

History A

Advanced GCE **F966/02**

Historical Themes Option B: Modern 1789-1997

Mark Scheme for June 2010

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Maximum mark 120 for this unit.

2 answers: Each maximum mark 60

	A01a	A01b
IA	18-20	36-40
IB	16-17	32-35
II	14-15	28-31
III	12-13	24-27
IV	10-11	20-23
V	8-9	16-19
VI	4-7	8-15
VII	0-3	0-7

Notes:

- (i) Allocate marks to the most appropriate level for each AO.
- (ii) If several marks are available in a box, work from the top mark down until the best fit has been found.
- (iii) Many answers will not fall at the same level for each AO.
- (iv) Candidates will demonstrate synoptic skills by drawing together appropriate techniques, knowledge and understanding to evaluate developments over the whole of the period

AOs	AO1a	AO1b
Total mark for each question = 60	Recall, select and deploy historical knowledge appropriately, and communicate knowledge and understanding of history in a clear and effective manner.	Demonstrate understanding of the past through explanation, analysis and arriving at substantiated judgements of: - key concepts such as causation, consequence, continuity, change and significance within an historical context; - the relationships between key features and characteristics of the periods studied
Level IA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Uses a wide range of accurate and relevant evidence • Accurate and confident use of appropriate historical terminology • Answer is clearly structured and coherent; communicates accurately and legibly. <p>18-20</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Excellent understanding of key concepts (eg. continuity and change) relevant to analysis in their historical context • Excellent synthesis and synoptic assessment • Answer is consistently and relevantly analytical with developed explanations and supported judgements • May make unexpected but substantiated connections over the whole period <p>36-40</p>
Level IB	<p>Level IB</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Uses accurate and relevant evidence • Accurate use of a range of appropriate historical terminology • Answer is clearly structured and mostly coherent; communicates accurately and legibly <p>16-17</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Very good level of understanding of key concepts (eg. continuity and change) in their historical context. • Answer is consistently focused on the question set • Very good level of explanation/ analysis, and provides supported judgements. • Very good synthesis and synoptic assessment of the whole period <p>32-35</p>
Level II	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Uses mostly accurate and relevant evidence • Generally accurate use of historical terminology • Answer is structured and mostly coherent; writing is legible and communication is generally clear <p>14-15</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Good level of understanding of key concepts (eg. continuity and change) in their historical context • Good explanation/ analysis but overall judgements may be uneven • Answer is focused on the issues in the question set • Good synthesis and assessment of developments over most of the period <p>28-31</p>

<p>Level III</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Uses relevant evidence but there may be some inaccuracy • Answer includes relevant historical terminology but this may not be extensive or always accurately used • Most of the answer is structured and coherent; writing is legible and communication is generally clear <p>12-13</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shows a sound understanding of key concepts, especially continuity and change, in their historical context • Most of the answer is focused on the question set • Answers may be a mixture of analysis and explanation but also description and narrative, but there may also be some uneven overall judgements; OR answers may provide more consistent analysis but the quality will be uneven and its support often general or thin • Answer assesses relevant factors but provides only a limited synthesis of developments over most of the period <p>24-27</p>
<p>Level IV</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is deployment of relevant knowledge but level/ accuracy will vary. • Some unclear and/or underdeveloped and/or disorganised sections • Mostly satisfactory level of communication <p>10-11</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Satisfactory understanding of key concepts (eg. continuity and change) in their historical context • Satisfactory focus on the question set • Answer may be largely descriptive/ narratives of events, and links between this and analytical comments will typically be weak or unexplained • Makes limited synoptic judgements about developments over only part of the period <p>20-23</p>
<p>Level V</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • General and basic historical knowledge but also some irrelevant and inaccurate material • Often unclear and disorganised sections • Adequate level of communication but some weak prose passages <p>8-9</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • General understanding of key concepts (eg. continuity and change) in their historical context • Some understanding of the question but answers may focus on the topic and not address the question set OR provides an answer based on generalisation • Attempts an explanation but often general coupled with assertion, description / narrative • Very little synthesis or analysis and only part(s) of the period will be covered <p>16-19</p>

<p>Level VI</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use of relevant evidence will be limited; there will be much irrelevance and inaccuracy • Answers may have little organisation or structure • Weak use of English and poor organisation <p style="text-align: center;">4-7</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Very little understanding of key concepts (eg. continuity and change) in their historical context • Limited perhaps brief explanation • Mainly assertion, description / narrative • Some understanding of the topic but not the question's requirements <p>8-15</p>
<p>Level VII</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Little relevant or accurate Knowledge • Very fragmentary and disorganised response • Very poor use of English and some incoherence <p>0-3</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Weak understanding of key concepts (eg. continuity and change) in their historical context • No explanation • Assertion, description / narrative predominate • Weak understanding of the topic or of the question's requirements <p>0-7</p>

