National
Qualifications
2024

2024 History

British, European and World History

Higher

Question Paper Finalised Marking Instructions

These marking instructions have been prepared by examination teams for use by SQA appointed markers when marking external course assessments.

General marking principles for Higher History — British, European and World History

Always apply these general principles. Use them in conjunction with the detailed marking instructions, which identify the key features required in candidates' responses.

(a) Always use positive marking. This means candidates accumulate marks for the demonstration of relevant skills, knowledge and understanding; marks are not deducted for errors or omissions.

(b) If a candidate response does not seem to be covered by either the principles or detailed marking instructions, and you are uncertain how to assess it, you must seek guidance from your team leader.

(c) Where the candidate is instructed to choose one part in a section but instead answers two parts, mark both responses and record the better mark.

(d) Marking must be consistent. Never make a hasty judgement on a response based on length, quality of handwriting or a confused start.

(e) Use the full range of marks available for each question.

(f) The detailed marking instructions are not an exhaustive list. Award marks for other relevant points.

(g) The question stems used in this paper are

- How important . . . ?
- To what extent . . . ?
- *Quote* . . . How valid is this view . . . ?

Marking principles for each question type

Essay questions (22 marks)

Historical context
Award **3 marks** where candidates provide two points of background to the issue and identify relevant factors. These should be connected to the line of argument.

Conclusion
Award **3 marks** where candidates provide a relative overall judgement of the factors, which are connected to the evidence presented, and which provide reasons for their overall judgement, eg, t*his factor was clearly more significant in bringing about the event than any other factor because . . .*

Use of knowledge
Award **6 marks** where candidates give evidence which is detailed and which is used to support a viewpoint, factor or area of impact.

Award knowledge and understanding marks where points are:

- relevant to the issue in the question
- developed (by providing additional detail, exemplification, reasons or evidence)
- used to respond to the demands of the question (eg, explain, analyse).

Analysis

Award **up to 6 marks** for analytical comments.

Analysis involves identifying parts, the relationship between them, and their relationship with the whole. It can also involve drawing out and relating implications.

Award an analysis mark where candidates use their knowledge and understanding to identify relevant factors (eg, political, social, economic, or religious — although they do not need to use this terminology), or aspects within a factor (eg, success versus failure; different groups, such as elderly versus youth; or different social classes), and clearly show at least one of the following:

- links between different components
- links between component(s) and the whole
- links between component(s) and related concepts
- similarities and consistency
- contradictions and inconsistency
- different views and/or interpretations
- the relative importance of components
- understanding of underlying order or structure.

Examples of relationships between identified factors could include:

- Establishing contradictions or inconsistencies within factors, eg, *while they were successful in that way, they were limited in this way . . .*
- Establishing contradictions or inconsistencies between factors, eg, *while there were political motives for doing this, the economic factors were against doing this.*
- Establishing similarities and consistencies between factors, eg, *in much the same way as this group were affected by this development, this group were also affected in this way.*
- Establishing links between factors, eg, *this factor led to that factor.*

  OR

  At the same time there was also . . .
- Exploring different interpretations of these factors, eg, *while some people have viewed the evidence as showing this, others have seen it as showing . . .*

  OR

  While we used to think that this was the case, we now think that it was really . . .

Evaluation

Award **up to 4 marks.**

Evaluation involves making a judgement based on criteria.

Candidates make reasoned evaluative comments relating to, eg:

- The extent to which the factor is supported by the evidence, eg, *this evidence shows that X was a very significant area of impact.*
- The relative importance of factors, eg, *this evidence shows that X was a more significant area of impact than Y.*
- Counter-arguments including possible alternative interpretations, eg, *one factor was . . . However, this may not be the case because . . .*

  OR

  However, more recent research tends to show that . . .
- The overall impact and/or significance of the factors when taken together, eg, *while each factor may have had little effect on its own, when we take them together they became hugely important.*
- The importance of factors in relation to the context, eg, *given the situation which they inherited, these actions were more successful than they might appear.*

Award marks where candidates develop a line of argument which makes a judgement on the issue, explaining the basis on which the judgement is made. Candidates should present the argument in a balanced way, making evaluative comments which show their judgement on the individual factors, and may use counter-arguments or alternative interpretations to build their case.

<table>
<tr><th></th><th>Mark</th><th colspan="2">3 marks</th><th colspan="2">2 marks</th><th colspan="2">1mark</th><th>0 marks</th></tr>
<tr><td><b>Historical context</b></td><td>3</td><td colspan="2">Candidates establish at least two points of relevant background to the issue <b>and</b> identify key factors <b>and</b> connect these to the line of argument in response to the issue.</td><td colspan="2">Candidates establish at least one point of relevant background to the issue <b>and</b> identify key factors <b>or</b> connect these to the line of argument.</td><td colspan="2">Candidates establish at least one point of relevant background to the issue <b>or</b> identify key factors <b>or</b> a line of argument.</td><td>Candidates make one <b>or</b> two factual points but these are not relevant.</td></tr>
<tr><td><b>Conclusion</b></td><td>3</td><td colspan="2">Candidates make a relative overall judgement between the different factors in relation to the issue and explain how this arises from their evaluation of the presented evidence.</td><td colspan="2">Candidates make an overall judgement between the different factors in relation to the issue.</td><td colspan="2">Candidates make a summary of points made.</td><td>Candidates make no overall judgement on the issue.</td></tr>
<tr><th></th><th></th><th colspan="6">6 marks</th><th>0 marks</th></tr>
<tr><td><b>Use of knowledge</b></td><td>6</td><td colspan="6">Up to <b>a maximum of 6 marks</b>, award <b>1 mark</b> for each developed point of knowledge candidates use to support a factor or area of impact. Award knowledge and understanding marks where points are
• relevant to the issue in the question
• developed (by providing additional detail, exemplification, reasons or evidence)
• used to respond to the demands of the question (eg, explain, analyse)</td><td>Candidates use no evidence to support their conclusion.</td></tr>
<tr><td><b>Analysis</b></td><td>6</td><td colspan="6">Up to <b>a maximum of 6 marks,</b> award <b>1 mark</b> for each comment candidates make which analyses the factors in terms of the question.
Award <b>a maximum of 3 marks</b> where candidates make comments which address different aspects of individual factors.</td><td>Candidates provide a narrative response.</td></tr>
<tr><th></th><th></th><th colspan="6">4 marks</th><th></th></tr>
<tr><td><b>Evaluation</b></td><td>4</td><td>Award <b>4 marks</b> where candidates connect their evaluative comments to build a line of argument that recognises the issue and takes account of counter-arguments or alternative interpretations.</td><td colspan="2">Award <b>3 marks</b> where candidates connect their evaluative comments to build a line of argument that recognises the issue.</td><td colspan="2">Award <b>2 marks</b> where candidates make isolated evaluative comments on different factors that recognise the issue.</td><td>Award <b>1 mark</b> where candidates make an isolated evaluative comment on an individual factor that recognises the issue.</td><td>Candidates make no relevant evaluative comments on factors.</td></tr>
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Marking instructions for each question

SECTION 1 — British

PART A — Church, state and feudal society, 1066–1406

1.

Context:
The Roman Catholic Church became the main stabilizing force in Western Europe. The church provided religious leadership, as well as secular, or worldly leadership. It also played a key role in social, and economic developments and even in politics.

Religious:

- the main responsibility of the Church was to serve the spiritual needs of medieval society. Local priests instructed peasants and townspeople in the faith and provided comfort to them in troubled times
- monasteries were seen as ‘prayer factories’ and used to intercede with God for the ordinary lay population
- monastic life of dedication to God and a simple life following the rule of St Benedict; (poverty, chastity and obedience), was considered important
- many rulers clearly thought they were important and spent time and money resourcing the founding of monasteries. David I of Scotland is one example. His dedication to supporting different orders, such as the Cistercians, was undoubtedly pious as well as practical
- significance of relics and saints to communicate with God and beg divine favour or protection
- people would travel long distances on pilgrimage to places of religious importance, such as Jerusalem (the Crusades were part of this, the motivation of recovery of the Holy Land from Muslim rule for religious reasons was a powerful one for many Crusaders) and Rome as well as places that had important religious relics like Canterbury and St Andrews
- a pious life would lead to salvation in the eyes of God
- the importance of marriage, funerals and christenings brought people closer to attaining their passage to heaven.

Other factors:

Differing roles of the secular and regular church:

Regular church:

- medieval society saw the regular church as the First Estate. This is because the clergy lay nearest to God. The regular church consisted of monks and friars who lived according to a rule. They were normally cloistered or cut off from the world in monasteries.

Secular church:

- medieval society saw the secular church as different. This is because the clergy did not take strict vows. The secular church consisted of priests who lived according to a worldly view. They were found in the village church working among the people.

Political:

- popes believed that they had authority over kings. Popes sometimes excommunicated or excluded from the Catholic Church secular rulers who challenged or threatened papal power. For example, Pope Innocent III excommunicated King John of England in the 1200s during a dispute about appointing an archbishop
- the Church had its own set of laws called canon law, and its own courts of justice. The Church claimed authority over secular rulers, but monarchs did not always recognise this authority. There were frequent power struggles between the Pope in Rome and various kings and emperors
- within the feudal system bishops and abbots had the right to raise troops in time of need. For example, the Bishop of Durham led the English forces that defeated David I at the Battle of the Standard in 1138
- as they were literate, members of the Church fulfilled important roles in secular government as they could keep records, write characters, etc. Many rose to senior positions in government.

Social:

- the church through its ceremonies offered opportunities for the peasants to meet and socialise
- for peasants and town dwellers, everyday life was closely tied to local priests and the village church
- people were taught that the sacred acts of worship, or sacraments, brought special blessing from God and safety from hell
- ceremonies that marked the passage of life had power and importance to people could include baptism, confirmation, marriage and penance.

Economic:

- as the largest landholder in Europe, the Church had significant economic power
- the Church also gained wealth through the tithe; a tax Christians were required to pay that equalled 10% of their income
- monasteries also wielded significant economic power through their landholding as well as flocks of sheep. They even developed the iron industry at places like Rievaulx Abbey.

Any other relevant factors.

2.

Context:
Henry II was the son of Geoffrey of Anjou and Matilda, daughter of Henry I of England. Matilda engaged in a dispute with Stephen of Blois over who should rule England. On Stephen's death, Henry became king of England. Henry's aims were to preserve the Angevin dominions, extend the King's justice and develop royal government in order to fund warfare.

Cost of warfare:
- in part, royal government developed in order to fund warfare, which had become increasingly expensive in the 12th century
- Henry had various military needs: to defend his lands across the Angevin Empire, to recover lost territories, to keep vassals abroad in check and to crush uprisings across the extensive Angevin Empire. The baronial rebellion of 1173–1174 also shook him. In short, he needed an army at times and that had to be paid for
- for example, previously direct taxation had been on landed property, but to get money for crusades Henry ordered a tax on moveable property and in 1188, a Saladin tithe (one tenth of the value of rents)
- by the end of the period there was a well organised field army with the administration to produce the money for it
- fortifications were also repaired and by the end of the period, for example, all Norman castles were part of a general defence plan
- this improved organisation can be seen in the Assize of Arms of 1181 — a survey of resources.

Other factors:

Nobility:
- changes in taxes were not only needed to firm up revenue, but also to formalise Henry's relationship with his main tenants-in-chief
- many of his actions were to re-establish the authority of the king after the chaos of the Civil War and that meant action against those who had used the war as an opportunity to extend their own power
- Henry vigorously pursued the destruction of illegally built castles and the recovery of former royal strongholds that were now in baronial hands. For example, he acted against William of Aumale who refused to surrender Scarborough Castle
- Henry's introduction of scutage allowed him to get around the problem of 40 days' knight service
- many lesser nobles were employed as his royal administration expanded.

Need to develop the economy:
- in general, Henry oversaw a more settled age in England, which encouraged trade as did Henry's acquisitions abroad. This in turn helped Henry with revenue, but also raised Henry's position in the international world. For example, his acquisition of Guienne stimulated trade with the west-country ports
- the industrial centres of Flanders depended on English wool and welcomed grain from fertile East Anglian and Kentish fields
- there was a European demand for English metals
- Henry's England was at the centre of the Angevin Empire and French-speaking world
- the period saw an increase in literacy. For example, all his sons had some education.

Law and order:

- Henry favoured the extension of royal jurisdiction, partly for its contribution to domestic peace and partly for its financial rewards to the Crown, but also to extend control over his tenants-in-chief
- there was a general need to rationalise law and marry Anglo Saxon with Norman practices in order to simplify the system and stop people playing the system. Change was gradual throughout Henry's reign and did not conform to some grand plan, but royal power did increase as a result of this
- Henry believed that too few offenders were put on trial or caught. He reasserted royal jurisdiction over major crimes and sought to improve the efficiency of the legal process
- the Assizes of Clarendon of 1166, modified by the Assize of Northampton (1176) for example, widened the scope of royal justice, now including indictment and prosecution of local criminals
- regional inquest juries should meet periodically under the royal eye to identify and denounce neighbourhood criminals
- extension of the king's justice into land disputes, which had once been dominated by the baronial courts, through the Assize of Novel Disseisin and Grand Assize. These rationalised a mass of local laws and customs into a uniform royal law — a 'common law' by which all subjects were ruled. They speeded up the judicial process, but also placed decisions in the hands of the king's own justices-in-eyre, going over the heads of the powerful local tenants-in-chief.

Effects of foreign influence:

- Henry reigned for 34 and a half years, but he spent 21 years away from England
- the Angevin Empire ranged from the border with Scotland to the border with Spain and was united in only one sense, loyalty to Henry II
- arguably, the demands of holding this disparate group of lands together led to the need for taxation and a capable army
- foreign influence in England, especially from the Norman Lords who had extensive landholdings in both Normandy and England
- some unity of government was necessary, however, and can be seen with the use of the Exchequer system throughout the Empire, for example, use of the Seneschal's court — use of same legal procedure and interpretation of laws.

Impact of the Civil War:

- Civil War had developed between Stephen and Matilda on the death of Henry I
- the bulk of the fighting was in Wiltshire and Gloucestershire and nearby private wars developed
- there was some devastation of land due to the Civil War. For example, 1143–1144 Geoffrey de Mandeville laid waste to the Fens and in 1147, Coventry and surroundings was laid waste by the Stephen
- in financing the Civil War Stephen began with a full treasury. However, the Exchequer was disorganised and yields from land were low. During the Civil War, barons and sheriffs had become increasingly lax in paying their taxes. The economy was weakened by the Civil War
- the development of the royal administration during Henry II's reign was due, in part, to the need to put the royal finances back on an even keel. For example, this led to changes to the Exchequer, which improved the methods for receiving his revenues, as well as development of the Chamber and use of sheriffs.

Any other relevant factors.

3. **Context:**
The decline of feudalism happened as the previous order of society where land was exchanged for economic or military service was challenged. Economic developments, such as the growth of towns, changed the relationship between peasants and lords of the manor, and the development of new ways to trade and pay for labour/service also led to its decline. However, the spread of the Black Death across Europe, eventually reaching England and Scotland by the mid-14th century, which caused large scale death and change across feudal society.

Black Death:
- the population decreased between 33% and 50% during the Black Death
- the decline in the population meant that the survivors, particularly among the lower classes, could demand and often received better wages for their labour. Wage levels in England roughly doubled. Indeed, the shortage of labourers is often seen as causing the decline of serfdom in Western Europe
- landowners for the first time needed to negotiate for their serfs' services, leading to higher wages and better living conditions for those that survived.

Other factors:

Peasants' Revolt:
- in England, the attempts of the Statute of Labourers in 1351 to force peasants back into serfdom were widely and strongly resisted. The extent of the revolt and the impressive way in which it was organised shows that the old feudal consensus had broken down
- there is an argument that the Peasants' Revolt was a reaction to the attempts to force peasants to return to the old ideas of labour services
- the use of the Poll Tax triggered the revolt by secular leaders, John Ball and Wat Tyler.

Growth of towns:
- a number of towns were granted market status and had grown around local trades
- many found the freedom of burgh life allowed them to develop trade without the burden of labour services or restrictions in movement
- there was a movement from the countryside to the towns which saw a growth
- economy in towns did not depend on the ownership of land but rather on the production and selling of goods.

Growth of trade and mercantilism:
- with markets for their goods fluctuating considerably, many nobles came to understand their weak economic position. For some it was better to let their peasants' become tenants who rented their land than to continue as their feudal protector
- others discovered that sheep were a far more profitable resource than peasants could ever be. The monasteries in particular turned over large areas to sheep pasture to capitalise on the strong demand for wool
- peasants who could afford to purchase or rent extra land could propel themselves upwards on the social ladder.

Changing social attitudes:

- social mobility was increasing for a number of reasons, including the move to an economy based more on cash than service
- in England, the wars against France had brought riches to some and enabled them to climb the social ladder
- peasants who could afford to purchase or rent extra land could move up the social ladder. For example, the de la Pole family in Hull rose from traders to become royal bankers, and the Paston family rose out of serfdom to become country gentry
- it became impossible to tell the difference between ‘Knave and Knight’ because they dressed alike.

Any other relevant factors.

PART B — The century of revolutions, 1603−1702

4.

Context:
In 1625 Charles I succeeded his father James VI and I as king of both England and Scotland, although his sovereignty was disrupted by the outbreak of the English Civil War in 1642. He continued to rule in Scotland until his death by execution in 1649 at the hands of the English Parliament. During his reign there were considerable challenges facing the king in his attempts to enforce his policies in Scotland whilst facing parliamentary opposition in England simultaneously. Some of these difficulties led to instability in his control of England, which itself led to confidence amongst his parliamentary opponents that they could challenge his royal authority there too.

Policies of Charles I in Scotland:

- 1625: Charles I introduced the Act of Revocation which restored those lands to the Church which had been transferred to the nobility at the time of the Reformation in 1560. This development also saw the proceeds from tithes passed back to the church, and the king continued to give increasing power to bishops
- Charles I’s policy was to appoint bishops rather than nobles to the Scottish Privy Council, his chief advisory body in Scotland. In 1635 Archbishop John Spottiswoode was appointed as the king’s Chancellor for Scotland, the first non-secular official in this position since the Reformation, leading to fears that the king would impose Anglicanism on the country
- Charles I did not visit Scotland until 1633 when he was crowned there by Spottiswoode. Charles’s ignorance of the country’s political customs and traditions led to a lack of understanding of Scottish affairs. Scots' opposition to Charles I meant that the Stuart notion of the Divine Right of Kings was brought to an end by the king’s own subjects.

