



**Cambridge Assessment International Education**  
Cambridge Pre-U Certificate

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**HISTORY**

**9769/03**

Paper 3 United States History Outlines, c.1750–c.2005

**May/June 2018**

MARK SCHEME

Maximum Mark: 90

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**Published**

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This document consists of **42** printed pages.

**Generic Marking Principles**

These general marking principles must be applied by all examiners when marking candidate answers. They should be applied alongside the specific content of the mark scheme or generic level descriptors for a question. Each question paper and mark scheme will also comply with these marking principles.

**GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 1:**

Marks must be awarded in line with:

- the specific content of the mark scheme or the generic level descriptors for the question
- the specific skills defined in the mark scheme or in the generic level descriptors for the question
- the standard of response required by a candidate as exemplified by the standardisation scripts.

**GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 2:**

Marks awarded are always **whole marks** (not half marks, or other fractions).

**GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 3:**

Marks must be awarded **positively**:

- marks are awarded for correct/valid answers, as defined in the mark scheme. However, credit is given for valid answers which go beyond the scope of the syllabus and mark scheme, referring to your Team Leader as appropriate
- marks are awarded when candidates clearly demonstrate what they know and can do
- marks are not deducted for errors
- marks are not deducted for omissions
- answers should only be judged on the quality of spelling, punctuation and grammar when these features are specifically assessed by the question as indicated by the mark scheme. The meaning, however, should be unambiguous.

**GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 4:**

Rules must be applied consistently e.g. in situations where candidates have not followed instructions or in the application of generic level descriptors.

**GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 5:**

Marks should be awarded using the full range of marks defined in the mark scheme for the question (however; the use of the full mark range may be limited according to the quality of the candidate responses seen).

**GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 6:**

Marks awarded are based solely on the requirements as defined in the mark scheme. Marks should not be awarded with grade thresholds or grade descriptors in mind.

**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

Question	Answer	Marks
1	<p><b>How important was European intervention to the outcome of the War of Independence?</b></p> <p>AO1 – The question requires an assessment of the importance of European intervention relative to other factors. Europeans not only supported the rebels with military and naval power, but also with war materials and money and diplomatic support. Other factors might be considered: geographical problems faced by the British, the leadership of Washington and the determination of rebel forces, as well as political factors.</p> <p>AO2 – Candidates might explain how European equipment, especially artillery, was crucial in the early stages of the war and especially at Saratoga. The extent of the financial support given by France and Spain to the rebel cause might be assessed. The impact of the Armed Neutrality of the North in 1780 might be considered. Diplomatic support and trade treaties were important in legitimising rebel action and transforming the event from a domestic quarrel to a war for freedom. But such diplomacy did not directly affect the conduct of the war itself. Also, Spain's pursuit of its own interests and its failure to recognise American independence weakened its ties with the US. Britain might have been isolated but as the major power this was, arguably, not that significant. Soldiers from France bolstered rebel forces and Lafayette provided immense moral authority, whilst Steuben's work in training the rebels made a real difference. However, the number of foreign troops fighting for America was limited. Arguably, the leadership of Washington, the errors of the British commanders and the patriotism of the rebels was the key to success on land. French and Spanish navies were important in distracting British forces away from America and they played a key role at Yorktown. Yet, although European powers spread British forces thin, they did not formally declare war till 1778.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
2	<p><b>'Fear of tyranny was the most important influence in the making of the Constitution of the United States.'</b> Discuss.</p> <p>AO1 – Answers should take into account the context of the years immediately before the Constitution was drawn up in 1787 and ratified two years later. Candidates should consider the fear of tyranny, but also other factors that explain the composition of the Constitution. States Rights, the Territories, security considerations, enlightened ideas and property rights, all played a part in the making the Constitution (and the Bill of Rights).</p> <p>AO2 – The Constitution, based on the premise of the separation of powers, both horizontally between the federal and the state governments, and vertically between the branches of government (executive, legislative, judicial) is a reflection of the fear of tyranny. The experience of colonial rule which led to the War of Independence is pertinent. However, was this structure due more to the jealousies between States and the importance of the principle of States Rights, perhaps reflected in the provisions of the Constitution that allowed for the States to have equal representation in the Senate and considerable autonomy? Fear of the mob also influenced the making of the Constitution. Shays' Rebellion, 1786, alarmed the rich and, to some extent, explains the limits to the franchise which were left to individual States to set. Fear of the British and the Spanish on its borders convinced many that a strong government was needed and one which could raise the money needed to fund armies to defend the US. It may be argued that the Constitution was shaped by enlightened ideas, perhaps reflected in the Bill of Rights. Property rights were clearly important and none more so than that of ownership of slaves reflected in the provisions in the Constitution on fugitive slaves. Some candidates might argue that the Constitution was a response to the inadequacy of the Articles of Confederation and the pressure for a formal government system created by the North-West Territorial Ordinance, 1787.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
3	<p><b>What best explains the rise of the first party system in the 1790s?</b></p> <p>AO1 –The question requires a comparative analysis of the reasons for the rise. In the 1790s two parties emerged: the Federalists, led by Hamilton, and the Republicans (referred to by their opponents as Democrats, a name they later adopted), led by Jefferson. These groupings emerged as a result of division between politicians on two key issues: financial policy and foreign affairs. To a large extent, the Federalists were more conservative and traditional than the Republicans in their political views.</p> <p>AO2 – After the War of Independence, the USA was in debt. Hamilton guaranteed all government debt owed to foreigners, the central government assumed responsibility for all State debts, the Bank of the USA was established as was a Sinking Fund, a national currency and the mint. As his measures enjoyed a considerable measure of success in stabilising the nation's finances – domestic and foreign debt was paid off by 1817, bankrupt States had their fortunes restored, the economy thrived – so he gained support, largely from the rich, who became the Federalists. However, his measures were painful to some. People objected to paying more tax and in 1794 the Whiskey Rebellion took place. Such opposition crystallised in the creation of the Republicans. The two also divided on the French Revolution. The Federalists favoured monarchy and opposed the Revolution, whilst the Republicans backed it. The former, including merchants, regarded events in France as a threat to trade and had no time for revolutionary mobs, whilst the latter attracted the support of farmers and southern planters who cherished their freedoms and despised the merchants to whom they were often in hock. As such, it could be argued that political attitudes and aspirations best explain the rise of party.</p>	30