Theme 1: The Challenge of German Nationalism 1789 – 1919

- 1 Assess the view that the ideas and aims of German nationalism changed significantly during the period from 1789 to 1919. [60]**

No set conclusions are to be expected, but candidates must answer the question and address the theme over the full period. Candidates should assess whether the ideas and aims of German nationalism changed significantly in this period or whether they predominantly remained the same. Candidates should focus on the dominant ideas and aims of German nationalists during this period, from the aims of the growing emergent nationalist movement from 1789 to the aims of more radical nationalists in the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries. The development and impact of ideas on the aims of nationalism should be explored. Candidates may argue that the common fight of people from different German states against the French, especially in 1813, gave strong impulses to nationalism. A few intellectuals consequently demanded the unification of all German-speaking lands, although they represented a minority. Candidates are likely to show knowledge of developments in intellectual nationalism in the first half of the Nineteenth Century. Candidates might well demonstrate understanding of the debate about Grossdeutschland or Kleindeutschland in the period 1815 – 1871 and the reasons for the development of more radical nationalism in the remainder of the period. Candidates might explain the importance of economic factors on the changing aims of German nationalism, for example the impact of the Zollverein after 1834 in developing Prussia's economic strength and Prussian leadership of Germany. Candidates should understand how developments in the economy in the 1850s paved the way for the military victories of 1864, 1866 and 1870 / 71. Bismarck's opportunistic and skilful leadership clearly had a significant impact on the development of German nationalism too. The change of heart from 1866 when liberals became national liberals may well be stressed by some candidates. The impact of the foundation of the Second Reich from 1871 clearly had a profound effect on the development of nationalism during the latter part of this period as did the accession to the throne of Wilhelm II. Candidates may focus on the more radical nationalism of the Wilhelmine period and its ultimately disastrous impact on the German nation. The Great War left Germany broken and half-starved with the aims of German nationalists in tatters.

Examiners must be open to alternative approaches. If in doubt, they should consult their Team Leader.

- 2 Assess the view that the Prussian victory over Austria in 1866 was the most important turning point in the growth of German nationalism in the period from 1789 to 1919. [60]**

No set conclusions are to be expected, but candidates must answer the question and address the theme over the full period. Candidates should focus on the phrase 'most important turning point' in their answers. Candidates may argue either for or against the Prussian victory over Austria in 1866 as the most important turning point, but must do so comparatively in the context of other turning points. In assessing the significance of the Prussian victory over Austria in 1866 candidates are likely to stress the decline of Austrian influence in Germany, the North German Confederation and the consequent domination of Germany by Prussia. What follows is not an exclusive list of other potential turning-points, but obvious consideration could be given to 1789, 1813, 1815, 1848-49, 1870/71, 1888 (and / or 1890) and 1914. Clearly answers of the very highest quality can be written without considering all of these potential turning points, but the most able candidates will demonstrate a breadth of vision and a good understanding of the moments that shaped the destiny of German nationalism.

Examiners must be open to alternative approaches. If in doubt, they should consult their Team Leader.

3 To what extent did German nationalism have mass appeal in the period from 1789 to 1919? [60]

No set conclusions are to be expected, but candidates must answer the question and address the theme over the full period. Candidates should focus on 'to what extent', 'German nationalism' and 'mass appeal' in their answers in an attempt to evaluate the mass appeal of nationalism in this period. Candidates should evaluate the extent to which nationalism had mass appeal and demonstrate awareness that such appeal was not uniform but fluctuated. Candidates may demonstrate that concepts of romantic nationalism had a limited intellectual appeal. Candidates could consider the extent to which nationalism appealed or failed to appeal to the people at various points, for example from 1789 – 1815, 1815 – 1848, from 1871 - 1914 and in 1918. Candidates may well demonstrate that they understand that Wilhelmine Germany increasingly looked to exploit nationalist yearnings and the mass appeal of German nationalism, pursuing a populist foreign policy to distract the masses from social discontent. Candidates might choose to demonstrate that the mass appeal of nationalism may be compared to the mass appeal of other philosophies. For example the growing industrialization of Prussia and the German Empire was mirrored by the growing mass appeal of socialism, an appeal that proved relatively immune to either appeasement, in the form of state socialism, or repression. Distress from the winter of 1916 / 1917 onwards, and defeat in 1918, led to the socialist uprisings of late 1918 and early 1919 and the establishment of Ebert's republic. However, even in 1919 the appeal of unrequited nationalism was never far from the surface, as evidenced by the Freikorps and the emerging 'stab-in-the-back' theory.

Examiners must be open to alternative approaches. If in doubt, they should consult their Team Leader.

Theme 2: The Changing Nature of Warfare 1792 - 1945

- 4 'The concept of 'total war' should be applied only to conflicts in the twentieth century.' How far do you agree with this view of warfare in the period from 1792 to 1945?**

No set conclusions are to be expected, but candidates must answer the question and address the theme over the whole period.

