



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

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**HISTORY**

**9769/23**

Paper 2 European History Outlines, c.1715–c.2000

**May/June 2019**

MARK SCHEME

Maximum Mark: 90

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**Published**

This mark scheme is published as an aid to teachers and candidates, to indicate the requirements of the examination. It shows the basis on which Examiners were instructed to award marks. It does not indicate the details of the discussions that took place at an Examiners' meeting before marking began, which would have considered the acceptability of alternative answers.

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

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.1715–c.1774

Question	Answer	Marks
1	<p><b>‘A great minister and a great servant of France.’ Does Fleury deserve this description?</b></p> <p>AO1 – Answers may refer to: Fleury’s relationship with Louis XV; his self-effacing and modest character; his recovery from Law’s exploits; his currency reform; the improved credit; roads; his working with Orry; Jansenists; the peaceful foreign policy; the economy; the poor military preparations; Poland; and, war with Austria.</p> <p>AO2 – To answer this question well, the two elements of the question need separating; it could be argued that Fleury was one, but less so the other. Some reflection on what the criteria for the two might be is also called for. There was a period of recovery, but also neglect in places.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
2	<p><b>How effectively was the Habsburg Empire ruled in this period?</b></p> <p>AO1 – Answers may refer to: Charles VI; Maria Theresa; the Austro-Turkish War; the War of the Quadruple Alliance; the Polish succession; huge debts and military failings; the Pragmatic Sanction; the loss of Silesia; Maria’s defence of her territory and her thrones; and, the educational and religious changes.</p> <p>AO2 – Answers should reflect on what the criteria for ‘effective’ rule might be in this context. It could be argued there were few real achievements, but in the case of Maria Theresa, just survival might demonstrate more than mediocrity. There were huge challenges and the regime at least survived, as well as there being signs of progress.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
3	<p><b>With what justification can Frederick the Great of Prussia be called ‘a highly enlightened despot’?</b></p> <p>AO1 – Answers may refer to: the work of Frederick William I; his bureaucracy; the army and military reform; his absorbing of Huguenot refugees and their economic impact; Pomerania; Frederick the Great; Silesia; the defeat of Austria; absolutism; alliances with other powers; his enlightened absolutism; his intelligent use of resources; and, his judicial and educational reform.</p> <p>AO2 – Answers should reflect on what the requirements might be to become a ‘truly’ enlightened despot and a clear case made out each way once a definition is established.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
4	<p><b>'The desire to maintain a balance of power played only a limited part in eighteenth-century diplomacy and war.' Discuss</b></p> <p>AO1 – Answers may refer to: the various treaties such as Utrecht and Nystad; the ambitions of Prussia; the traditional rivalries such as those between the Bourbon and Hapsburg's; the commercial rivalry; the desire for colonies; mercantilist ideas; the specific causes of conflicts such as the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years War; and, Polish partitions.</p> <p>AO2 – Answers should examine the extent to which the balance of power ideas influenced both international diplomacy and the various European Wars which took place in the period. Arguably, the causes of wars had little to do with the idea of balance, but when it came to peace-making, it played a much greater part.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
5	<p><b>Assess the achievements of Philip V of Spain.</b></p> <p>AO1 – Answers may refer to: Philip's inability to stand up to French domination and influence, then that of Isabella Farnese; his employment of potential reformers such as Orry, de Macanaz and Patino; the reforms of the royal household; some financial reforms; the developments in the army, navy and communications; the improvements in trade, industry and the arts; and, the bankruptcy of 1739.</p> <p>AO2 – Reflection on what might be considered an 'achievement' in this context would be a good start. Historians on the whole have been very harsh on Philip, and there is justification for that view. The regime was largely kept going by bullion from South America, and it could well be argued that the changes initiated in the reign were superficial and there was a deep reluctance to tackle any of the fundamental underlying problems.</p>	30

## Section 2: c.1774–1815

Question	Answer	Marks
6	<p><b>'She failed to address the fundamental problems facing Russia.'</b> <b>Discuss this judgement on Catherine the Great.</b></p> <p>AO1 – Answers may refer to: the Turkish conflicts; Poland; the Crimea; serfdom; her longevity; her patronage of the arts; her educational reforms; her role as mediator; the Assignation bank; her tolerance for Moslems; and, Pugachev.</p> <p>AO2 – Answers should offer an analysis of both her domestic and foreign policies and comment on the extent to which anything of real merit was achieved. There needs to be identification of what might be the 'fundamental' problems of Russia at the time and comment on the extent, if at all, she dealt with them.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
7	<p><b>Was Joseph II more successful abroad than at home?</b></p> <p>AO1 – Answers may refer to: his enlightened absolutism; his reform programme; his failure to anticipate and deal with the opposition; serfdom/the peasantry; tolerances; the administrative unity; legal reforms; educational changes; the Jesuits; his failure in Germany; and, the Turkish wars and Balkan interests.</p> <p>AO2 – Answers should consider the criteria for 'success', and offer a supported judgement about the relative success of domestic and foreign policy.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
8	<p><b><i>(Candidates offering Paper 5f: The French Revolution should not answer this question.)</i></b></p> <p><b>What best explains the coming of the Terror?</b></p> <p>AO1 – Answers may refer to: the failure to achieve any consensus about how France should be governed; the failure of the monarchy; the background of war and invasion; the real hunger; the role of the emigres; the background of the September Massacres and the Bastille; the fear of the 'enemy within'; the political inexperience of the legislators; and, the role of the radicals and the crowds.</p> <p>AO2 – The key is to demonstrate awareness of the circumstances of the time. One historian referred to it as 'studied savagery from above and impulsive brutality from below', which could sum it up quite well. There was a huge amount of paranoia, fear and suspicion by the end of 1792 and no-one was capable of dealing with it.</p>	30



Question	Answer	Marks
9	<p><b><i>(Candidates offering Paper 5g: Napoleon and Europe should not answer this question.)</i></b></p> <p><b>How far did Napoleon maintain the ideals of ‘liberty, equality and fraternity’ in the domestic policies of the Consulate?</b></p> <p>AO1 – Answers may refer to: the plebiscites; the Concordat; the religious tolerance, of the Jews, for example; education; the Codes; the constitutional and administrative changes; propaganda; censorship; Fouché and his police; and, careers open to talent.</p> <p>AO2 – On the one hand, there was the uniform administration, the maintenance of a constitution, toleration, legal changes and a greater equality of opportunity to link the Consulate at least to the initial ideas of the Revolution on equality, if not so convincingly on liberty. On the other hand, the concentration of power and the limited powers of the assemblies, together with the elements of a police state indicated a limited link to liberty and real fraternity.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
10	<p><b>How successful was Alexander I’s foreign policy?</b></p> <p>AO1 – Answers may refer to: Alexander’s inconsistency towards France; the invasion; the Continental System and the Coalitions; the gains of Vienna, Poland and Finland; the Holy Alliance and his relationship with Metternich; Persia; the Congress of Laibach; and, Greece.</p> <p>AO2 – Answers should reflect on what might be the criteria for a ‘successful’ foreign policy. Perhaps, one that maintained peace might be seen as more successful than one that simply added territory to Russia?</p>	30