Question	Answer	Marks
4	<p><b>How significant in this period was the impact of the War of 1812 on the United States?</b></p> <p>AO1 – The questions requires an assessment of the ways the War affected the US. The short term significance of the war might be assessed with reference to military events. At sea, the British enforced a tight blockade of America and won the key engagements fought. On land, the conflict was centred on Canada, initially, where US attacks were thwarted and, later, the British invaded the US mainland at Washington, Baltimore and New Orleans. Also, the longer term consequences of the war might be considered.</p> <p>AO2 – Politically, the War divided the nation. Federalists, who favoured accommodation with the British, considered secession of the New England states. However, in the face of adversity, US patriotism was strengthened (the national anthem emerged). Militarily, the war was a failure. Hopes of taking Canada were thwarted by Brock though the border was determined at Ghent. At sea, the US navy was outmanoeuvred at every turn: the loss of the Chesapeake to the Shannon was symptomatic of British strength. Yet, US ships managed to inflict some wounds on the British and its privateers scored some success. Economically, the war was damaging in terms of inflation, shortages, the tax burden, a collapse of trade, unemployment and the tariff of 1816 contributed to the strain in relations between the North and the South (culminating later in the Nullification Crisis of 1832). Yet, the war gave an impulse to the modernisation of the US economy with the growth of industry, especially textiles. The war also turned the US against Europe. Relations with Britain were soured by the conflict and those with France deteriorated with the reluctance of the latter to help during the war. The US isolated herself from Europe and focused on the Americas (the Monroe Doctrine might be considered as evidence of this).</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
5	<p><b>What best explains the extent of support for slavery in the South in the period c.1750 to c.1820?</b></p> <p>AO1 – The question requires a comparative analysis of the reasons why slavery was supported with a judgement about its relative value. The area in which slavery was practised expanded as a result of the Seven Years War, the Louisiana Purchase and the War of Independence. Knowledge of the number of slaves and the ways in which they were used might also be helpful. Candidates might consider a range of factors: economic, political, social and cultural, moral and others.</p> <p>AO2 – Slavery produced economic benefits. Increased demand for cotton, the cultivation of more lands and the introduction of the cotton gin reinforced the profit motive. Cotton required unskilled labour only and slaves were a convenient source. The value of slaves was an equally positive incentive for slave owners to support slavery. However, reliance on a particular cash crop had its drawbacks. The land was prone to exhaustion, diversification was discouraged (there was little manufacturing in the South) and a low wage economy depressed the consumer market and the white worker. As a result, there were those in the South who criticised the system. Politically, the concept of States Rights enjoyed more moral support than notions of human injustice. The Compromise of 1820, though limiting the northern border of slavery, effectively legitimated slavery south of the line. Socially and culturally slavery was regarded, in the South at least, as an integral aspect of Southern life. The ‘peculiar institution’ was a distinctive mark of Southern society. Racist views, often justified as being in line with biblical teaching, help explain the support of some for slavery. Many supported slavery as a badge of the power and superiority of Whites. Furthermore, Southern apologists regarded the slave system as an essential safeguard against the disorder and chaos it was assumed would come from freeing slaves, as had happened in Haiti in the 1790s. Arguments against slavery were regarded as inappropriate, even mischievous. Indeed, the absence of an effective opposition to slavery (the Anti-Slavery Society was not formed until 1833) meant there was little, if any, debate.</p>	30

## Section 2: c.1820–1865

Question	Answer	Marks
6	<p><b>How important was the issue of fugitive slaves in explaining the growth of opposition to slavery from c.1820 to 1859?</b></p> <p>AO1 – The question requires an analysis of the way opposition grew over the period with particular focus on the issue of fugitive slaves. To that end, candidates might provide details about the numbers involved, the nature of the law, people’s attitudes in the North to fugitive slaves and the response of state governments to the issue.</p> <p>AO2 – Some notion of the extent of the ‘underground railroad’ and the scale of those involved would be helpful (c.75 000 slaves are thought to have escaped by this means). The application of the law in the North aroused widespread anger, for example, following the Burns case in Boston the Fugitive Slave Law was not enforced there again. Many might highlight the impact of the Dred Scott case which was central to the debates between Douglas and Lincoln in 1858, and served to strengthen opposition to slavery. The issue of fugitives was a factor in the formation of the Republican Party in 1854, and the reasons for the actions of John Brown were partly due to the effect of his experience of fugitive slaves. Even in the South, the question of fugitive slaves created opposition to slavery at times when slave unrest boiled over into rebellion, as with the Nat Turner Rising in 1831. There, as in the North, the opposition to slavery was often a result of the fear of slaves rather than moral and political principle. Other factors discussed might include: the impact of Uncle Tom’s Cabin and other literature; the activities of opponents of slavery such as missionaries; and, the extension of slavery into the Territories and events in Kansas. Sectional differences which explain how the social and cultural aspects of slave society aroused opposition to slavery in the North could be analysed.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
7	<p><b>'The personality of President Andrew Jackson was the dominant feature of politics in the United States from 1829 to 1837.' Do you agree?</b></p> <p>AO1 – The question requires an assessment of how important the personality of Jackson was in politics. Candidates may do so by consideration of various issues of importance in the politics of the period: the emergence of the 'second party' system and widening popular involvement in politics; the Nullification Crisis; the treatment of native Indian people; the future of the Bank of America; and, relations with France.</p> <p>AO2 – Jackson was a backwoodsman of humble origins. His inauguration symbolised his willingness to engage with people. 'Old Hickory' was dignified, honest and straight talking. His energy and drive was, in itself, a key feature of his presidency. He was flawed: he introduced the spoils system, already a feature of State government which distorted the political process and he used a 'kitchen cabinet' of friends who rivalled the official cabinet. Candidates might argue that Jackson's personality was important in creating the 'second party system'. However, Jackson's involvement in party politics was limited, largely to his re-election campaign. Given that state and local elections were frequent, and at different times in different states, it could be argued that Jackson's personality was of minor influence. Jackson's personality might be considered significant in the resolution of the Nullification Crisis. His determination to stand against the demands of South Carolina and to secure the Force Bill of 1833 was, arguably, because of the strength of his personality. His refusal to back the Supreme Court's decision to support the Cherokee Indians was important in the loss of their lands in Georgia. His refusal to renew the Charter of the Bank of America was an example of his force of will. However, the naivety of Calhoun and the State of South Carolina as well as the weakness of Congress and the Supreme Court might be discussed as reasons for the outcome of these issues. In dealings with France, Jackson threatened France with the seizure of assets in the USA unless it repaid its debts. However, the issue was only resolved finally by the intervention of Britain.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
8	<p><b>To what extent was the United States responsible for conflict with Mexico in the years 1830–1848?</b></p> <p>AO1 – The question requires an assessment of the degree to which the US caused conflict with Mexico. There was war with Mexico in 1836 and 1846–1848, and there was conflict in terms of tension throughout the period. In 1823, Mexico, newly recognised by the USA, gave permission for Americans to settle in Texas and by the 1830s there were more Americans in the area than Mexicans. A distinction between American settlers and the government might be made when referring to the United States.</p> <p>AO2 – American settlers might be considered provocative in effectively taking control of Texas and then declaring their independence in 1836, yet the Mexicans had neglected the region and the subsequent actions of Santa Anna in strengthening Mexican control over Texas were heavy-handed. The war of 1836 followed (the Mexican massacre of the Alamo and the capture of San Jacinto by Sam Houston). Jackson’s recognition of Texas as independent in 1837 might be considered provocative, or simply inevitable, as Mexico had conceded the same to end the war. US responsibility for the war of 1846 might be considered less controversial. Pressure to incorporate Texas into the Union grew with the election of 1844 fought on the issue. This angered Mexico which would now share a border with the US. The US sense of ‘manifest destiny’ and the desire to acquire California were key factors which could only be satisfied by war with Mexico. Polk’s pressure on Mexico was deliberate: the US navy was sent to California to support a revolt there and troops were moved to the border to back demands for the repayment of debts. Arguably, the Mexicans might have done more to find a diplomatic solution. Many in the North in the US opposed war with Mexico, fearing that US expansion would only serve the interests of the slave lobby. It might be considered that the settlers, the US government and the Mexican government share responsibility, if in unequal measure, for conflict.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
9	<p><b>‘John Brown’s Raid was the most important cause of the breakdown in relations between North and South in the years 1859–1861.’ Discuss.</b></p> <p>AO1 – The question requires an analysis of how Brown’s Raid affected relations between North and South. In addition, the election of Lincoln in November 1860, the failure of the Crittenden peace proposals in December 1860, and the Washington Conference of February 1861, might be assessed. At the same time, some Southern States were seceding from the Union and the crisis over Fort Sumter in April 1861 was a factor.</p> <p>AO2 – Brown used his trial as a platform to publicise his views and the dignity with which he conducted himself stirred strong anti-South sentiments in the North. By his death he became a martyr for the abolitionist cause. In the South, fears of Northern plots to undermine the ‘peculiar institution’ were inflamed further which played into the hands of those who advocated the separation of North and South. However, as with events in Kansas, 1854–1856, in which Brown was also involved, and which were equally divisive, the violence subsided, and the crisis was averted. Similarly, the extent of Brown’s failure was comprehensive and, if anything, confirmed the status quo: support for slavery in the South was strong and the North was reluctant to challenge it. Lincoln’s election may be seen as the spark for secession. As he secured very few votes in only three southern States and only 40 per cent of the popular vote, he was a minority President representing the North only. Those in the South believed – wrongly – that he was committed to the abolition of slavery. However, secession took place in phases over several months, allowing time for some settlement of the crisis to be reached. The Crittenden Proposals and the Washington Conference offered ways out as had happened in 1850 and at other times of crisis. Their failure was partly due to the reluctance of Lincoln to back them. Arguably, the secession of States in December 1860-January 1861 made such attempts at peace unrealistic. War followed events at Fort Sumter but perhaps this was merely the culmination of a train of events since 1859. In making a judgement, candidates are likely to emphasise the interconnection of causes.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
10	<p><b>Was the social and economic impact of the Civil War in the years 1861 to 1865 greater on the North or the South?</b></p> <p>AO1 – Candidates may consider the impact of the war on both sections in turn and then reach a judgement. Alternatively, they might focus on particular effects of the war, comparing their impact on both sections. Candidates may consider some of the following: the impact of conscription and restrictions on personal liberty and standards of living; and, the impact on agriculture, industry and trade (the blockade was applied to the South only).</p> <p>AO2 – Conscription was less unpopular in the South as the war was a defensive one to preserve a way of life, though Irish immigrants and Quakers opposed the war ('Copperheads'). Losses of men in the South were greater than in the North as a proportion of the population. Profiteers existed on both sides of the divide: in the North, manufacturers gained from the demand for war materials and in the South blockade-runners made money, even if the risks were higher. Arguably, restrictions on personal liberties were greater in the North. The case of Vallandigham epitomises this difference. In both sections, members of the Congress were prepared to oppose the executive. The impact of the war on standards of living was markedly worse in the South, largely an effect of the blockade which deprived the South of key imports and stifled exports (especially cotton). The war was fought mainly in the South and the damage to the infrastructure was severe causing huge disruption to all sectors of the economy. Also, this created a refugee problem with large numbers moving from the countryside to urban centres. By contrast, life carried on more or less undisturbed in the North and the economy boomed, so standards of living improved. During the war, 800 000 immigrants entered the North.</p>	30