The two twentieth century conflicts we might expect to be addressed are the First and Second World Wars. Both easily fit the concept of total war very well due to their geographic spread, the economic and political commitment needed by the victorious powers, the scale of the military forces involved, the scale of the carnage, and the involvement of large percentages of the populations of the combatant states.

There are many nineteenth and eighteenth century conflicts that might be used to counter the line advanced by the question. The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars might be argued to rival WWI and II in scale and all of the criteria for total war advanced above could be applied to these conflicts. The same argument can be applied to the ACW. The Wars of Unification in the middle part of the nineteenth century are less convincing candidates for total war due to their short duration and limited domestic impact. Alternatively the Russo-Japanese War also does not easily fit the concept of total war.

Alternative explanations are possible and examiners must be open to alternative approaches. If in doubt, consult your Team Leader.

- 5 To what extent did developments in transport revolutionise warfare in the period from 1792 to 1945?**

No set conclusions are to be expected, but candidates must answer the question and address the theme over the whole period.

Transport will probably concentrate on the application of steam power in the form of railways (and steam ships where their use applies to land warfare – the Crimean War springs to mind) in the nineteenth century and the impact of the internal combustion engine in the twentieth. Candidates need to be aware, however, that railways also had a large impact on WWII. The response must use this knowledge in an analytical fashion with focus on the specific demands of the question set. Examples might be rapid strategic movement, the ability to mobilize large numbers of soldiers, its impact on concentration of force and movement across the battlefield. The obvious examples of the impact of railways are the 1866 Austro-Prussian War, the opening months of WW1 and the support of military activity on the Eastern Front in WWII. Better candidates might argue that the railway only took armies so far and once separated from rail networks soldiers moved as fast as their 18th century forebears had done. For the impact of the internal combustion engine in WW1 candidates might consider lorries, tanks and aircraft. The effect of this technology on WWII is obvious with true mechanised warfare dominating all European and North Africa fronts. For tanks, APCs and aircraft we might expect some discussion of use in battle. For pre-steam technologies use of waterways to transport troops or mass use of horse drawn carts were important. The former was a common feature of war in the later 18th and early 19th centuries, the latter was used on occasion by Napoleon, for example to move part of his army in 1805.

Alternative positions might point to continuity across the period. For example, the limits of railways allowing troops to be massed at given points but then having to march to war as their forefathers did, this certainly applies to the wars of the mid-19th century and WW1 and arguably also applied on the Eastern Front in WWII. The limits to mechanisation of transport in WWI & II are possible alternative interpretations. On the Western Front in WWI the nature of trench warfare seriously hindered the successful application of transport innovations to war. In WWI the Eastern Front saw transport technology very similar to that of Napoleon's wars. This is also the case on the Eastern Front in WWII where the number of fully mechanised formations was small and the bulk of the armies fought using transport technology that would be familiar to the armies of the Austro- or Franco-Prussian Wars. Some candidates may counter-argue that factors in addition to transport also revolutionised warfare. If so, technological developments, strategic ideas, and the introduction of conscription could be usefully assessed. A balanced and evaluative response is required.

Alternative explanations are possible and examiners must be open to alternative approaches. If in doubt, consult your Team Leader.

6 'Victory in war was determined by superior economic power.' To what extent do you agree with this view of the period from 1792 to 1945?

No set conclusions are to be expected, but candidates must answer the question and address the theme over the whole period.

Responses will need a sound understanding of what is meant by economic power and its impact on conflict. Candidates need to be able to discuss the relative economic power of various combatant states during the period studied and its impact on the outcome of wars. Economic power might be encountered in many forms; industrialisation, commerce, agricultural output, etc. Britain's commercial and emerging industrial strength might be contrasted with France's in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. The chronic economic underdevelopment of Russia might be the main reason for allied victory in the Crimean War. The limited ability of the economy of states such as Prussia to sustain long term wars in the middle century might be discussed. On the other hand, the economic power of Prussia might be compared to her opponents in the wars of 1866 and 1870-71. The success of an economically weaker Japan in the Russo-Japanese War challenges the precept of the question. The First and Second World Wars are tailor made for the question. The ACW is also a case in point with the larger more sophisticated economy of the Union defeating the South but only after some time. Candidates might refer to the technology produced by the economies of combatant states but this must be linked to the specific demands of the question set. Also the development of the scale of warfare as the period went on and the impact on economic systems might be a worthwhile area for discussion.

Alternative explanations are possible and examiners must be open to alternative approaches. If in doubt, consult your Team Leader.

Theme 3: Britain and Ireland 1798 – 1921**7 ‘O’Connell was the most effective leader of constitutional nationalism in the period from 1798 to 1921.’ How far do you agree with this view?**

No set conclusions are to be expected, but candidates must answer the question and address the theme over the whole period.