## Section 3: Themes c.1715–c.1815

Question	Answer	Marks
11	<p><b>‘Enlightened despotism: a meaningless term which flatters monarchs who were more interested in despotism than enlightened thinking.’ Discuss.</b></p> <p>AO1/AO2 – This view would be based on the lack of development of representative assemblies or any constitutional development which seriously involved sharing power. The reforms would be seen more in terms of preserving power than in any enlightened desire to reform, and the vocabulary of enlightenment and the interest in ‘modern’ thinking would be seen as mere affectation: Catherine the Great’s unwillingness to reform serfdom and, thereby, lose the backing of her nobles for power, for instance; the promotion of economic developments by Frederick the Great could be seen merely as a means of supporting his relentless militarism; Joseph II’s religious changes could be seen as reinforcing his own power over the church. The counterview might be that this is unfair and that the monarchs were steeped in the intellectual currents of their age and genuinely effected educational reforms, legal changes, toleration, and so on, which makes ‘meaningless’ over severe, even if the reforms did not weaken their power or share their authority.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
12	<p><b>Which saw the more significant musical achievements in the eighteenth century: orchestral or vocal music?</b></p> <p>AO1 – Orchestral music developed in the course of the century from suites, overtures and concerti to the formal symphony. These were often written for court or noble orchestras like Haydn’s works for Prince Esterhazy but at the end of the period Mozart, Beethoven and Haydn were producing works for public concerts, often with quite large forces. Some orchestral works remained exercises in formal development, but Haydn was a true innovator and his <i>Sturm und Drang</i> works reveal a vein of passionate feeling that was not common to the genre. Mozart’s genius probably lay more in his vocal music but, nevertheless, his later symphonies have enough emotional content and orchestral power to keep them in the repertoire, while those of his contemporaries remain rarities for the CD collector. Beethoven’s greatest symphonic achievements belong more to the earlier nineteenth century and were they to be included, the Eroica or the Fifth Symphony would make for a more balanced assessment, but as it is, the vocal music must surely be seen as more significant. The eighteenth century saw emotion as more expressed in the human voice than in instrumental music. Handel’s operatic and choral works are on a different level to his concerti. Mozart’s operas have an originality and character that set them apart from his orchestral oeuvre, wonderful though that is. This is probably less true of Haydn whose operas fail to engage in the way that is true of his symphonic works. Beethoven’s vocal writing is patchy in his early works. The lesser known composers like Graun and Bononcini and, sadly Gluck, live in their vocal works.</p> <p>AO2 – ‘achievement’ needs to be defined but some may see it in emotional expression, innovation or sheer technical prowess. Some may see the orchestral music as more of an achievement, given that there was a relatively limited tradition and orchestral instruments were often difficult to write for, for example, the valveless horns. Others may see the intensity of emotional expression and the development of characterisation in operas as the greater achievement.</p>	

Question	Answer	Marks
13	<p><b>How revolutionary were intellectual developments in the eighteenth century?</b></p> <p>AO1/AO2 – Of course, much will depend on the definition of ‘revolutionary’. The scientific discoveries while having no direct influence on political revolution nevertheless often paved the way for major discoveries and were themselves radical in changing attitudes. Economic theories of free trade had revolutionary potential in overturning accepted mercantilist and protectionist orthodoxies. Methodologies could be revolutionary in the sense of ground breaking, but the main thrust may well be to the political writings, and a discussion could focus on whether the ideas of the philosophes were ‘revolutionary’ in the sense of leading to political revolution, as well as whether the ideas broke with accepted traditions and led to new ways of thinking. The philosophes were not always radicals. Though his ideas of the separation of powers had an influence on revolutionary constitutions, Montesquieu was not a democrat. Rousseau probably did not envisage his philosophical enquiry into the reasons why governments should be obeyed as being any basis for national revolution. Socially Locke was conservative, but the implications of contract theory may be seen as potentially revolutionary.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
14	<p><b>How far do economic factors explain the imperial rivalry between European powers in the eighteenth century?</b></p> <p>AO1/AO2 – The War of the Spanish Succession had exhausted its main protagonists but established the practice of great power conflicts being fought on a world stage. The American settlements has considerable natural resources, but France and Britain had very different colonising philosophies, with France attempting to extract the maximum in terms of resources with relatively limited settlements, and the British colonists seeking more settlement and the chance for expansion. So rather different economic factors were pitched against each other. Conflicts in the West Indies where the resources were more concentrated and valuable, especially sugar, may have been more about economic wealth. India, too, offered highly lucrative resources – cotton, silk, spices, indigo, opium - and there was limited interest in settlement. While economic factors may have been important, they sometimes linked closely with other elements. Spain was anxious to maintain its traditional monopoly, as almost a symbol of traditional power and rights, and resented interlopers for more than purely economic reasons. In addition, wider European conflicts like the War of the Austrian Succession or the Seven Years War, gave rise to colonial conflicts and more was at stake than purely economic gain in the conflicts that spread into worldwide conflict. By the time of the War of American Independence, all sorts of motives for fighting in the American colonies were apparent: the desire for revenge for previous defeats; sympathy with the colonists; a desire for the wealth of the West Indies; and, concerns for the prestige of the monarchy.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
15	<p><b>'It is easier to assess the consequences than the causes of population rise in the eighteenth century.' Is it?</b></p> <p>AO1/AO2 – The factors which might explain population growth have been seen as a decline in the death rate with better hygiene, more cotton clothes and bedding, brick houses, some more medical knowledge, and some inoculation. Improvements in food supply or even industrial growth have been suggested as contributory factors. The alternative is that mortality remained fairly constant but fertility grew, and this has been explained by economic changes, greater demands for labour, and by urbanisation which relaxed traditional social controls and increased illegitimate births. There is the hypothesis that in bad times marriage was delayed, and with older women marrying, the chances of large families declined. The problem is that while the population of Europe jumped from around 110 million in 1700 to 190 million by c.1800, the conditions in different countries varied. The industrial growth in Britain was not mirrored in many other countries. Evidence of any major medical advance is uncertain. Urbanisation was sporadic in Europe as a whole.</p> <p>The consequences may be in some ways easier to assess; there was a growth in the work force, and a growth in the internal markets which had economic impacts. Politically, the growth of urban populations caused problems, especially in Paris. In military terms, there was a pool of people for the larger armies that had merged by the end of the eighteenth century. Population pressure on land was observable. However, there is not an automatic link between a generally higher population and particular economic or political developments. The predictions of Malthus did not come true in all countries, for instance, and greater urbanisation in England did not produce the revolutionary results that some have seen in France.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
16	<p><b>How great an impact did changes in transport have on industry in this period?</b></p> <p>AO1/AO2 – High transport costs were a major inhibiting factor in industrial growth before 1700. Bringing in raw materials was costly and exporting industrial products difficult. Localised industrial centres tended to be craft-based, and acquiring large amounts of materials and workers was often hampered by poor communications. Though there was more possibility of industrial growth where there were navigable rivers or coastal trades, and where vital raw materials such as ore were concentrated, many areas of Europe did not have these advantages. In areas of industrial growth, the development of canals made a difference. Roads, however, remained poor for most of the century and traditional trading routes catered for relatively limited wagons. In many areas, there were regional economies rather than national economies because of communications problems, and this inhibited the development of national markets and larger-scale industry. Relatively limited improvements could have a major effect and if industries depended on exports, then the development of better and faster shipping, both coastal- and ocean-going, could make an impact. However, in many areas of Europe, it was not until the railway revolution and more substantial developments in roads that transport affected industrial growth to the extent that it did in England, or in some parts of Europe, where there was a conscious effort to make improvements. Industrial growth was more likely to be impacted by the rise of internal markets, by technological changes and by greater investment from the profits of trade.</p>	30