Imposition of the Prayer Book in Scotland:

- 1629: the king issued a Royal Demand that Scottish religious practice should conform to English models; in 1633 the king’s coronation at Holyrood Abbey in Edinburgh included Anglican symbols such as candles and crucifixes; Charles I introduced William Laud, the Archbishop of Canterbury, to Scotland, and Laud proceeded to implement Anglican practice in Scottish churches; many Presbyterians resented the influence of Laud, whose position as the king’s representative on spiritual matters led to resentment of royal authority
- Laud advised Charles I to agree to unification of the Churches of Scotland and England in 1625 without consulting the Privy Council; despite Presbyterian refusal to ratify this, in 1636 William Laud issued the Book of Canons, declaring that the monarch had authority over the Church of Scotland, and subsequently approved a new Service Book, a variation of the English Prayer Book, drawn up by the Scottish bishops; Presbyterian opposition grew
- 23 July 1637: a Prayer Book for Scotland modelled on the English Prayer Book was read at St. Giles Cathedral by the Bishop of Brechin who had two loaded pistols sitting in front of him in case of unrest. The Dean, James Hannay, subsequently had a stool thrown at him by a serving woman, Jenny Geddes, and in the chaos that ensued, the Bishop of Edinburgh was shouted down by crowd in support of Geddes
- across Scotland people declared opposition to the new Prayer Book, placing the king’s Scottish Privy Council in difficult position, caught between Charles I and his rivals. The Tables committee was formed in Edinburgh in late 1637 by nobles, middle-class lawyers, Privy Councillors and ministers, all pledged to oppose the king’s religious tyranny.

National Covenant:

- February 1638: the Tables, a committee formed by middle-class opponents of the king, drew up the National Covenant, publicly unveiling it at Greyfriars Kirk. In the following 3 days many flocked to Edinburgh to sign it, pledging to preserve Presbyterianism in Scotland and promote a church free from monarchical meddling. Copies were carried by messengers around Scotland to be signed by thousands, symbolising the rejection in Scotland of the Divine Right of Kings, a significant political as well as religious development
- November 1638: the General Assembly met and deposed all bishops and excommunicated some, abolishing Episcopalianism. These proceedings were, however, dismissed as invalid by Charles I because his representative, the Duke of Hamilton, had not been present
- the Covenanting movement grew, with the Campbells of Argyll prominent in promoting committed opposition to the king's influence in the west. Covenanters were being equipped with arms coming into the country from overseas, and General Leslie assumed command of their army
- Charles I failed to suppress the Covenanters, and this contributed to the outbreak of the 'Wars of the Three Kingdoms' from 1639 to 1651, spread across Scotland, England and Ireland, and including the English Civil War. During this war, the English Parliament's treaty of alliance with Scottish Covenanters — called the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643 — was a feature of positive change in the fortunes of the king's enemies.

First Bishops' War:

- Charles I could not raise enough money to fight the Scots effectively as the English Parliament had not been called since 1629, so he could only put together a poorly trained force of 20,000 men at Berwick-on-Tweed, 12 miles from General Leslie's 12,000-strong force camped at Duns. Meanwhile there were several minor engagements in the northeast of Scotland between Covenanters and Scottish royalists, but as the king was unwilling to send his troops into open battle he was forced to agree to a truce in June
- the king signed the Pacification of Berwick on 19 June, agreeing to the General Assembly being the highest religious authority in Scotland; the treaty also acknowledged the freedom of the Scottish Parliament in legislative matters
- Charles I's inability to put down the Scots brought an end to his 'Eleven Years' Tyranny' in England, as he recalled Parliament in 1640 to request revenue to continue war with Scotland. This 'Short Parliament' lasted one month as the king dissolved it again rather than concede powers to Parliament as a condition of their granting him funds.

Second Bishops' War:

- General Leslie crossed the English border with his troops and they successfully captured Newcastle and Durham. Charles I, having dismissed the Short Parliament before obtaining funds, was once more unable to wage war~~;~~ this put him in the weak position of having to negotiate a peace with Scotland in order to avoid defeat by the Covenanters
- Charles I was humiliated by signing the Treaty of Ripon on 26 October 1640, the terms of which were dictated by the Scots. Aside from the Covenanters maintaining a military presence in Northumberland, the treaty cost England the price that the Scottish Parliament had to pay for its forces, which amounted to roughly £850 per day
- this defeat by the Scots forced Charles I to recall Parliament to ask for a Finance Bill to be passed to pay the Scots, after being advised to do so by grouping of English peers known as the Magnum Concilium. The so-called 'Long Parliament' was called in November 1640, representing a downturn in the king's political fortunes in England.

Any other relevant factors.

5.

Context:
The English Civil War formally ended in January 1649, with Oliver Cromwell approving the execution of Charles I, which horrified many and led to accusations of regicide from Royalists. The Council of State subsequently abolished the monarchy and declared a Republic, or Commonwealth. Cromwell ruled during the Interregnum. He attempted constitutional rule through the Council of State, the Barebones Parliament, and the First and Second Protectorate Parliaments, with no monarchical check on their powers.

Cromwell's dominance:
- Cromwell dominated politics and was in a unique position to influence the direction of the country. However, he was a contrary character
- Cromwell espoused democratic principles but acted in a dictatorial manner; he knew an elected government would contain his enemies
- Cromwell's roots were in Parliament but his rise to the rank of general during the Civil War meant he favoured the military during his rule
- Cromwell was conservative but his policies were ahead of time, such as relief for the poor and insane during the Barebones Parliament
- Cromwell was a Puritan but passed progressive reforms, such as civil marriages, which horrified many Puritans
- Cromwell approved the execution of Charles I in 1649, which horrified many and led to accusations of regicide from Royalists
- Cromwell ruled on his own during the Interregnum, drawing comparisons with the periods when Charles I had ruled on his own, including the 11-year tyranny.

Other factors:

Role of the army:
- army officers formed the Council of State with the Rump Parliament. Extremists in the army opposed Parliament's role in government
- creation of a military dictatorship from 1653 drew comparisons with the Stuarts' martial law, as did the formation of the 1st Protectorate in September 1654 and the drawing up of military districts under Major Generals during the second Protectorate from October 1656
- Parliamentarians resented the influence of the army on constitutional affairs throughout the Interregnum.

Role of Parliament:
- the Rump Parliament consisted of MPs who had failed to avert Civil War in 1642 and who now had to address the same problems in 1649
- Puritans among MPs viewed church reform as their priority
- Parliament was opposed to the role of the army, and wanted to have a greater say in drawing up the constitution
- quarrels between MPs and army officers during the Interregnum
- Parliament opposed toleration towards Roman Catholics, preventing religious wounds healing.

Foreign issues:
- faced with possible invasion on more than one front, Cromwell was forced to fight several battles to control Scotland
- he put down rebellions in Ireland by Royalists and Catholics, and did so brutally, which caused further resentment and hostility
- war was waged on Holland to enforce the Navigation Acts
- in the mid-1650s war with Spain caused increased taxes
- foreign affairs led to social issues such as coal shortages in winter 1652−1653 being addressed inappropriately, increasing instability.

	Unpopular legislation: • the Treason Law and Censorship Law were introduced in 1649. In 1650 the Oath of Allegiance was imposed for all men over 18 • 1654: the High Court was abolished, causing backlog of 23,000 cases • the Barebones Parliament introduced too many reforms in too a short a time • the constitution was drawn up solely by army officers • Roman Catholics and Anglicans were excluded from voting by the First Protectorate, which also introduced strict moral codes that curtailed popular forms of entertainment and enforced observation of the Sabbath • the Commission of Triers and Committee of Ejectors, who appointed clergymen and schoolmasters, were unpopular with the church • a 10% land tax was resented by the aristocracy. Taxation in general was increased in order to fund wars with Spain • Cromwell’s approval of his son Richard as his successor led many to feel that Cromwell viewed himself as a monarchical figure • Royalists accused Cromwell of regicide • army extremists pushed for greater martial authority • Presbyterians impatiently demanded church reforms. **Any other relevant factors.**

6.

Context:
After the reign of Charles II, James VI and II ruled between 1685 and 1688, but his actions persuaded parliament that he was intent on establishing an absolutist monarchy. After a series of negotiations, the king's own daughters gave assurances that they would support a change in monarch, which led to the Revolution of 1688–1689. Parliament invited the king's eldest daughter Mary and her Dutch husband, Prince William of Orange, to become joint monarchs. A series of agreements made between 1689 and 1701, legalising the division of power between Parliament and the Crown, became known as the Revolution Settlement. This included the Bill of Rights, which limited the power of the monarch compared with the power held by the Crown at the start of the 17th century.

Religious power:
- Parliament passed the Toleration Act of 1689: toleration of all Protestants except Unitarians (those who did not acknowledge the Holy Trinity) and Roman Catholics. Parliament ensured Roman Catholicism could no longer be accepted
- although Nonconformist Protestants could now worship freely, the new law maintained an Exclusion from Public Office clause, so they could not obtain teaching positions at universities or elected posts in towns or the House of Commons
- the Toleration Act insisted that Nonconformists take the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy as a condition of their religious freedom
- the Toleration Act stated the king was supreme Head of the Church of England. 400 Non-Jurors priests and bishops refusing to acknowledge William III — were expelled from their posts by Parliament
- however, the king, as head of the Church, now had the power to appoint bishops and archbishops.

Legal powers of Crown and Parliament:
- the 1689 Bill of Rights stated monarchs could no longer require excessive bail to be demanded from defendants nor ask judges to impose cruel punishments
- Ministers impeached by the House of Commons could not be pardoned by the Crown
- in 1695 the Treason Act was altered to give defendants the right to be told the indictment against them, to be defended by Counsel, to call witnesses in their defence, and to demand that instead of one witness against them to prove a case there had to be there be two witnesses
- the Act of Settlement 1701 stated judges could only be removed from their positions if Parliament demanded this
- however, monarchs could still appoint judges.

Political issues:
- William and Mary agreed to the Bill of Rights in December 1689, legalising the new relationship between Crown and Parliament
- the Bill of Rights made it clear monarchs could no longer use royal prerogative to suspend or dispense with laws passed by Parliament, and could not interfere in parliamentary elections
- the Bill of Rights also stated from now on MPs and peers could not be punished for exercising parliamentary freedom of speech
- the Licensing Act was repealed in 1695, removing restrictions on the freedom of the press to report parliamentary criticism of the Crown
- the Revolution Settlement provided for a Triennial Act passed in 1694. This was intended to keep MPs more closely in touch with public opinion. Parliament was now more relevant to voters than ever before, although voters were still the landed classes
- however, the Revolution Settlement still allowed monarchs executive power, so they could dismiss Parliament at will and also rule alone for up to three years and could still create peers.

Financial settlement:

- Parliament granted William III and Mary II–1,200,000 for court expenses in 1689, including £700,000 to pay civilians working for the state; these became fixed annual amounts in the Civil List Act of 1697
- a Procedure of Audit was established for MPs to check royal expenditure; crown financial independence was no longer possible
- the 1689 Bill of Rights stated the monarch could no longer levy taxes without the consent of Parliament. The House of Commons now agreed an annual Budget proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who between 1690 and 1695 was Richard Hampden; fiscal power now lay in the hands of Parliament rather than the Crown
- however, the monarch benefited from no longer having to resort to unpopular methods of raising revenue; from now on it would be parliament that incurred the wrath of citizens for increasing taxation.

Loopholes in the Settlement:

- the Crown still greatly influenced Scotland by appointing ministers who would not challenge English policy
- successive monarchs would be able to control legislation in Scotland as well as interfere in Scotland's external affairs, especially in relation to trade with England's enemies
- William and Mary were able to break promises made to Roman Catholics in Ireland, imprisoning Irish rebels who had previously been guaranteed safe passage to Ireland in the wake of William's 1690 campaign to enforce his sovereignty in Ireland
- William held sway over many MPs who voted to impose the Penal Laws of 1693−1694, excluding Roman Catholics in Ireland from the learned professions and elected public office
- the monarch still exerted control over English foreign policy, having the final say on the decision to send the army to war or to sign peace treaties
- King William used his patronage to appoint officers in both the army and navy, maintaining favour with those who owed him their promoted positions
- the Hanoverian Succession was desired by William anyway, and so the crown was getting its own way
- the Bill of Rights had declared James II's removal from the English throne as an act of abdication, which accorded the monarch, and future monarchs, a status which Parliament could not challenge.

Any other relevant factors.

PART C — The Atlantic slave trade

7.

Context:

The trade in enslaved Africans began in the fifteenth century but developed rapidly for Britain from the later sixteenth century, peaking in the 1780s. British traders were leading players in the trade and dominated it between the 1740s and 1807, when they accounted for 40% of total shipments of Africans from Africa. Clearly the trade in enslaved Africans had an impact on the British economy in a variety of ways. British manufacturing and industry were stimulated by the supply of factory-made goods that were part of, and facilitated, the trade, and profits from the trade were re-invested in British industry and agriculture.

Profits accruing from tropical crops:

- the climate of the West Indies was ideal for producing crops such as coffee, sugar and tobacco. The popularity of these products grew as Britain became reliant on the consumption of these goods
- Britain made large profits from the trade in fashionable products such as sugar and tobacco which became very popular with British people
- Britain's status in Europe and the rest of the world was enhanced by profits from the trade in enslaved Africans
- the trade provided the raw materials for industrial exports — and large profits — to Europe.

Role of the trade in terms of navigation:

- the trade in enslaved Africans aided the growth of the both the Royal Navy and the Britain's merchant navy
- the Royal Navy grew out of the fight for control of the colonies and then protected British control and trading from these colonies
- the Navigation Acts required that all overseas trade should take place in British ships, manned by British sailors, when trading between British ports and the colonies
- additional laws limited the ability of other countries to compete with British traders; the 1733 Molasses Act, which banned foreign sugar being imported into North America and the 1739 Direct Export Act, which allowed plantation owners to ship goods directly to Europe
- the Atlantic trade trained sailors, who could serve in the Royal Navy as experienced sailors
- high casualty rate among sailors on trading ships.

Manufacturing:

- the cotton industry was integral to the development of the trade in enslaved Africans. Cities like Manchester exported cotton cloth to Africa as part of the triangular trade. Cotton was the key industry that helped stimulate the Industrial Revolution
- manufactured goods made in Britain were traded for enslaved Africans. These included goods made in the new factories of the Industrial Revolution such as woollen cloth and metal goods such as pots, pans and cutlery
- without the trade in enslaved Africans, planters would have struggled to meet the growing demands for the luxury tropical crops
- the trade in enslaved Africans was important to the economic prosperity and well-being of the colonies.

Industrial development:

- there was a growth in industries supplying the slave traders with goods such as guns, alcohol, pots and pans and textiles to exchange for captured Africans for the outward passage
- profits from the trade in enslaved Africans were invested in the development of British industries
- investment from the Atlantic slave trade went into the Welsh slate industry. Canals and railways were also built as a result of investment of profits from the trade
- the argument that the trade was the vital factor in Britain's industrialisation was put forward in Williams' Capitalism and Slavery thesis
- wealth generated by the slave trade meant that domestic taxes could be kept low which further stimulated investment
- there was an expansion of the service industries such as banks and insurance companies which offered financial services to slave trade merchants
- by the end of the eighteenth century, the trade in enslaved Africans had become less important in economic terms. It has been argued that only a small percentage of the profits from the trade was directly invested as capital in the Industrial Revolution.

Wealth of ports and merchants:

- ports such as London, Bristol and Liverpool prospered as a direct result of their involvement in the Atlantic slave trade. In the early eighteenth century, London and Bristol dominated the British end of the slave trade. Liverpool also grew into a powerful city directly through the shipping of enslaved people. By the end of the 18th century, Liverpool controlled over 60% of the entire British slave trade. Liverpool's cotton and linen mills and other subsidiary industries such as rope making created thousands of jobs supplying goods to traders in enslaved Africans. Other ports such as Glasgow profited from trade with the colonies
- Liverpool became a major centre for shipbuilding largely as a result of the trade in enslaved Africans. By the 1780s, Liverpool had become the largest ship building centre for the slave trade in Britain
- the emergence of financial, commercial, legal and insurance institutions to support the activities of the traders in enslaved Africans also led to the development of the British economy. Huge fortunes were made by merchants involved in the trade in enslaved Africans who bought large country estates or built large town houses. Some merchants used their wealth from the trade to invest in banks and new businesses.

Any other relevant factors.

8.

Context:
The trade in enslaved Africans changed forever the lives of the millions of Africans forcibly transported to the North American continent and to the Caribbean during the eighteenth century. But the impact of such population loss on Africa itself was profound, economically and culturally. Enslaved Africans were exploited for the benefit of wealthy European traders and businessmen, and a few powerful Africans.

Slave sellers and European 'factories' on the West African coast:
- Europeans seldom ventured inland to capture the millions of people who were enslaved and transported from Africa. African 'middlemen' usually sold captured Africans to European factors who collected the enslaved people on the coast. In the areas where slavery was not practised, such as among the Xhosa people of southern Africa, European slave ship captains were unable to buy African captives
- European 'factories' were developed on the coast to control the trade. These 'factories' or forts held enslaved people until the arrival of slave trade ships.

Development of slave-based states and economies:
- Africans could be taken into slavery as punishment for a crime, as payment for a family debt, or by being captured as prisoners of war. With the arrival of European and American ships offering manufactured goods in exchange for captives, Africans had an added incentive to enslave one another
- some societies preyed on others to obtain captives in exchange for European firearms, in the belief that if they did not acquire firearms in this way to protect themselves, they would be attacked and captured by their rivals and enemies who did possess such weapons. At the height of the Atlantic slave trade, only those states equipped with guns could withstand attacks from their neighbours. The acquisition of guns gave some rulers an advantage over rivals and gave them greater incentive to capture and then sell enslaved people. This led to the growth of kingdoms such as Dahomey. The exchange of guns for enslaved people affected the balance of power between kingdoms, and as the trade in enslaved Africans developed more African societies were exposed to the negative impact of the trade.

Destruction of societies:
- some powerful Africans were able to demand a variety of consumer goods such as textiles, glassware, pottery and ironware, and in some places, even gold for captives acquired through war or by other means
- by the end of the 17th century, European demand for African captives, particularly for the sugar plantations in the Americas, became so great that they could only be acquired through initiating raiding and warfare; large areas of Africa were devastated, and African societies disintegrated. As the temptation to go to war increased, existing systems of rule based on kinship and consent were destroyed
- it is estimated that over 12 million people were transported from Africa over the 18th century, many of whom died during the journey from the interior to the coast — a journey which could take weeks. This was a huge drain on the most productive and economically active sections of African societies, and this led to economic dislocation including falling production of food and other goods
- Europeans also brought diseases which contributed to the decline in population of African societies.

Development of foreign colonies:

- West Africa was impoverished by its relationship with Europe while the human and other resources that were taken from Africa contributed to the economic development and wealth of Europe and the European colonies in the New World
- the trade in enslaved Africans also created conditions that made the subsequent conquest of Africa by European powers much easier than it might otherwise have been.

Roles played by leaders of African societies in continuing the trade:

- African slave sellers grew wealthy by selling African captives to European traders on the coast. They were able to deal on equal terms with European traders who built ‘factories’ on the West African coast to house captives before selling them onto the slave trade ship captains who in turn transported the captives to the colonies of the New World
- on the African side, the trade in people was generally the business of rulers or wealthy and powerful merchants, concerned with their own interests, rather than those of the continent more widely. At that time, identity and loyalty were based on kinship or membership of a specific African kingdom or society
- African states based on the trade in enslaved Africans, particularly Dahomey, grew in power and influence. The Asante (Ashanti) people who traded in gold and in people dominated the area known as the Gold Coast (Ghana).

Any other relevant factors.

9.

Context:
In the later 18th century, even as the trade in Africans and the plantation system remained highly profitable, growing demands for the abolition of the trade and of slavery itself gave rise to a highly organised and effective abolition movement which, in conjunction with the long history of ‘rebellions’ of enslaved Africans on plantations, eventually led to the abolition of the trade in 1807. The campaign of the Anti-Slavery Society played a key role in the success of abolition movement.