Effective answers will be comparative in nature, considering O’Connell, Butt, Parnell, Redmond and Dillon. Comments on Butt and Dillon can be brief. The focus is expected to be on O’Connell, Parnell and Redmond, particularly their relative effectiveness in mobilising support and establishing clear policy and tactics. In O’Connell’s case the achievement of Emancipation in the 1820s, reform within the Union in the 1830s and repeal of the Union in the 1840s are key areas. In the first two he achieved much, far more in practice than later leaders although, like them, Repeal and Home Rule remained elusive. Unlike Parnell, O’Connell did not see the need for economic or land reform, other than the ending of religiously based tithes. Parnell was more effective here, forcing Gladstone to reconsider Land Reform in the 1880s (linking Davitt’s Land League to his cause). O’Connell’s Roman Catholic Association became a model for ‘constitutional’ agitation in the 1820s but with less success in the 1840s. The NRA mobilised large numbers but Peel had by then removed the Freeholders. He also had less success in creating a disciplined Parliamentary party than Parnell, whose aims were much focused on Westminster (‘obstructionism’). He gained complete control of the Irish political process outside Ulster. Both he and O’Connell became divorced from Ireland itself, O’Connell creating division over his ‘moderate’ tactics, whilst Parnell never recovered from the O’Shea Divorce case splitting his party. Nonetheless candidates could argue that O’Connell achieved more in association with the Whigs than Parnell did with Gladstone or Redmond with Campbell Bannerman and Asquith. Butt founded the Irish Nationalist party; Parnell gained a liberal commitment to Home Rule and substantive Land reform. Redmond secured Home Rule but not its implementation whilst Dillon ended up in alliance with Sinn Fein. Redmond could be accused of neglecting grass roots support in a way that O’Connell and Parnell never did. However O’Connell was never trusted in England whereas Parnell and Redmond were more effective in gaining the trust of Gladstone and Asquith. All three were broken, O’Connell by imprisonment in 1843, Parnell by the O’Shea divorce case (which lost him much support) and Redmond by the Great War and the Easter Rising. All depended on the fortune of Whiggery and Liberalism and all ignored Ulster, Redmond at great cost. Most candidates will see either O’Connell or Parnell as the most effective leaders although all could be considered failures, or merely effective in different ways. Alternative explanations are possible and examiners must be open to alternative approaches. If in doubt, consult your Team Leader. **[60]**

8 To what extent were British governments committed to the maintenance of the Act of Union in the period from 1800 to 1921? [60]

No set conclusions are to be expected, but candidates must answer the question and address the theme over the whole period.

One view of this is that all British governments of whatever political complexion were fully committed to the Act of Union, only Lloyd George and his closest colleagues in 1920-21 reluctantly abandoned this position in the face of Collins’ tactics in the Anglo-Irish War. However it could be argued that governments came to regard it as having created more problems than it solved and sought to ditch various aspects. Better candidates will consider **Pitt’s original aims** when framing the Act of Union in 1800. He was determined to **stabilise Ireland** after the Wolfe Tone Rising and was convinced that the Irish parliament was a destabilising influence and had to go. The incorporation of Irish MPs and Peers to Westminster was vital for him. Governments stuck to this until 1886 when

Gladstone introduced a Home Rule Bill that restored the Grattan Parliament with no Irish MPs at Westminster. However this was reversed in the Second 1893 Bill which would have restored representation at Westminster alongside that in Ireland. This arrangement was retained in the Third Bill of 1912 and in the Government of Ireland Act in 1920 (a Northern Ireland Parliament with Northern Irish MPs at Westminster). It could be argued that Pitt's commitment to the Irish at Westminster was maintained by all (except for Gladstone in 1886), despite most Irish MPs forming their own grouping, distinct from Liberalism and Conservatism, from the 1870s onwards. One could also point to the restrictive powers of the proposed Home Rule Parliaments after 1886 and even to the idea of Dominion status in 1921 for the Free State. **Defence fears** were as evident in the Anglo-Irish Treaty as in the Act of Union. The Lord Lieutenant and Chief Secretary, the former exercising viceroy like powers throughout the period, remained the key to Irish executive government. There was less commitment to the **religious aspects of the Union**. Pitt had wanted Catholic Emancipation to accompany it but Peel did not. The latter reluctantly conceded it in 1829, the Whig governments making it more of a reality through catholic appointments. Peel went on to seek an accommodation with Catholicism via Maynooth, whilst Gladstone disestablished the Irish Church in 1869. Certainly Ulster Unionists feared that Governments would concede power to a Catholic Assembly in Dublin after 1886 but a commitment to Ulster was maintained despite the fears. **Economically** Pitt had high hopes for the Union, looking to wider market opportunities to 'raise' the Irish in the manner of the Scots. Few governments, despite the failure of such hopes, changed the nature of the Union in this respect, beyond some land concessions. Gladstone was careful not to concede economic control to a Dublin parliament and in 1921 the Free State was allowed continued access to mainland markets.