## Section 4: 1815–1862

Question	Answer	Marks
17	<p><b><i>(Candidates offering Paper 5g: Napoleon and Europe should not answer this question.)</i></b></p> <p><b>'The outcome of the Congress of Vienna in 1815 shows that the common interests of the Great Powers were more important than the issues which divided them.' Discuss.</b></p> <p>AO1/AO2 – This view might be supported by the agreement on the treatment of France: to ensure that Napoleon did not return, and that the French were hemmed in by the Kingdom of the Netherlands, and by bringing Prussian power to the borders. In ideological terms, the primacy of monarchy had been established, and the powers had made known their opposition to the forces of revolutionary change and their commitment to legitimate princely authority. Austria had been strengthened and dominated Italy and Germany. There had been disputes over key territorial areas like Poland and Saxony. The Tsar wanted to become king of Poland and Prussia wanted Saxony. Austria and Britain opposed this. The partition of Poland and Saxony frustrated Russia by reserving Posen to Prussia, and Prussia gained only 60 per cent of Saxony. There was a broad consensus on re-establishing stability and ongoing cooperation through the Congress System to maintain the status quo.</p> <p>The counterview is that the Congress had revealed that there were deep divisions among the powers, as the prolonged discussions about Saxony showed. Also, the interest in ideology was not equally shared. Britain and Austria had limited interest in the Tsar's holy alliance ideas. It could be argued that the disagreements at the Congress meant that resentments and suspicions persisted. Austria could be seen to have gained disproportionately through not only formal grants of land, but dominance in Italy and Germany. Taking a long view, Prussian subordination was to be the cause of a major conflict and Austrian domination of Italy was to be challenged by the enlarged state of Piedmont.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
18	<p><b>To what extent, if at all, was the Tsarist regime stronger on the death of Nicholas I in 1855 than at his accession in 1825?</b></p> <p>AO1 – Arguments for his strengthening of the regime might focus on the suppression of the Decembrists and the crushing of the Polish revolt of 1830. The principles of autocracy, orthodoxy and nationality were clearly established. There could be little question of false expectations. The bureaucracy was firmly in control; the regime made little secret of its censorship and repression. Cultural life was strictly controlled. There was considerable territorial expansion. The reign was dominated by military power and a military outlook. The Tsar relied on direct orders to the bureaucracy, rather than ministerial government and ad hoc committees. The royal chancery oversaw law codification and new police forces. The Third Department oversaw the political police and its heads were his closest governmental associates. However, it would be inaccurate to see the reign as merely arid repression, as there was progress in law codification and plans to reform the conditions for the state peasantry, as well as some economic development. After 1848, the fear of revolution was dominant. Russia took a leading part in supporting the European monarchies against revolution and Russia itself faced major unrest. However, the weaknesses of the underlying system were revealed in the Crimean War. Despite his fervour for his military state, Nicholas had not ensured that military technology or vital communications had been developed enough to meet the threats from the Western powers. His successor felt that the survival of the regime depended on making much more extensive changes and reforms, which was itself a judgement on ‘the gendarme of Europe’.</p> <p>AO2 – A distinction could be made between the short-term security of the regime and its vulnerability under a system of rigid authoritarianism, without the accompanying investment in the army and industry and communications needed to support it. The colonial expansion, the centralisation of government and the effective control of political and cultural life, meant that Russia did not face the upheavals that faced the other continental powers in 1848. Ideas were not easy to spread, education was controlled, and, Russia’s limited middle class and relatively limited urbanisation meant that 1848 did not bring revolution. However, the serf society, the poor communications and the reluctance to innovate, resulted in Russia dislodging a relatively small and poorly-led allied expeditionary force, but unable to prevent the fortress of Sebastopol being taken. By 1855, there was a growing consensus among the elites round the new Tsar that reforms had to be made.</p>	30



Question	Answer	Marks
19	<p><b>Assess the achievements of Louis Philippe as King of the French.</b></p> <p>AO1/AO2 – Louis Philippe adopted the title King of the French using the form adopted by Louis XVI in 1791 to indicate that he was monarch of the French people, not France as a territorial unit. He was the favoured candidate of France's upper middle classes. The first phase of the reign saw threats and unrest from both right and left. The revolt of the silk weavers of Lyon was a serious outburst in 1831 and again in 1834. The later revolt spread to other southern cities and quite large-scale violence and repression. There were two days of fighting in Paris in 1831. As well as unrest on the left, there were attempts to bring about a Bourbon restoration in 1832, which was also suppressed. There were assassination attempts and a Bonapartist attempt to overthrow the monarchy in 1836 and 1840. One achievement was to establish his authority in the face of its opposition. The years between 1836 and 1840 saw greater stability, and greater economic growth took the edge off unrest. From 1840 to 1848, the ministry of Guizot saw more economic growth but increasing unrest, and the growth of more opposition culminating in the revolts of 1848 which toppled the monarchy. The bourgeois monarchy was forced into repression with press restrictions in 1832, and with special tribunals to try journalists. The law of association of 1834 made opposition groups illegal and there were arrests of opponents which drove opposition underground. More positively, Guizot's education law aimed to set up primary schools which would teach morality and obedience. Though the aim was political conformity, the new schools and teacher training colleges increased attendance, literacy and reduced the power of clerical education. In economic policy, industrial growth was encouraged by laissez-faire policies, though an 1841 law introduced child labour restrictions. Trade Union rights to strike remained restricted though unions gained some legal rights in 1845. In terms of economic policy, there was road building in the 1830s and rail construction in the 1840s, with an act of 1842 leading to 1800 kilometres of new track. The benefits of economic growth rates did not percolate to the poor with long working hours and low wages.</p> <p>In foreign policy, there was no attempt to support the Polish Revolt or to take over Belgium after the revolt of 1830 but rather to support Belgian independence, which gained British support at the price of some domestic unpopularity. Despite previous support of Mehemet Ali, Louis Philippe did not back him when confronted by British hostility and he replaced Thiers when he threatened war. He gave way to British pressure over a proposed marriage between Isabella of Spain and his son, but he upset Britain by marrying his son to her older sister. His most successful overseas policy was to complete the conquest of Algeria started by Charles X.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
20	<p><b>How much of Bismarck's success in uniting Germany by 1871 depended on favourable circumstances beyond his control?</b></p> <p>AO1/AO2 – Bismarck's contribution could be seen in terms of his support for the military reforms, pushed through in face of opposition; his neutralisation of Russia; his part in the success of the war against Denmark, and his policies towards Austria which brought about a victorious war without intervention by other non-German states; and, the Peace of Prague which was lenient enough to prevent Austria joining France in 1870. His policies towards the South German States and the war with France could be seen as highly effective, in that France was provoked to war which was fought without allies against a militarily superior Prussia. Alternatively, the context might be considered more significant with military developments independent of Bismarck and resulting from Prussia's economic development; the weakness of the liberal opposition; the defeat of Austria in 1859; the breakdown of the consensus in Europe against changing the balance of power; nationalist feeling in Germany; and, the inadequacy of leadership in France.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
21	<p><b>Assess the importance of the Piedmontese monarchy in uniting Italy in the period 1815 to 1871.</b></p> <p>AO1/AO2 – Initially conservative, the rulers of Piedmont Savoy became important in unification. After 1815, Victor Emmanuel I pursued reactionary policies until his death in 1821. Charles Felix (1821–1831) similarly opposed the forces of liberalism and nationalism. However, Charles Albert (1831–1849) raised hopes that the monarchy might bring about greater unification. He gave Piedmont the liberal constitution and fought Austria. Though he was defeated at Custoza, he established the idea that the monarchy could lead the struggle against Austrian domination and so separated the ideas of greater national unity from radicalism. Under Victor Emmanuel II, the liberal ministry of Cavour strengthened Piedmont economically and diplomatically. The King encouraged participation in the Crimean War, and during the Risorgimento permitted forces to invade the Papal States, for which he suffered excommunication. His intervention prevented Garibaldi attacking Rome, and he accepted the 'gift' of Southern Italy from Garibaldi at Teano. He was proclaimed the first King of Italy in 1861. His support of the alliance with Prussia was important in gaining Veneto in 1866, and he entered Rome after the French defeat by Prussia in 1870, making his capital there. Answers may compare his role with other factors in the unification, notably the policies of Cavour, the contribution of Garibaldi, foreign intervention, and Mazzini and nationalism. They may draw a distinction between his ambitions for the house of Savoy and the expansion of the Northern Italian kingdom and his interest in unification, shown perhaps by his decision to call himself Victor Emmanuel II and, therefore, continuing his title in Piedmont.</p>	30