Campaign of the Anti-Slavery Society:
- Thomas Clarkson toured ports and cities connected with the trade in enslaved Africans to obtain witnesses for the Parliamentary investigations of the trade in enslaved Africans which provided Wilberforce with convincing evidence for his speeches
- the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade published books and pamphlets, for example, eyewitness accounts from former enslaved people such as Olaudah Equiano
- the abolition movement was influenced by the Sons of Africa, including Ottobah Cugoano. It is now considered the first black political organisation in Britain
- female abolitionists ran campaigns to boycott goods produced by enslaved Africans in the West Indies, especially sugar. This campaign encouraged people in Britain to buy sugar that had not been produced via slave labour
- Hannah More was the most influential female member of the Society for Effecting the Abolition of the African Slave Trade
- public meetings and lecture tours involving those with experience of the trade in enslaved Africans, for example, John Newton; churches and theatres used for abolitionist propaganda
- organised petitions and subscription lists supporting the abolition of slavery, also artefacts and illustrations for example, Wedgwood pottery
- lobbying of MPs to get promises that they would oppose the slave trade
- effective moderate political and religious leadership among the abolitionists influenced major figures such as Pitt and Fox to support their cause; abolitionists gave evidence to Parliamentary Commissions
- the religious revival of the late 18th century was at the heart of the anti-slavery movement. Many of the early leaders came from Nonconformist churches such as Quakers and Methodists or Presbyterians and Baptists.

Other factors:

Decline in the economic importance of slave labour:
- impact of wars with France — as a result the slave trade declined by two-thirds
- the Industrial Revolution had increased the importance of manufactured British goods and agriculture; Britain became less dependent on trading goods
- the trade in enslaved Africans became less important in economic terms — less demand for large numbers of enslaved Africans to be imported to the British colonies
- there was a world over-supply of sugar and British merchants had difficulties re-exporting it
- growing competition from parts of the Empire like India, which were producing crops like sugar on a larger scale and more cheaply.

Effects of Africans' freedom fighting:

- successful uprisings by enslaved Africans, like that in Saint-Domingue (Haiti) increased the general fear of revolt
- abolition of the trade in enslaved Africans would mean conditions would have to improve because enslaved Africans would become more valuable. There were concerns that unless conditions improved, more attempts by Africans to rise up against their enslavement would follow
- in Jamaica, a substantial number of runaways lived outside the control of the authorities in the mountains. Successive attempts to bring these escaped Africans under control had failed, which made it increasingly difficult to maintain the slavery of the others.

Military factors:

- the abolition of the trade would undermine Napoleon's effort to restore French control in the Caribbean; the abolition campaign helped British interests
- the 1806 Act banning any trade in enslaved Africans between British merchants and foreign colonies was aimed at attacking French interests by limiting their ability to engage in a lucrative trade.

Role of Wilberforce:

- William Wilberforce spent eighteen years putting forward the arguments of the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade in Parliament
- his speeches in Parliament were effective in drawing attention to the cause
- he was well connected politically; Wilberforce was friends with William Pitt the Younger who was Prime Minister, for example
- his Christian faith had led him to become interested in social reform. Wilberforce linked the need to reform factory conditions in Britain with the need to abolish slavery and the trade in enslaved Africans within the British Empire
- Wilberforce collaborated with other abolitionists to achieve their aims, including the Quakers, Thomas Clarkson and Olaudah Equiano.

Any other relevant factors.

PART D — Britain, 1851–1951

10. **Context:**

Political change in Britain came about slowly in the period from 1867 down to 1914, but changes that were introduced to the franchise and to elections, for example, were far-reaching resulting in increasing participation by, and the inclusion of, the middle and working classes in politics and to the democratisation of politics and government. However, by 1914 though much had changed, Britain was still not fully democratic and was indeed less democratic than other countries had become by that point.

Widening of the franchise:

- by the Representation of the People Act of 1867 most skilled working-class men living in towns got the vote. The Act increased the electorate to nearly 2.5 million
- the 1884 Representation of the People Act extended this to the countryside which now meant that approximately 60% of men had gained the franchise
- it was not until *after* 1914, in the 1918 Representation of the People Act, that all men over the age of 21 could vote and women over 30 (as long as they were either owners of property, or married to owners of property)
- also, it was not until the 1928 Representation of the People Act (the Equal Franchise Act) that all men and all women over the age of 21 were given the vote
- even after 1914 plural voting still existed in, for example, university seats. In these seats graduates could vote in their university seat AND in their home constituency.

Distribution of seats:

- the 1867 and 1868 Representation of the People Act disenfranchised 11 boroughs in England and Wales and created eight new seats in Scotland
- the acts also reduced the number of MPs in many constituencies to just one
- the acts gave growing towns the right to send more MPs to Parliament and a redistribution of 142 seats took place. This cut the old dominance of southern England and increased Scottish representation to 72
- the Redistribution of Seats Act, 1885 redistributed seats more fairly by creating constituencies of roughly equal size.

Corruption and intimidation:

- the Secret Ballot Act, 1872 allowed voters to vote in secret during an election, which reduced bribery and intimidation and allowed voters to vote for their choice of candidate without pressure
- the Corrupt and Illegal Practices Act, 1883 established what a candidate could spend on election expenses and what the money could be spent on. Allegations of illegal actions during elections did decline after this act was passed and average election expenditure of candidates also fell
- harsh penalties were imposed on those who broke these new rules
- however, the First-Past-the-Post electoral system remained in place raising the question about the unequal value of votes and the question of whether or not a proportional system would be fairer.

Widening membership of the House of Commons:

- the property qualification to be an MP was abolished 1858
- payment for MPs began in 1911 enabling more working-class men to stand as candidates for Parliament
- by 1914 Parliament was more representative of the British people but it still did not include women and was still dominated for the most part by white, middle-aged men.

Role of the House of Lords:

- the 1911 Parliament Act reduced the power of the House of Lords and changed the Lords' veto into the power only to delay bills coming from the House of Commons for two years
- the Lords could no longer interfere with any 'Money Bills', this meaning that the Commons could make up its own mind about what money it raised through taxation
- however, by 1914 the Lords remained entirely unelected reflecting the continuing role of the aristocracy and the monarchy in government, politics and society. Indeed, the fact that Britain remained a monarchy — and therefore had an unelected head of state — meant that it was not fully democratic.

National party choice:

- although the working-class electorate increased by the 1880s there was, at that point, no national party to express their interests. The Liberals and Conservatives, for the most part though not entirely, promoted the interests of the middle and upper-classes and of laissez-faire capitalism
- however, by 1914 the growth of trade unionism, especially among unskilled workers, and the spread of socialist ideas led to the creation of the Labour Party, set up through the work of the Labour Representation Committee. The LRC was made up of members from the trade unions and socialist organisations such as the Independent Labour Party, the Social Democratic Federation and the Fabian Society
- as the size of the electorate grew political parties had to make sure their 'message' got across to electorate, which led to the development of political organisations to win support for the parties at grassroots level — for example, the development of National Liberal Federation and, for the Conservatives', the Primrose League. The setting up if the Labour Party was an even greater incentive for the two big capitalist parties to support democracy and reforms in their manifesto commitments
- however, though there was certainly a choice of parties for voters by 1914, whole swathes of the population were not accorded equal rights including women, gay people and people of colour. In addition, Britain by 1914 was still very much a class society so, for example, all of the professions and indeed the main institutions of civil society were completely dominated by middle or upper-class white men.

Any other relevant factors.

11.

Context:
The Liberals swept to power in the 1906 winning 397 from 670 seats. The Liberal Party had a long history of introducing reforms that impacted on politics and society, but in 1906 it was still the party of liberal capitalism and was not elected solely, or even mainly, because of any plans to introduce social welfare reforms. However, the scale of the 1906 victory helped to strengthen the case of those New Liberals who supported welfare reforms that now was the time to act. Social welfare had risen up the political agenda for a number of reasons among which were the overwhelming evidence regarding the scale of poverty and the success of some municipal authorities (most famously in Birmingham) in improving public health and services. There were also developing concerns about the ill-health of the nation; as an imperial power, it was argued, Britain required a healthy population to ensure the continuing dominance of the empire and the British economy in the face of international competition. National security was an important reason for bringing in welfare reform, but it was not the only one.

Fears over national security:
- the government became alarmed when almost 25% of the volunteers to fight in the South African War were rejected because they were physically unfit to serve in the armed forces
- there was concern about whether or not Britain could survive a war or protect its empire against a far stronger enemy in the future if the nation's 'fighting stock' of young men was so unhealthy
- the link between national security concerns and national efficiency concerns; financial and economic security
- by the end of the 19th century, Britain was facing serious competition from new industrial nations such as Germany and the USA. It was argued that if the health and education of Britain's workers did not improve, then Britain's position as a strong industrial power would be threatened.

Other factors:

Social surveys of Booth and Rowntree:
- the reports of Charles Booth in London and Seebohm Rowntree in York demonstrated that poverty had causes such as low pay, unemployment, sickness and old age. Rather than a problem of character, these were largely out with the control of the individual
- they provided statistical evidence detailing the scale of poverty that was difficult for the government to ignore
- the extent of poverty revealed in the surveys was also a shock. Booth's initial survey was confined to the east end of London, but his later volumes covered the rest of London and revealed that almost one third of the capital's population lived in poverty. York was a relatively prosperous small city, but even there, poverty was deep-rooted with a similar proportion of the population living in poverty
- Rowntree identified primary and secondary poverty
- Rowntree identified a cycle of poverty.

Municipal socialism:
- in the later nineteenth century, some Liberal-controlled local authorities had initiated programmes of social reform. The reports of Booth and Rowntree were an incentive to introduce further reform
- in Birmingham particularly, but also in other large industrial cities, the local authorities took a lead in providing social reforms paid for form local taxation. Joseph Chamberlain, mayor of Birmingham between 1873 and 1875, brought gas and water supplies under public ownership. He also oversaw the slums clearances and the development of municipal parks
- Glasgow's local authority also developed this 'Municipal Socialism' taking control of water supplies in the public interest and providing gas street lighting to improve people's lives.

New Liberalism:

- New Liberals argued that state intervention was necessary to free people from social problems over which they had no control
- though New Liberal ideas were not so important in the general election of 1906, when the ‘Old liberal’ Prime Minister, Campbell-Bannerman died in 1908, there was an opportunity for the government to pursue new ‘interventionist’ ideas led by New Liberals David Lloyd George and Winston Churchill
- New Liberalism provided the rationale for increased state intervention in people’s lives. This was limited, however.

Rise of Labour:

- by 1906, the newly formed Labour Party was competing with the Liberals for the working-class vote. It can therefore be argued that the reforms happened because the Liberals wanted to retain and expand their vote among the working-class
- though it needs to be borne in mind that helping the poor was not a major part of the Liberals campaign in the 1906 election, for many Liberal MPs there was a real fear that they might lose their seats to Labour
- Liberals recognised the threat from the rise of Labour. For example, Lloyd George saw social reform as a way to stop what he called ‘this electoral rot’. His ‘Peoples Budget (1909), which taxed the rich to help pay for social reforms that would benefit the poor, and Churchill’s Labour Exchange Act (1909) could be viewed as attempts to do that.

Any other relevant factors.

12.

Context:

In November 1942 an Inter-Departmental Committee on Social Insurance and Allied Services, appointed by the wartime coalition to undertake a survey of Britain’s social services and chaired by Sir William Beveridge, presented its report top parliament. The report formed the basis of the welfare reforms of the Labour government of 1945. Beveridge proposed a new type of welfare state that would ‘slay’ ‘five giants’: Want, Disease, Squalor, Ignorance and Idleness. The aim was to ensure that Britain never again had the levels of poverty seen before the war. Instead, there would be a ‘state-run’ system of social insurance ‘from cradle to grave’. The reforms based on Beveridge’s report passed by the new Labour government were far-reaching but were not always as effective at dealing with social problems as the government hoped.

Want:

- 1946 National Insurance Act: consisted of comprehensive insurance sickness and unemployment benefits and cover for most eventualities
- it aimed to support people from the ‘cradle to the grave’, which was significant because it meant people had protection against falling into poverty throughout their lives
- 1946 Industrial Injuries Act: was effective because it meant that if the breadwinner of the family was injured then the family was less likely to fall further into the poverty trap, as was common before. However, the act only allowed benefits to go to those who had made 156 weekly contributions
- 1948 National Assistance Act: set up to 'catch’ those that the National Insurance Act missed. The act set up National Assistance Boards to help people whose resources could not meet their needs. However, because this system was ‘needs tested’ it was not popular.

Disease:

- 1946 National Health Service Act (came into effect,1948): revolutionised health care in Britain because it provided universal health care free at the point of use. This meant that people could see a doctor, go to hospital, see a dentist or optician and be treated without paying any money at all. Prescriptions were also free
- the NHS provided vaccination and immunisation against disease, almost totally eradicating some of Britain's most deadly illnesses
- medical care for everyone regardless of background or ability to pay meant that, for example, care was given to children and to the elderly in a way that had never happened before
- however, the demands and the costs of the NHS turned out to be almost overwhelming so much so that it could be argued that the NHS had a negative impact on the economy
- also, the NHS was not always efficient. Nor did it put an end to private health care that allowed wealthy people to be treated more quickly than if they opted for the NHS.

Squalor:

- after the war there was a great shortage of housing because the war had destroyed and damaged thousands of homes. Slum clearances of the 1930s had not done enough to build sufficient homes for the future either
- tackling the acute housing shortage was the responsibility of Bevan's Ministry of Health
- Labour's target for housing was to build 200,000 new homes a year. From 1945−1948 157,000 prefabricated homes were built, but overall, the Labour government tended to miss the annual target for house building it had set itself
- the council houses that were built, however, were of good quality: they were spacious, had several separate rooms, had electricity and gas, and — crucially — hot and cold water, and indoor toilets and baths
- New Towns Act of 1946: aimed to reduce overcrowding in the older industrial cities and town. By 1950, the government had designated 14 new communities
- 1946 Town and Country Planning Act: provided local communities with more power in regard to building developments and new housing
- by the time Labour left office in 1951 though a lot of new, good quality housing had been built there was still a huge shortfall.

Ignorance:

- 1944 Education Act: passed during the wartime coalition, the act made radical changes to education that the new the Labour government decided to pursue. The act raised the age at which pupils could leave school to 15 as part of a drive to create more skilled workers which Britain lacked at the time. Introduction of school milk, etc
- Labour introduced a three-tiered secondary schooling whereby children were split at the age of 11 (12 in Scotland) depending on their ability. Children who passed the '11+ exam' went to grammar schools/senior secondaries, those who did not went to secondary moderns/junior secondaries and technical schools
- those who went to grammar schools/senior secondaries were expected to follow an academic curriculum on to stay on at school past the age of 15. The idea was to create an elite group of highly educated young people who would then move on to university and from there into the professions
- whilst this separation by ability in theory meant that children of even poor background could make it to grammar schools, in practice the system created a bigger division between rich and poor because middle class children were better placed to access grammar schools than were working class children.

Idleness:

- unemployment was low in 1945 and so the government had less to do to tackle idleness than in the 1930s
- changes they did make were effective and increased the likelihood of people who were unemployed being able to find work
- direct government funding for the universities led to a 60% increase in student numbers between 1945−1946 and 1950−1951, which helped to meet the manpower requirements of post-war society. This helped to provide more skilled workers and allowed more people from less advantaged backgrounds to pursue higher education, keeping unemployment figures down
- the Labour government also nationalised 20% of industry including the railways, mines, gas and electricity. This meant that the profits from these industries could now be re-invested so the industries could expand, creating jobs
- however, nationalisation did not improve worker efficiency, and in any case because nationalised industries were supported by the state there was less incentive to strive to be profitable and that means there was not as much money to re-invest as there could have been to fund expansion.

Any other relevant factors.

PART E — Britain and Ireland, 1900–1985

13.

Context:
Initially World War I brought prosperity to Ireland. The demands on manufacturing and farming brought low unemployment thus improving relations between Britain and Ireland. However, Sinn Féin, the Easter Rising and the Protestant reaction were to change this along increasingly sectarian lines.

Irish attitudes to World War I:

- propaganda — powerful Germany invading helpless and small Catholic Belgium resulted in many Irish people supporting Britain
- Ulster very supportive of Britain to ensure favourable treatment at the end of the war
- Nationalists and Redmond backed war to get Home Rule, urging Irish men to enlist
- press gave support to the war effort
- Irish Volunteers gave support to help ensure Home Rule was passed after the war (Irish Volunteers, under Eoin MacNeill, opposed to the war effort)
- recruitment was successful in the south; almost 1/4 million men joined up
- opposition to war very much a minority in 1914 but supported by Sinn Féin and Arthur Griffith (not powerful at this time), as well as Pearse, Connolly and their supporters and also a section of the Irish Volunteers. This damaged relations with Britain.

Impact of the Easter Rising:

- rebels saw war as a chance to rid Ireland of the British by force
- thought it was opportunity to gain independence by force as Britain had their troops away fighting the Germans in World War I. This greatly strained relations between Britain and Ireland
- Britain had to use force to suppress rebellion, such as using the gunboat Helga to sail up the River Liffey and firing on the rebels in the GPO, thus distracting Britain's attention and resources away from the war effort, thus straining relations
- strong criticism of the Rising initially from the public, politicians, churchmen, as well as the press for unnecessary death and destruction. 450 dead, 2500 wounded, cost £2.5 million. The majority still sided with Britain therefore indicating that there was not too much damage to relations between the two countries
- initial hostility by majority of Irish people to the Rising by a small group of rebels; majority of people supported Redmond and the Nationalists
- strong hostility and criticism by Dubliners of the rebels for destruction of city centre
- the secret court martial and then execution of leaders over 10 days, as well as imprisonment without trial and at least one execution without a trial, saw the rebels gain a lot of sympathy from the Irish public, turning them against British rule
- the political developments meant a growth of sympathy and compassion for rebels who were seen as martyrs and replaced the initial condemnation of the Rising
- Sinn Féin initially blamed for the Rising saw a subsequent rise in support for them
- Catholic Church and business community became more sympathetic to the cause of independence.

Anti-conscription campaign:

- many Irish opposed the 1918 Military Service Bill, which planned to conscript 150,000 Irishmen, and this pushed people towards Sinn Féin
- caused the Nationalists to withdraw from Westminster
- Sinn Féin and Nationalists organised campaign, for example, the General Strike 23 April 1918
- the anti-conscription committee drew up the National Pledge opposing conscription
- conscription was not applied to Ireland which Sinn Féin was given credit for
- conscription campaign drove Sinn Féin underground which improved their organisation.