Alternative explanations are possible and examiners must be open to alternative approaches. If in doubt, consult your Team Leader.

9 How important were economic factors in explaining the development of Irish nationalism in the period from 1798 to 1921? [60]

No set conclusions are to be expected, but candidates must answer the question and address the theme over the whole period.

This is a wide ranging question and exhaustive coverage is not expected. A broad comparative brush is required. A case could be made that **economic factors** were very important. Nationalists stressed that Irish land had been looted by English conquest, her peasantry oppressed with high rents and controlled by ruthless eviction. The Famine was seen as an English induced holocaust, whilst Ireland provided the cheap emigrant labour to build an industrialised society on the mainland. However few made much of this point before 1845. Tone and O'Connell stressed political and religious emancipation. Their successors too made little of it. Parnell and Redmond continued to stress a political nationalism whilst the Fenians and the IRB took the route of nationalist terrorism. Only Davitt and belatedly Parnell exploited economic agrarian grievance via the Land League, the latter ditching it once he scented the political prospect of Home Rule. Connolly's Socialism made little headway outside Dublin, although Ulster nationalism used Belfast industry as a sign of divine approval for Protestantism, especially as a knee jerk protective reaction after 1886. There were few economic issues to exploit in the late Victorian and Edwardian periods and neither Sinn Fein nor Redmond used them. A more convincing case might be made for the importance of **political, religious and cultural factors** throughout. Better candidates will see the linkages between these. **Protestant** nationalism felt betrayed by the Act of Union, whilst **Catholic** nationalism was exploited by O'Connell and later used by De Valera. Sectarian divides fuelled the various nationalisms, reflected in the Ulster and Irish Volunteers which foreshadowed Partition post 1918. Both revolutionary and constitutional nationalism drew heavily on the **political tradition** of the enlightenment, liberalism and independence. Their leaders took a largely political line and adopted political methods to advance their cause (from Risings to Parliamentary

obstruction). A case could also be made for the **cultural impact** of the Gaelic revival from the 1880s, particularly for those who pushed for independence. Language, poetry, theatre and sport rejected the Anglo-Irish tradition of Ascendancy nationalism and owed little to economic issues. It provided a 'new' national tradition built on powerful myths, including economic exploitation. Ulster was busy doing the same.

Alternative explanations are possible and examiners must be open to alternative approaches. If in doubt, consult your team Leader.

Theme 4: Russia and its Rulers 1855 – 1964

- 10 How far do you agree that the October Revolution of 1917 was the most important turning point in the development of Russian government in the period from 1855 to 1964? [60]**

No set conclusions are to be expected, but candidates must answer the question and address the theme over the full period. Candidates should focus on the phrase ‘most important turning point’ and ‘the development of Russian government’ in their answers. Candidates may argue either for or against the communist takeover in 1917 as the most important turning point, but must do so comparatively in the context of other turning points. What follows is not an exclusive list, but consideration could be given to defeat in the Crimean War in 1856, the assassination of Alexander II in 1881, the 1905 Revolution, the February Revolution of 1917, Stalin’s gaining total power by 1929 or Stalin’s death in 1953 and replacement by Khrushchev by 1956. For example, candidates might argue that the assassination of Alexander II in 1881 marked the end of any hope of meaningful reform from above by the Romanov dynasty, and set the Romanovs on course for revolution and their downfall. Candidates may argue that February 1917 was the most significant turning point as it ended the 304 year old Romanov dynasty, but may argue that ultimately this led to the replacement of ‘Romanov Tsars’ by ‘red Tsars’. Many candidates will undoubtedly argue that October 1917 and the triumph of Bolshevism was the most important turning point as it crushed all possibility that a liberal democracy might emerge in Russia and transformed Russia into the Soviet Union – the world’s first communist state. Candidates however may well consider that Lenin’s death in 1924 was the most significant turning point, perverting the true course of the Russian Revolution because Stalin succeeded Lenin. Candidates who argue this are likely to suggest that Stalin’s victory in the ensuing power struggle led Russia down a very different road than that being paved by Lenin. Other candidates may use a counter-argument based on more recent archival evidence to suggest that there was significant continuity between Lenin and Stalin and argue this. Candidates may argue that Khrushchev’s secret speech of 1956 and subsequent de-stalinisation marked a significant turning point in the development of Russian government.

Examiners must be open to alternative approaches. If in doubt, they should consult their Team Leader.