## Section 5: 1862–1914

Question	Answer	Marks
22	<p><b>With what justification can the reign of Alexander II be seen as ‘a successful period of much-needed modernisation’?</b></p> <p>AO1 – The changes are dominated by the emancipation of the serfs but included military, educational and administrative reforms. The Crimean War had shown the need for change and the long period of deep conservatism under Nicholas II had, in the eyes of reformers, left Russia behind in a time of economic and social change in Europe.</p> <p>AO2 – Success criteria might include the degree to which the changes made the monarchy more or less secure and how far the problems which faced Russia were dealt with. The expectations aroused by a new reforming monarch were not fully met and change was often limited and disappointing. Thus, the judgement must be as to whether given the rigidity of Nicholas I, Alexander II was remarkably successful in modernisation by ending serfdom, introducing zemstvo, relaxing censorship and repression, and reforming the army, or whether the limitations of the reform made the regime less secure and Russia still relatively backward.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
23	<p><b>Assess the domestic achievements of Wilhelmine Germany in the years 1890 to 1914.</b></p> <p>AO1/AO2 – The question refers to Germany in the Wilhelmine era, not specifically to the Kaiser. On one hand, the cultural, scientific and economic achievements were considerable. Aided by a sympathetic state, the prestige of German science grew. German music dominated Europe and Berlin became an important cultural centre. In industrial terms, the German economy became a major competitor to Britain. German cities reflected prosperity, and progress and communications grew. Germany was a pioneer in motor vehicles. Germany was able to embark on a major naval building programme and financed military expansion which gave it great power status for good or ill. The parliamentary system allowed for the development of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, which arguably gave an outlet for political discontent that did not exist in more repressive monarchies, and the hardships of industrial expansion were mitigated by an ongoing social security system. However, the downside was an unstable monarch, growing militarism, a dangerous growth of aggressive nationalism, anti-Semitism, rising social discontent and a growing tendency to authoritarianism.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
24	<p><b>(Candidates offering paper 5h: Russia in Revolution should not attempt this question.)</b></p> <p><b>Who served the interests of Russia better before 1914: Alexander III or Nicholas II?</b></p> <p>AO1/AO2 – The key definition is ‘the interests of Russia’. Alexander III had a clear vision of autocracy which did not preclude some changes or some external success. There was to be no political reform, but the economy of the country modernised under Witte. Did ‘the great spurt’ help the whole nation, or did it create harsh conditions and urban and industrial discontent? Did the reliance on repression reduce the impact of terrorism, or lead Russia into a blind alley and make the danger of revolution greater? Nicholas II inherited the devotion to autocracy but did not cling to it with the same tenacity when circumstances drove him to change. The war with Japan forced concessions which were then withdrawn which was a dangerous development, and one avoided by the more rigid Alexander III. However, the main discussion might be whether the changes after 1905 offered more hope and more forward-looking developments. At least there was some form of national assembly, and the peasant policies of Stolypin offered the chance to develop a conservative peasantry who might ‘buy into’ the regime. A weaker and less confident monarch than Alexander III, Nicholas could be seen as offering some changes, and there is evidence that the monarchy was popular by the time of the 1913 celebrations. However, it could be argued that neither monarch addressed the underlying problems sufficiently and both relied over heavily on repression and force.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
25	<p><b>Why did war bring about the collapse of the French Third Republic in 1940 but not during the First World War?</b></p> <p>AO1/AO2 – Before both wars, the Republic had faced crises, and it might have been expected that the First World War would bring down the Republic: its very birth had been difficult, the rule of Napoleon III had not been unpopular, and its sudden collapse led to fears that a Republic would be a return to extremism. However, though a conservative republic had been established as a better alternative than either Bourbon or Bonapartist rule, there was still underlying instability and deep divisions, as shown by Boulanger, the scandals round Panama, and the near civil war brought on by the protracted Dreyfus Affair. Rising social tensions fed the rise of both left and right in politics. However, the ongoing resentment at the German occupation of Alsace and Lorraine, resentment of German policies and attitudes, and a rising tide of nationalism, led to enthusiasm for war in 1914, in the hope of a quick victory and a heroic determination to maintain the struggle. Not until the mutinies of 1917 did serious cracks appear. The occupation of areas of Northern France by Germany were a considerable incentive to support the Republic to bring about victory, and the emergence of Clemenceau as a strong and popular national leader, and reassuring military figures like Petain and Foch, helped to maintain the war effort.</p> <p>There was political division in the inter-war years. The disappointment that France could not gain security and the erosion of its international standard caused discontent. The economic stagnation and the failure of the Republic to achieve political stability or to throw up inspiring leaders, reduced support for it. However, the rise of the popular front and the polarisation of French politics may have created deeper divisions than before 1914. There was no equivalent of the divisions of Dreyfus, but the heavy losses of the First World War and the reluctance to recreate more Western front style fighting, made many less willing to fight in 1939. Poland was less compelling as a cause than Alsace Lorraine. However, issues of morale, leadership and political division may in the end be less important than military reality. The German victory of 1940 was comparable to that of 1870. Had a more effective response been made to the German invasion, then the residual patriotism and loyalty to the Republic might have meant more prolonged resistance. However, given France's divisions, the undermining attitudes 'better Hitler than Blum' and 'why die for Poland?' could not be challenged by hopes of any military success.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
26	<p><b>Assess the responsibility of Austria-Hungary for the outbreak of the First World War.</b></p> <p>AO1/AO2 – The determination of the Austrian government to settle the ‘South Slav’ problem could be seen to be at the heart of the 1914 crisis. The annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina had brought about a crisis with Russia and the Austrians had counted on German support. Their intervention in the peace process which ended the Balkan Wars had aimed to restrict Serbia. The assassination offered the possibility of a final solution, even though the evidence that Princip had official Serbian backing was slight and the Serbians agreed to meet most of the terms of the demands of 28 June. Austria gambled on German support neutralising intervention by Russia and was influenced by the demands of its military high command. Because it would have been impossible for Russia to accept Austria dominating Serbia, the risks of war were very high, and Austria must bear much responsibility. However, it could be argued that the policy was only possible because of German compliance. This in turn raises the issue of why Germany was prepared to risk war and prompts consideration of the problems of the ‘encirclement’ it faced, which made it impossible to lose the alliance with Austria. Russia, too, in mobilising first and being prepared to face war rather than endure further loss of face after its Far East failures, could be considered accountable. Some may blame France for its support of Russia and Britain for its failure to make its position clear, and some may place the blame on Serbia, though it is doubtful whether its government or its agencies planned the assassination.</p>	30

## Section 6: Themes c.1815–1914

Question	Answer	Marks
27	<p><b>How important was the Eastern Question for the Great Powers in the period 1815–1878?</b></p> <p>AO1 – The belief in the demise of the weak Ottoman Empire led to European concerns about how to safeguard their interests. For Russia, the issue was that fellow Slavs and Orthodox Christians needed protection and the possible end of the Empire offered opportunities to extend Russian strategic influence and gain access to the Mediterranean which was important as a warm water outlet. Therefore, the increasing independence of Serbia offered Russia a key Balkan ally while the Greek Revolt of 1821 led to fears of a Russian invasion. Austrian and British fears of Russian influence in the Balkans and eastern Mediterranean set up tensions. It threatened the monarchical solidarity established at Vienna. However, the heroism of Greece made the Greek cause popular. Britain solved the problem by cooperating in the defeat of Turkey as a means of influencing the final settlement and, while Russia made gains, Greece was independent. However, fear of Russian domination of the Ottoman Empire continued to be a concern and Nicholas I's treaty of Unkiar Skelessi in 1833 opened up the issue of Russian access through the Straits. The French backing of Mehemet Ali of Egypt opened up rifts between the Great Powers. The policy of Austria and Britain was to end the reliance of The Sultan on Russia and to act together, as in the Straits Convention 1841. However, as Turkish decline continued, the Eastern Question was not really resolved. Fear of Russian influence dominated the Crimean War. The destruction of the Turkish fleet at Sinope and Russian military advances threatened the balance of power and led Britain and France to send military aid to the Sultan. Nicholas expected Austrian support in return for his own support during the 1848 revolutions and Austrian neutrality led to a serious rift with major consequences. The destruction of Russian naval bases in the Crimea and the blocking of Russian access to the Mediterranean became a major British aim. However, the clauses of the Treaty of Paris were rejected in 1871 which reawakened suspicions and revolts in the Balkans, and a further Russo-Turkish war led to a prolonged crisis during 1875–1878. The decision at the Congress of Berlin to restrict the Russian gains from the war and to create an independent Bulgaria set off more resentments and brought Prussia into the conflict. Again, Russia felt betrayed as Russian neutrality had allowed German Unification to occur, but it was not repaid by Bismarck's support at Berlin. Therefore, the Eastern Question became important for more than just the Balkans and the Black Sea and was a major cause of the antagonisms which were to bring about the First World War.</p> <p>AO2 – In addressing 'how important', there might be some distinction made between the concerns the Eastern Question raised in the earlier part of the period with the perhaps more serious impact in the later part. Answers, too, could develop the interaction of the Eastern Question with other conflicts.</p>	30