Decline of the Nationalist Party:

- Redmond was weakened in 1914 because of the formation by Sinn Féin members of the para-military Irish Volunteers. His enthusiastic support for the British war effort alienated many Catholics
- when the situation worsened in World War I, a new Conservative-Liberal coalition government was formed in May 1915. Redmond was offered a seat in its cabinet, which he declined. This was welcomed in Ireland but greatly weakened his position after his rival, unionist leader Carson accepted a cabinet post
- the Easter Rising in April 1916 began the decline of constitutional nationalism as represented by the Nationalists and the ascent of a more radical separatist form of Irish nationalism
- Irish Convention failed to reach agreement, which weakened the position of the Nationalists and led to a feeling that the British could not be trusted and Nationalists could not deliver
- three by-election wins for Sinn Féin gave the impression they, not the Nationalists, spoke for the people, which increased tension between Ireland and Britain politically
- in March 1918 Redmond died which accelerated the decline of the Nationalists. Sinn Féin gained influence and popularity as a result
- many moved their support away from the Nationalist Party because they felt Sinn Féin was doing more for Ireland.

Rise of Sinn Féin:

- after the Easter Rising, there was a shift in opinion from support for Home Rule to support for Irish Independence. Within a year of the Rising membership of Sinn Féin had increased ten-fold and Sinn Féin established itself as the leading nationalist party in Ireland
- large numbers of Irish Volunteers join Sinn Féin
- in 1917, at Sinn Féin Ard-Fheis, Éamon de Valera was elected President of Sinn Féin and of the Irish Volunteers, and for the first time the political and military wings of nationalism were under one leader
- Sinn Féin campaigned against conscription. Anti-conscription rallies were held around the country and 2 million people signed anti-conscription pledge
- on 17 May 1918 the British Government ordered the arrest of key leading members of Sinn Féin including De Valera, and Sinn Féin was banned by the Government. These actions increased support for Sinn Féin
- in the 1918 General Election Sinn Féin won 73 seats, becoming the largest Irish party
- the Catholic Church and business community became more sympathetic to the cause of independence.

Any other relevant factors.

14.

Context:
The Irish Civil War (June 1922 — May 1923) a short, bitter conflict was a direct consequence of the Anglo-Irish Treaty which was itself the result of the Irish War of Independence. Those who had signed the Treaty, headed by Michael Collins and Arthur Griffith, formed a Provisional Government to oversee the handover of power from the British to the new Irish Free State. However, the Civil War was also the result of the role of the British government in the transition to Irish independence, as well as division in the republican movement, and disagreement between Collins and De Valera.

Anglo-Irish Treaty:

- Ireland was to be the 'Irish Free State', governing itself, making its own laws but remaining in the Empire
- a Governor-General was to represent the king: Britain was to remove its forces but keep the use of its naval bases
- trade relations were settled
- Lloyd George threatened the Irish delegation with war if they did not sign
- the Government of Ireland Act split Ireland in two, with six counties in the North and 26 in the South. In Northern Ireland, Unionists won 40 of the 52 seats available. A third of the Ulster population was Catholic and wanted to be united with the South
- the 26 counties in the South had a separate parliament in Dublin. The Council of Ireland was set up. The IRA refused to recognise the new parliament and kept up its violence. Sectarian violence increased in Ulster; without partition, this could have been much worse
- in the South, the Government of Ireland Act was ignored. Sinn Féin won 124 seats unopposed. Partition was a highly emotive issue, and it alone would have caused discord.

Other factors:

Role of the British government:

- in July 1921, a truce was arranged between the British and Irish Republican forces. Negotiations were opened and ended in the signing of the Treaty on 6 December 1921
- the Treaty gave the 26 southern counties of Ireland a considerable degree of independence, the same within the British Empire as Australia or Canada
- under this agreement, Ireland became a Dominion of the British Empire, rather than being completely independent of Britain. Dominion status meant that the new Irish State to accept that the elected representatives of the people were to take an oath of allegiance to the British Crown; the Crown would be represented by a Governor General; and appeals in certain legal cases could be taken to the Privy Council in London. However, these terms, especially the provision for an oath of allegiance to the British crown, proved unacceptable to De Valera and other republican leaders
- the British military garrison was to be withdrawn and the RIC disbanded.

Divisions in the republican movement:

- the Treaty was hotly debated in the Dáil. Collins and much of the IRA supported the Treaty, as Ireland now had an elected government. De Valera opposed it and felt it should be resisted even if it meant Civil War. They represented the two wings of the Republican movement
- also influential were the widows and other relatives of those who had died; they were vocal in their opposition to the Treaty
- the Treaty was particularly disappointing to left-wing Republicans who had hopes of establishing a socialist republic
- on January 7, 1922, partly as a result of Collins's persuasiveness, the Dáil ratified the treaty but only by only seven votes (64 to 57)
- two days later de Valera resigned as president of the Dáil and was replaced by Griffith
- De Valera's resignation signalled his refusal to accept the Dáil's vote as a final verdict and gave respectability to opposition to the treaty despite the endorsement of it on Jan 7
- on January 16 Collins became the chairman (and effectively the head) of the Provisional Government set up to implement the treaty
- Collins and De Valera tried to reach a compromise to avoid war, but none was reached
- in addition to dividing Sinn Féin, the party that had served as the rallying point for republicanism, the treaty split the IRA, which had waged the Irish War of Independence
- one faction (under Collins's leadership) supported the treaty and the other (under De Valera) opposed it. The former group became the core of the National Army (also called the Free State Army), and the latter group, branded by some as 'Irregulars,' began to organize armed resistance against the new government
- some of the anti-Treaty IRA took over some important buildings in Dublin for example Four Courts
- this division, crystallised by the murder of Sir Henry Wilson (security adviser for the Northern Ireland government), forced Michael Collins to call on the official IRA to suppress the 'Irregular IRA'.

Role of Collins:

- Collins and Griffiths led a young and relatively inexperienced group to negotiate the Treaty with the British politicians Lloyd George, Winston Churchill and Austen Chamberlain, but were pressured to sign it under a threat of escalation of the conflict
- Collins defended the Treaty; he claimed it gave Ireland 'freedom to achieve freedom'
- Collins and Griffiths started informal negotiations with the British side and hammered out the details of the treaty
- he claimed Ireland had its own elected government, so Britain was no longer the enemy
- he recognised that the war was probably unwinnable, both for the IRA and the British.

Role of De Valera:

- De Valera was President of the Irish Republic and opposed any sort of deal in which Irish status was linked to the British Empire
- as President, De Valera had instructed his negotiating team to refer back to his cabinet on any question which created difficulties. When the Treaty was signed it had not been referred back to the Irish cabinet
- De Valera refused to accept the terms of the Treaty because they were in 'violent conflict with the wishes of the majority of the nation'
- De Valera claimed that the Treaty meant partition of Ireland and abandonment of national sovereignty. De Valera thought he should have been consulted before the Treaty was signed
- De Valera voted against the Treaty and resigned as President to be replaced by Griffith, and Collins became Head of the Irish Free State Government.

Any other relevant factors.

15. **Context:**
The civil rights movement of the mid to late 1960s saw a backlash against it from elements of the unionist community, including the largely Protestant RUC. The Provisional IRA emerged as ‘protector’ of the Northern Ireland Nationalist community. The two sides, Nationalist and Unionist, became more polarised through the period with communities dividing, socially and politically, along sectarian lines. The deployment of British troops in Northern Ireland and imposition of Direct Rule saw the conflict widen.

Religious and communal differences:

- the Protestant majority in Northern Ireland belonged to churches that represented the full range of reformed Christianity, while the Catholic minority was united in its membership of a church that dominated life in the Republic and much of Europe. These religious divisions made it difficult for both communities to come together
- these divisions were further deepened by traditions embraced by both communities, such as the ‘marching season’, which became a flashpoint for sectarian violence. Also differences in sport and language
- many Catholic political representatives refused to recognise partition and their views only heightened the Nationalist community's sense of alienation and fostered Unionist hostility towards the Catholic minority
- the speeches and actions of Unionist and Nationalist leaders such as Rev. Ian Paisley and Gerry Adams polarised views in the province and emphasised the divisions between both communities.

Other factors:

British government policies:

- in 1971 in response to unrest, the new Prime Minister, Brian Faulkner, reintroduced internment; that is, detention of suspects without trial. The policy was a disaster: it failed to capture any significant members of the Provisional IRA, and it focused on Nationalist rather than loyalist suspects. The reaction was predictable, even if the ferocity of the violence was not. Deaths in the final months of 1971 reached over 150
- a number of reforms had followed on from the Downing Street Declaration including on allocation of council housing, investigation into the recent cycle of violence and a review of policing (leading to disbanding of the hated 'B Specials')
- the British government, now led by Edward Heath, decided to remove control of security from the government of Northern Ireland and appointed a secretary of state for the province which led to the resignation of the Stormont government
- Direct Rule was imposed despite attempts to introduce some sort of self-rule, such as the Sunningdale agreement of 1973, which failed because of implacable Unionist opposition leading to the reintroduction of Direct Rule
- Direct Rule lasted for the next 25 years.

Role of terrorism:

- paramilitary groups began to operate on both sides of the sectarian divide, while civil rights marches became increasingly prone to confrontation
- the more militant Provisional IRA broke away from the so-called 'Official' IRA. The Provisional IRA was prepared to pursue unification in defiance of Britain and used violence to achieve its aims
- Unionist paramilitaries were also organised. The Ulster Volunteer Force was joined by the Ulster Defence Association, created in 1971
- examples of terrorist activity: by the end of 1972 sectarian violence had escalated to such an extent that nearly 500 lives were lost in a single year
- Provisional IRA prisoners protested at the loss of special status. They went on hunger strikes. A second hunger strike in 1981 was led by Bobby Sands. Sands was put forward for a vacant Westminster seat and won. Sands and nine other hunger strikers died before the hunger strikes called off in October 1981
- anti-H Block won the by-election following Sands’ death. Electoral successes raised the possibility that Sinn Féin could replace the more moderate SDLP as the political voice of the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland
- indiscriminate terrorism meant Eire public opinion in the Republic of Ireland turned against the Provisional IRA
- in 1985 the violence of Northern Ireland's paramilitary groups still had more than a decade to run and the sectarian divide remained as wide as it had ever been.

Role of the British Army:

- the so-called ‘Battle of Bogside’ in 1969 only ended with the arrival of a small force of British troops at the request of Chichester Clark. An acknowledgement that the government of Northern Ireland had lost its grip on the province’s security
- by 1971 policing the province was fast becoming an impossible task, and the British Army adopted increasingly aggressive tactics on the ground
- on Sunday 30 January 1972, the army deployed the Parachute Regiment to suppress rioting at a civil rights march in Derry. Thirteen demonstrators were shot and killed by troops, with another victim dying later of wounds. Images of ‘Bloody Sunday’ led to increased recruitment by the Provisional IRA
- the British Army’s various attempts to control the Provisional IRA (house-to-house searches, the imposition of a limited curfew) only served to drive more recruits into the ranks of the paramilitaries.

Role of the Irish government:

- the Irish government’s role in the Anglo-Irish Agreement, signed in November 1985, confirmed that Northern Ireland would remain independent of the Republic as long as that was the will of the majority in the north. It also gave the Republic a say in the running of the province for the first time
- the agreement also stated that power could not be devolved back to Northern Ireland unless it enshrined the principle of power sharing.

Any other relevant factors.

SECTION 2 — European and World

PART A — The crusades, 1071−1204

16. **Context:**

Inspired by religious motives, thousands of people across Europe took vows to go on Crusade. For many there were other attractions; fame and great riches; the promise of land and a sense of adventure. However, there was also the need to escape an overcrowded Western Europe.

Seeking of fame and riches:

- not all Crusaders were motivated purely by religion; many had mixed motives that might have included, for example, the prospect of financial gain and a desire for prestige and glory
- young knights like Tancred may have been motivated partly by the wish to use their military skills in the East
- the idea of crusading was popular with Norman knights who saw in it a chance of becoming rich and powerful
- the lure of wealth may have motivated others. The Middle East was a centre of international trade well known for its wealth. The prospect of booty and plunder was a powerful incentive for some Crusaders
- financial gain encouraged Pisa, Genoa and Venice to support the Crusades. These Italian seaports very much hoped to gain bases for their trading ships
- however, the seeking of riches in itself was not so common. Indeed, for many lesser knights going on Crusade meant taking a huge risk financially; they were more likely to *lose* money than make it since many had to sell or mortgage their lands to fund the venture (and land was the real source of wealth and power).

Other factors:

Religious motives:

- a key factor motivating people to take the cross was the belief that the Crusade was a spiritual war which would purify their souls of sin and speed ascent to heaven after death
- evidence from the charters suggests that Crusaders really did want to free Jerusalem and to win forgiveness of sins (though it should be noted that most charters were written by clergy who may have recorded the Church’s official view)
- though there were questions about his motivation in the siege of Tripoli in 1102, Raymond of Toulouse is often held up as an example of a deeply religious knight riding to the defence of the Holy Land
- Raymond was the first Prince to agree to join the Crusade. He sold all his lands and wanted to die in the Holy Land
- Pope Urban took an unprecedented step of offering to those who pledged their soul to the Crusade ‘a ticket directly to heaven’
- the Remission of Sins offered by Pope Urban was an attractive solution to the dilemma of knights; Crusaders now had the blessing of God to ignore the 6th Commandment — ‘Thou shalt not kill’ — as long as those being killed were infidels

- Urban resolved the need to protect Christianity from the Muslim threat and the general desire to re-establish the pilgrimage routes to the Holy Lands. Urban drew on the ancient tradition of pilgrimage. For centuries, people had journeyed to Jerusalem and the holy sites as a form of penance and to gain remission of their sins
- the appeal of the 'People's Crusade' illustrates the power of the belief that the Crusading was morally good because it was helping God
- in the First Crusade, recruitment was strongest in areas which had supported Pope Gregory VII's reform movement, among families with a tradition of pilgrimage and from areas of France that Pope Urban had visited in person
- religion was moved by tales of signs and wonders, and natural disasters were attributed to supernatural intervention. Not surprisingly, then, such 'omens' such as showers of meteorites or heavy rains after years of drought were regarded as signs of intervention by God, and some people who witnessed these signs were encouraged by them to join the Crusades in response.

Desire to acquire territory in the Holy Land:

- Urban promised that those who went on Crusade would keep possession of any lands they conquered. This motivated many of the great magnates who intended to acquire new estates for themselves
- the prospect of gaining lands 'flowing with milk and honey' was tempting for younger son of nobles who would not inherit their father's lands in Western Europe
- examples of Crusaders motivated by the desire to acquire land include Bohemond and Baldwin whose zeal for carrying on with the Crusade diminished once they had acquired Antioch and Edessa (Bohemond of Taranto had not inherited his father's lands in Italy and was eager to gain land elsewhere)
- though the promise of land was an incentive to some nobles, it may have been less of a driving force than it appears because going on Crusade incurred enormous costs. Chain mail, armour, horses, weapons, travel and maintaining an entourage while abroad and estates back home was extremely expensive.

Overpopulation and famine:

- a motive of many may have been a desire to escape the hardships of life at the time. Northern Europe was experiencing rising population, constant food shortages, petty wars and lawlessness. Many craved a better life, in this world as well as the next
- several years of drought and poor harvests in the 1090s led to a widespread outbreak of a deadly disease called ergotism, caused by eating bread made from fungus-infected cereal. Against this background, a long and dangerous journey to a distant land in the east from which they might never return may have seemed a risk worth taking
- many were forced to leave because of the lack of available farmland in an already overcrowded Europe ('land hunger').

Sense of adventure:

- going on Crusade was exciting and the sense of adventure it offered may have been especially attractive to young noblemen who were, after all, trained members of a warrior elite
- the idea of an armed pilgrimage was appealing, as was the chance to see the Holy Land
- Crusade also offered adventure and a way out of their bondage for serfs too.

Any other relevant factors.

17.

Context:
In July 1187, the Muslim leader, Saladin, wiped out the Crusader army at the Battle of Hattin, in Syria. Weeks later the Holy City of Jerusalem surrendered to the Islamic forces. The death of Baldwin IV was a key reason for the fall of Jerusalem, not least because Baldwin was a highly effective leader. However, divisions among the Crusaders, the lack of resources of the Christain states, the unification of the Islamic states under Saladin and the impact of the Crusaders' defeat at Hattin also contributed to the fall of Jerusalem.

Death of Baldwin IV:

- Baldwin IV, king of Jerusalem from 1174 until his death in 1185, had to deal with the growing threat of Muslim re-conquest of the Holy Land by Saladin
- Baldwin was a brave knight and effective leader. He used a variety of military and diplomatic initiatives to hold Saladin at bay. He had relatively successful military operations against the forces of Saladin, with a notable victory at the Battle of Montgisard
- Baldwin was a leper. When he died in March 1185 the strategy he had deployed to counter Saladin died with him. He was replaced for a short time by his nephew, Baldwin V with Raymond of Tripoli as Regent. But Baldwin V — Baldwin IV's nephew — was a sick nine-year old who died within a year. The kingdom of Jerusalem then fell into a bitter, factional, succession crisis
- Queen Sybilla made the situation worse when she crowned her husband, Guy de Lusignan, as the new and as it turned out last — King of Jerusalem
- Saladin's invasion of Galilee in 1187 resulted in the fall of Jerusalem and the reduction of the kingdom to a small area of territory around the port of Tyre.

Other factors:

Divisions amongst the Crusaders:

- two factions struggled for power within Baldwin IV's court: that of Guy de Lusignan and his supporters, and that of Baldwin's close advisor Raymond III of Tripoli and his supporters
- in 1180 Guy married Sibylla, Baldwin's sister. Guy tended to favour an aggressive policy
- the activities of Reynald of Chatillon helped to destabilise the fragile peace treaty between Baldwin IV and Saladin
- unlike the Hospitallers, the Knights Templar, were firmly in the camp of the hawks; they wanted nothing more than to carry on the crusading ideal and through aggression rid the Holy Lands of Muslims. Treaties and compromise were unacceptable to them.

Lack of resources of the Christian states:

- there was a lack of support from the Byzantine Empire. The Crusader states had been strengthened by a closer relationship with the Byzantine Empire during the reign of Manuel I. In 1180, the Byzantine Emperor died and the new Emperor Andronicus I showed little interest in supporting the Latin rulers of the Near East
- after 1184, Saladin made a treaty with Byzantium, leaving the Holy City without Byzantine support
- European monarchs showed similar disinterest in the Crusader states. In 1184 three of the most important men in the Crusader states — the Patriarch of Jerusalem and the masters of the Hospitallers and Templars — were sent to Europe seeking support, but neither Philip II of France nor Henry II of England felt able to lead a new Crusade to the Holy Land
- the Crusaders sought to redress their military inferiority by constructing powerful fortifications. However, without the army to protect the kingdom even the massive fortifications could not withstand Saladin's forces
- even the combined armies of the Crusader States were not strong enough to win a war, especially in the long run. There was always a likelihood that the Crusader States would not be able to stand against a united Islamic state.

Unification of Islamic states under Saladin:

- in 1171 Saladin secured control over Egypt
- Saladin then began to establish his control over Syria through patient diplomacy. Following Nur-ad-Din’s death, Saladin wrote to Nur-ad-Din’s son, al-Salih, expressing his loyalty
- Saladin gained further legitimacy by marrying Nur-ad-Din’s widow. In the first years of Saladin’s rule, he established his authority over other Muslims in the name of al-Salih
- Saladin began to unite the Muslim Near East by occupying Damascus
- by 1174, several of Syria’s warlords had switched their support to Saladin
- in 1183, Saladin finally brought Aleppo under his control
- Saladin had managed to successfully unite the Muslims of Syria and Egypt behind his leadership. This meant that Jerusalem was effectively surrounded and left the city in a very weak military position
- after years of fighting Muslims as a precondition of waging jihad and after a severe illness in 1185–1186, Saladin became more determined to recapture Jerusalem. He used the idea of a religious war against the Christians to hold the separate Islamic groups together
- Saladin did have critics within the Muslim ranks; some thought he was more interested in maintaining his position than defeating the Christians, some thought he was not taking a strong enough position with regard to the recapture of Jerusalem. But after Guy de Lusignan became king and Reynald continued his attacks, the pressure on Saladin to respond grew. This encouraged him to act aggressively.

