressionism of painters like Pollock was seized upon by some as exemplifying a uniquely American, individualist ethos. Candidates should explore these contradictions.

36 Assess the significance of hippy culture.

AO1/AO2 – ‘Hippy’ culture developed in the USA in the 1960s and was associated with the rejection of traditional cultural values, with mood altering drugs and with psychedelic rock music. It was popularised by the ‘Summer of Love’ in California and the Woodstock Festival of 1969. The popularity of elements of the culture spread worldwide: its interest in spirituality, in contrast to the consumerist culture of the USA in the more prosperous post-war years; its support of peace against the background of US involvement in Vietnam; its espousal of sexual freedom; and its colourful fashion and association with distinctive popular music. Starting as a counter-culture and provoking a considerable reaction from conservative America, its ideas were later assimilated into more mainstream cultural life, for instance, peaceful protest, an interest in healthier eating, and fashion.

37 How valid is the notion of a ‘melting pot’ to describe the United States in this period?

AO1 – In terms of the influx of immigrants into the USA and government policy on immigration, it could be argued that the term is appropriate. The numbers immigrating into the USA after 1945 were very high. For example, in the period 1950–70 nearly 6 million people entered the country from Europe, Mexico and Puerto Rico. In most cases the immigrants joined US society and were accepted by the majority. Indeed, it could be argued that immigration fostered a degree of multiculturalism which has been of benefit to the nation and this has been welcomed by the majority. In this period only about 5% of the population at any one time has been immigrant, making it easier to absorb those moving into the USA. Also, the quota in operation since 1945 was abolished in 1965 and thereafter skills and family relationships were the main criteria for entry, so making it easier for immigrants to integrate. However, concentrations of immigrants in particular areas could cause problems. For example, Mexicans concentrated in the South-west, and Puerto Ricans in New York City. In more recent years, monitoring the border with Mexico has been difficult because of the number of illegal migrants. In economically difficult times immigrants are often resented for taking jobs, and hardship abroad has encouraged more people to immigrate at these times, so making the problem worse. The association of immigration and crime, however misleading it might be, also suggests that the notion of the USA as a ‘melting pot’ is not entirely appropriate. Similarly, migrants tend to live in ghettos and many experience real poverty, putting them on the margins of society. Racism has never been far below the surface. In addition, it could be argued that immigrants play a lesser role in the politics of the USA, preferring to defer to community leaders who pursue group interests rather than be guided by national concerns.

AO2 – There is a case to be made that the USA has been a ‘melting pot’ since 1945 but that the degree of integration has varied between groups and at different times. It might be said that the phrase was used in the nineteenth century and was equally imperfect when applied to those times. Perhaps the myth is more important than the reality, which helps explain why immigrants continue to flood to the USA – itself a signal that they at least regard the USA as a ‘melting pot’.

38 How beneficial was the social and political influence of organised religion in the United States in the twentieth century?

AO1 – Candidates are likely to concentrate on Christian organisations of a conservative hue. They have been very influential in helping to establish the syllabus in schools (particularly in Biology and Ethics) and the appointment of teaching staff. University research is also controlled to a degree by the financial influence of the Christian Right in providing the funding. More generally, medical research has been constrained by Christian activists who object to experimentation involving animals. The development of genetically modified crops has been influenced by the same groups. Similarly, social behaviour has been influenced by the views of organised religion on abortion and sex before marriage. The conservative inclination of organised religious groups could be assessed in the broader political context as a force for stability and a check on radicalism. There can be little doubt that organised religion has influenced the politics of America to a considerable degree. This may be especially the case in the South and the so-called ‘Bible Belt’ but in a country that is ostensibly very religious it could be argued its political influence is nationwide. Election campaigns and political debate are shaped, to a degree, by organised religion and few politicians at state or federal level, including the President, can afford to ignore such groups. However, some might argue that religious groups merely reflect popular opinion. The election of George W Bush in 2000 might be assessed in this respect.

AO2 – There are various strands to this question which allows candidates sufficient scope for discussion. The positive and negative aspects of each strand identified should be assessed. Candidates should offer a position for or against the proposition.