## Section 3: Themes c.1750–c.1900

Question	Answer	Marks
11	<p><b>What best explains westward expansion in the nineteenth century?</b></p> <p>AO1 – The question requires a comparative analysis of the factors that stimulated westward expansion. In doing so, candidates should aim to assess their relative value to arrive at a judgement which identifies the factor, or combination of factors, that was most important. Various ‘pull and push’ factors might be assessed.</p> <p>AO2 –The lure of gold was important. Within one year of the gold strikes of 1848, 90 000 people from all corners of the USA had moved to California. Other ‘strikes’ occurred at Comstock, Nevada (1859) and Dakota (1874), with similar effects. After deposits dried up, many disappointed miners moved back east perhaps confirming that gold was the key factor for many. Lands from France (the Louisiana Purchase) and Mexico (wars of the 1830s and 1840s), inspired those keen to claim a stake in the West. Government legislation (the Homestead Act and the Morrill Act (both 1862), the Desert Land Act and the Timber and Stone Acts of the 1870s provided the incentive needed to persuade 600 000 people to settle in the West. The opening of trails and the building of the railways provided routes west. Completion of the first transcontinental railway in 1869 might be considered a key factor, in so far as its construction brought settlers west and provided the means for many more to do so, and that it encouraged other companies to do the same with similar results. However, people were moving west before the railways, despite the hardship and danger of travel by wagon. The freedom offered in the West helps explain the movement of religious groups, notably the Mormons (the great trek of 1846–47 led to the colonisation of Utah). In broader terms, there is scope to assess whether the notion of ‘manifest destiny’ was myth or reality. The links between certain factors might be explored.</p>	30



