

**UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL EXAMINATIONS**

**GCE Advanced Subsidiary Level and GCE Advanced Level**

**MARK SCHEME for the October/November 2010 question paper  
for the guidance of teachers**

**9697 HISTORY**

**9697/51**

Paper 5, maximum raw mark 100

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.

Mark schemes must be read in conjunction with the question papers and the report on the examination.

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## GENERIC MARK BANDS FOR ESSAY QUESTIONS

Examiners should note the mark bands below and assess which Level of Response best reflects most of the answer. An answer will not be required to demonstrate all of the descriptors in a particular Level to qualify for a Mark Band. In bands of 3 marks, examiners will normally award the middle mark, moderating it up or down according to the particular qualities of the answer.

<b>Band</b>	<b>Marks</b>	<b>Levels of Response</b>
1	21–25	The approach will be consistently analytic or explanatory rather than descriptive or narrative. Essays will be fully relevant. The argument will be structured coherently and supported by very appropriate factual material and ideas. The writing will be accurate. At the lower end of the band, there may be some weaker sections but the overall quality will show that the candidate is in control of the argument. The best answers must be awarded 25 marks.
2	18–20	Essays will be focused clearly on the demands of the question but there will be some unevenness. The approach will be mostly analytical or explanatory rather than descriptive or narrative. The answer will be mostly relevant. Most of the argument will be structured coherently and supported by largely accurate factual material. The impression will be that a good solid answer has been provided.
3	16–17	Essays will reflect a clear understanding of the question and a fair attempt to provide an argument and factual knowledge to answer it. The approach will contain analysis or explanation but there will be some heavily descriptive or narrative passages. The answer will be largely relevant. Essays will achieve a genuine argument but may lack balance and depth in factual knowledge. Most of the answer will be structured satisfactorily but some parts may lack full coherence.
4	14–15	Essays will indicate attempts to argue relevantly although often implicitly. The approach will depend more on some heavily descriptive or narrative passages than on analysis or explanation, which may be limited to introductions and conclusion. Factual material, sometimes very full, will be used to impart information or describe events rather than to address directly the requirements of the question. The structure of the argument could be organised more effectively.
5	11–13	Essays will offer some appropriate elements but there will be little attempt generally to link factual material to the question. The approach will lack analysis and the quality of the description or narrative, although sufficiently accurate and relevant to the topic if not the particular question, will not be linked effectively to the argument. The structure will show weaknesses and the treatment of topics within the answer will be unbalanced.
6	8–10	Essays will not be properly focused on the requirements of the question. There may be many unsupported assertions and commentaries that lack sufficient factual support. The argument may be of limited relevance to the topic and there may be confusion about the implications of the question.
7	0–7	Essays will be characterised by significant irrelevance or arguments which do not begin to make significant points. The answers may be largely fragmentary and incoherent. Marks at the bottom of this Band will be given very rarely because even the most wayward and fragmentary answers usually make at least a few valid points.

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## Section A: The Road to Secession and Civil War

### 1 Compulsory Source Based Question

**NB To attain Levels 4–6 candidates must evaluate the sources in their historical context**

**'Douglas's policy of applying the principle of popular sovereignty to the Kansas-Nebraska issue was entirely reasonable.'** Using Sources A–E discuss how far the evidence supports this assertion.

L1 WRITES ABOUT THE HYPOTHESIS, NO USE OF SOURCES. [1–5]

These answers will write about Douglas's policy of applying the principle of popular sovereignty to the Kansas-Nebraska issue. However, candidates will not use the sources as information/evidence to test the given hypothesis. If sources are used, it will be to support an essay style answer to the question.

L2 USES INFORMATION TAKEN FROM THE SOURCES TO CHALLENGE **OR** SUPPORT THE HYPOTHESIS. [6–8]

These answers use the sources as information rather than as evidence i.e. sources are used at face value with no evaluation/interpretation in context.

For example sources could be used to challenge the hypothesis; *Source A states the determination of the authors 'to resist by speech and vote and with all the abilities that God has given us' the Kansas-Nebraska Act.*

Sources could be used to support the hypothesis; *Source C states 'that the whole question has been settled upon the principle of popular sovereignty.'*

L3 USES INFORMATION TAKEN FROM THE SOURCES TO CHALLENGE **AND** SUPPORT THE HYPOTHESIS. [9–13]

These answers know that testing the hypothesis involves both attempting to confirm and disconfirm it. However, sources are still used only at face value.