- 11 Assess the view that Russia’s communist leaders did less than the Tsars to improve the lives of the working class in the period from 1855 to 1964. [60]**

No set conclusions are to be expected, but candidates must answer the question and address the theme over the full period. Candidates should focus on the living and working conditions of Russia’s industrial and urban working class. Candidates should compare the experience of the working class under the tsars with their experience under the communists. Candidates may wish to compare the expectations the working class had from their ‘Little Fathers’ with their expectations under the Bolsheviks. Some candidates may compare and contrast Marxist ideology with the actual experience of life in the USSR. Candidates are likely to compare the impact of industrialization on the lives of the people, both before and after 1917. Similarities could include the grim experience of industrialization experienced by the proletariat, both as a consequence of Witte’s ‘Great Spurt’ and Stalin’s Five Year Plans. Candidates may wish to compare the scale of the suffering under Lenin and Stalin with that experienced before 1917. Candidates may argue that the working peoples gained benefits from Soviet rule, for example in the sphere of education. Candidates are likely to limit their evaluation of life for the proletariat under the Tsars from around 1890 as there were comparatively few urban workers prior to Witte’s ‘Great Spurt’. However, some candidates may deal with the whole period from 1855 as there were serfs working in factories prior to Emancipation in 1861. Candidates may treat Russia’s peasants as **part** of their discussions as the growing proletariat consisted largely

of urbanised peasants, but the main focus should involve a consideration of the experience of Russia's industrial working class or proletariat and candidates who fail to discuss the industrial and urban workers should **not** be put into **Levels (i) or (ii) or (iii)** .

Examiners must be open to alternative approaches. If in doubt, they should consult their Team Leader.

12 'Opposition to Russian governments was ineffective in the period from 1855 to 1964.' How far do you agree with this view? [60]

No set conclusions are to be expected, but candidates must answer the question and address the theme over the full period. Candidates should focus on the phrase 'opposition to Russian governments was ineffective' in their answers. Candidates may argue that for much of the period this view can be justified. In support they are likely to cite examples such as Stalinist terror, Lenin's victory in the Civil War and crushing of the Kronstadt Uprising and the silencing of opposition under Alexander III. Candidates may also argue that the crushing of the 1905 Revolution illustrates this view. However many candidates may argue that opposition under the Tsars was increasingly effective. This can be supported in the reign of Alexander II by the emergence of a wide range of opposition groups such as the Narodniks and the Peoples' Will. His assassination may be used to illustrate effective opposition (although some candidates may argue that the only consequence was his replacement by a far more effective autocrat in Alexander III). Candidates may view the reign of Alexander III as a temporary setback to opposition and see the 1905 Revolution as a dress rehearsal and narrow escape for Nicholas II. Candidates may argue that by 1917 opposition groups such as the SRs, the Mensheviks and the Cadets were increasingly effective. Candidates are very likely to support this by reference to the abdication of Nicholas II and consequent end to the Romanov dynasty. Candidates are very likely to argue that in 1917 the Bolsheviks emerged as an extremely effective opposition group and are likely to support this by reference to the roles of Lenin and Trotsky. Candidates may argue that under communism opposition was much less effective. They are likely to understand that Lenin's banning of factions and Stalin's terror led to a situation when opposition even within the communist party was perilous! Candidates may argue that 'the Thaw' under Khrushchev led to a situation where within the party opposition could flourish; they may well use Khrushchev's enforced resignation to support this argument.

Examiners must be open to alternative approaches. If in doubt, they should consult their Team Leader.

Theme 5: Civil rights in the USA 1865 – 1992**13 Assess the importance of the federal government in the advancement of African American civil rights in the period from 1865 to 1992.**

No set conclusions are to be expected, but candidates must answer the question and address the theme over the whole period.

Most candidates will accept that the Federal government was crucial to the advancement of African American civil rights and observe that the 1950s and 1960s witnessed the most significant period of progress for the civil rights of African Americans with the passage by Congress of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, both supported by the president, and that these advances occurred while the Supreme Court was also supportive (for example, in the Brown Case in 1954 and the Browder versus Gayle verdict in 1956 on the Montgomery bus boycott). They will possibly also refer to the period of Reconstruction (1865-1877) as another period in which Congress enacted significant advances (the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments and the Civil Rights Act of 1866), with better candidates pointing out that these were not sustained because President Johnson and the Supreme Court were hostile. They might also contrast these periods with 1877 to 1941 when, without Federal government support, civil rights made little progress and the period from 1970 onwards when Republican presidents, Nixon, Ford, Reagan and Bush, gave at best, lukewarm support, and sometimes not even that. They will probably be aware of the changed attitude of the Supreme Court, contrasting the Plessy versus Ferguson verdict of 1896 with the Brown Case of 1954. Probably only the best candidates will discuss the implications of either the 1978 Bakke Case for affirmative action or the more conservative tone of the Rehnquist court after 1986. Better candidates will attempt to evaluate the importance of the Federal government in relation to other factors. They will be aware that, even when sympathetic to civil rights, the president and Congress were reluctant to act unless put under pressure by activists and protestors. They will point out that civil rights could be seen as making progress ahead of Federal government action because grass roots protest (and, in the post war period, a more sympathetic climate) were essential prerequisites to legislative change. They will also be aware that the huge economic and social changes brought about by the Depression and the Second World War undermined the ability of the Southern states to resist change.