Question	Answer	Marks
28	<p><b>'Dominated by the theme of social and economic change.'</b> How far is this true of European literature in the nineteenth century?</p> <p>AO1 – No specific authors are required. The argument that social and economic change dominated literature should be supported by identifying key elements of social and economic change, for example, growing industrialisation, the greater unity brought about by railways and better communications, the rising middle classes, urbanisation, and giving examples of key literary figures whose work deals with those themes and whose characters are caught up in a changing world.</p> <p>AO2 – A discussion might set more personal themes of nineteenth century literature as having predominance while the background might be change, or some might feel that political change is equally important and give examples. There should be a treatment of 'dominated' and not just a series of explanations of themes from some major European novelists relating to social and economic change or other elements.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
29	<p><b>Assess the social consequences of European population rise in the period 1815–1914.</b></p> <p>AO1/AO2 – In social terms, what might be considered are the consequences in terms of age distribution. As a result of high levels of growth, the balance was more towards those under 20 years of age than those over 60 years, and this had implications for responses to overpopulation in migration, both internally to cities, and externally in seeking opportunities overseas. There was a more diversified workforce, less ties to the land and the urban/rural balance was changed. More workers in cities and industries created a high degree of social change. In some areas, the links with the countryside remained stronger than others. Internal migrations weakened traditional ways of life and created new lifestyles. Social unrest grew when resources could not keep pace with the rising population. Answers might balance the positives of population rise (such as the younger and more dynamic societies, economic diversification, the greater demand for education, and migration), and set these against the negatives (such as urban overcrowding, land hunger, the decline of traditions, rootlessness, the hazardous movement of peoples, and public health problems). There is no expectation of specific countries being used as evidence, but analyses should be exemplified.</p>	30



Question	Answer	Marks
30	<p><b>What best explains the increased demands for social change in the later-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries?</b></p> <p>AO1/AO2 – The demands might include greater rights and protection for workers; changes in the way that minorities within society were treated; more equality for women; religious toleration; greater social opportunities; and, more educational opportunity. The drivers of these changes could be economic development as with more people away from traditional occupations and living in cities, needs changed. Drivers could be the impact of key theorists and polemical works. Greater literacy could be seen as a cause; and, war and political change did drive some demands: for example, the unification of Italy and Germany, and the Crimean War. The demands sometimes came from above in the form of reforming governments aware that overall efficiency and economic growth depended on social change, especially in education. Demands also came from below, for example, as workers were concentrated in larger numbers to demand improvements in conditions. The impact of greater communications in the form of more books, newspapers and the greater national unity brought by better roads and railways, could be relevant as communities became less isolated and more aware of inequalities and the need to change and modernise.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
31	<p><b>Which had the greater impact on public architecture in the period: political or aesthetic considerations?</b></p> <p>AO1/AO2 – The issue here is whether public buildings reflected genuine developments in artistic style: the Hungarian Parliament and its neo Gothic style, or the development of grand classical models, or even the impact of Jugendstil or Art Nouveau (e.g. the Paris metro). The eclecticism of nineteenth century influences and the work of individual architects, such as Schinkel in Berlin, may have been the dominant influence, with patrons simply accepting that the cities and public building should reflect the most aesthetically pleasing models, or show that those who commissioned buildings had taste and were willing to move with the times. On the other hand, there was a political aspect to public architecture and concern for the ‘message’ it conveyed. The grand boulevards of Baron Haussmann were not simply driven by fine style; they cleared Paris of many of the ancient and congested districts that had been so difficult to control during the Revolution and were ideal avenues for the deployment of force against demonstrations. Royal palaces were intended to carry on the Versailles tradition and express the grandeur of the monarchs. Impressive opera houses showed the regime’s concern for culture and boosted prestige. Sometimes the public monuments made a strong political point such as the Victor Emmanuel monument in Rome. Statues to prominent political leaders also made political points: Bismarck, for example, was depicted in uniform, whereas his most important work was done in the field of diplomacy. There could also be a consideration of funerary architecture or public buildings which stressed the power of an occupying country: for example, the classical Viennese buildings which dominated cities within the Austrian Empire, and which seemed to be a symbol of control over more local cultures.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
32	<p><b>How far did technological change drive economic development in this period?</b></p> <p>AO1/AO2 – As science and technology developed, the answer may be that it became increasingly important, for example, with the development of steelworking technology, railways, steam ships, refrigeration and then electric power. The rapid pace of technological change made much of the earlier technology of the industrial revolution seem redundant and gave a boost to those countries whose industrialisation started relatively late. However, as with the simpler technological developments of the earlier part of the period, technological innovation was often a reflection of the society in which it emerged. Freer societies with better education often produced more than restricted societies; for instance, Russia saw limited technological advances compared with say Britain and Germany. Where there was a flourishing professional and trading middle class, there was often more technological change; for example, certain areas like the South of Italy produced little, so the argument could be made that technological change was a product of previous social change. Technology also needed capital to develop it, either from home markets and export profits, or from the state and this, in turn, depended on a developed system of internal and external trade. South-east Europe was much less able to develop technology than North-east Europe. A society receptive to new ideas and able to offer the entrepreneurs to develop them, or societies where the state was willing and able to sponsor and develop technological change, may have been more of key actor than the technology itself.</p>	30