For example both points, or similar ones to those used in the Level 2 example, could be used so as to put the case for and against the hypothesis. The sources will still be used at face value.

L4 BY INTERPRETING/EVALUATING SOURCES IN CONTEXT, FINDS EVIDENCE TO CHALLENGE **OR** SUPPORT THE HYPOTHESIS. [14–16]

These answers are capable of using sources as evidence, i.e. demonstrating their utility in testing the hypothesis, by interpreting them in their historical context, i.e. not simply accepting them at face value.

Against the hypothesis; *In Source C Buchanan must have been aware in March 1857 that the question of slavery extension was far from being settled and that there were violent clashes in Kansas over the issue.*

For the hypothesis; *Source A ignores the fact that the Kansas-Nebraska Act had passed both Houses of Congress after prolonged debate and was now law, so it would be undemocratic to oppose its implementation so fanatically.*

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L5 BY INTERPRETING/EVALUATING SOURCES IN CONTEXT, FINDS EVIDENCE TO CHALLENGE **AND** SUPPORT THE HYPOTHESIS. [17–21]

These answers know that testing the hypothesis involves both attempting to confirm and refute the hypothesis and are capable of using the sources in their historical context to do this (i.e. both confirmation and disconfirmation are done at this level.)

For example all points made for Level 4 answers or similar, relevant ones. It is essential that **both** alternative views are put in interpreting/evaluating the evidence.

L6 AS L5 PLUS **EITHER**

[A] EXPLAIN WHY EVIDENCE TO CHALLENGE/SUPPORT IS BETTER/PREFERRED **OR**

[B] RECONCILES/EXPLAINS PROBLEMS IN THE EVIDENCE TO SHOW THAT NEITHER CHALLENGING OR SUPPORT IS TO BE. [22–25]

For [A] the argument has to be that the evidence for challenging or supporting the hypothesis is better/preferred. This must include a comparative judgement i.e. not just why some evidence is better but also why some evidence is worse.

For [B] include all L5 answers which use the evidence to **modify** the hypothesis (rather than simply seeking to support/contradict), in order to improve it.

*For example, a revised hypothesis might be 'Douglas's doctrine of popular sovereignty to the Kansas-Nebraska dispute may have been reasonable in theory but in practice only made matters worse.'*

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### **Section B: Essay Questions**

NB To gain Band 3 upwards responses must focus on the question rather than the topic.

**2 'An aggressive, and unjust war.' To what extent is this a fair assessment of the Mexican War of 1846?**

The terms 'aggressive' and 'unjust' need to be examined carefully as they are not self evident. There is plenty of evidence in support of the contention that the war was aggressive. Polk was probably the most assertive President in US history and in his one term he increased the territorial area of the United States by 60%, acquiring more territory for the United States than any other President. At one point he appeared to be threatening war against both Mexico and Great Britain at the same time. He made his determination to annex a greatly enlarged Texas quite clear, even if this meant war with Mexico, and seized on a very questionable pretext to declare war. It was plain that his aim was to detach California from Mexico. As regards the question of justification, large segments of North-eastern opinion regarded the war as unjust. Ulysses Grant, then a Lieutenant in the war, later wrote that it was one of the most unjust wars in history and Walt Whitman made the prophecy that 'Mexico will poison us.' However, Polk was simply riding the wave of the widespread doctrine of Manifest Destiny which argued that Divine Providence intended America to occupy the whole of the North American landmass and it was America's duty to bring democracy to these lands. In this context the war could be regarded as justified, but riding roughshod over the rights and wishes of Mexicans and Indians by force may well be considered unjust. The consequences of the war could be spelt out, in particular the Wilmot Proviso and its implications, but this should only be a subsidiary part of the answer.