Examiners must be open to alternative approaches. If in doubt, they should consult their Team Leader.

14 ‘The actions of Native Americans themselves contributed nothing to the advancement of their civil rights in the period from 1865 to 1992.’ To what extent do you agree with this view?

No set conclusions are to be expected, but candidates must answer the question and address the theme over the whole period.

Most candidates are likely to agree that the majority of Native Americans did little towards the attainment of their civil rights. They will argue that the Federal government did much more than Native Americans themselves to advance their civil rights. The weakest candidates are likely to resort to narrative, chronological exposition of Federal policy beginning with the period of forced assimilation that began with the 1887 Dawes Act. They will regard Collier and the Indian New Deal as a brief period of enlightened Federal policy which was followed by a return to forced assimilation under the policy of termination. Most candidates will be familiar with the high-profile activities of ‘Red Power’ in the late 1960s and early 1970s (the occupation of Alcatraz in 1969, the occupation of the BIA in 1972, and the protest at Wounded Knee in 1973). They may conclude that this Indian activism (together with the impact of the African American civil rights campaigns) resulted in the

reluctant redress of some Native American grievances, though some candidates will argue that these actions did no more than raise the profile of Indians. Good candidates might consider the Indian Wars of the late 19th century as evidence of Native Americans attempting, though ultimately unsuccessfully, to defend their rights. High ability candidates will show the importance of this struggle in creating sympathy for Native Americans some 80 years later. Good candidates will also be aware that the significant contribution of Native Americans to the US war effort in the two world wars influenced subsequent Federal policy (the granting of US citizenship in 1924 and the formation of the Indian Claims Commission in 1946). The best candidates will be aware of the activities of the various Indian groups, the Society of American Indians (SAI, established in 1911), the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI, established in 1944) and the American Indian Movement (AIM, established in 1968) to preserve Indian customs and culture and exert pressure on Federal and state authorities. High ability candidates will also be able to evaluate the impact of these groups and show that, though they neither exercised much political power nor mobilised mass protest, their activities both influenced, and were encouraged by, sympathetic Federal officials (John Collier in the 1930s and 1940s) and policies (the Indian Claims Commission). They will also be able to show that Native Americans were able to exercise a significant, though limited, negative impact on Federal policy: both the Indian New Deal and the termination policy of the 1950s were abandoned in part because of Indian hostility. High ability candidates might also point out the lack of clarity about what Native American civil rights actually are. They will be aware of the impact of economic and social changes of the mid to late 20th century on Native Americans. Some wanted recognition of their separate culture and traditions while others, particularly those who have moved to the cities and/or intermarried, wished to assimilate into mainstream US culture and overcome de facto racial prejudice over such issues as employment and housing. Such candidates might also analyse the lack of consistency in Federal Indian policy and will be able to discuss the current legal and economic status of the reservations.

Examiners must be open to alternative approaches. If in doubt, they should consult their Team Leader.

15 How far do you agree that divisions within the women's movement were the most important factor hindering the attainment of gender equality in the USA in the period from 1865 to 1992?

No set conclusions are to be expected, but candidates must answer the question and address the theme over the whole period.

Most candidates will be aware of the different, and sometimes competing, women's organisations. They will refer to the different strategies adopted by the NWSA and the AWSA (both founded in 1869) and to the founding in 1913 of the militant Congressional Union. However, they may balance this by pointing out that the NWSA and the AWSA merged (as the NAWSA) in 1890 and may attribute the passage of the 19th Amendment in 1920 (which granted women the vote nationally) to the campaigning of the NAWSA and the Congressional Union. They might characterise the women's suffrage movement (as well as the temperance campaigners and those agitating for Progressive Era social and economic reform) as essentially middle class and they should also be aware of divisions among women over race. Black women were excluded from the NAWSA (and so formed their own campaign group) and Elizabeth Stanton opposed allowing blacks to vote. White women were heavily represented in the membership of the revived KKK in the 1920s. Some women opposed the post-war civil rights movement for its failure to campaign for women's issues. Most candidates should be aware of the divisions over abortion (Roe versus Wade, 1973) and the role of Phyllis Schlafly in opposing the Equal Rights Amendment.