Christian defeat at Hattin:

- King Guy led the armies of Jerusalem to save Count Tiberius’s wife because Saladin’s forces had surrounded her castle. Tiberius himself had few worries about the safety of his wife. His fortress could have withstood a siege. Saladin’s forces lacked the required siege engines to make a successful attack. Additionally, Saladin could not keep his disparate forces in the field for any length of time. Tiberius’ advice to Guy was to hold his forces back to protect Jerusalem
- however, figures such as Reynald persuaded Guy that to leave the Countess of Tripoli besieged would be unchivalrous and that Guy would lose support if he did not ride out
- the army could find little water to sustain them in the desert. Their only option was to make for Hattin and the oasis there. This was an obvious trap; Saladin surrounded them with burning brushwood and dry grass. Trapped on the Horns of Hattin, near Tiberius, the Christian army suffered badly from the sun and lack of water
- eventually they were forced to attack but lacked the strength to do so effectively. The Christian armies’ horses were too weak for a prolonged struggle and their infantry were surrounded by Saladin’s mounted archers and cut off
- Saladin ordered the slaughter of all members of the militant orders, but Guy and many of his followers were allowed to surrender and enter captivity.

Any other relevant factors.

18. **Context:**

At Clermont in 1095, Pope Urban II preached a holy war to recover Jerusalem from Muslim rule. However, material motivations and the use of the Crusaders against Venice's political enemies in the Fourth Crusade showed just how far the ideals of the Crusade and the religious zeal of the Crusaders had declined by 1204.

Coexistence of Muslim and Christian states:
- there were many attempts at peace between Muslim and Crusading States during the reign of Baldwin IV, before his death and the fall of Jerusalem
- other examples include the treaty of mutual protection signed between King Amalric of Jerusalem and the Emir of Damascus.

Corruption of the crusading movement by the Church and nobles:
- there are many examples of nobles using the Crusade for their own ends. Examples include Bohemond and Baldwin in the First Crusade and arguably Richard in the Third Crusade. The greed of many nobles on the Fourth Crusade was very different from the religious ideals of the early Crusaders
- at the end of the Fourth Crusade, the Pope accepted half of the spoils from the Crusaders despite his earlier excommunication of them.

Effects of trade:
- Venice saw the Fourth Crusade as a means of expanding its trade routes
- the Italian city-states (Genoa, Pisa and Venice) continued to trade with various Muslim powers throughout the crusading period
- Pisa and Genoa both had a lot of influence in events during the Third Crusade; they both had favoured candidates for the vacant throne of Jerusalem, for example, and used trade rights as a bargaining chip to get what they wanted.

Fourth Crusade:
- the initial inspiration of the Fourth Crusade had a strong crusading ideology behind it. Pope Innocent III was a highly effective pope. He had managed to settle the problem of the Investiture Contest with Germany and hoped to sort out the issue of the Holy Lands as well. Innocent believed that the inclusion of medieval monarchs had caused the previous two Crusades to fail, unlike the First Crusade that was nominally under the command of Bishop Adhemar. The Fourth Crusade was commanded by six papal legates. These men tried to hold to the ideal of the Crusade and not to be distracted by greed
- however, the Fourth Crusade has also been described as the low point of the crusading ideal. Hijacked by the Venetians, the Crusade instead became a tool for their growing political and economic ambitions
- while attacking Zara, Alexius, son of the deposed emperor of Byzantium, arrived with a new proposal for the Crusaders. He asked them to reinstate his father, who had been imprisoned by his brother, and if they agreed they would be handsomely rewarded. He also promised to return control of the Byzantine Church to Rome. The Church was against such an attack on another Christian city, but the prospect of wealth and fame led the Crusade to Constantinople
- when the Crusaders discovered that Alexius and his father could not, or would not, meet the payment as agreed, they stormed the city. The murder, looting and rape continued for three days, after which the Crusading army had a great thanksgiving ceremony
- the amount of booty taken from Constantinople was huge: gold, silver, works of art and holy relics were taken back to Europe, mostly to Venice. Most Crusaders returned home with their newly acquired wealth. Those that stayed divided up the land amongst themselves, effectively creating several Latin Crusader States where Byzantium had once stood.

Role of Venice:

- by 1123 the city of Venice had come to dominate maritime trade in the Middle East. The Venetians made several secret trade agreements with Egypt and North African emirs, as well as enjoying concessions and trade agreements within the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Byzantium however, remained a constant rival for in the struggle for dominance of trade and in 1183 Venice was cut off from the lucrative trading centres of the empire
- Venice’s participation in the Crusade was only secured when the Pope agreed to pay huge sums of money to it for the use of its ships, and supplies as well as half of everything captured during the Crusade on land and sea
- Venice’s leader, the Doge Enrico Dandolo, had sold the Crusaders three times as many supplies and equipment as required for the Crusade. The Crusading leader, Boniface of Montferrat, found that he was unable to raise enough money to pay, and the Crusaders were all but imprisoned on an island near Venice. Dandolo’s proposal to pay off the Crusaders’ debt involved attacking Zara, a Christian city that had once belonged to Venice but was now under the control of the King of Hungary, a Christian monarch: the Crusade had become a tool of the Venetians
- the Fourth Crusade’s intended target, Egypt, was totally unsuitable from a Venetian perspective. Thus, when the Pope’s representative approached the Venetians in 1201, they agreed to help transport the Crusaders, hoping to divert the Crusade to a more useful target for Venice. The final target of the Fourth Crusade was therefore determined by politics and economics.

Any other relevant factors.

PART B — The American Revolution, 1763–1787

19. **Context:**

The thirteen American colonies of the British Empire were established during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. During the mid-1700s the once harmonious relationship between Mother Country and the colonies became acrimonious. George III's attempts to impose British authority firmly after 1760 caused a political movement in America. By 4 July 1776 the Continental Congress met in Freedom Hall, Philadelphia and issued the Declaration of Independence. This was the turning point in the American Revolution, the culmination of over ten years of vocal opposition by colonists to British rule. The action by the delegates in Philadelphia led to the American War of Independence and was prompted by the military events of 1775. But other factors also played a role in shaping the delegates' decision-making process including disputes over taxation, the Boston Massacre, the punishment of Massachussets and the rejection of the Olive Branch Petition.

Military events of 1775:

- on 19 April 1775 British troops encountered colonial militia at Lexington Green in Massachusetts. General Gage had sent a force of 700 men to Concord to seize a store of military supplies held by local militia. Gage's force was intercepted on the way by Lexington's 'minutemen'. Eight colonists were killed, and reports of the skirmish raised issues about the conduct of British officers, as there were questions about warnings not being given before firing. This incident was significant because it was the first blood spilled in a military engagement between colonist and British in the developing conflict in America. It led to a series of attacks by various New England militia groups on British forts
- the Battle of Bunker Hill over 16–17 June 1775 saw the British defeat 1,200 militia on high ground overlooking Boston, but although the colonists suffered over 400 casualties, the British sustained over 1,000, including 200 dead. This was an important development as colonists took heart and attacked more British posts in New England and even Canada, and the 2nd Continental Congress, which had met on 10 May, decided in June to form the Continental Army with George Washington of Virginia appointed as its Commander
- Congress's Trade Declaration stated that the colonies would no longer obey the Navigation Acts. In response, General Gage requested further military support in the colonies, including the hiring of foreign troops; but thousands of German mercenaries in place of regular soldiers offended colonist sensibilities; Britain was underestimating the coherence of Continental Army
- in November 1775, Governor Dunmore of Virginia formed a regiment of black soldiers in the South, promising freedom to slaves, and this brought many indignant Southerners, previously reluctant to become involved in the conflict, on board the movement towards independence
- in January 1776 the British republican writer Thomas Paine produced his pamphlet *Common Sense* which advocated war so the colonies could free themselves from British rule. This sold 100,000 copies and influenced many middle-class, educated colonists.

Other factors:

Disputes over taxation:

- 1764: the Sugar Act imposed taxes and commercial regulations on goods imported into the colonies The act was intended to raise money to pay for the upkeep of British territories, but it was deeply unpopular because the colonists had to import all products that they could not produce for themselves and because it imposed taxes on them without their consent
- 1765: the Stamp Act introduced a tax on all legal and official papers and publications circulating in the colonies. It was intended to pay for the upkeep of the British Army in the colonies. The act resulted in violent protests the colonists arguing that there should be ‘no taxation without representation’ and that it went against the British constitution to be forced to pay a tax they had not agreed through representation in Parliament
- while the British argued that taxation would contribute to the costs of the Seven Years War and pay for the continued presence of the British Army in America, colonists argued that they already paid financial dues to British through the Navigation Acts and other trading restrictions, and that they had their own militia and did not need the British Army to protect them
- ‘No Taxation without Representation’ became central to colonists’ protest during this time, and the Stamp Act was repealed on 18 March 1766 after several months of protests and boycotts which damaged British trade
- however, the repeal of the Stamp Act was followed, on the same day, by the Declaratory Act, which maintained that the British Parliament *did* have the right and authority to legislate for the colonies in all cases whatsoever
- underlining continued opposition to any taxation of the colonists by Britain, the secret organisation Sons of Liberty was founded by colonists including John Adams and Patrick Henry, proclaiming loyalty to the king but opposition to Parliament
- in 1767: the new Prime Minister, William Pitt, proposed indirect taxation in the form of duties on imports to the colonies. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Townshend, introduced taxes on glass, tea, paper and lead. The Townshend Acts were viewed by many colonists as a second attack on their liberty and a further betrayal of their loyalty as British subjects. Colonists took action to boycott the importation of British goods encouraged by Samual Adams ‘Massachusetts Circular’, which laid out the unconstitutionality of taxation without representation
- 1773: the Tea Act was designed to help the financially troubled East India Company by granting it a monopoly on all tea exported to the colonies. The Tea Act also reinforced a tea tax in the American colonies. Colonist were outraged by the Tea Act. They believed it was a tactic to gain support for the tax already enforced and that accepting the terms of the Tea Act was tantamount to accepting Britain’s right to tax colonists without their consent
- in Boston, crowds of colonists organised blockages of loading bays to prevent the unloading of tea cargoes. On 16 December 1773, in what became known as the Boston Tea Party, hundreds of people, co-ordinated by Samuel Adams, boarded three British East India Company ships and threw £10,000 worth of tea into the harbour. This destruction of British government property was an expression of the colonists’ frustration at policies.

Boston Massacre:

- 5 March 1770: during a riot in Boston in opposition to the Townshend Duties, forces sent by General Gage (British Commander-in-Chief in North America) to quell resistance opened fire on a crowd on the orders of Captain Preston. Three people were killed instantly, two more were fatally wounded and eleven others were injured
- Preston and four soldiers were charged with murder. Many Bostonians were horrified at what they perceived as the brutal actions of the British Army
- Committees of Correspondence, which had been established during the 1760s, quickly spread news of the ‘massacre’ around the thirteen colonies. Paul Revere, a Boston silversmith, depicted the event in an engraving which shocked colonists who saw it
- the soldiers were represented at the trial in October by John Adams (he volunteered to ensure there was a fair hearing). The result was the acquittal of all defendants. This outraged colonists because it suggested that British soldiers could kill Americans colonists with impunity
- Committees of Correspondence would later prove effective after the Gaspee incident in summer of 1772, when a Royal Navy schooner was captured off Rhode Island and burned by smugglers who resented enforcement of the Navigation Acts
- Britain resolved to transport any culprits to England for trial. Subsequently, all thirteen colonies’ Committees worked together to investigate the legality of all British actions towards them from then onwards
- the Boston Massacre and its aftermath energised anti-British sentiment.

Punishment of Massachusetts:

- March-June 1774: the Coercive Acts — known as the Intolerable Acts in the American colonies — were a series of four laws passed the British Parliament to punish the colony of Massachusetts for the Boston Tea Party. The acts closed the Port of Boston denying valuable revenue to the city; replaced the elective local council with an appointive one; gave colonial governors the right to requisition unoccupied building to house British troops, and suspended trial by jury. In addition, the Quebec Act, passed in June, allowed French-speaking Catholics to settle in the Ohio valley with local law-making powers that were now being denied to Massachusetts. These legislative measures enraged colonists such as Thomas Jefferson of Virginia who proclaimed that, ‘the British have a deliberate plan of reducing us to slavery’
- the Virginia Assembly was now moved to call for unity amongst the thirteen colonies to discuss the current crisis and the 1st Continental Congress, with delegates from all colonies except Georgia, met on 5 September in Philadelphia. There it issued the Declaration of Rights and Grievances which, although proclaiming loyalty to George III, dismissed the Coercive Acts as null and void and rejected the supremacy of the British Parliament.

Rejection of Olive Branch Petition:

- the 2nd Continental Congress had written an appeal to the King in June 1775, known as the Olive Branch Petition
- the Olive Branch Petition, whilst pledging colonists’ allegiance to the crown, expressed bitterness towards Parliament, the Prime Minister, Lord North, and the King’s ministers
- Congress requested Constitutional Union, which would allow the colonies to legislate for themselves and raise their own taxes
- colonists expressed a willingness to remain within the British Empire under royal authority
- this last hope of compromise was ignored and George III rejected the petition in October, declaring the colonists to be in rebellion
- the rejection of the Olive Branch Petition led several colonist politicians to decide that independence was the only way of bringing about change in their relationship with Britain
- in less than a year, Congress met to sign the Declaration of Independence, drafted by Jefferson and Franklin, stating that, ‘all men are created equal’, and have ‘inalienable rights’ among which are ‘life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness’. It expressed the ‘right of the people’ to abolish their own government if they so desired. Lord North immediately ordered more troops to America in preparation for war.

Any other relevant factors.

20.

Context:
After the Declaration of Independence in 1776, Britain and the 13 American colonies went to war for five years on land and another two at sea. Countries which became involved in the conflict (directly or indirectly) included France, Holland, Spain, but also, and to a lesser extent, Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Portugal, Austria, Prussia and Turkey indicating that the war was global in nature. British troops surrendered at Yorktown in 1781, and Britain recognised American independence in 1783.

Franco-American Alliance:
- France entered the war and took the conflict to Europe
- Britain was forced to re-assign its military resources to defend itself and the Empire
- French contributions to the colonists' cause took many forms — men, ammunition, training, supplies, and uniforms, fighting Britain around the world
- however, France was not persuaded until February 1778 to make its alliance with America, by which time the Continental Army was already starting to make progress in the war in the colonies.

Dutch intervention:
- the Dutch went to war with Britain in November 1780
- Britain's navy was stretched even further and it became increasingly difficult to focus on the war in the colonies
- European nations were now competing for parts of Britain's empire around the world
- Dutch forces in Ceylon attacked British interests in India
- however, the war between Britain and the colonists on land was not directly affected by Dutch involvement.

Spanish intervention:
- Spain declared war on Britain in June 1779
- Britain was forced to pull troops and naval forces back from the American continent
- the Spanish navy now threatened British shores as well as challenging the Royal Navy around the world
- Spanish troops came from Mexico to the Mississippi area to challenge the British Army.

League of Armed Neutrality:
- this grouping of Russia, Sweden and Denmark gave extra cause for concern to Britain, because they were willing to fire on any Royal Navy ships which interfered with their merchant fleets
- however, the League was not directly and formally involved in the war but was rather endeavouring to protect its own shipping
- Portugal, Austria, Prussia and Turkey all later joined.

Control of the seas:
- the battle for control of the seas drew massively on the resources of all countries involved and significantly drained Britain's finances
- however, the war at sea continued after the surrender at Yorktown, and the British recognised the Treaty of Versailles despite regaining control of the seas, highlighting the fact that the war on land was more significant to the outcome for the colonists.

Any other relevant factors.

21.

Context:

Written in 1787, ratified in 1788 and in operation since 1789, the American Constitution was drafted by colonist politicians and lawyers in the years following the American War of Independence (1776−1783). To the American colonists who emerged victorious, the war was a revolutionary conflict fought by a people fighting for freedom against tyranny, monarchy and enslavement. The new Constitution reflected these sentiments and colonists experience of British rule. And as the culmination of the American Revolution, it had a dramatic impact on the new United States of America in its setting out of new structures of government and the relationship between them, the role of the Presidency as distinct from a monarchy, the role of Congress and the Supreme Court and the relationship between the legislature and the judiciary.

Americans' reflection of their experience under British rule:

- as part of the British Empire, colonists had been ruled by King and British Parliament, who together made key policy decisions, set laws and taxes, and enforced the law. As a result, there had been no checks and balances on executive, legislative and judicial processes
- the notion of 'No Taxation without Representation' had been a source of much of the original resentment towards British colonial policy
- during their experience of being ruled by Britain, colonists had learned to be suspicious of all forms of government, and they feared the potentially tyrannical power of a monarch
- they designed the Constitution to thwart any future attempts by an American head of state to act in the tyrannical way that they believed George III acted.

Significance of the Constitution:

- central government controlled matters of national importance, and state assemblies were to be responsible for local government and administration
- the colonists built in the separation of powers to provide a system of checks and balances: the Executive, Legislature and Judiciary had to remain apart, with each acting independently of the others and no branch of government subordinate to any other. This was driven through by Alexander Hamilton and James Madison who had disapproved of the too-powerful Continental Congress
- the separation of powers is considered to be the most revolutionary aspect of the Constitution
- the Bill of Rights was drawn up in 1791 as the first ten amendments to the Constitution, after several states refused to ratify the Constitution as it stood
- these states' delegates at Philadelphia wanted greater protections for citizens against the federal government. Therefore, the Bill of Rights became an important document that set out the limitations of the power of Congress
- the Bill of Rights established liberty for individual citizens in states within a federal union of all states, and set out clear lines of authority between federal government and individual states
- the Articles of Confederation written in 1776, signed in 1781 and acknowledged in 1787 declared that states would retain individual sovereignty and provided for state representatives to Continental Congress
- the Constitution stated that 'all men are created equal' and that everyone was entitled to 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness'. From now on, people would be able to participate in formal and agreed democratic processes at state and national level

- however, it is important to note that the liberties and rights the Constitution set out did not in fact apply to all men, and certainly not to all people: women and enslaved Africans were not included. This mattered because it ensured, for example, that slavery was allowed to continue in the new United States of America embedding a huge contradiction at the heart of government and society and underlining the dominance of racial ideology in the thinking and outlook of Americans
- Church and State were separated so there was no established Church (ie, no government backed and favoured denomination or sect) to ensure that equality included freedom of belief.

Role of the presidency:

- executive power was vested in the elected President, and his Vice-President and Cabinet
- the first President, George Washington, was elected in February 1789, and could make all key decisions and establish policy
- members of the Executive, including the President, or Thomas Jefferson, who became the USA's first Secretary of State, could be removed from office by the electorate in four-yearly elections
- the Philadelphia Convention introduced an elitist system of electors in Presidential elections voting for an electoral college. The electoral college consisted of educated men who would vote for the President, a system which still exists today
- the President could not take a seat in Congress.