Question	Answer	Marks
12	<p><b>To what extent was the policy of the federal government towards Native Americans in the nineteenth century characterised by apathy and neglect?</b></p> <p>AO1 – The question requires an assessment of policies adopted by the federal government. The degree to which government was interested and involved in affairs concerning Native American needs to be weighed. Candidates may emphasise how westward expansion meant that relations with the Native Americans was an issue that could not be ignored, however much federal government might have preferred to do no.</p> <p>AO2 – In arguing that government policy was ‘apathy and neglect’, candidates might refer to the North West Ordinance (1787) which declared that Native Americans were to be left alone. The government preferred Native Americans and settlers to find common ground themselves. To that end, the government were content for charities and missionaries to work with Native Americans. Whenever settlers clashed with Native Americans, the government preferred not to intervene. For example, in 1864 when Cheyenne were massacred, the government did nothing. However, the government was active in some ways. The Bureau of Indian Affairs was established in 1836 to regulate provisions for Native Americans. However, if the interests of the settlers were threatened, or the latter appealed for support, the government tended to intervene on their behalf. For example, in dealing with the Tecumseh Confederacy in 1811, the removal of the Cherokee from Georgia in 1838–39 and the suppression of the Sioux in 1876. The creation of reservations was formalised with the Indian Peace Commission of 1867. Reservations were no substitute for the freedom of the land and even they were abused if precious metals were discovered on them. Supreme Court decisions in favour of local tribes were often ignored, and legislation was enacted such as the Homestead Act, that effectively allowed settlers to take more and more land and for railway companies to build lines across the continent. With the failure of this policy, the government adopted a more liberal policy of ‘Americanisation’ from the late 1880s which, in effect, was a return to the policy of assimilation, but this time with government engagement to provide the means to integrate Native Americans and to check the breaches of the law by Whites.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
13	<p><b>What best explains the extent of urban growth in the period from 1865 to 1914?</b></p> <p>AO1 – The question requires a comparative analysis of the factors that contributed to the growth of urban areas. Candidates might focus on the impact of immigration, industrialisation and developments in agriculture as well as the effect of improved transport. In reaching a judgement, candidates should aim to assess the importance of factors relative to each other and the links between them.</p> <p>AO2 – Between 1865 and 1914 about 18 million immigrants entered the USA, half this number in the decade 1900–1910. By 1910, 33 per cent of the 12 largest cities were composed of immigrants and a similar proportion of the children of immigrants. They congregated in towns and cities which provided cultural and economic security. By 1900, the USA was producing 30 per cent of the world’s manufactured goods and the number employed in industry had risen from 4 million employees in 1865 to 18 million employees in 1900. Much of this economic activity was in factories which were either in the existing urban areas which subsequently expanded, or in remote areas which led to the development of towns around them as labour moved to the place of work. For example, the expansion of the cotton industry in New England led to considerable urbanisation in that region. Difficulties in agriculture (collapse of prices, indebtedness) forced many to leave the land and go to the towns. Railways linked urban areas which encouraged the growth of towns by facilitating the movement of people and goods between them. Railways made it possible to feed the towns with produce from the farms. They brought materials to one site, so manufacture could be located in the towns rather than previously to places with easy access to all materials required. The low cost of railway transport made this commercially viable. Other factors such as the artistic, educational and cultural advantages of urban centres might be considered relevant to the explanation.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
14	<p><b>Consider the view that the nineteenth century brought little significant change to the status of women in US society.</b></p> <p>AO1 – The question requires an analysis of the changes to the status of women. This might be assessed in various ways: their role in the family as daughters and wives; their status in terms of employment; their political status; their rights in law; their status in the popular culture. A judgement about the relative significance of change in these ways is needed.</p> <p>AO2 –The status of women in the family changed little in the period. For most, females had a domestic status only, either in their own household or that of an employer, though the latter provided paid employment and so improved their status. Similarly, from 1865, there were more opportunities for women to work in factories or offices as the economy expanded. If women were afforded some opportunity to pursue their own careers, it was usual for women to earn less and hold fewer positions of responsibility which suggests a limited change in their status. Politically, by 1913, nine states had conceded the vote to women and the 19th Amendment gave the vote to all women. Women were able to play a significant role in the Temperance movement. Women were active in organising protest marches in Washington and other cities and organising petitions against the sale and use of alcohol. Women’s rights in law remained limited. Adultery and abortion were criminalised and divorce was more difficult for women. Women’s rights of property were improved, but they often found the legal apparatus was manipulated by men to their advantage. By 1914, there were changes in the status of women in terms of education and social life. However, access to the former was not universal and traditional attitudes meant change in the latter often demeaned the status of women in the eyes of conservatives. Candidates are likely to stress the significance of certain changes to the status of women if only in some regions (the North rather than the South), cities rather than towns or rural areas, and middle class women rather than all classes. Similarly, the advances made may be judged according to their long term impact: a small change before 1914 may be regarded as the first step towards major change later.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
15	<p><b>How important was religion in defining American values in the nineteenth century?</b></p> <p>AO1 – The question requires an assessment of the influence of religion in shaping values in the USA. Some candidates may focus on the strengths and weaknesses of religion as a factor in defining values. Some may explain that some denominations were more influential than others and that the influence of religion was stronger in some areas than others. Others may weigh the influence of religion against other factors that defined American values.</p> <p>AO2 – The Puritanism of the Founding Fathers might be considered a factor in forging the values of hard work and self help, something which Nonconformists of various denominations perpetuated throughout the century. Chauvinist values were supported by ministers of religion. Values concerning standards of social and sexual behaviour were influenced by religion. Monogamy and the sanctity of marriage were upheld in law and adultery, homosexuality and abortion were criminalised. However, such values were not uniformly held by people of religious faith. Mormons tolerated polygamy, for example. Values of law and order and social responsibility were also grounded in religious teaching. Certainly, in the South, slave owners used religion as a form of social control. It might be argued the desire for social stability was a purely political and civic necessity. They helped reinforce traditional views about women. American self belief and sense of superiority were values widely held. The concept of ‘manifest destiny’ had religious connotations. However, it might be argued that American values were shaped by other factors. Economic, social and political changes helped define American values and some assessment of the ways this was evident might be attempted.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
16	<p><b>How significant was the development of the railways to the growth of the United States economy in the nineteenth century?</b></p> <p>AO1 – The question requires some assessment of the impact of railways on the growth of the US economy. Candidates might indicate the scale of railway development to provide some context. 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.</p> <p>AO2 – By 1880, 90 per cent of the rolled steel manufactured in the USA was consumed by the railways. The demand for other materials such as timber and leather was immense and the impact on engineering was considerable. Furthermore, the railways generated lots of jobs in the building and running of them. 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. Yet, 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 and may have constrained economic growth. The land owned by railway companies was huge which gave them excessive power in the market of land. It could be argued that they took a disproportionate amount of federal money in various, often corrupt, ways such as the Credit Mobilier scheme, so depriving other sectors of investment opportunities. 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 are likely to place emphasis on different aspects of the impact of railways and probably reach different conclusions. Nonetheless, their priority should be to assess the evidence and in doing so show appreciation of the significance of the railways. Some may choose to compare the railways to the forms of transport they challenged as a way of determining their importance.</p>	30

## Section 4: 1865–1914

Question	Answer	Marks
17	<p><b>'The Reconstruction period, 1865 to 1877, witnessed significant progress for African Americans.'</b> Discuss.</p> <p>AO1 – The question requires an analysis of the ways in which the position of African Americans was improved in the period. Candidates are likely to focus on particular issues – political, social, economic, legal – and compare the situation in 1877 with that of 1865. In doing so, they should attempt to gauge the degree of change. They might assess the relative importance of the different issues addressed, possibly by some reference to the context.</p> <p>AO2 – During Reconstruction, African American political rights improved. All except Mississippi ratified the 13th Amendment abolishing slavery. The 14th Amendment of 1866, allowing equality of civil rights, undermined the Black Codes and protected African Americans against discrimination, but it led to savage riots against them. 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 African Americans. The latter exercised their rights with limited effect: only in South Carolina did African Americans have a majority in the state legislature and only a few held posts of importance. But, with the end of Reconstruction in 1877, Southern Whites successfully adopted several devices to circumvent the 15th Amendment. Socially and economically, improvements were also short-lived. Freedman's Bureau, 1865, did much useful work until 1872, feeding African Americans, finding them work, establishing schools and so on. Yet, many officers were corrupt, and its work made Whites even less sympathetic to African Americans. Some carpet-baggers made a positive contribution to the lot of the African Americans in schools, for example, but when many returned disillusioned this advantage was lost.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
18	<p><b>How effective was organised labour in defending the interests of workers in the USA from c.1880 to 1914?</b></p> <p>AO1 –The question requires an evaluation of the work of the unions – the Noble Order of the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor were the two main trade unions. The former allowed membership to all but a few types of workmen (bankers and lawyers were excluded, for example) whereas the latter confined its membership to skilled workers. Whilst they both aimed to improve conditions at work, the Knights were more ambitious in agitating for social reform as well, such as education for the poor and the abolition of child labour.</p> <p>AO2 – The unions increased public awareness of the plight of workers. Powderly, the leader of the Knights, was an effective speaker who did much to inform others about working conditions and influenced the thinking of the Progressives who were increasingly influential at all levels of politics. However, neither the Republicans nor the Democrats focused their agenda on the interests of the working man. Union leaders might be considered unrealistic in their expectations given the power of big business and the government. The unions attracted more members, but many employers refused to give work to union members which discouraged many from joining a union, so the number was small as a percentage of the work force. Also, membership of the Knights declined after their activities discredited them. The Homestead strike by the Iron and Steel Workers' Union in 1892 and the Pullman Dispute of 1893 which was backed by the American Railway Union were broken by State or Federal troops. The courts often invoked the Sherman Anti-Trust Act (1890) in the 1890s to prevent strike action that was 'in restraint of trade'. The violence used by the unions alienated public support (Haymarket, Chicago, 1886). However, Roosevelt intervened directly on behalf of the miners in Pennsylvania in 1902 and the government introduced the Clayton Anti-Trust Act (1914) that allowed strikes, picketing and boycotts, and limited the use of injunctions to prevent strikes. Under President Taft, the eight-hour day was introduced for all employees on government contracts, setting an example to other employers, and the departments of Labor and Commerce were established in 1913 to improve conditions.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
19	<p><b>'The main weakness of the Populist movement was a lack of effective leadership.' Discuss.</b></p> <p>AO1 – The question requires an analysis of the weaknesses of the Populist Movement with particular emphasis on its leadership. The effectiveness of the leadership should be measured against that of other factors.</p> <p>AO2 – Oliver Kelly promoted the co-operative movement and won court cases against railway companies and James Weaver contested the presidential election of 1876 for the Greenbacks. Macune built on the work of Kelly and Weaver and, by 1890, four governors and seven State legislatures in the South were supporters. However, the proposal of Tom Watson that African Americans and Whites should fight together only alienated many of the latter. Perhaps, the biggest error of the party leadership was to adopt the manifesto of 1892, which set it against capitalism, so alienating businessmen. However, the Democrats adopted many elements of the Omaha platform and accepted Tom Watson as their vice-presidential candidate in the elections of 1896 and 1900. Factors other than leadership help explain the weakness of the movement. Populists were mainly farmers and, although numerous, their constituency was limited. They lacked unity of aims and organisation. The Movement was born of straightened times and when they eased their support fell away. Farmers gained from the high tariff introduced in 1897, the influx of gold with consequent inflationary tendencies and problems for foreign farmers allowed US farmers opportunities abroad. The Movement lacked support in Congress, where their proposals for rural reform were rejected. They failed to make an impact on Southern White farmers, for whom race remained their first concern, or the industrial workers. Both Democrats and Republicans adopted parts of the Populist platform and adapted themselves to the challenge of the latter, so that Populism gradually lost its discrete credentials and effectively merged with the traditional parties.</p>	30