Weak candidates will probably not get much further than outlining the divisions within the women's movement, but better candidates should be able to weigh up the importance of these divisions in relation to other factors. They could refer to the impact of economic and technological change (the development of factory work, the typewriter, the expansion of retail trade in the late 19th century and the development of domestic appliances in the 20th century) in changing women's lives and prospects. They could also refer to the power of male opposition to gender equality, initially in resisting female suffrage, but also in trade unions. The ablest candidates may also be aware that some advances in gender equality had little to do with women's agency. The granting of female suffrage in certain western states (eg Colorado in 1893, Idaho in 1896, Washington in 1910 and California in 1911) had more to do with encouraging westward migration than enlightened attitudes to women's roles in society. Similarly, after the Second World War, some Southerners advocated women's rights as a tactic to divide, and thus defeat, the civil rights campaign. High level answers might also discuss the nature of women's rights and point out the lack of unity about what gender equality means in practice.

Examiners must be open to alternative approaches. If in doubt, they should consult their Team Leader.

Theme 6: The Development of Democracy in Britain 1868 – 1997**16 How far was the extension to the franchise in 1918 the most important factor in the development of democracy from 1868 to 1997?**

No set conclusions are to be expected, but candidates must answer the question and address the theme over the whole period.

Candidates could make a strong case for the Representation of the People's Act of 1918 being the most important factor. Not only did women get the vote for the first time (over 8.4 million over the age of 30), but the total electorate was increased to over 21 million (all men over the age of 21 were given the vote). However, many responses are likely to indicate the limited nature of this change, in so far as many women were debarred as a result of the age limit. It might also be argued that the legislation was a logical (and inevitable?) development from franchise reforms that had occurred in the nineteenth century. Moreover, the weaknesses of 1918 were partly addressed by the Equal Franchise Act of 1928, when all women over 21 were given the vote, and the Representation of the People Act of 1969, which reduced the voting age of all to 18. Therefore, 1918 was part of a chain of events that led to a fairer and more equal democratic system.

Some candidates will make a case for other factors constituting major influences. These might include the Ballot Act (1872), the Corrupt and Illegal Practices Act (1883), the Redistribution of Seats Act (1885) and the Parliament Act (1911). Others might consider events of a more general nature, such as the formation of the Labour party, the emergence of general unions, the rise of the mass media and the influence of the Suffragettes. Such an approach is unlikely to be as successful as that which focuses on a particular reform or event, as it would be more difficult to measure the degree of change that occurred.

Examiners must be open to alternative approaches. If in doubt, they should consult their Team Leader.

17 Assess why the Conservatives were more successful than any other party in staying in power from 1868 to 1997.

No set conclusions are to be expected, but candidates must answer the question and address the theme over the whole period.

Candidates may argue that the answer relates primarily to ideological differences. The Conservatives consistently promoted law and order, the Church of England, paternalism, protectionism, property rights and nationalism, all of which had a general appeal to an ever increasing electorate. This seemed to marry well with a deep seated conservatism that remained part of the British psyche and culture throughout the period.

With the Liberals there seemed to be less ideological consistency and congruence, with a shift from so called 'old liberalism' to 'new liberalism' by the end of the nineteenth century. This was partly in response to an attempt to capture the votes of the newly enfranchised working classes. However, the emergence of the Labour party seemed to damage Liberal aspirations considerably, whilst the Conservatives maintained a steady level of appeal. However, Labour also went through major changes with respect to ideology and policy especially under Blair. This, of course, helped Labour achieve huge political success in the latter part of the period

Other factors should also be discussed, such as leadership differences, party organisation and unity, and contingency factors (eg wars, economic conditions, social changes). Better candidates will take heed of the command stem and ensure that they make a judgement

about the relative importance of reasons for the differing fortunes of the main political parties.

Examiners must be open to alternative approaches. If in doubt, they should consult their Team Leader.

18 'Trade Unions held back the development of democracy from 1868 to 1997.' How far do you agree?

No set conclusions are to be expected, but candidates must answer the question and address the theme over the whole period.

A case could be made for the role Trades Unions played in hindering attempts to increase freedom of choice (if that is how democracy is to be defined). There is likely to be a focus on the more frequent use of strikes and on a bigger scale, which resulted in restraint of trade. Examples to illustrate this could be taken from across the period and might include the late 1880s, 1912, 1926, 1972-74 and 1984-85. For many sectors of the population, restraint of trade meant restricted consumer choice, inconvenience and unnecessary hardship. There was also the more specific issue of the closed shop, which until the end of the period, could be seen as anti-democratic by restricting worker choice of who should best represent their interests in the work place.

Many responses are likely to suggest that the existence of unions, particularly those that were 'responsible', enhanced the democratic process. They acted as successful pressure groups and a check on the power of central governments and their relationship with the Labour party aided more effective, appropriate and widespread representation of the interests of working people. Furthermore, they had a positive impact on economic and social policies (especially in the areas of health and education).

The best responses should provide balance. Some candidates may comment on the Whiggish tone of the question and how it implies that democracy triumphed despite the odd obstruction.

Examiners must be open to alternative approaches. If in doubt, they should consult their Team Leader.

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