## Section 7: 1914–1945

Question	Answer	Marks
33	<p><b>What best explains why hopes in 1914 for a quick and decisive war were disappointed?</b></p> <p>AO1 – The Schlieffen Plan hoped for a rapid victory in France before German forces could be transported to the East. The French plans hoped for a swift victory in Alsace. The Russian plans hoped for a rapid advance into East Prussia. Austria expected a rapid advance into Serbia. None of these plans was successful. Trench warfare rather than a war of rapid manoeuvre resulted in both the East and the West, and even the invasion of Serbia took longer than expected.</p> <p>AO2 – One major reason is the gap between the plans and their execution. However perfect on paper, the Schlieffen Plan was slowed by unexpected resistance at Liege and by the British. The gap between the railheads and the objectives proved harder to meet in the time allocated. The right was insufficiently strong and when planning was adapted, confusion occurred, thus presenting the French an opportunity for counterattack. Once the momentum of advance slowed and both sides dug in, then static warfare resulted. Large concentrations of men and modern firepower in a relatively limited battlefield meant stalemate. In Russia, rapid advances were not followed up quickly enough because of poor staff work and ineffective command allowing heavy counterattacks, which again pushed back the advance leaving the only option to be defensive positions which could not easily be broken to ensure decisive victory.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
34	<p><b>With what justification can the treatment of Germany in the Treaty of Versailles of 1919 be defended?</b></p> <p>AO1/AO2 – The criticisms have been that it was a dictated peace with Germany not represented; that it went against The Fourteen Points which was the basis of the armistice; that its territorial confiscations were punitive and the source of future resentment, and likely to be unsustainable; that the colonial losses were simply imperialist land-grabbing despite the ‘fig leaf’ of the mandate system; that reparations caused considerable economic damage and were a constant source of resentment; and, that the peace destroyed hopes of a viable democracy by stoking extreme right-wing resentment, given that Germany did not surrender, had not been occupied and had agreed to an armistice with no foreign troops on German soil. Above all, Germany was unfairly blamed for the war. Also, the reduction in armed forces left Germany vulnerable.</p> <p>Against this, there was no retribution for war crimes and the Kaiser decided to abdicate, and was not pursued by the allies, despite calls for his trial and execution. The German invasions of Belgium and Northern France had caused considerable damage, and the activities of German forces in Belgium had been repressive, though not as much as had been suggested by allied propaganda. The territories lost were not German heartlands. Alsace and Lorraine had been taken in 1871 as a spoil of war. Posen and West Prussia were Polish territories. There were plebiscites held in Northern Schleswig and Upper Silesia. The Saar was not removed in perpetuity and voted to return to Germany in 1935. The German annexations in the East had been expansionist and occupation in the Baltic had often been brutal. The colonial territories were recent acquisitions and had not been well administered. Even Hitler was not very moved to recover these. The reparations were often blamed for economic problems but without sufficient justification, and the full amounts were not paid. Germany had imposed an indemnity on France in 1871, so the principle was not new. However, Germany had imposed a far harder treaty on Russia in 1918. In terms of disarmament, there was the hope that a general disarmament would take place and that the League of Nations would assist with a more peaceful world.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
35	<p><b><i>(Candidates offering paper 5h: Russia in Revolution should not answer this question.)</i></b></p> <p><b>How far was the Provisional Government of 1917 in Russia responsible for its own downfall?</b></p> <p>AO1/AO2 – The case for this lies with the failure to: establish a new constitution quickly enough; get support through land reforms; crush left-wing opposition decisively enough; get working-class support; and, there was the unwise continuation of the war. The involvement of Kerensky with Kornilov produced a crisis which opened the way for the Bolshevik seizure of power. The case against looks at a ruthless opposition taking advantage of factors beyond the Provisional Government's control. To establish a new constitution in time of war was difficult; the new government had to represent all Russia, and not just the interests of peasants and workers; large-scale land reform would have needed the authority derived from a more legitimate government; the decision to make immediate peace would have been divisive as the Bolsheviks found, and it would have lost the support of Russia's allies. The Bolsheviks could make all sorts of promises to get support and, as they anticipated world revolution, the terms of a peace were irrelevant to them. They found a window of opportunity created not so much by the Provisional Government but by the actions of Kornilov. The Provisional Government had been effective in suppressing radical action in July, but circumstances were against it by October.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
36	<p><b>(Candidates offering paper 5i: Germany should not answer this question.)</b></p> <p><b>'Economic problems in Germany do not provide a satisfactory explanation for Hitler's rise to power by 1934.' Discuss.</b></p> <p>AO1 – The inflation of the 1920s is said to have led to Hitler coming to power by its effects on the middle classes which undermined their political moderation and led them to be susceptible to more extreme nationalist and revanchist views. The impact of the Great Crash and subsequent depression revealed Germany's vulnerability in a global economic system and encouraged nationalism. The deflationary measures of the Weimar government led to unpopularity and a rise in the votes for parties with more radical solutions. Nazi propaganda made a great deal of use of unemployment and agricultural distress, blaming the allies and reparations, and offering radical, if rather vague solutions, which a powerful dictatorial government would be able to implement. Also, economic depression by raising support for Communism frightened Germany's elite which gave its support at a key time to Hitler's accession to office and acquiesced in his consolidation of power. Depression helped to recruit support for the SA and the mass electoral support for Hitler coincided with the end of the late Weimar period of relative prosperity.</p> <p>AO2 – Against this are longer-term explanations of: nationalism and anti-Semitism which preceded acute economic problems; a feeling that the sudden end to the war left 'unfinished business'; and, a belief in the ideals of Nazism and the folk community, regardless of short-term economic problems. The deflationary policies followed by the Weimar governments were not much different from policies followed by other Western governments and, by 1932, the worst of the depression was over. Nazi electoral support was beginning to fall in November 1932 and the party was badly split. Even with the economic problems, the rise of Hitler was far from inevitable and was brought about by some misjudged and selfish policies by those close to Hindenburg. The decision to select such a conservative figure to represent Germany had not been taken initially during a period of depression in 1926, and the long-term weaknesses of Weimar, proportional representation and Article 48, were not depression inspired. Hitler had little in the way of a coherent set of alternative economic policies, and the willingness of so many to be swayed by essentially irrational hyper-nationalism might have to be sought elsewhere.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
37	<p><b>‘Successful before the invasion of Ethiopia/Abyssinia; disastrous after it.’ How valid is this judgement on Mussolini’s foreign policy?</b></p> <p>AO1 – The case for this rests on the increasing ‘brutal friendship’ between Hitler and Mussolini after 1935, when Italy was faced with international criticisms for an invasion of Ethiopia which Mussolini had some grounds for thinking would be acceptable to France and Britain, in return for his support in the Stresa Front, and not too different in kind from their own colonial expansions. The disasters occurred when the rhetoric of the Pact of Steel had to be tested. Italian policy in Spain had been costly and not especially effective, and Mussolini did not want to commit to a large-scale war against Britain and France in 1939. This weakened Italy’s prestige and it seemed opportunist and cowardly to declare war and grab Nice and Savoy from France only when Hitler’s forces had made victory sure. The war in North Africa against Britain went badly, and Mussolini had to be bailed out. Italian contributions to the invasion of Russia were costly and earned some scorn from the Germans. Faced with invasion, the Italian elites turned against Mussolini and the war brought about his fall. Apart from the annexation of Albania in 1939, which added little of benefit to the Italian economy and involved costly policing and repression, the policies after 1935 seem to be a disaster in the long-run, though, in 1938, as the broker of the peace settlement and one of the major figures in European diplomacy, Mussolini did sustain his prestige.</p> <p>AO2 – Answers may question whether the policy before 1935 was more successful. Mussolini made the most of his position and was a sought-after possible ally. He demonstrated Italy’s new-found power by his successful bombardment of Corfu. He took a leading part in Locarno; he exerted a great deal of influence in Austria and helped to prevent Hitler taking advantage of a coup there in 1934; his influence in the Balkans increased; and, the overseas colonies in Africa were developed. Fiume was recovered in 1924. Therefore, foreign policy could be seen to be developing along lines of fascist principles, while at the same time he maintained good relations with Italy’s former allies, and he was a major player in European politics. Against this, the overt bullying of Greece made Italy lose some credibility and international standing. The acquisition of Fiume redeemed the humiliating episode of D’Annunzio’s republic but made Italy seem a threat to the Adriatic. Demonstrations of strength were a precursor to the more overtly fascist policies of the 1930s and may have encouraged Mussolini to overestimate their effects. The acquisition of Ethiopia was of limited value and lasted only a few years. The opposition to Hitler’s acquisition of Austria was significant, but it did not form part of very cohesive foreign policy and was again reversed in 1938. The successes of the 1920s led Mussolini to an assertive foreign policy with one eye to public consumption, which was to lead him into dangerous paths after 1935.</p>	30



Question	Answer	Marks
38	<p><b>How successfully did Stalin’s foreign policy serve the interests of the Soviet Union in the period 1928–1945?</b></p> <p>AO1/AO2 – In the 1920s, Stalin had little choice except to follow a policy of Socialism in One Country. The post-war settlements had hemmed Russia in with various buffer states mostly hostile to communism. The pre-war alliances had gone, leaving the USSR isolated. The economic weaknesses left it vulnerable and the policy of forming united fronts with other groups had ended in failure in China with the Kuomintang nearly destroying the Chinese Communists. Russia’s interests lay with overcoming isolation and making the country less vulnerable to possible attacks. Ideological interests lay in promoting communism through the Communist International but without provoking further isolation and hostility. There was little attempt to support the beleaguered Chinese communists and the German communists were destroyed by Hitler without any interference from Moscow. The massive economic changes from 1928 to 1934 isolated the USSR even more and preoccupied the attention of the Politburo. However, the Great Crash did seem to suggest the imminent collapse of capitalism, and Stalin saw Nazism as an indication of that collapse. From 1934, Litvinov promoted a less fatalistic approach with the USSR joining the League of Nations and promoting Popular Front governments in Spain and France. There were also alliances with France and Czechoslovakia. This was to increase security in the face of the rise of Hitler. However, by 1939, these policies had had limited success. The Communists in Spain backed by Stalin had only served to divide the Spanish Republicans and helped to bring about Franco’s victory. Communist support for Blum weakened the resolve of the Third Republic to stand against Hitler with a Russian alliance. In China, the Communists were reduced to hiding out in a remote northern area against heavy opposition from the Nationalists. Membership of the League yielded little and Stalin was excluded from the Munich conference, and his support was not sought by either France or the Czechs.</p> <p>The period from 1939 to 1941 saw a U-turn, with the pact with Hitler and the division of Poland and the acquisition of the Baltic States. Regaining Finland was a failure in the Winter War of 1939, but Russian forces defeated Japanese forces in Mongolia. Therefore, Russia secured its border in the Far East and prevented any Japanese invasion; its alliance with Hitler resulted in it regaining lands lost in 1919 and seeming security in the West allowed Stalin to continue to focus on domestic affairs.</p> <p>The invasion of 1941 seems to have come as surprise and Stalin’s lack of preparedness was certainly not in Russian interests. His relations with his new wartime allies cannot be said to have yielded much, until Russian armed forces regained the initiative and began to drive Germany back. He failed to get a second front before 1944 and the atomic secrets were not shared. However, as Russian forces were successful, Stalin’s bargaining power increased. He was able to occupy much of Eastern Europe as a defensive ring, and the reparations extracted from conquered territories were much needed given the damage to the USSR in the war. By 1945, Russia was a superpower major player in the diplomacy of Potsdam and Yalta and had exerted considerable influence: the domination of Eastern Europe was assured, and Russian security stood higher than any time since 1928.</p>	30