Question	Answer	Marks
20	<p><b>How significant were the achievements of the presidency of Theodore Roosevelt?</b></p> <p>AO1 – Candidates might consider the legacy of Roosevelt in the short and/or long term. He was president from 1901 to 1909. His legacy can be measured in terms of his influence on politics, domestic affairs and the position of the USA abroad.</p> <p>AO2 – In politics, he did much to enhance respect for the presidency. This was largely due to his energetic and charismatic personality. He communicated well with all people and enjoyed widespread and undimmed public support. He was the preferred candidate for a third term in 1908, but he declined to stand again. However, he did stand in 1912 against Taft, the incumbent, and in doing so split the Republican vote, allowing Wilson in. At home, he was a progressive reformer. He talked of ‘trust busting’ and a ‘square deal for labour’: he settled the miners’ dispute of 1902; he addressed the problem of food safety; and, he introduced legislation to protect the countryside and preserve wildlife. He confronted big corporations to check unfair competition, the charges made by railroad companies and the distribution of their profits. His actions did much to commend progressivism and Taft and Wilson continued in the same vein. As such, he established the presidency as important in addressing the economic and social issues of the time. In foreign affairs, he did much to establish the USA as a global, if not an ‘imperial’ power. The construction of the Panama Canal and the ‘Roosevelt Corollary’ gave the USA dominance in Central America and the Caribbean. He resolved Venezuela’s debts and took over the finances of the Dominican Republic in 1905. The USA achieved a role as international arbiter in resolving international disputes with the Treaty of Portsmouth in 1905; for which he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace and is an indication of the esteem in which he and the USA were held. In 1907, he sent the ‘Great White Fleet’ to the Far East on a two-year tour of the Pacific, and the start of construction of foundations for the naval base at Pearl Harbor meant US power in the Pacific and Far East was established.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
21	<p><b>How ‘progressive’ was the domestic policy of President Woodrow Wilson in the years to 1916?</b></p> <p>AO1 – The question requires an analysis of the domestic policy of Wilson during his first term as president. Those of ‘progressive’ views sought to reform politics and improve society in the USA by eradicating corruption and reducing the power of big business. He focused on the reform of trusts, the tariff and the banks, but also social and environmental issues.</p> <p>AO2 – The Clayton Anti-Trust Act of 1914 attempted to regulate big business more closely than ever before. Strikes, boycotts and picketing were legalised and the use of injunctions to prevent strikes was limited. Restrictions on the holding of shares and directorships by individuals in competing companies were introduced. The Federal Trade Commission, 1914, investigated unfair methods of trading (adulteration of goods and dishonest advertising, for example). The tariff was reduced from 37 per cent to 27 per cent in 1913 and more goods were allowed into the USA free of duty altogether (wool, steel, etc.), but income tax was raised on incomes over \$3000 to compensate; this was consistent with Wilson’s progressive attitude of fairness. A new federal banking system was started in 1913 which increased the flow of money and boosted investment. An independent Federal Reserve Board was set up to regulate interest rates and the flow of money in circulation. This achieved a more stable and safer banking system. Conditions for workers in various occupations were improved: sailors and merchant seaman, railroad workers and farmers all benefited in different ways. Some policies may be considered to have been very progressive indeed, but others may be regarded as modest both in their intention and effect. Wilson described himself as ‘a progressive with the brakes on’. Some may argue that his caution compromised his achievement, though the Supreme Court also limited the effect of his policies (the law of 1916 aimed at checking the employment of children younger than 14 years failed as it was later declared unconstitutional). Little progress was made in the reform of politics, though he set high standards of honesty and integrity in the president’s office.</p>	30