Congress and Supreme Court:

- the Senate was set up with each state equally represented and the House of Representatives was set up with states represented proportionately to size and population
- in addition, Congress was given responsibility for international trade, war and foreign relations
- the newly formed Supreme Court of Justice, consisting of nine judges, held judicial power in the United States
- the Supreme Court was formed in order to prevent legal matters becoming entwined with political ones
- Supreme Court judges were nominated by the President upon advice from his Cabinet and political staff. New appointments had to be ratified by Congress after a rigorous vetting process
- Congressmen could not be part of the Supreme Court, and members of the Supreme Court could only be appointed by an agreed confirmation between President and Congress
- central government controlled matters of national importance, and state assemblies were to be responsible for local government and administration
- the Bill of Rights stated that neither Congress nor the government could pass laws which established religion as a part of state institutions, for example within the education system. School prayer was, therefore, prohibited
- the Bill of Rights protected the freedom of the press, freedom of speech, and the right to peaceable assembly. It also set out the rights of citizens who were under investigation or being tried for criminal offences; for example, no-one could be compelled to give evidence which might incriminate them
- any powers which had not been written into the Constitution as being delegated to the federal government would be delegated to state governments.

	Legislature and judiciary: • legislative power lay in the hands of an elected Congress which was divided into two Houses, the Senate and the House of Representatives • the job of Congress was to pass laws and raise taxes • the Supreme Court could be called upon to debate the legality of new laws enacted by Congress. It also acted as the highest court of appeal in the United States. **Any other relevant factors.**

PART C — The French Revolution, to 1799

22. **Context:**

The French Revolution of 1789 brought the Ancien Régime to an end and completely changed the way that France was governed. Though the revolution led to the execution of King Louis XVI, to political terror and to war, it also redefined the nature of political power. It had a profound impact across the globe leading to the growth and development of democratic politics and societies so much so that it is often viewed as a watershed in world history. The causes of the revolution were many and varied, and the ideas of the Enlightenment certainly played a major role in inspiring the revolutionaries in their pursuit of liberty, equality and fraternity/solidarity. However, there were also more immediate causes of the revolution among which the most important were financial problems of the Ancien Régime, the effects of the American revolution, the crisis of 1788-89 and the actions of Louis XVI.

Influence of the Enlightenment:

- while not advocates of revolution, the 18th century *philosophes* had challenged the social, political and economic assumptions of the Ancien Régime, and their ideas fostered principles of social, political and economic liberty which increasingly undermined the old order
- Rousseau: advocated direct democracy and government by the ‘General Will’
- Montesquieu: advocated a constitutional monarchy with powers based on the British model
- Diderot: was chief editor of the *Encyclopedie* which represented the standard of knowledge of its time and, crucially, the spirit of rationalism which was at the heart of enlightenment thinking
- Voltaire: wrote satirical plays that criticised the monarchy, the nobility and the Church, and highlighted the irrationalism of government based on these institutions
- although the impact of the Enlightenment on the 1789 revolution is perhaps not immediately obvious, there is no doubt that Enlightenment ideas led many people to think about the nature of power, government and society and to consider ways in which reforms could be made in the interest of all people not just a few. The Enlightenment gave rise to the notion that the relationship between the people and the state was a social contract rather than one in which an authoritarian ruler ruled without question. These ideas underpinned much of the thinking that led to revolution in France in 1789.

Other factors:

Financial problems of the Ancien Régime:

- the cost of the Seven Years War and France's financing of the American War of Independence had added considerably to the huge debt incurred due to the wars fought by Louis XIV earlier in the century
- much of this was financed by loans so that by the 1780s about half of France's national income was going on payment of debt
- the nobility and the clergy were almost wholly exempt from the payment of taxes. Attempts to raise taxation revenue from these social groups were opposed at every turn. When short-term loans to finance the American wars had to be repaid from 1786 onwards there could be no more large-scale borrowing since investors were losing faith in the state's ability to re-pay
- anticipated tax revenues were projected to fall, making matters worse. There had to be changes to the system of taxation if the Régime was to survive
- taxation had to be extended to the previously exempt nobility and clergy since the rest of society (the Third Estate) could bear no further burden of taxation. Finance Minister Calonne's attempts to introduce a land tax foundered on the opposition of the nobles and the Assembly of Notables in 1787.

Effects of the American Revolution:

- French involvement in the war in the British North American colonies contributed to the massive financial problems of the Régime, with the total cost being an estimated 1.2 billion livres
- taxes went up in France as a result of the country's involvement in the American Revolution, and the national debt went up to over 3.5 billion livres. The Controller General, Calonne, wished to tax nobles in order to pay off national debt, but their resistance at court to this idea and the king's siding with them created resentment amongst the educated bourgeoisie who would have to bear the cost themselves
- among the educated French middle-class, the ideas and ideals of the American Revolution reinforced ideas about the proper relationship between government and governed; in particular, the principles 'no taxation without representation' and liberty from overly centralised authority
- links between America and France had been strengthened by Benjamin Franklin's visit to Paris in 1776
- the Franco-American Alliance of February 1778 was the first official recognition of the legitimacy of the United States by a European Power
- the watchwords of the American Revolution — liberty, equality, brotherhood, democracy, republicanism — reflected ideals and values that were recognised by, and attractive to, educated French men and women. French soldiers and sailors returning from the American Wars had also been exposed to these revolutionary ideas and brought them back to France helping to spread them across society and ensuring these ideas were not confined to the educated middle class
- the roles of great generals such as Lafayette and Rochambeau gave French people a pride in having helped bring about American independence
- the American experience acted as an inspiration to French political leaders and especially to those who were calling for fundamental reform of France's system of government.

Crisis of 1788-1789:

- peasant unrest intensified as a result of bad harvests and severe grain shortages, and it caused disquiet in the major cities such as Paris
- the Paris mob consisted of hungry and resentful members of the working class looking for food and shelter
- this added to a revolutionary atmosphere and increasing pressure on the monarchy and system of government
- the convocation of the Estates-General brought the deep divisions between First, Second and Third Estates to a head
- the hope of change, which was raised by Louis XVI, created a mood of optimism among the Third Estate. But they were soon disillusioned when their hopes were dashed by the king's inaction
- the *Cahiers des doléances* revealed deep disquiet among an extraordinarily wide range of people over a wide range of inequalities such as feudal dues and the unfairness of the taxation system. This put the Ancien Régime under immense pressure
- the politically active bourgeoisie had read, talked about and understood the works of the Philosophes and were inspired by them. They wanted to channel Enlightenment ideas into transformative change French government, economy and society.

Actions of Louis XVI:

- the king's tax concessions to the First Estate meant that the church was resented by the peasantry who paid tithes to their local parishes, creating further social division
- within the Church the rigid and frequently corrupt hierarchy was increasingly resented by the poor lower clergy. Parish priests often sided with the peasants in their locality. By contrasts, clergymen in high office, and drawn from the nobility, tended to look down on the peasants with contempt and as a cash cow to fund comfortable lifestyles
- the king's dismissal of Calonne ended any hopes of significant tax reform
- the king's insistence on favouring of the ancient noble families (*noblesse d'épée),* bestowing upon them key positions in the state, the army and the Church, created tension with the newer and newly ennobled families (*noblesse de robe*)
- the king recalled the Estates-General in 1789 and this marked the beginning of the end for the Ancien Régime because the king now had to signal his intention to make concessions to the Third Estate
- the king's refusal to give increased representation to the Third Estate fuelled revolutionary demands among the Third Estate who were becoming increasingly annoyed by the disproportionate burden of taxation which fell on them.

Any other relevant factors.

23.

Context:
From April 1792 the Revolution moved into a new phase culminating in the ‘Reign of Terror’. A lack of reliable figures makes it difficult to know how many people died during the Terror, but certainly tens of thousands were executed and perhaps tens of thousands more died from imprisonment, starvation, military action and repression. The Terror was rooted in the fact that the government faced mounting threats from enemies outside France and inside to the point where its security and survival were in doubt. The Terror was about saving the Revolution and the government. The threat of counter-revolution played an important role in causing the Terror. However, the Terror was also caused by the outbreak of war, political rivalries, the actions of the Committee of Public safety and the actions of Robespierre.

The threat of counter-revolution:

- as the Convention recognised, the Revolution was not welcomed by everyone. The Convention’s major concerns at the start of 1793 were two-fold: to eliminate counter-revolutionary activity which intensified, particularly in the provinces, after Louis’ execution on 21 January 1793; and effective prosecution of the war against the Republic’s émigré and foreign opponents. At this point the Convention was still controlled by the relatively moderate Girondins
- counter-revolution was, perhaps in the first instance, based on hostility among the clergy and the nobility to the treatment of the Catholic Church
- however, other sections of French society were also fusing together to resist changes they felt were being imposed on them by Paris
- concern about the growth of counter-revolution prompted the Convention to agree to a range of counter-revolutionary measures that included the setting up of the Committee of General Security (CGS) and the Committee of Public Safety (CPS), the establishment of revolutionary tribunals to try opponents of the Republic and impose the death penalty, and the establishment of surveillance committees in local areas to identify counter-revolutionary activity
- the Federal Revolt seemed to justify the need for government by Terror.

Other factors:

Outbreak of war:

- the outbreak of war in 1792 had decisive and far-reaching consequences; it destroyed the consensus of 1789 and led ultimately to the fall of the monarchy, to civil war and to the Terror
- European powers were horrified by the Revolution and the treatment of the Royal Family. The declaration of Pillnitz (August 1791) threatened consequences if the French royal family were harmed
- France declared war on Austria (April 20, 1792) and Prussia declared war on France (June 13, 1792). Prussia and Austria invaded, but were stopped at the Battle of Valmy
- the Revolution was radicalised by the war to the point where the position of the monarchy became impossible because of Louis XVI’s relationship with France’s enemies
- radical anti-monarchists hoped that a successful war against Austria and Prussia would bring them increased support at home and lead to the end of the monarchy
- the monarchy was finally overthrown (10 August 1792) and Louis XVI was executed (21 January 1792)
- war was the occasion for a witch hunt for ‘enemies within’ and led to the concept of the ‘nation in crisis’ as a mechanism for explaining and excusing extreme policies including the Terror
- pressure from mass demonstrations in Paris intimidated the Convention into adopting terror as ‘the order of the day’.

Political rivalries:

- political rivalries helped to create a situation where the Terror took on a momentum of its own
- the Terror was a consequence of the struggle between the Montagnards and the Girondins. In the political crisis of June 1793 the Girondins were expelled from the Convention for supporting revolts backed by royalists
- towards the end of 1793 as the government had begun to overcome the challenges threatening the Republic, steps were taken to reassert central control. On 4 December 1793 the Law of Frimaire set up revolutionary government giving the two main committees, the Committee of General Security (CGS) and the Committee of Public Safety (CPS), full executive powers. The CPS's powers were more extensive than ever
- however, new policies from the CPS, while providing strong government, also rejected the principles of 1789. Robespierre justified this by arguing that a dictatorship was necessary until foreign and domestic enemies of the Revolution had been destroyed
- the main challenge to the revolutionary government came from former supporters, especially Hebertists on the left and Dantonists on the right
- Robespierre disliked the Hebertists' political extremism and when Hebert called for a further insurrection in early March 1794 he was arrested with his main supporters. They were executed on 24 March
- Danton supported those who called for an end to the Terror and to the new centralisation imposed in December 1793. This could only happen, Danton argued, if the war was brought to an end because the war had caused and sustained the Terror. Danton's position was viewed by many in the Convention as a way of bringing back the monarchy. Danton and his supporters were arrested on 30 March 1794 and executed on 5 April
- the Society of Jacobins was increasingly dominated by Maximilien Robespierre, particularly from July 1793 until July 1794; he used it as his powerbase for the Reign of Terror.

Role of Robespierre:

- Robespierre believed that the 'general will' of the sovereign people both created and sanctioned policymaking within the nation. The will of the people could only prevail within a republic
- any individual who sought to oppose this was, by implication, guilty of treason against the nation itself. In such circumstances death — the ultimate weapon of Terror — was entirely appropriate
- Robespierre's argued that 'terror is virtue': to create and maintain a 'virtuous' nation which enshrined the revolutionary principles of liberty and equality, it was necessary to expunge any counter-revolutionary activity violently
- with the imposition of the Law of 22nd Prairial (June 1794), Robespierre was given virtually unlimited powers to eliminate opponents of his Republic of Virtue and during the period of the 'Great Terror' in June and July 1794, over 1,500 people were executed
- many of the killings were carried out under the orders of Robespierre, who dominated the draconian CPS until his own execution in 1794.

Committee of Public Safety:

- set up in April 1793 at a time of mounting crisis for the Convention, the Committee of Public Safety was established to organise the defence of the nation against its enemies at home and abroad, and to supervise and speed up action from ministers whose authority it superseded
- from April to 10 July 1793, the CPS was dominated by Georges Danton and his followers. They pursued a policy of moderation and reconciliation but failed to deal with the precarious military situation. They were replaced in July by men more determined and more radical in defence of the Revolution among them Robespierre who joined the committee on 27 July
- under Robespierre's direction the CPS prepared the ground for, and then implemented, extreme policies
- in October, following the recommendation of the CPS, the constitution of 1793 was suspended, and it was decided to maintain ‘revolutionary government’ for as long as necessary
- the Committee now became the main instrument for the application of terror in defence of Robespierre’s ideal of a ‘Republic of Virtue’
- along with the Committee of General Security the CPS controlled the official Terror centred in Paris
- from September 1793 to July 1794 the CPS was composed of the same men (with the exception of Herault de Sechelles who was guillotined in April 1794), and it controlled France dominating the National Convention and relying on the support of the Jacobins (radical democrats)
- the CPS ensured that harsh measures were taken against alleged enemies of the Revolution. For example, it oversaw the ‘Great Terror’ (10 June 1794 — 27 July 1794).

Any other relevant factors.

24.

Context:

The French Revolution put an end to the Ancien Régime. It swept away the feudal system, transformed a kingdom into a republic, established civil laws and fairer representation for people, and held up liberty, equality and fraternity/solidarity as ideals for all humankind. For good or ill the impact of the Revolution within France was profound and permanent. Each of the main groups in French society — peasants, urban workers, the bourgeoisie, the clergy and the nobility — was affected by the social and political upheavals of the revolution, and indeed no individual was able to go unaffected by the Revolution.

Peasants:

- in contrast to the Catholic Church and the nobility the position of the peasantry was in many ways strengthened by the Revolution
- the ending of feudalism in August 1789 removed many of the legal and financial burdens which had formed the basis of peasant grievances in the *Cahiers des doleances* presented to the Estates-General in 1789
- the revolutionary land settlement, instigated by the nationalisation of Church lands in November 1789, transferred land from the nobility and the clergy to the peasantry to their advantage
- however, not all peasants benefited equally from this — only the well-off peasants could afford to purchase the Church lands which had been seized by the National Assembly.

Urban workers:

- at key points throughout the Revolution demonstrations of discontent by the urban masses — particularly in Paris — impacted on key events as successive regimes framed policy with an eye to appeasing ‘the mob’
- however, any modest gains by the urban poor were short-lived. A decade of almost continuous wars in the 1790s had created shortages and inflation which hit the urban poor particularly hard
- the passing of the Le Chapelier Law in June 1791, a bourgeois-dominated National Assembly protecting the interests of industrialists, effectively banned the formation of trade unions
- the Revolution brought fewer tangible economic or political gains for urban workers than it did for other groups. But even so, male citizens (aged 21 and over) elected the Convention in 1792 and, in theory at least, all citizens were given equal rights to justice and protection under the law. Urban citizens benefited from increased individual liberty too.

Bourgeoisie:

- the Revolution instigated a fundamental shift in political and economic power from the First and Second Estates to the bourgeoisie
- the ending of feudalism in August 1789 heralded profound social and economic change, for example, facilitating the development of capitalism
- the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen later in August did the same for political life. In both cases, the main beneficiaries were the bourgeoisie
- successive constitutions and legislative reforms throughout the 1790s favoured the bourgeoisie above all other social groups by emphasising the notion of a property-owning democracy with voting rights framed within property qualifications
- the ending of trade restrictions and monopolies favoured an expanding business and merchant class
- France had moved from a position of privileged estates to one where, increasingly, merit was what counted
- the educated bourgeoisie were best placed to benefit from the profound change taking place within French society.

Nobility:

- the aristocracy had enjoyed privileges and tax exemptions under the Ancien Régime. They monopolised advancement to key positions of State, the Army and the Church. The aristocracy fiercely defended the system to ensure that promotions to high office in the government, the army and the Church stayed based on birth not merit
- the Revolution swept away aristocratic privilege, a change affecting nobles perhaps even more than the clergy
- the ending of feudalism in August 1789 was the prelude to a decade when the status of the nobility in France collapsed. In 1790 outward displays of nobility such as titles and coats of arms were forbidden by law, and in 1797, after election results suggested a pro-royalist resurgence, the Convention imposed alien status on nobles stripping them of French citizenship
- the Revolution brought in a regime where careers were open to talent regardless of birth or inheritance and the traditional aristocracy simply ceased to exist
- however, some nobles transformed themselves into untitled landlords in the countryside and continued to exercise significant economic and political power. Others were won over to liberty, equality and fraternity and so supported the abolition of legal recognition of nobility.

Clergy:

- the Catholic Church had been a key pillar of the Ancien Régime. The higher offices in the Church were held by men drawn from the ranks of the ancient noble families and enjoying considerable wealth, status, privileges and tax exemptions
- the clergy’s privileges and exemptions were swept away by the Revolution and the position of the Catholic Church within France by 1799 was far less assured than it had been under the Ancien Régime
- in November 1789 Church lands were nationalised, stripping the Church of much of its wealth
- the Civil Constitution of the Clergy (July 1790) polarised attitudes towards about the role and the place of the Catholic Church in French society. It is fair to say, too, that opposition to the attacks on the Church was in variably at the heart of outbreaks of counter-revolution after 1790
- the net result of revolutionary action against the Church was that it never regained its primacy within the French state. France never again became a Catholic country in way that it had been before the Revolution; the secularising actions and tendencies of the Revolution helped to ensure that the Church lost more than it gained.

Any other relevant factors.

PART D — Germany, 1815–1939

25.

Context:
Following the Napoleonic wars a sense of national identity developed among the German peoples for several reasons of which the most important was, perhaps, the impact of Romanticism on culture and politics. However, it is not easy to gauge exactly the degree to which German nationalism had grown by 1850. One way to do this is to look at who was supporting nationalism and who was opposing it as well as at events that reflected nationalism's growth and limitations.