**3 Compare Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis as war leaders.**

Candidates must do more than write two sets of brief biographies with comparisons confined to introduction and conclusion. The responses must make balanced assessments of Lincoln and Douglas as war leaders and here the verdict of history favours Lincoln as the clear cut victor of the bloodiest conflict of US history. His cause is regarded as a noble one and he died at the height of his greatest triumph. Lincoln was much more ambitious than Davis. Up to his Presidential election in 1860 he had merely one term as a Congressman and two failed attempts at being elected a US Senator. Davis was better qualified in political experience. He served two terms as a US Senator and in between had been Secretary of War in Pierce's Cabinet, he was a graduate of West Point and had served in the army for seven years, including the Mexican War. He did not want to be President of the Confederacy, but rather Commander of its armed forces. He was nominated as a compromise candidate. At the time the Confederacy only had seven states and it needed support from the Upper South. Virginia was a key state and its two US Senators both urged strongly that Davis be chosen as provisional President of the new State. This swung opinion behind Davis who agreed with some reluctance to take up the position. The key difference between the two men was that Lincoln grew in stature and political experience, whereas Davis did not. Lincoln displayed great skill in managing his Cabinet, his relations with Congress were good; unlike Davis he had no military experience but gave Generals a free hand in strategy and tactics but dismissed them when they did not deliver. Ultimately he appointed Grant who was an effective General. Lincoln displayed considerable skill in keeping the three border slave states of Kentucky, Missouri and Maryland in the Union when two of them might well have joined the Confederacy. It has been argued that this was crucial to the Union's success. Davis did not find it easy dealing with people. Turnover in his Cabinet was high and while he did not like delegating, he found it difficult to make decisions. They varied in the use they made of their powers. Lincoln expanded his to the very limit while Davis was regarded as cautious and rather weak in his dealings with State Governors. Lincoln was an inspirational leader with great self confidence and showed great skill in using the slavery issue to give the Union the moral high ground. In this context the Emancipation Proclamation of 1862 was a master stroke. Davis, by comparison, was wooden and a poor communicator.

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**4 'A conscious and successful effort by the more enlightened business groups to guide and control economic and social policies in their own long-term interests.' Is this a valid criticism of the Progressive movement in America 1901–1917?**

It is essential to accurately define Progressivism. It was a middle class reforming movement which transcended the normal party divide. It was the successor to Populism, but more urban and more practical and not concerned with the currency question. Progressives argued that radical reform was essential in a number of key areas. Among these were regulation of the Trusts, eradicating corruption by the city bosses (the most notorious being Tammany Hall in New York City) improvements in public health and housing and lastly a number of key political reforms such as primary elections for candidates, the right of initiative by voters and the direct election of US Senators. It can be seen as a reaction against the laissez-faire policies of the 'Gilded Age' which saw dramatic economic development accompanied by powerful monopolies in many fields. It should be noted that Socialism was gaining ground rapidly in this period so that the Progressive Movement represented reform without challenging the basic capitalist structure. For this reason the major Trusts chose not the fight attempts to curb their power as had happened earlier with the Inter State Commerce Commission. In 1912 the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey was dissolved, as was the American Tobacco Company in 1913. The 16<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the Constitution permitted a graduated income tax and an 8 hour day was imposed on all employers with government contracts. In 1910 the Mann-Elkins Act strengthened the powers of the ICC in relation to telephone and telegraph companies and gave it broader powers to initiate legal proceedings. It should be noted that no attempt was made to create state ownership of industrial concerns as had happened in France and Germany.

**5 Evaluate Martin Luther King's contribution to the cause of civil rights in the United States in the period 1955–1968.**

What is necessary here is an evaluation of Dr Kings' role, not merely a narrative of his career. He was an inspirational speaker and charismatic leader of the demoralised and down trodden African-Americans in the Deep South. He was not afraid to face prison, repeated attacks on his character and surveillance by the FBI. His doctrine of breaking unjust laws in a provocative way with non violence and passive resistance, both infuriated the public authorities and gave him the moral high ground. Secondly, his handling of the media, particularly television, was masterly in giving maximum publicity to the reality of segregation and discrimination in the Deep South. Thirdly, unlike others, he realised that the white majority had to be won over and he set out to cultivate liberal Democratic politicians. It was significant that the 1960 election saw a shift of African-American voters who had always supported Republican candidates as the heirs to Lincoln, to the Democrats. Better candidates could discuss criticisms of King; he was solely concerned with political rights and ignored social and economic issues. However King was probably right in saying that the franchise was a necessary condition to attain public office which in turn could lead to social and economic advance. It was also true that his non violent philosophy had little appeal to young Blacks in the ghettos of the Northern cities. Candidates will almost certainly mention rivals and critics such as Malcolm X and Eldridge Cleaver. However their aggressive and confrontational stances probably assisted King, whose moderate approach was much more calculated to build coalitions with white voters who were alarmed by groups such as the Black Moslems or the Black Panthers. Finally, it is important in evaluating Kings' work to correctly stress the roles of Presidents Kennedy and Johnson. Without their embracing of the Civil Rights cause legislation would never have passed Congress. President Johnson made it a priority to drive through the Civil Rights Act 1964 and the Voting Rights Act 1965, even though he knew it would destroy the Democratic vote in the South for a generation. A balanced answer would be that King's role was essential in getting the Civil Rights issue onto the agenda, but it was not the only factor to consider.