## Section 5: 1914-1953

Question	Answer	Marks
22	<p><b>‘Prosperous only on the surface.’ How valid is this judgement on the United States in the 1920s?</b></p> <p>AO1 – The question requires an assessment of the decade often known as the ‘Boom Years’. Prosperity was evident in many sectors, especially manufacturing industry, though not in all: agriculture did not fare as well. The wealth generated brought prosperity to the nation, but how widespread and deep it is a matter of debate.</p> <p>AO2 – The Wall Street Crash in October 1929 might be considered an indication that prosperity was superficial. Similarly, at the beginning of the decade the economy was in recession. The prosperity of the 1920s was, arguably, confined to the period from 1922, at the earliest, to October 1929. The experience of certain groups during the boom years suggests prosperity was only superficial. Farmers’ incomes fell, land values depreciated and 5 per cent of the population moved to the towns. Unions were weak in the period, and as a result, efforts to introduce a minimum wage to protect semi and unskilled workers failed. African Americans remained poor whether as sharecroppers in the South or factory workers in the North. The counter argument might stress the extent of the boom. Growth was about 2 per cent a year, unemployment never exceeded 3.7 per cent (compared with 6.1 per cent between 1911 and 1917), and inflation was less than 1 per cent. As such, there was greater job security for millions (who worked shorter hours, too) and real wages rose by 13 per cent, 1922–29. Millions had money to spend and retail sales of electrical goods and cars reflected prosperity. The multiplier effect on other industry was enormous. However, it might be argued that the dependence of the economy on this sector was dangerous and the disadvantages of mass production might be assessed in terms of the well-being of workers even at a time of prosperity. Furthermore, the development of hire purchase and easy credit might be regarded as an indication of the superficiality of the prosperity, amply exposed in the Crash of 1929.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
23	<p data-bbox="316 248 1189 282"><b>How successful was the New Deal in helping working people?</b></p> <p data-bbox="316 315 1326 483">AO1 – The question requires an analysis of the extent to which the New Deal helped working people cope with the economic difficulties caused by the Great Depression. Candidates might consider the impact of the New Deal on the unemployed and those in work, as well as women workers, African Americans and farmers, and on standards of living.</p> <p data-bbox="316 517 1326 1189">AO2 – Millions of jobs were created through a number of alphabet agencies. Public works schemes improved the infrastructure (schools, hospitals, roads, energy supplies, etc.). Yet, unemployment levels remained stubbornly high and most of the jobs created were for manual rather than white-collar workers. Arguably, the opportunities for women and African Americans were less than for white males. Some may argue that regional differences were marked. Union rights were improved but the power of employers and the rulings of the Supreme Court weakened such measures. Farmers were offered lower interest rates on mortgages and helped by the AAA, but many consider the improved conditions for farmers were due more to the effect of the dust bowl in cutting production. If the New Deal failed to reduce poverty, welfare support was extended with the Social Security Act of 1935. Some candidates may argue that the stabilising of the banking system was of indirect help to the working class, in that investment and secure finances were essential to the wellbeing of the whole economy. Even if there were limitations to the help that the New Deal provided for working people, it might be argued that it offered them hope and a sense of optimism. Some may argue that the success of the New Deal was limited, made evident by comparison with the more extensively positive effects of the Second World War in helping working people.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
24	<p><b>How consistent was the foreign policy of the United States in the years 1920–1941?</b></p> <p>AO1 – Candidates may consider the consistency of US foreign policy from different angles. Most are likely to concentrate on the aims and methods of US policy, and some may consider the impact of the policy. Some may approach the subject with a broad perspective, whilst others may focus on specific issues or areas where US interests were involved.</p> <p>AO2 – In arguing that US policy was consistent, some candidates might consider US attitudes to the League of Nations. Also, the reluctance of the USA to be involved in the major international disputes of the period (especially in the 1930s) might be regarded as consistent with its preference for neutrality. US adherence to the Monroe Doctrine in its relations with Latin America might be discussed. Similarly, US attitudes in the Far East continued the ‘Open Door’ policy of the nineteenth century. However, it might be argued that US policy abroad appeared to be inconsistent. Though it distanced itself from European affairs, the USA was actively involved in the search for a solution to the problem of reparations (Dawes and Young Plans). Despite adopting a policy of avoiding ‘entangling alliances’, the USA was a founding member of the Kellogg-Briand Pact and sponsored the Washington Conference of 1921–22. Although not a member of the League, the USA was prepared to support its attempts to secure disarmament.</p> <p>Candidates may argue that inconsistency was more apparent than real, in so far as US policy was determined by US economic and strategic interests. For example, US attempts to resolve the reparations problem served to stimulate trade and intervention in Cuba in 1933, to support Batista, was undertaken for strategic as well as economic reasons. Judgements are likely to acknowledge that US foreign policy might appear to show some inconsistency, but that fundamentally it was consistent in its objective to preserve US interests, even if it was not always consistent in its ways of achieving this.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
25	<p><b>Why was ‘containment’ such an important feature of the foreign policy of the United States in the years 1945–1953?</b></p> <p>AO1 – The question requires an analysis of the reasons for containment. Candidates are likely to emphasise ideological, military, strategic and economic factors. Candidates are likely to define ‘containment’ as the restraint of communism and may point to the advances made by the USSR in controlling Eastern Europe, the establishment of communism in China in 1949, and the threat posed by communists in North Korea and North Vietnam.</p> <p>AO2 – Communism was seen as anathema to US beliefs in capitalism, democracy and individual liberty. ‘Containment’ was an intrinsic element in the Cold War and the struggle for supremacy between the West and the East. The USA was obliged to confront communist expansion to retain the leadership of the ‘free world’. Also, the USSR had two million men in Eastern Europe and posed a physical threat to the West. The civil war in Greece was proof of this, as a result of which the Truman Doctrine – ‘containment’ – emerged. The Berlin Blockade was another example and had to be challenged. After 1949, the USSR had the A-Bomb and from 1953 they matched the USA with the H-Bomb. The USSR was perceived as a threat to the very existence of mankind. In terms of the strategic interests of the USA, both the USSR and China had to be ‘contained’. The former was a threat to the USA in Europe and the latter to its interests in the Far East, and especially its hegemony of the Pacific. Reference might be made to the Korean War and US diplomatic support for the French against the Vietminh. Communism was a threat to the trade and business of private enterprise. The Marshall Plan may be regarded as an indication of this and US defence of the Far East was partly to safeguard its oil interests. A synthesis of the various reasons might be attempted.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
26	<p><b>'McCarthyism presented only a minimal threat to the civil liberties of Americans.' Assess this view.</b></p> <p>AO1 – McCarthy's 'crusade' against communism lasted from 1949 to 1954, when he was censured by the Senate. There is little doubt that McCarthyism did threaten the civil liberties of Americans, but candidates might dispute the extent of the threat.</p> <p>AO2 – Evidence that the threat was extensive includes the attack on those who worked in Hollywood. In all, 12 writers and actors were imprisoned, blacklisted or fined and their reputations ruined. The case of Alger Hiss in the State Department and the Rosenbergs were examples of the extreme lengths of the persecution by McCarthyism. Hundreds of employees in the same department lost their jobs. School teachers lost their jobs (300 in New York City alone). Firms were blacklisted. Various laws infringed the liberties of communists and in an emergency anyone could be arrested on suspicion of subversion. In 1948, the Supreme Court decided that the rights of Americans to the First Amendment (of free speech and assembly) could be denied. Those called before the HUAC who invoked the Fifth Amendment (to remain silent) were usually assumed to be guilty. Between 1950 and 1952, 117 people were incited for contempt of Congress and jailed (more than for the whole of the previous century). Further, the HUAC continued its activities until 1957, and loyalty oaths remained in place in many States beyond that date. For those directly affected, McCarthyism was a massive threat to their liberties. However, the effect was also indirect. Fear of persecution intimidated others with 'liberal' views, and discouraged trade unionists from exercising their right to strike and demand improved conditions. A counter argument could be mounted. The HUAC hearings were in place for only nine years and McCarthy himself was only active from 1949 to 1954. The Tydings Committee in 1950 called McCarthy a 'fraud and a hoax' and the press were largely opposed to the whole business. The televising of committee meetings served to weaken the credibility of McCarthyism and stimulate resistance. Further, Eisenhower undermined McCarthy and served to restore confidence and reduce the energy of those who threatened civil liberties.</p>	30

## Section 6: 1953–2012

Question	Answer	Marks
27	<p><b>'Unsuccessful in his domestic policy.'</b> Discuss this judgement on President John F. Kennedy.</p> <p>AO1 – The question requires an assessment of Kennedy's domestic policy. Candidates are likely to measure the success of his domestic policy against his aims and intentions. Some may emphasise the short-term outcome and others the longer-term perspective. Candidates may deal with Kennedy's successes and then his failures.</p> <p>AO2 – On the economy, he aimed to reduce unemployment and stimulate growth. Unemployment fell from 6.5 per cent to 5.3 per cent and inflation from 3.5 per cent to 1.3 per cent (1960–64). Yet, 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 uncooperative and levels of unemployment remained high. Kennedy aimed to reduce poverty: the minimum wage was increased; job training schemes were introduced; and deprived areas were targeted for investment. Yet, much of the latter 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 women did benefit. Kennedy's health-care 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. 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 (Johnson introduced major reforms based on JFK's agenda); so some may judge Kennedy's domestic policy as more successful in the longer rather than the shorter term.</p>	30