## Section 8: 1945–2000

Question	Answer	Marks
39	<p><b>How, in the years 1953–1968, is the continuing determination of the rulers of the USSR to suppress unrest in the satellite states of Eastern Europe best explained?</b></p> <p>AO1/AO2 – Answers may point to the ongoing fears of invasion after the enormous losses of the war with the satellites as guarantees that Germany or the Western powers would not be able to reach Russian soil with the ease of Barbarossa in 1941. The economic coordination developed under COMECON, too, was a significant factor. The dangers of satellite defection influencing the republics of the USSR itself remained a major motive, especially the Baltic States; the whole prestige of the march towards socialism was at stake when there was unrest. It demonstrated that socialist policies were flawed, and unrest had to be seen as counter-revolution by agents of the capitalist world to be suppressed rather than legitimate grievances of a rigid and exploitative system. For all his willingness to change at home, Khrushchev was unwilling to throw away any hard-earned wartime gains in Hungary. The danger of a chain reaction and the threat to the key Warsaw pact was too great. The genuine fear that the USA was hostile and likely to exploit weaknesses in the context of the arms race was a major motive; but, also, the loss of prestige at home and within the party and also in the Communist world, made Russian leaders determined to stop unrest. The criticisms by Mao Zedong of reforms in Russia would be confirmed by signs of weakness in dealing with ‘bourgeois counter-revolution’. The later commitment to the Brezhnev Doctrine bound Russian rulers not to accept changes in Czechoslovakia, even when there was more international flexibility. With East Germany having to be secured behind the Wall, with previous unrest in Poland, and with hard-line regimes in Cuba and China ready to criticise weakness, the Russian leaders were afraid of concessions and resorted to invasion.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
40	<p><b>What best explains the end of the Fourth Republic in France?</b></p> <p>AO1 – The Fourth Republic lasted from 1946 to 1958. Despite its achievements in rebuilding France, in establishing greater European unity and in dealing with some of the problems which had marred the Third Republic, it faced similar issues of instability with twenty-one governments in its existence and problems with colonial policy. The war in Indochina cost over 90 000 dead, and 150 000 wounded and missing, and repeated the sense of failure of 1940. France withdrew at Geneva and scaled down her commitments in North Africa in Tunisia and Morocco. But Algeria was more difficult to deal with. The inherent instability of the constitution with weak executives and fractious coalitions made dealing with Algeria more difficult. The conflict in Algeria led to elements of civil conflict with part of the army and the French settlers in opposition to the government. The seizure of Corsica in May 1958 led to a threat that a full, military coup would be implemented if de Gaulle were not approved as prime minister by the Assembly. His government ended the Fourth Republic.</p> <p>AO2 – Answers may weigh the relative importance of the situation in Algeria and the revolt of the army, and the longer-term weaknesses of the constitution, and the failures in Indochina. The opposition of de Gaulle to the constitution and his presence as an alternative was obviously a key factor, but some may see general weak leadership as important. It would be possible to see the successes of the Republic as evidence that rather than through fundamental problems, the fall was due more to the special crisis brought about by Algeria.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
41	<p><b>'The political stability of the Federal Republic of Germany under Adenauer depended on economic prosperity.' Did it?</b></p> <p>AO1/AO2 – With the example of Weimar being undermined by economic collapse and with the Nazis feeding off the effects of depression, the allies did their best to ensure that the Federal Republic did not face similar economic crises. Boosted by Marshall Aid, the effects of the Korean War, the technical knowledge and business experience of Germany's big firms, the demand caused by rebuilding and from the general prosperity of Western Europe, together with investment and sound financial and economic policies, full employment and relatively high growth rates, the regime did promote stability – especially when West Germans compared the obviously less prosperous East suffering from reparations, the problems of a command economy and less direct aid. However, this was not the only factor, and even after the years of 'economic miracle', there was no threat to the underlying stability of the regime comparable to that of the Weimar period. The far right was discredited, and former Nazi supporters found it expedient to stay low politically. Communism was discredited by the Cold War and the hostility with East Germany. The appeal of Adenauer to the <i>Mittelstand</i> was considerable; he had credentials as an opponent of Nazism, while still being conservative enough to gain the support of 'middle Germany'. The regime pursued policies of putting the past behind them and focusing on opposition to any reunion, harnessing a lot of the anti-Communist feeling that made Hitler so popular with substantial sections of German society, and without alienating the democrats, as the basic law established a firm constitution framework. The return to federal government was welcomed. The support of America was important diplomatically and financially, and the return of Germany to the mainstream with rearmament and membership of the Common Market helped restore a sense of normality.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
42	<p><b>Why, after 1945, was Franco able to maintain his power in Spain for so long?</b></p> <p>AO1/AO2 – The considerable repression during and after the Civil War was a major reason why Franco faced such limited opposition with over half a million exiles and perhaps a quarter of a million in prisons. Positively, Franco’s mixture of anti-communism and traditional conservatism had many supporters in Spain, and the relatively low profile of fascism meant that Franco did not share the fate of Hitler and Mussolini. His careful policy of neutrality meant that there was no move by the allies to remove him and the development of the Cold War helped him to establish good relations with the USA. Franco’s position was strengthened by the declaration that Spain was a kingdom again, giving traditionalists the hope that he would be succeeded by a monarch, and from 1969 Juan Carlos was the heir apparent. The regime was helped by economic recovery after the bleak years of the 1940s based on foreign investment, consumerism and tourism. Gradually re-entering the European and world mainstream with the entry into the United Nations from 1955, the authoritarian regime lost its stigma which helped Franco stay in power. Franco maintained direct authority, but the Cortes was reconstituted as an advisory body from 1942, and there were national referenda – used only for the restoration of the monarchy and for a new constitution in 1966. Franco built up a personality cult and relied on the <i>Guarda Civil</i> and the <i>Policía Armada</i>; separatist parties and trade unions were banned and there was heavy censorship. Any dissent was repressed, and the powers given to the Church confirmed its support of Franco. Greater economic growth from 1959 was encouraged by low wages and low cost policies, and surplus labour was reduced by immigration helping employment.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
43	<p><b>'Political extremism was the most significant challenge for governments in post-war Italy.' Was it?</b></p> <p>AO1/AO2 – After the threat that Communists could be elected in the elections of 1946, the Christian Democrats who dominated the government for most of the period, faced several challenges. There was poverty and poor housing and the gap between North and South, accompanied by the issues of under-employment. Despite attempts to reform, organised crime, social inequality, inefficient public services and corruption, remained by the 1960s. The stimulus of greater urban population and a lucrative drugs trade made mafia-based crime increase, resulting in gang warfare and assassinations of anti-Mafia police and officials. Student and agrarian unrest, and strikes and protest in Northern factories in the late 1960s, were signs of discontent and from the later 1960s and 1970s, political extremism became a more pronounced problem. From November 1960, when left-wing extremists killed a policeman, violence became more common. As well as leftist violence, inspired by guerrilla activities in other parts of the world, there were neofascist plots. The murder of Aldo Moro by the Red Brigades in 1978 was a low point.</p> <p>While extremism was a major problem, there were other pressing difficulties such as inflation and the persistence of regional poverty. The 1980s saw accusations of corruption which affected the major parties, and which led to major demands for a clean-up and an overhaul of Italy's political system. The 1990s saw new groups such as the neofascist Northern League and the regional populist Northern League, and Berlusconi's Forza Italia.</p> <p>Despite considerable achievements, the challenges should be the focus of answers; they may see political instability, mounting debt, periods of inflation and regional economic equality as key, though the rise of extremism in the form of political terrorism was a considerable challenge to stability.</p>	30