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**6 'There was no single New Deal but at least two different and distinct programmes.' How far do you agree with this assessment of FDR's policies?**

This question lends itself to a logical and structured analysis of the New Deal. It is usual to state that there were two New Deals, the first in 1933 in the famous Hundred Days after FDR's election. Fourteen major Acts were passed establishing a number of Government agencies dealing with different aspects of the economy under the general heading of Relief, Recovery and Reform. This first New Deal brought economic decline to an end and had major impact in restoring a measure of confidence. However, the second New Deal, 1935 to 1937 brought major changes in the social and economic structure of the USA. Legislation such as the Wagner Act, the Social Security Act and the Revenue Act, all in 1935, brought fundamental reform to the American welfare state. The phrase 'two distinct and different programmes' can be challenged. What lay behind all FDR's actions was his belief that the Federal Government, in particular the Presidency, had the right and duty to intervene to regulate the economy and introduce social reform without challenging the basic capitalist structure of the nation. In FDR's view Congress was reduced to a subordinate role (which it accepted until 1937) and the States became in effect agencies of the national government. It will probably be argued that with frantic experimentation of the early years there were many contradictory elements and schemes that did not work. FDR was always willing to try something new and if necessary to move onto something else. The unifying factor behind the New Deal was FDR himself, with his unbridled optimism and self belief.

**7 'Walk softly and carry a big stick.' Is this an accurate statement of Theodore Roosevelt's foreign policies as President, 1901–1909?**

Candidates should explain how they interpret this famous statement of Theodore Roosevelt. The simplest explanation is that one should be reasonable and be prepared to negotiate but at the same time to use force if this approach fails. In spite of TR's reputation of aggression and belligerence, both before 1901 with his Rough Riders in Cuba, and after 1914, when he urged US entry into World War One, there were no wars fought during his Presidency. He was easily the most active President in foreign affairs to that point and possessed a detailed knowledge of foreign affairs. He played a decisive role in the building of the Panama Canal with an extensive Canal Zone guaranteed as an American possession in perpetuity. TR became convinced that the Columbian government was delaying negotiations over building the canal. He actively supported and possibly instigated revolt against the Columbian government. This led to the creation of the state of Panama which immediately granted the desired leases to the United States, allowing the building of the canal to commence. TR won fame for his mediation in the Russo-Japanese war for which he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. In fact, his motives were to stop Japanese gains in the Pacific. When there was Japanese resentment at the terms he sent the Great White Fleet to tour around the Pacific as a show of strength. In 1902, following a dispute between Venezuela and European nations, TR laid down the Roosevelt Corollary as an extension to the Monroe Doctrine. This stated that the US would intervene in the affairs of other nations in the Americas in cases of 'chronic wrong doing or impotence', the United States being the sole judge of when these conditions existed. It could be argued that TR's diplomacy relied very heavily on what later became known as 'brinkmanship', with force being the clearly implied back up behind the American negotiating positions. This interpretation would agree with the quotation.

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**8 Evaluate the impact of television on American social and political life, 1945–1968.**

Answers should endeavour to be specific and structured so that evaluation takes place. In 1949 1 million households owned a television set, by 1960 it was 49 million and by 1968 access to television was almost universal. Technology had developed so that worldwide coverage was possible; the Vietnam war could be seen live in American homes, in sharp contrast to the Korean War. This live coverage of a bitter Asian war where official bulletins were often contradicted by observed events played a big part in the growing anti-war movement which drove President Johnson out of office in 1968. Candidates will probably refer to the famous television debates between Senator John Kennedy and Vice-President Richard Nixon in 1960; these have since become an obligatory part of the Presidential election process. Radio listeners thought that Nixon had won, whereas the much larger television audience thought that Kennedy had won. Television made JFK a national figure on an equal footing with the vastly more experienced Nixon. The election was so close that it could be argued that television accounted for JFK's victory. Television's effect on society was to open up huge commercial markets to consumers by way of advertising. There was no state run television network as in Britain, France or Australia. Advertisers acquired considerable influence as a result of their commercial dominance of the new medium. Watching television became the biggest single leisure time activity and had a huge influence in the world of entertainment and sport.