Supporters of nationalism:

- support for nationalism was strongest among the educated middle class
- they were deeply affected by the spread of Romanticism via the works of German philosophers such as Fichte, writers such as Goethe and the Grimm brothers, composers such as Beethoven and painters such as Friedrich whose works encouraged feelings of national pride in German language, history and landscape
- the German middle class subscribed to the view that there was a single German *Volk* and this ethnic identity was reflected in German language and in a unique German culture and history
- many among the middle class were also Liberals. They wanted to see limits placed on the power of monarchs through written constitutions and elected parliaments
- Liberals supported nationalism because they thought liberal ideals could best be achieved through the formation of a single German nation
- middle class support for nationalism can also be seen in the growth and development of student societies (*Burschenschaften*) which generated patriotism
- students organised nationalist celebrations and festivals that were attended by increasing numbers of people during 1815–1850, and this despite the attempts by the authorities to put a stop to students' nationalist activity
- the Wartburg Festival in 1817 celebrated the tercentenary of the German Reformation and the fourth anniversary of the Battle of Leipzig. There was further student activity in 1832 at the Hambach Festival which drew perhaps 15,000 or more young people from across the German states to celebrate German culture and where the red, gold and black colours were used to celebrate German nationalism. Students' nationalist enthusiasm, however, tended to be of the romantic kind and lacking in clear ideas about how their aims might be achieved
- middle class nationalists were often supporters, too, of the *Zollverein*, which by the 1840s included most of the major German states but, significantly, excluded Austria
- middle class businessmen, entrepreneurs and financiers benefited from the closer cooperation among the states that the *Zollverein* facilitated and so became strong supporters of political nationalism as the natural follow-on from economic union
- however, it is important to remember that the middle class, though hugely influential culturally, economically and politically, were a minority, not all of whom were liberal
- some Liberals believed a united Germany should have a Liberal constitution that would guarantee the rights of citizens; others envisaged a federation of states under a constitutional monarch. Some Liberals were also suspicious of full democracy and wanted to limit the vote to the prosperous and well educated. Most liberals were concerned with developments in their own states, not in the situation across Germany as a whole. Small in number and far from unified, they were also isolated from the mass of the people
- books and newspapers supporting the idea of national unity also began to influence public opinion.

Opponents of nationalism:

- the person most opposed to German nationalism was the Austrian Chancellor, Metternich. One fifth of the population of the Austrian empire were German and the Austrian Emperor feared nationalism would encourage them to break away and join Germany. Were German nationalism to succeed then Austria feared that other ethnic groups would agitate for their national identity to be recognised too leading to the break-up of the empire
- the rulers of the individual German states were also fiercely opposed to nationalism and worked with the Austrians to suppress it. A united Germany would put an end to the power, privileges and wealth the individual rulers enjoyed, and they were not about to give all these up willingly
- at the Congress of Vienna, the political organisation of the German states was designed to enable the German princes presided over by Austria, to work together but to preserve their monarchical power and to prevent the development of a single German state
- the Carlsbad Decrees (1819) introduced by Metternich greatly restricted the opportunity for nationalism to grow for a considerable period of time. The decrees disbanded student societies, ordered the appointment of inspectors to keep order in the universities, and introduced censorship of newspapers
- not all the middle classes supported German nationalism either. Some businessmen, for example, argued that the *Zollverein* was dominated by Prussia to the detriment of smaller member states and that if the *Zollverein* was anything to go by then any political union that flowed from it would also be dominated by Prussia
- in addition, differences in religion and customs among the Germans states, between the Protestant north and the Catholic south, for example, militated against support for German nationalism
- there was a great deal of political apathy amongst the mass of the German people. Only small numbers of workers in towns were beginning to take an interest in politics. Most Germans had little desire to see a united Germany. France and Russia feared that a strong, united Germany would be a political, economic and military rival to them.

Political turmoil in the 1840s:

- trade depression, unemployment and high food prices because of bad harvests led to revolutions throughout Europe. In the German states a shortage of food, high prices and widespread unemployment led to demands for change by workers and peasants. But the demand was for improvement in living and working conditions rather than for liberalism or nationalism
- middle class Liberals argued that conservative Austrian and German rulers and aristocracy were working against the interests of all the German people and in any case were often incompetent. Unlike the workers and peasants, middle class demands included the creation of a united Germany
- in the German Confederation, nationalists and liberals saw that change was a real possibility. There were calls from several German states for meetings to tackle the issue of German unity. A national Constituent Assembly was elected known as the Frankfurt Parliament
- support for nationalism was also clearly visible during the 1840 war scare resulting from threats from France to seize German territory in the Rhine area. Germans were outraged with many students flocking to the Rhine in support of German soldiers being deployed there to defend ‘the Fatherland’.

Frankfurt Parliament:

- the Frankfurt Parliament came about because of the 1848 revolution. German rulers, including the King of Prussia, granted concessions in response to liberals' demands for change
- the Frankfurt Parliament consisted of 585 members elected from across the German states. This quasi-national parliament drew up a German Constitution, and openly discussed and debated the form a united Germany should take
- the Frankfurt Parliament was the first serious attempt to challenge Austria's political power in Germany, and Austrian opposition to the liberals and nationalists. But without clear aims, decisive leadership and an armed force to enforce its decisions, the Frankfurt Parliament failed in its revolutionary aims
- nationalists could not agree on the size of a new united Germany. Supporters of *Grossdeutschland* believed that Germany should include Austria but *Kleindeutschland* supporters wanted a united Germany without Austria or its empire
- progress towards nationalism was hampered by divisions and distrust between the Protestants of the North and Southern Catholics. There were also cultural differences between the more industrialised and liberal west and the agrarian, autocratic east.

Collapse of revolution in Germany, 1848−1849:

- the failure of the 1848−1849 revolutions was a serious blow to nationalists. The events of 1848 and 1849 appeared to show that German nationalism was too weak and divided to achieve its aims of German unity
- the revolution in Germany did not achieve all its goals because, in the end, King Frederick William IV of Prussia was not prepared to support the Frankfurt parliament militarily or politically. His rejection of the crown of a united Germany signalled the end of revolutionary activity
- as the initial momentum of the revolution dissipated the old rulers were able to re-establish their control
- the middle-class base of support for the revolution was too narrow. Peasant support was limited. Even so, the revolution gave a strong indication of the degree to which nationalism was an increasingly dynamic force in German society politically and economically as well as culturally
- the recovery of Austria and Prussia indicates that while nationalism was increasingly dynamic, it was not yet strong enough to lead to German unification
- at Olmütz in 1850, it was agreed to return to the constitution of 1815 which signalled the triumph of Austria and the humiliation of Prussia. The ideals of nationalism appeared to be a spent force.

Any other relevant factors.

26.

Context:
Although the 1848 revolution did not lead directly to the formation of a united Germany, support for German nationalism continued to grow on into the 1850s and 1860s. In January 1871 German nationalists' dream of a united Germany became a reality when a new German Empire was proclaimed following the defeat of France in the Franco-Prussian war. Prussian economic strength was an important reason for the achievement of German unification but so were Prussian military strength, the decline of Austria, the role of Bismarck and the role of other countries.

Prussian economic strength:

- by the 1850s and 1860s Prussia was the dominant economic power in mainland Europe eclipsing all other German states including Austria, and increasingly challenging France
- Prussia's economic strength was based on industrialisation and urbanisation that picked up pace after the Napoleonic Wars and was made possible by the Prussia's rich supplies of mineral resources, especially coal and iron ore, but also by huge investment in railways. Railways revolutionised transport and communications and facilitated a rapid expansion of trade
- the *Zollverein* (1834) made trade among the member states easier and cheaper, and railways reduced costs too. Industrialists, entrepreneurs and financiers became immensely wealthy, and in addition standards of living improved among the urban, industrial working classes. By 1836, 25 of the 39 German states were members of this Prussian-dominated free-trade area. The smaller German states benefited from the increased trade with Prussia and across the German Confederation. The *Zollverein* encouraged supporters of German nationalism, who hoped to see economic union lead on to full political unification. On the other hand, some German states supported Austria as they resented Prussian economic dominance
- German workers also benefited from improvements in Prussian education and as a result Prussia developed a highly skilled workforce especially in iron and steelmaking but also in chemicals and engineering
- economic development underpinned Prussia's growing military power. It generated the money, the skills and technical expertise, the investment, the industrial power and the transport infrastructure that were needed to build a modern military power.

Other factors:

Prussian military strength:

- German unification was the consequence of German military victories, but these victories could not have been achieved without Prussian military might
- Prussian weaponry, Prussian soldiers and Prussian command were at the heart of the defeat of Denmark (1864), Austria (1866-1867) and France (1870–1871)
- the Prussian military was greatly improved during the 1860s as a consequence of reforms presided over by the war minister, General von Roon and Chief of the General Staff, General von Moltke. Von Roon oversaw the expansion of the Prussian army and improvements in training and equipment. Von Moltke developed mobilisation plans that, in time of war, effectively gave control of the railways to the Prussian army enabling rapid movement and deployment of troops
- a key military impact of the reforms was the increase in annual recruitment that made a much larger field army possible
- Von Moltke insisted that the Prussian officer corps be much better trained partly through rigorous war gaming exercises, which meant that Prussian leadership on the field of battle was much improved.

The decline of Austria:

- there was a decline in Austrian power and influence during the 1850s at the same time as there was a growth in Prussian strength
- Prussian military strength ought to be set against Austrian military weakness, weakness that reflected Austria's declining economic, political power. Austria was less industrialised and had developed its railways at a much slower pace than Prussia. Austria remained mainly agricultural, although German states in the south still looked to Austria rather than to Prussia for political leadership
- Austria was distracted by problems in her large multi-ethnic empire and by commitments in Italy. Defeat in the Italian Independence War of 1859 was a serious blow to Austrian prestige
- in addition, Austrian was increasingly isolated internationally. For example, failure to give Russia unequivocal support during the Crimean War (1853-1856) seriously undermined Austria's relationship with Russia.

Role of Bismarck:

- Bismarck was not a German nationalist, but he did want to ensure that Prussia was the dominant German state and a powerful state in Europe. He calculated that the best way of achieving these aims, and thus of advancing Prussian interests first and foremost, was through German unification
- Bismarck used a mixture of diplomatic skill, opportunism, provocation and risk-taking to achieve German unification
- in the war against Denmark in 1864, Prussia and Austria fought together but it was Bismarck who had taken the lead in pursuing war, not Austria
- in the run up to war against Austria in 1866, Bismarck ensured that Austria was diplomatically isolated
- following the war with Denmark Bismarck provoked conflict with Austria by causing disputes with Austria about ruling Schleswig and Holstein
- following the defeat of Austria by Prussia Bismarck ensured that the peace terms were not too harsh for Austria
- Bismarck forced the south German states into agreeing military alliances with Prussia so that in the event of a future war with France, the south German states would be obliged to fight alongside Prussia
- Bismarck rightly guessed that he would be able to provoke Emperor Napoleon III into declaring war on Prussia. He did this by antagonising France using the Hohenzollern candidature (1869) and then provoking France into declaring war on Prussia by altering the Ems telegram (1870)
- war is always risky; Bismarck gambled that the Prussian military actions would deliver victory.

Role of other countries:

- in the 1860s Britain was increasingly preoccupied with the Empire, particularly India and generally welcomed Prussia's dominant position in central Europe, regarding it as a welcome counterweight to both France and Russia. Russia was pleased that it had a reliable partner against Austria
- Austria, absorbed with the problem of dealing with its various subject nationalities, especially the Hungarians, was not in a position to mount a war of revenge
- Napoleon III overreacted over the Hohenzollern candidature. Viewing Leopold's candidature as totally unacceptable, Napoleon III instructed the French ambassador in Berlin, to go to the spa town at Ems, to put the French case that Leopold's candidacy was a danger to France and to advise William I to stop Leopold leaving for Spain if he wanted to avoid war. Despite the fact that the affair appeared to have been settled in France's favour, Napoleon III overplayed his hand by demanding an official renunciation from William I on behalf of Leopold, which gave Bismarck the opportunity to doctor the Ems Telegram and provoke war

	• Prussia was broadly supportive of Russia’s crushing of the Polish Revolt (1863). By contrast Britain and France had criticised Russia’s response provoking Russian anger • Russia was prepared to accept Prussian victory against Austria and Austrian decline in part because Austria had not supported Russia against Britain and France during the Crimean War. **Any other relevant factors.**

27.

Context:
Hitler was appointed Chancellor in January 1933. By summer 1934 Hitler had successfully consolidated his position. The new regime had put an end to civil rights, Hitler was Head of State and internal opponents had been suppressed. Although the Nazi Party had never gained a majority of the popular vote, it was nevertheless supported by a wide cross-section of the German people. To stay in power the Nazis continued to use all the methods they had deployed to consolidate power during 1933–1934 and also pursued economic and social polices they hoped would be popular and so strengthen support for the regime.

Fear and state terrorism:

- fear and terror were important in Hitler's rise to power and continued throughout the time of the Nazi regime and played a vital role in strengthening the Nazi dictatorship
- support for the Nazis violence, coercion and terror were at the heart of Nazi ideology and of the Nazi regime from 1933
- the suspension of civil rights following the Reichstag fire enabled the Nazis to arrest people and hold them in 'protective custody'. What that actually meant was that political opponents of the regime, especially Communists, were rounded up and sent to concentration camps
- concentration camps were operational from the very beginnings of the regime. The early concentration camps were places in which inmates were treated with extreme brutality sometimes to the point where they died
- the SS became a key agent in the violent suppression of any and all opposition to the regime
- by 1936 all aspects of police, policing and state security were under the control of the SS and its chief, Heinrich Himmler
- the SS operated outside the law almost as a state within the state
- the Gestapo was perhaps the most feared institution of the SS complex even though the actual numbers of Gestapo officers was relatively small
- the Gestapo managed to generate such a climate of fear that it led to the creation of a culture of denunciation
- while it is true that people actively participated in this culture of denunciation, that does not mean that the importance of coercion and terror should be minimalised
- to speed up the punishment of 'enemies of the regime', a system of 'People's Courts' was set up. In effect these courts dispensed summary justice often prosecuting political opponents of the regime without referring to any evidence.

Other factors:

Establishment of a totalitarian state:

- on February 27 the Reichstag was set on fire. The new government blamed the Communists. On the strength of that claim President Hindenburg was persuaded, acting under Article 48 of the Weimar Constitution, to suspend civil liberties in emergency decrees issued on 28 February
- the Enabling Act (23 March 1933) was passed by the Reichstag under pressure gave Hitler dictatorial powers for four years
- Communists and other opponents of the regime were now arrested and taken into 'protective custody' in hastily improvised concentration camps set up in derelict factories or old school building. Within the camps inmates were beaten, tortured and humiliated
- Hitler now sought a fresh election hoping he would achieve a majority. However, the March election, though not democratic (many Communists and Social Democrats were imprisoned), did *not* give the Nazis a majority. The DNVP then swung in behind the Nazis. That gave the Nazi a majority in the Reichstag

- on 14 July 1933 the Nazis banned all other political parties creating a one-party state
- the Law for the Reconstruction of the State (30 January 1934) abolished state (local) governments and Nazi Gauleiters (leaders of local branches of the Nazi Party) were appointed to run states
- in the course of 1934 Hitler dealt with growing opposition from the SA. On 30 June, 1934 the SA leaders, including SA chief Ernst Rohm, and other critics and potential opponents of the regime were murdered. In his claim that these measures were necessary to protect the state Hitler was supported by the Judiciary
- on 1 August Hitler became Head of State
- when Hindenburg died (2 August 1934) Hitler combined the posts of Chancellor and President which secured Hitler’s grip on power. The army then took an oath of allegiance to Hitler
- within eighteen months of being appointed Chancellor, Hitler had established a legal dictatorship. Germany was no longer run according to the principles of democracy and the rule of law.

Propaganda:

- propaganda played an important role in persuading people to accept the regime
- under the leadership of Joseph Goebbels, the Ministry of Propaganda imposed strict censorship of all cultural output and activities ranging from art, sculpture and music to journalism, cinema and sport
- Nazi propaganda was used to pump out ideological messages constantly throughout German society in all areas of life and work
- mass media, especially the radio and newspapers, were used to ensure that Nazi messages entered every household. The sale of cheap radios to the German population encouraged this
- cinema was used to provide distraction and to generate a feel-good factor among people
- mass rallies, for example the spectacular Nuremburg Rallies, strengthened commitment to the Nazi regime and created feelings of wishing to belong to the Nazi movement
- propaganda succeeded in expanding popular support for the idea of the *Volksgemeinschaft*
- propaganda succeeded in creating a society in which persecution of Jews became normalised
- propaganda also succeeded in creating the ‘Hitler myth’, the idea that Hitler embodied the state and that he was semi-divine and so could do no wrong because everything he did was for the good of the *Volksgemeinschaft*
- the ‘Hitler myth’ was the ‘glue’ that successfully papered over the cracks in the regime.

Economic policies:

- the immediate aims of Nazi economic policy were to tackle the Depression in Germany and to restore full employment. The other priority was to prepare Germany for war
- under Hjalmar Schacht as Minister of Economics, the Nazi government increased government spending and invested in a massive programme of public works which included the construction of the motorway network, the *autobahnen*. Increased employment and a small rise in living conditions helped to gain the support of workers
- despite economic recovery being underway in 1932, Hitler was given the credit for drastically reducing unemployment which helped to win popular support
- to maintain workers' loyalty, the Nazis set up organisations such as Strength through Joy (designed to reward loyal workers with rewards such as cruises and vacations at Nazi holiday camps) and Beauty of Work (designed to persuade employers to improve working conditions)
- from 1936 rearmament and conscription helped to create almost full employment which was popular with the army and big business
- Hitler attempted to maintain the support of the *Mittelstand* (shop keepers and skilled craftsmen) by banning the opening of new department stores as part of the Nazi belief in 'Blood and Soil' a number of measures were introduced to help farmers
- the Nazis increased tariffs on imported food and attempts were made to cancel farmers' debts. The Reich Entailed Farm Law prohibited the sale of small farms. The Reich Food Estate was created to run the rural economy, fix wages and prices, and establish food quotas
- Goering's Four-Year Plan (1936) stressed autarky (self-sufficiency) and rearmament, which created tension between the demand for guns or butter. By 1936 workers were becoming increasingly discontented and in addition the promises to lower middle-class groups remained unfulfilled.

Social policies:

- the Nazis attempted to create a *Volksgemeinschaft* (national community) in which the German people would act together and support the Nazi regime
- the Nazis' vision of a *Volksgemeinschaft* also involved the exclusion of 'outsiders.' Nazi propaganda won people over to the persecution of Jews and other minority groups viewed by the Nazis as a threat to the regime
- to indoctrinate the young, Nazi youth organisations were set up, for example the Hitler Youth to prepare boys for military service and the League of German Girls to prepare young women for motherhood. Nazi youth organisations became compulsory from 1936
- with the aim of controlling Germany's youth, the Nazis made changes to the education system. Education was now used to instil Nazi ideology especially anti-Semitism. The curriculum, teachers and textbooks were all nazified to ensure that Nazi ideology was transmitted to young people
- the Nazi view of women could be summed up in the slogan *Kinder, Kirche, Küche* (Children, Church, Kitchen). Nazi policies towards women included marriage loans. Abortion was prohibited and women who bore children were awarded medals in recognition of their achievement. The setting up of women's organisations was viewed positively by many women
- although many Germans were not committed Nazis, they accepted the Nazi regime because life was better than it had been in the Weimar Republic.

Any other relevant factors.