Question	Answer	Marks
28	<p><b>What best explains the escalating involvement of the United States in Vietnam in the years 1964–1972?</b></p> <p>AO1 – The question requires a comparative analysis of the reasons for involvement of the USA in Vietnam with emphasis on the reasons why US involvement increased in the period. Candidates might consider the political and military situation in Vietnam at the beginning of and during the period. Some may set Vietnam in the broader context of the Cold War and the aims and interests of the USA. Details about the scale of US involvement in terms of troop numbers, the extent of their operations on land and in the air, and the political influence they exerted in the government of Vietnam, might be provided.</p> <p>AO2 – Some answers are likely to focus on: the domino theory; the Cold War dimension; the economic interests of the USA; the defence of the Geneva Agreement of 1954; and, the commitment of the USA to SEATO (1954). However, these factors, in themselves, do not explain the ‘escalating’ involvement of the USA. The death of Diem created a power vacuum in South Vietnam which challenged the Americans. Johnson escalated US involvement almost immediately. This was largely because the success of the communists could not be ignored. The Vietcong were increasing in strength and controlled about 40 per cent of the land by 1964. The Tonkin incident occurred at the height of the presidential campaign in which Johnson faced Goldwater, an extreme anti-communist, so increasing US involvement after the incident was politically convenient. Thereafter, US involvement increased hugely. Some candidates may emphasise the ‘ratchet’ effect and how involvement increased as almost an inevitable process once the first step had been taken. This, however, was only necessary because of the success of communist forces. The effect of the Tet Offensive and subsequent developments is relevant. The dominance of ‘hawks’ in the White House as well as the military establishment, might be stressed. US arrogance in their superior technology was a factor, and the Cold War context may be regarded as an irresistible force.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
29	<p><b>What best explains why Jimmy Carter lost the presidential election of 1980?</b></p> <p>AO1 – The question requires a comparative analysis of the reasons for Carter’s defeat in 1980 with a judgement about the relative merits of the various factors identified. Candidates may highlight the shortcomings of Carter’s personality and style, his failure in foreign policy and his disappointing domestic record. In addition, consideration of the appeal of Ronald Reagan, who won the election, is likely.</p> <p>AO2 – His informal style offended some who thought he demeaned the office of President. Yet his home-spun approach appealed to some and it could be argued that Reagan cut a similar figure as a relaxed candidate. Foreign affairs may have influenced some voters against Carter. The election campaign was dominated by the Tehran hostage crisis, and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 rebounded on Carter as a failure to contain communism; and, his decision to boycott the 1980 Olympics to be held in Moscow was unpopular. However, an agreement was made with Panama to cede control of the canal to the latter and so resolved a difficult issue peacefully. However, his critics regarded this concession as a sign of weakness and contrary to national interests. The Treaty between Egypt and Israel was a major triumph and the first significant advance in resolving the Middle East problem. His amnesty for those who dodged the draft for Vietnam was controversial, but not universally condemned. As his successes were in the earlier part of his presidency, it might be argued that the setbacks were more significant in the minds of voters at the time of the election. At home, the economy was beset by inflation, running at 13 per cent by 1980, high interest rates of 20 per cent and rising unemployment (after a fall in his first year). However, Affirmative Action was promoted by Carter. He created a Department of Energy and started the green debate. He reorganised the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Reagan was able to exploit the failures of Carter at home and abroad by merely promising to do better. His experience, charm and oratorical skills also commended him. Crucially, religious groups, feminists and the National Right to Life backed him.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
30	<p data-bbox="316 248 1284 315"><b>How much did the domestic policies of President George H. W. Bush (1989–1993) differ from those of President Reagan?</b></p> <p data-bbox="316 349 1313 551">AO1 – The question requires a comparison of the domestic policies of Bush and Reagan. Candidates should identify similarities and differences. In judgement, they may assess the extent of the difference. As Bush was Vice-President to Reagan, it might be argued that the two men were of similar views. Candidates may focus on economic and social policy, but also on the role of government in general terms.</p> <p data-bbox="316 584 1331 1223">AO2 – Reagan focused on making large cuts in taxation to motivate enterprise and employment. However, he increased spending on the military and the federal budget deficit was made worse by economic recession, 1990–92, and the Gulf War in 1991. Despite his pledge not to raise taxes, Bush did so in 1990. So, while unemployment and inflation fell under Reagan, the economy lumbered under Bush. Reagan also made big reductions in federal spending on welfare. Bush was reluctant to extend this policy, not least because the percentage defined as living in poverty increased substantially. Both Reagan and Bush favoured the reduction of the role of the federal government. Reagan’s ‘new federalism’ aimed to give States more responsibility. However, these plans did not gain approval in Congress. Bush did not pursue this policy given its earlier failure. Both favoured greater involvement of the private sector in areas of social policy. Candidates may discuss that although the policies of the two presidents were similar in principle, there were differences in the degree to which Bush was able or willing to adhere to them. They might argue that the inheritance of the two men was different, which explains the difference in their policies. Similarly, Bush was obliged to trim given that Congress was less accommodating with him than with Reagan.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
31	<p><b>Assess the view that the presidency of Bill Clinton was one of limited achievement.</b></p> <p>AO1 – The question requires an assessment of Clinton’s record as President. Candidates may analyse different aspects of his policies at home and abroad. Some may measure his achievement against his declared aims. At home, Clinton’s main concerns were health care and economic problems, which became a priority. Abroad, Clinton devoted considerable time to Middle East problems, the Balkans and Somalia.</p> <p>AO2 – Clinton’s plans to reform health were ambitious but popular, and Clinton had support in Congress. Yet, the policy had to be abandoned, even if this was more the fault of Hillary Clinton, who was the driving force behind the scheme, and the entrenched resistance of insurance companies and drugs companies. Nonetheless, the debate on a key issue had been started. He enjoyed success in securing tax rises on large corporations and the rich, and the USA joined NAFTA. However, it could be argued that economic recovery was due more to the dotcom revolution in new technology and the work of his predecessor, for example, in negotiating the terms of US membership of NAFTA. Clinton achieved legislation that allowed State governments to take responsibility for many welfare programmes. Clinton’s impeachment in the Senate destroyed not only his reputation but his ability, thereafter, to secure any legislative achievements of note. In foreign affairs, the Oslo Accords were agreed, and Rabin and Arafat met together at the White House, in 1993, and five years later Netanyahu and Arafat struck a deal. However, the reality was that very little changed in practice. Some might argue that the intervention of NATO, led by America, in Kosovo, in 1999, was a success in preventing genocide and resolving the problem there. It was also Clinton who negotiated an agreement in Bosnia in 1995. However, in both cases action was too late to prevent the horrors of Sarajevo and Srebrinica. Clinton retained US forces in Somalia, initiated by Bush. They struggled to make a difference.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
32	<p><b>'Obama's victory in the 2008 presidential election was only a reaction to the policies of George W. Bush.' Discuss.</b></p> <p>AO1– The question requires an analysis of the outcome of the presidential election of 2008. Of all the factors that explain Obama's victory, candidates should focus on the impact of the policies of George W. Bush. However, other reasons for his victory should be considered including Obama's appeal, the weaknesses of his Republican opponent, and other factors.</p> <p>AO2 – In many ways, the presidency of George W. Bush was a failure. The 9/11 attack undermined confidence in the security forces and subsequent measures, such as the Patriot Act, caused concerns about the threat to personal liberties. Foreign policy was a major source of public disillusionment. After early euphoria, the invasion of Iraq came to be regarded as a mistake, not least because of persistent casualties but, also, concerns about the rationale for the war. In 2008, voters wanted a different strategy. Bush's 'compassionate conservatism' failed to deliver, for example, on education reform. Attempts to revive the economy, in recession from 2001–2002, failed. Bush's negative attitude to climate change alienated many. The reversal suffered by Republicans in the mid-term elections of 2006 was an indication of Bush's unpopularity. Obama's appeal was clearly important. His simple slogan, 'Hope', offered optimism, his African American roots and his cerebral strengths, which were in sharp contrast to the dullness of Bush, secured the support of significant sections of the electorate. The efficiency of Obama's campaign organisation might be assessed. His Republican opponent, John McCain, lacked sufficiently wide support, and his running mate, Sarah Palin, lacked credibility. Some candidates might stress the severity of the financial crisis of 2008 as crucial in explaining Obama's victory. The banking crisis had directly negative consequences for millions of homeowners. Also, it might be argued that the outcome of the election was merely the cyclical swing from one party to the other, especially as Bush's victories in 2000 and 2004 were extremely tight.</p>	30