## Section 9: Themes c.1914–2000

Question	Answer	Marks
44	<p><b>‘The industrialisation policies of dictatorial regimes in this period had little to do with the economic welfare of their people.’ Discuss.</b></p> <p>AO1/AO2 – The main thrust of answers may be a consideration of Stalinist industrialisation both in Russia and in the satellites states which aimed to create self-sufficient heavy industry. However, the German Four Year Plans could be considered. The Russian policy was partly determined by fears that industrial backwardness would leave the country vulnerable and by ideological considerations; the Bolsheviks had come to power with the theoretical justification that they represented the industrial working class, yet by 1928, this class was a minority among workers on the land and in small scale industries and workshops. The creation of heavy industry was ideologically vital and important to defend the regime, and these motives may have come before concern about the economic welfare of the people. Indeed, there was little focus on consumer goods which remained scarce and of poor quality; conditions for workers were often poor; the major beneficiary of industrialisation was the state itself, though it may be unbalanced to say that this was the only motive. Industrialisation meant greater modernisation which did bring benefits in terms of greater infrastructure, more varied employment and, for some, the excitement of participating in an industrial adventure to transform the country. The post-1945 industrialisation policies followed in the satellite states had less of a sense of mission and more to do with following ideologically-based policies, involving rigorous planning and defending the Soviet bloc against possible threats. The industrial policies of Germany were increasingly geared to military needs and ideologically-based policies of expansion. However, as the degree of state control was much less, and labour shortages meant that skilled workers could benefit from industrial growth, there was more sense of economic welfare for the workers than in the USSR. There were tangible benefits in the expansion of employment, in welfare schemes, and in the growth of better communications. However, at its root, the needs of the state as in the USSR were increasingly predominant.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
45	<p><b>Assess the impact of the Second World War on European decolonisation after 1945.</b></p> <p>AO1/AO2 – Before 1939, there was little indication that the European colonial empires would give way. Nationalist movements were limited and political opposition to colonial rule was relatively ineffective. There had been various concessions to self-government, but these were not likely to lead to independence and the colonial ethos was strong. The war brought considerable change in the demonstration that white supremacy could be challenged: the Japanese defeats of the British, French, Dutch and Portuguese in Southeast Asia were major blows to European prestige. French control of its colonial empire was weakened by the defeat of 1940. African nationalism was stimulated by the service of colonial troops and by the importance of war production to support the homeland. Also, the Allied powers were waging a war ostensibly for liberty, and against racism and oppression. The Atlantic Charter set out principles of democracy and self-government which ran contrary to colonial domination. The rise of the superpowers in the war meant that the leading nations of the world were not colonisers but opposed to empires. The discussion could be between the immediate effects on colonial rule of changes like the Japanese occupation of European colonies, and the indirect effects of the weakening of the mother countries by war which made it hard for them to sustain their pre-war empires. Internally, there was a move leftwards which made colonialism less acceptable, and there was a greater move to European unity which put the focus on Europe itself, rather than its colonial possessions. The costs of occupation and maintaining control were too high. Nationalist movements had gained strength through wartime experience and, while the war did not create nationalism, it strengthened it in many areas. The war had a major effect on the British decision to quit India and this was a turning point in encouraging expectations of independence in other British and European colonies.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
46	<p><b>‘Greater political equality was a meaningless achievement for women in the twentieth century without social and economic equality.’ Discuss.</b></p> <p>AO1 – Women achieved equal voting rights gradually in the first part of the century but, though an important symbol of equality, the actual participation of women in political life and government was far more limited, so it really was a case of ‘greater political equality’ than of ‘political equality’. The progress towards social and economic equality was far slower. In the Communist world, there was theoretical equality. The right-wing dictatorships tended to try to turn back progress made. Liberal capitalism did not promote equality of economic opportunity or earnings until late in the century, and then with variable results. Wartime emergencies meant changes were accelerated, but the gains made did not always last into peacetime. Equality in domestic terms, and freedom from sexism and harassment was not achieved. Therefore, while there was progress in some areas of political equality, overall progress was far patchier. Did this mean that the political equality was meaningless? The fact that women voted did mean that social issues were more discussed, and it gave women more of a voice in national and local politics. Equal voting rights led to women political leaders, though not many, and they did not always promote women’s concerns. It did mean equal pay legislation in many countries and, in some, greater facilities for welfare and childcare. Equal voting rights also meant that there was public expression of concerns about discrimination, even if that discrimination could not be eradicated. That gaining greater political equality did not achieve the results that suffrage campaigners had hoped for would be hard to argue, but a balanced appraisal might reject the view that this made the achievement meaningless.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
47	<p><b>‘A low point in the cultural life of Europe.’ Discuss this view of the 1960s and 1970s.</b></p> <p>AO1/AO2 – This sweeping assertion could be challenged by considering the achievements in architecture, music, art, cinema or popular culture as opposed to ‘high culture’. The ‘low point’ could be justified by brutalist architecture, by electronic music or by the desire for experiment for its own sake (as in <i>musique concrète</i>) or by all-purpose modernism; it could be justified by meretricious ‘pop art’; by the rise of popular culture, by films which aimed at style over substance, and by poor quality popular music. On the other hand, there were achievements which went beyond simply a desire for innovation for its own sake or stale repetitions of past styles: the architecture of Arne Jacobsen; the interest in design; the political cinema of the 1970s; and, the infusion of classical techniques and world music into ‘popular music’ such as the Beatles. There is certainly no requirement for a set answer and analyses may argue that some areas were more fertile artistically than others, or that after the more conformist culture of the 1950s, there was a colour and vibrancy and a sense of taking risks about the culture of the 1960s and 1970s, and a greater variety and imagination in popular culture.</p>	30



Question	Answer	Marks
48	<p><b>How important was economic prosperity in bringing about social change in Western Europe after 1945?</b></p> <p>AO1/AO2 – ‘Economic miracles’ were spoken of in Germany and Italy, Spain and Portugal achieved higher levels of growth, and the European Community encouraged economic prosperity. Generally, there were higher levels of consumer spending and employment, and the dark years of the 1930s and 1940s gave way, at least for some, and at least for part of the period, to greater outward prosperity; this was reflected in urban growth and a decline in provincialism. More people travelled both internally and externally, and there was more awareness of the wider world and global issues. There was more educational opportunity and higher levels of social mobility. There was a growth in popular culture with more leisure time; social life was changed for many by the greater availability of labour-saving devices in the home. More ownership of televisions brought about changes. Concentrations of poor housing gave way to high rise developments, and the appearance and nature of many cities changed as more money was available for urban developments. Therefore, economic prosperity had a major effect on many aspects of social change, and this could be seen in matters of employment, the erosion of traditional class divisions, and a new youth culture which challenged traditional authority. However, though it is convenient to attribute social change to the prosperity which largely accompanied it, there could be other reasons. The war had brought about considerable changes. Absent fathers and working mothers had encouraged a much freer generation of young people. The young had had to take responsibility earlier. In many countries, the war led to considerable physical destruction, so cities needed to be rebuilt. The war encouraged a belief in the need to change from the older world and older attitudes; it brought about the influence of American culture and values, and it strengthened European Communism which affected views of traditional hierarchies in Europe. In addition, technological change could be considered as a major driver of social change with new building materials and techniques, the growth of air travel, communications technology, and the rise of computers and the internet, and mobile phones which were having a profound effect on social life by the end of the century. Stronger responses should be able to weigh prosperity against other elements which drove social change.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
49	<p><b>How beneficial for Europe was the impact of television after 1945?</b></p> <p>AO1/AO2 – Much depends on the way that ‘beneficial’ is interpreted. Television could be said to be a major way of ensuring that European populations were informed about world developments, and that isolated areas were brought more into the mainstream both nationally and internationally. It helped to promote a ‘global’ culture. It had considerable educational benefits with documentaries being a major source of information about historical events and the natural world. It offered a wide range of entertainment and encouraged artistic talent. It brought a lot of comfort and entertainment. It also brought political awareness and could be said to have strengthened democratic life and acted as a watchdog on politicians and leaders. It played a role by its advertising and marketing in economic growth and in developing vital consumer spending. It encouraged travel and tourism, and it helped charities by showing people in need. On the downside, in some areas of Europe it was political propaganda for repressive regimes, and state control produced impoverished content. It could be said to have degraded cultural life by programmes which were of low worth and appealed to the lowest common denominator in public taste. Soundbites and simplified news may have reduced rather than augmented real understanding of political issues. It may too have led to leaders rising because of their skill in handling television interviews and presentation, rather than their innate abilities. The mirror that television held up to represent society may have been distorted, for example in soap operas, and life often copied its art. There were complaints of excessive violence and sexual content as corrupting influences. Also, television was said to have discouraged more beneficial communal cultural experiences like live theatre and cinema. It was also accused of weakening national cultural life in favour of importing American culture in the West or Soviet culture in the East, though this was far less true in the later part of the century. Also, the influence of television at the end of the period was waning with the rise of computer technology.</p>	30