## Section 7: Themes c.1900–2000

Question	Answer	Marks
33	<p><b>'The period 1941 to c.1980 was one of radical economic change in the USA.' How valid is this view?</b></p> <p>AO1 – The question requires an analysis of the extent of economic change. Candidates may argue that there was no change in this period: the USA remained the most advanced economy in the world. Similarly, the economy was susceptible to the cycle of 'boom and bust'. However, there was considerable change in terms of the strength and importance of different sectors, technology, transport and the labour market, for example.</p> <p>AO2 – A significant change was the increase in the importance of the demands of the military which effectively skewed the industry to the production of war materials. This was so between 1941 and 1945 but the wars in Korea and Vietnam, as well as the arms race with the USSR, sustained this emphasis. By 1980, to a large degree, the economy was dependent on the foreign policy of the USA and the commitments of its military complex. This marked a radical change in the structure of the economy. Technological advances in the period were immense in terms of products made and the means of production. Arguably, the process of technological change – automation – has been continuous, but the rate of change in this period was greater than before. Government involvement in the management of the economy was considerable. This was particularly evident in the Second World War but thereafter government policies on labour law, fiscal policy and the regulation of business practices were significant. Candidates may argue that this was no different to the period of the New Deal and that government policy was, to a large extent, as it had always been, influenced by big business. The massive expansion of the consumer market may be considered a radical change. Rising standards of living and changes in lifestyle help explain the increase in output. Allied to this was a huge expansion in the construction trade to meet the demand for housing. However, as in previous periods, wealth was unevenly spread and such change was regional. There were radical changes to the infrastructure with the building of the interstate roads and the growth of air travel. This meant greater flexibility and change in the labour market and internal trade.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
34	<p><b>What best explains the rise of an imperial presidency in the period 1933–1974?</b></p> <p>AO1 – The question concerns the power of the presidency from Roosevelt (FDR) to Nixon. It implies that during this period, the presidency assumed increasing authority and influence which made it dominant over other political institutions.</p> <p>AO2 – Explanations for this development might include the personality of the presidents. It might be argued that some were very charismatic especially FDR and JFK which enhanced the image of the presidency. However, did Johnson and Nixon have the same appeal? The importance of national emergency might be stressed as during the Depression of the 1930s and the Second World War, FDR acquired extra powers, as did Johnson during the Vietnam War, yet the efforts of Congress to monitor and check the power of the presidency might be discussed. The role of the media might be considered in terms of how it was used by presidents to their advantage and how media attention on the presidency has elevated the president to almost regal status. Yet, the media has also held the presidency to account. The increase in US economic and military power might be seen as an explanation for the imperial presidency but, it might be argued, the strength of the USSR and China exposed the limitations of that authority.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
35	<p><b>'Radicalism was the dominant characteristic of cultural developments in the twentieth century.' How far do you agree?</b></p> <p>AO1 – The question concerns the characteristics of cultural developments. Candidates could either refer to painting, sculpture, literature, music, architecture, film, for example, in general, or concentrate on one art form.</p> <p>AO2 – Radicalism might be regarded as evident in how art was used to challenge accepted norms in terms of particular styles and/or attitudes, or as a means of political dissent, for example: modernism necessitated a break with tradition; and, Hollywood films and pop culture have challenged social attitudes and the political establishment. Yet, it might be argued that in many ways art forms have upheld conservative values and that there has been a reaction against radicalism so that cultural developments have, in some respects, at least, remained the same. Some might argue that the context of time and place within the USA has determined the nature of cultural developments which help explain why in areas such as California and the Eastern seaboard, cultural radicalism was more pronounced than in the South and more rural areas.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
36	<p><b>Why did the 1960s witness so much social change in the United States?</b></p> <p>AO1 – The question requires an analysis of the reasons for social change in the 1960s. Candidates are likely to focus on some of the following changes: a reduction in poverty, advances in civil rights, improvements in education, changes in styles of living, changes in attitudes to authority and changes in the status of women.</p> <p>AO2 – A number of factors might be considered that explain the extent of change. Politically, the 1960s was a decade dominated by the Democrats. Kennedy promised change and Johnson achieved a great deal with his Great Society programme. The impact of Martin Luther King, Malcolm X and the Black Panthers might be considered. Economic factors were important. More Americans were more affluent with more time, which encouraged the growth of suburbs and the expansion of places in the sun. With the doubling of car ownership in the 1960s, people had the means to move. Consumerism meant people had more material possessions including the television (only 4 per cent of US households did not have a set by 1970) which was also a factor in explaining social change. The media meant people were more informed and more engaged in public debate, and was a reason for the greater impact of the civil rights movement in the 1960s. Events abroad promoted the anti-authoritarianism of the decade. Vietnam was a particularly contentious issue and encouraged many to challenge authority (draft dodgers, protest, etc.). Some, perhaps a minority, opted out altogether to lead alternative lifestyles. Immigration into the USA was a major factor for change, as were shifts in the patterns of internal migration with an increase in the numbers moving to the towns. Improvements in health provision and better diets may also explain why Americans were living longer.</p>	30



Question	Answer	Marks
37	<p><b>'The rise of a conservative culture in the period from 1968 to 2000 is a myth.' Discuss.</b></p> <p>AO1 – The question requires an assessment of the validity of a 'conservative culture'. Some candidates may regard it as rooted in tradition based on the values of allegiance to the flag, the Constitution and the principles of freedom and democracy. Some may stress conservative social attitudes and the conservatism of politics.</p> <p>AO2 – In support of the view that the rise of a conservative culture was a 'myth', candidates may refer to the extent of social change over the period. In terms of the rights of minorities, candidates may focus on the position of gays, women, the disabled and ethnic groups, for whom there were considerable advances. There were improvements in the rights and opportunities of African Americans, for example, with the policy of affirmative action. Churches were losing ground in terms of attendance at church and their influence on people had declined. Possibly, the loss of charismatic preachers helps explain the diminution of conservative culture. A possible counter view is that there was a rise in a conservative culture. Problems of race were persistent. Also, it might be argued that the controversy about gay bishops served to stimulate conservative tendencies. The Church took a lead in opposing sex outside marriage (chastity rings campaign). Religion remained central to many areas within the 'Bible Belt'. The situation was similar regarding gun ownership. The 2nd Amendment (the right to bear arms) was defended vigorously by many, despite the pressure from many quarters to restrict the ownership of guns. This matter was discussed before 1968, but assumed a greater intensity because of the misuse of arms in the late twentieth century. It also epitomised a broader aspect of conservative culture, which is the traditional defence of the Constitution. Most Americans see the political arrangements of the late eighteenth century as immutable. The concept of checks and balances enshrined in the Constitution led to deadlock and inactivity. Arguably, as concerns about terrorism increased and with the experience of authoritarianism abroad, it is plausible to talk of 'a rise of conservative culture'.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
38	<p><b>Why did immigration become an increasingly controversial subject in the period from 1945 to 2000?</b></p> <p>AO1 – The question requires an analysis of the reasons why immigration was more controversial in 2000 than it had been in 1945. Candidates may indicate the scale of immigration into the USA after 1945 (between 1950–1970 nearly 6 million people entered the country; and, the removal of the quota in 1965 stimulated further inflows, with the number doubling between 1965-1970 and 1970- 1990).</p> <p>AO2 – The demands of immigration on State and Federal funds had always been an issue, but a rise in numbers and the worsening of the country’s finances had made immigration more ‘controversial’, and the increase in illegal immigration increased the controversy. Ways of resolving the problem, such as an amnesty, proved controversial. Monitoring the border with Mexico generated debate and some suggestions were increasingly controversial. Perhaps allied to this concern was that of homeland security and fears about terrorist threats from abroad. In light of more terrorist attacks and knowledge of terrorist plots, the question of immigration became more controversial. Economically, the role of immigrants was always controversial but as the challenges to the US economy increased, the issue became more so. The need for a high-skilled work force intensified the debate about immigration. The concentration of immigrants in particular areas persisted making the issue of immigration more controversial. Mexicans in Arizona and New Mexico, and Puerto Ricans in New York City, created areas which were racially discrete from the rest of society and fuelled controversy, not least in terms of its political and social impact. Issues such as drug trafficking and crime, became bigger problems over the period, and were intrinsically linked to the issue of immigration, and also help explain why immigration became increasingly controversial.</p>	30