PART E — Italy, 1815–1939

28. **Context:**

Support for Italian nationalism was growing in the years before 1850. This was largely within the educated classes although there was some support among others too. But the forces that opposed nationalism remained strong. Austria in particular was implacable in its opposition to Italian unification. However, the rulers of the individual Italian states themselves did not support nationalism either nor did the Papacy. And the fact that the 1848 revolutions in Italy did not result in Italian unification indicates that the growth of nationalism lacked sufficient strength and breadth, so a unified Italian state had not emerged by 1850.

Supporters of nationalism:

- *Risorgimento* (It: 'Rising Again') the ideological and literary movement that helped to build national consciousness among Italians. For example, the 'patriotic literature' from novelists and poets including Pellico and Leopardi. These inspired the educated middle class
- Vincenzo Gioberti, Cesare Balbo and Giuseppe Mazzini each promoted their ideas for a national state and their writings inspired nationalism among the middle classes too
- some liberals and businessmen were keen to develop a modern economy and a modern state and saw nationalism playing a key role in achieving these goals
- 'Italian' intellectuals were inspired by the French Revolution and its nationalistic fervour reflected in its national flag, its national song, its national language, national holiday and emphasis on citizenship
- French revolutionary ideals had inspired popular sentiment for a national Italian state
- Napoleon also left a legacy that fed into Italian nationalism. He had destroyed the structures of feudalism in the Italian states and had introduced modern forms of administration. In his Kingdom of Italy he had introduced a single currency that proved appealing to people. He also built roads that encouraged closer trade between and among the Italian states
- there was a growing desire for the creation of a national state amongst students; many joined Mazzini's 'Young Italy'
- operas by Verdi and Rossini aroused feelings of patriotism
- the use of Tuscan as a 'national' language by Alfieri and Manzoni spread ideas of nationalism
- membership of secret societies such as the Carbonari grew. Members were willing to revolt and die for their beliefs, which included desire for a national state.

Opponents of nationalism:

- resentment against Austria and its restored influence in the Italian peninsula after the defeat of Napoleon fuelled Italian nationalism. In addition, the Austrians use of spies and censorship helped increase support for the nationalist cause. However, any progress made by nationalists was firmly crushed by the Austrian army, which benefited from the strength of the Quadrilateral fortresses — the defensive system of the Austrians in Lombary-Venetia. The fortresses were fully modernised and well-armed and highlighted Austrians continuing military might in the region. Austrians never left Italian soil
- Carbonari revolts in Kingdom of Naples 1820–1821, Piedmont 1821, Modena and the Papal States 1831 were all crushed by Austrian army
- during 1848–1849 revolutions the Austrian army defeated Charles Albert twice — at Custoza and Modena — retook Lombardy and destroyed the Republic of San Marco

- most people were illiterate and indifferent to politics and nationalist ideas
- peasants did revolt during bad times (as can be seen in 1848) but these revolts were due to bad harvests and bad economic times and were not necessarily inspired by feelings of nationalism.

Italian rulers:

- individual rulers were opposed to nationalism because unification would mean that they would lose their power and privileges. They used censorship, police and spies as well as the Austrian army, to crush revolts. Throughout this period their military forces generally remained loyal
- 1820 revolt in Naples against the government of King Ferdinand I. Initially successful and Ferdinand was forced to make concessions to save his throne. However, he asked for Austrian help to restore his power. Metternich was happy to help, and the rebellion was crushed
- 1821 revolt in Sardinia was, again, initially successful. Turin was taken by the rebels and the King Victor Emmanuel was forced to flee. Once again Austrian forces crushed the rebellion and restored the traditional ruler
- 1831 rebellions across Parma, Modena and the Papal States. Carbonari rebels tried to take over, but again, the rebellions were put down with Austrian help.

Position of the Papacy:

- Pope Pius IX. Nationalist movement had high hopes of New Pope Pius IX, initially thought of as a liberal and sympathetic to nationalist cause
- however, when Pope Pius IX was put under pressure to supply troops to support Charles Albert during the 1848−1849 revolutions, he denounced the nationalist movement saying, *‘some at present desire that we too, along with the other Princes of Italy and their subjects, should engage in war against the Austrians. We have thought it convenient to proclaim clearly and openly in this our solemn Assembly, that such a measure is altogether alien from our counsels.’*
- Pius IX was unwilling to fight against Austria, a leading Catholic power
- his opposition was a bitter blow to devout Catholics in Italy who favoured nationalism.

The failures of the revolutions of 1848:

- showed that nationalist leaders would/could not work together, nor did they seek foreign help so hindering progress towards unification
- Charles Albert’s ‘Italia farad a se’ declared that Italy would do it alone — she did not. Lombardy and Venetia suspected Charles Albert’s motives and were reluctant to work with him. Venetians put more faith in Manin
- all progress was hampered when Pope Pius IX denounced nationalism
- Charles Albert hated Mazzini and would not support the Roman Republic
- Italians’ military weakness: Austrian defeated Charles Albert twice — at Custoza and Modena, retook Lombardy and destroyed the Republic of St Mark/San Marco and the French crushed the Roman Republic.

Any other relevant factors.

29. **Context:**

By 1870 Italy had unified under the leadership of Piedmont-Sardinia. The attitudes of foreign powers played an important part in helping Italians to achieve unification. But unification would not have been possible without the efforts of Piedmont. Despite being militarily weak, the Piedmontese political leadership had skilfully used diplomacy and carefully thought-out military alliances to force Austria from the Italian peninsula. Furthermore, the actions of Cavour specifically played a key role in the progress toward unification, as did the actions of Garibaldi. Italian unification was also helped by the fact that for all its apparent military might, as suggested by the Quadrilateral Fortresses, in fact Austria was a power in decline. And that decline is the broader context within which Italian unification has to be understood.

Attitudes and actions of foreign powers:

- French troops were vital to the War of Liberation of 1859. Napoleon III of France was sympathetic to the desire for Italian unification. A year before the war, in the Plombières Agreement, France agreed to support Piedmont in return for territorial compensation in the form of the Duchy of Savoy and the County of Nice. The two states signed a military alliance in January 1859
- Piedmontese mobilisation provoked the Austrians to attack which brought French military forces into action
- French soldiers were important in the defeat of the Austrians at the battles of Magenta on 4 July and Solferino on 24 June
- under the terms of the Villafranca Armistice Austria ceded Lombardy to France, which, in turn, gave it to Piedmont
- British sympathy for Italian unification. By 1859 the British government led by Prime Minister Palmerston, was open to the idea of French military strength being used to force Austria out of Italy
- British demonstrated sympathy to Garibaldi’s expedition in the south of Italy by refusing to take part in a joint naval blockade with France to stop Garibaldi crossing the Straits of Messina. Instead, the presence of the British Royal Navy helped Garibaldi’s crossing and was crucial for his success
- in the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, Austria fought Prussia over leadership among the German states. The Kingdom of Italy seized the opportunity to gain Venetia from Austrian rule by allying itself with Prussia. Prussia’s victory over Austria enabled Italy to gain Venetia.

Other factors:

Rise of Piedmont:

- Piedmont was the most powerful and liberal of the independent Italian states which helped her to become the leader of the unification movement in Italy
- Piedmont was the most economically advanced of the Italian states. It had developed its economic infrastructure as well as industrial and commercial activities such as cotton and silk working, which led to an increase in trade of 300% by the 1850s. Industry developed around urban centres such as Turin and a railway network was developed
- the growing economy in Piedmont meant it attracted workers from across Italy. Other Italian states wished to share in the economic success of Piedmont
- the Piedmontese army was advanced by Italian standards
- the Piedmontese ruler, Victor Emmanuel II, was interested in Piedmontese expansion so there was a political will for unification not least as an opportunity to win glory for Piedmont. The King was supportive of his chief minister, Cavour
- the Piedmontese leaders skilfully used the forces of Garibaldi too. For example, Garibaldi led the ‘Expedition of the Thousand’ on with the consent, and on behalf of behalf of Victor Emmanuel II.

Role of Cavour:

- Camillo Benso, Count of Cavour played a vital role in the modernisation of Piedmont. His reforms brought about economic improvement and led to the development of trade links with other countries
- Cavour's reforms to the way that Piedmont raised money in taxation allowed him to increase spending on the army
- Cavour was a skilled diplomat and a political pragmatist. His diplomatic skills, especially in the critical years of 1859−1860, were of fundamental importance in shaping the Italian nation
- Cavour used Piedmont's involvement in the Crimean War as an opportunity to gain favour with Britain and France as well as point out to them at the Paris Peace talks that Austria had too much power in Italy
- Cavour came to an agreement with Napoleon III at Plombières in 1858 which secured French support against Austria and he successfully goaded the Austrians to declare war on Piedmont
- Cavour became the first prime minister of a unified Italy. When he died in 1861 only Venetia and the Papal states lay outside Italian control.

Role of Garibaldi:

- Giuseppi Garibaldi was an inspirational Italian general, republican and revolutionary who was committed to Italian unification. However, he was also a pragmatist and allied himself with the Piedmontese monarchy to achieve Italian unification
- in 1848, Garibaldi returned to Italy and commanded and fought in military campaigns that eventually led to Italian unification
- when the war of independence broke out in April 1859, he led his 'Hunters of the Alps' in the capture of major cities in Lombardy, including Varese and Como, and reached the frontier of South Tyrol; the war ended with the acquisition of Lombardy
- in 1860, he led the 'Expedition of the Thousand' on behalf of and with the consent of Victor Emmanuel II. The expedition was a success and ended with the annexation of Sicily, Southern Italy, Marche and Umbria to the Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia before the creation of a unified Kingdom of Italy on 17 March 1861
- his last military campaign took place during the Franco-Prussian War as commander of the Army of the Vosges.

The decline of Austria:

- Austria had dominated northern Italy since the early 18th century. However, her decline as a major European power gave Piedmont the opportunity to unify the Italian states under Piedmont's political leadership
- the defeat of Austria in the Italian wars of independence was indicative of Austria's declining military power. Just as important, the growing power of Prussia among the German states undermined Austria's domination of central Europe and provided opportunity for the Italians especially following the defeat of Austria by Prussia in 1866
- Austria was increasingly politically isolated through this period. For example, her traditional ally Russia could not be relied upon because Russia was unhappy about the fact that Austria had failed to support Russia during the Crimean War.

Any other relevant factors.

30.

Context:
From 1922 to 1939 Mussolini was the Fascist leader of Italy. Mussolini claimed to have the improvement of Italian society and culture as his main aim, but just as important he wanted to stay in power permanently by building a regime resting on militarism and the Fascist 'new man' ideal. To stay in power Mussolini had no hesitation in using fear and intimidation to control the Italian people. Indeed, fear and intimidation were fundamental elements of the regime. However, Mussolini also understood that to stay in power he had to build a Fascist state and crush opposition, and he had to win over, and retain, the support of the Italian people by pursuing economic, social and foreign policies that were popular. Furthermore, to persuade people that the regime was succeeding in achieving its aims he had to deploy propaganda relentlessly.

Fear and intimidation:
- Mussolini favoured complete State authority with everything under his direct control. All Italians were expected to obey Mussolini and his Fascist Party
- the *squadristi* were organised into the MVSN (Milizia Voluntaria per la Sicurezza Nazionale) the armed local Fascist militia (Blackshirts). They terrorised the cities and provinces generating fear with tactics such as force-feeding with toads and castor oil
- after 1925–1926 around 10,000 non-fascists/opposition leaders were jailed by special tribunals
- the Secret Police, OVRA, was established in 1927 and was led by Arturo Bocchini. Terror methods used by OVRA included abduction and torture of opponents. 4000 people were arrested by the OVRA and sent to prison
- penal colonies were established on remote Mediterranean islands such as Ponza and Lipari. Conditions for those sentenced to these prisons were primitive with little chance of escape
- opponents were exiled internally or driven into exile abroad
- the death penalty was restored under Mussolini for serious offences but by 1940 only ten people had been sentenced to death.

Other factors:

Establishment of the fascist state:
- November-December 1922 Mussolini was given emergency powers. Nationalists merged with PNF 1923. Mussolini created MSVN (fascist militia) — to give him support if the army turned against him — and Fascist Grand Council — a rival Cabinet. These two bodies made Mussolini's position stronger and opposition within PNF weaker. The establishment of a dictatorship had begun
- the opposition was weak and divided and eventually crushed. Liberals had divided into four factions so were weakened
- the Left had divided into three — original PSI, reformist PSU and Communists. They failed to work together against fascists
- the Pope forced Sturzo to resign and so PPI (Catholic Popular Party) was weakened, and it split
- Acerbo Law passed (November 1923) stated that whichever party got the highest number of votes in the upcoming elections would receive two-thirds of the seats in Parliament provided they had got at least 25% of the vote. This helped Mussolini get a majority of seats in the 1924 elections
- opposition parties failed to take advantage of the Matteotti crisis. By walking out of the Chamber of Deputies (Aventine Secession) they gave up the chance to overthrow Mussolini. They remained divided too — the Pope refused to sanction an alliance between PPI and the socialists. The King chose not to dismiss Mussolini
- Communists and Socialists did set up organisations in exile but did not work together. Communist cells in northern cities did produce some anti-Fascist leaflets but they suffered frequent raids by OVRA

- PPI opposition floundered with the closer relationship between Church and State (Lateran Pacts)
- 1926: Opposition parties were banned. A one-party state was created
- 1928 Universal suffrage abolished
- 1929: An all Fascist Parliament elected.

Propaganda:

- as a former journalist, Mussolini knew how powerful the media could be. Press, radio and cinema were all controlled
- in 1934 the General Directorate of Cinema was created. It regulated the cinema and brought all films into line with Fascist ideology
- films by the Fascist film agency glorified the regime and its successes
- radio was important because it could reach remote rural areas of Italy and did not require listeners to be literate. In 1933 a special radio agency, the ERR, was set up and became an important channel of Fascist propaganda
- Mussolini’s speeches were broadcast live via loudspeakers
- the Cult of Il Duce: a cult of personality was created around Mussolini. He was presented as a 'saviour' sent by God to help Italy. He was also portrayed in propaganda as heir to Caesar, world statesman, supreme patriot, a great thinker who worked 20 hours a day, a man of action, and incorruptible.

Foreign policy:

- Mussolini was presented in Fascist propaganda heroically defending Italian interests abroad
- 1923: Corfu incident. Italian forces bombarded and occupied Corfu after the Greek government refused to apologise when an Italian general was assassinated in Greece. League of Nations referred the matter to the Conference of Ambassadors which largely supported Italy. However, Italy was forced to withdraw its forces from the island
- 1924-26: the Balkans. Albania became an Italian satellite state and Mussolini destabilised Yugoslavia by supporting Croat separatist groups
- 1925: Locarno Treaties. Italy was treated as a major European power which pleased Mussolini
- 1935: Stresa Front. Mussolini was concerned about Hitler’s Germany rearming. Conference with France and Britain criticised Germany and agreed to support an independent Austria
- 1935: Invasion of Abyssinia. Eventual victory was popular in Italy but the economic costs were huge and it led to a falling out with Britain and France
- 1938: Mussolini’s role in the Munich Conference (his last foreign policy triumph)
- as Mussolini got more closely involved with Hitler his popularity lessened. For example, Italian intervention on the side of the Nationalists in the Spanish Civil War proved to be a huge drain on Italy’s resources. Also, the invasion of Albania in March 1939 was a fiasco. The Fascist Grand Council removed Mussolini in 1943.

Economic and social policies:

- Fascist economic policy initially aimed for economic self-sufficiency or ‘autarky’. For example, tariffs were introduced on imports to encourage Italian businesses
- with the great depression the Fascist Government intervened more in the Italian economy; for example, moving to control the banks which undoubtedly helped save many small businesses from bankruptcy
- spending was increased on public works and money was spent on welfare in the 1930s
- Fascists tried to develop the Italian economy in a series of propaganda-backed initiatives; for example, the ‘Battle for Grain’. While superficially successful, they diverted scarce resources away from other areas
- development of transport infrastructure: with building of *autostrade* and redevelopment of major railway terminals, for example, Milan
- Mussolini encouraged ski resort building in the Alps providing work and encouraging tourism. Mussolini could also be photographed on skis adding to his dynamic persona
- however, raw materials were very scarce, prices increased and living standards for peasants and workers declined in the 1930s compared to the 1920s
- when the Second World War broke out in 1939 Italy could not join the fighting because a shortage of foreign currency meant they could not import the raw materials needed for military preparations
- one major success was the crushing of organized crime. Most Mafia leaders were in prison by 1939
- Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro (OND) was created in 1925. It had 3.8 million members by 1939. Gave education and skills training, sports provision, daytrips, holidays, financial assistance and cheap rail fares. This diverted attention from social/economic problems and was the Fascist state's most popular institution
- workers were controlled through 22 corporations, set up in 1934. Overseen by National Council of Corporations, chaired by Mussolini, corporations provided accident, health and unemployment insurance for workers, but forbade strikes and lock-outs
- there were some illegal strikes in 1930s and anti-fascist demonstrations in 1933 but these were limited
- the majority of Italians got on with their own lives conforming as long as all was going well. Middle classes/elites supported Fascism as it protected them from Communism
- in 1926, youth organisations were set up for children and teenagers under the umbrella organisation, Opera Nazionale Balilla, known as the ONB
- the youth had little or no experience of alternatives to Fascism and were educated as Fascists, which helped to strengthen the regime. Youth movements provided sporting opportunities, competitions, rallies, camps, parades and propaganda lectures. 60% membership in the north.

Any other relevant factors.

PART F — Russia, 1881–1921

31. **Context:**

The scale and seriousness of the 1905 revolution was such that it came close to destroying Tsarism. The concessions the Tsar was forced to make as a result of the revolution help to explain why Tsarism survived. Crucially, in this instance Nicholas II retained the loyalty of the military. The causes of the revolution were many and complex. Bloody Sunday may have been the spark that set the revolution off, but it needs to be seen in the context of other short and long-term factors.

Bloody Sunday:

- somewhere between 50,000 and 100,000 workers and their families led by the Orthodox priest, Father Gapon, marched towards the Winter Palace on 9 January 1905 to present a petition to the Tsar asking for help for starving workers
- Nicholas II was not at the palace. Troops opened fire on the demonstrators, who were also charged down by Cossacks. Several hundred people died or were injured
- reaction to this event was dramatic. The actions of the soldiers and the Cossacks were greeted with outrage across the empire. Strikes and protest marches against the Tsar broke out in St Petersburg and quickly spread to other towns and cities
- order broke down and the government lost control of events. Strikes, protests, marches, demonstrations and terrorist acts were common and widespread
- Bloody Sunday sparked the revolution and broke the bond between the traditional image of the Tsar, known as the ‘Little Father’ and the people of Russia.

Other factors:

Working class discontent:

- in the last decade of the nineteenth century Russia was industrialising fast. The economy grew and peasants flowed into overcrowded towns and cities to work in industry
- living and working conditions were appalling, and though strikes were illegal militancy among workers grew
- in 1900 a deep economic depression affected all areas of the economy. Workers lost their jobs and discontent led to more strikes and more internal disorder
- in January 1905, there was a wave of strikes involving almost half a million people — 10 times as many as in previous decades
- in October there were two and half million people on strike as well as demonstrations held in key cities
- although not at this stage supported by large numbers of workers, revolutionary parties were taking shape, spreading their ideology, and giving voice to workers’ discontent.

Discontent among the peasantry:

- the vast majority of Russians were peasant farmers who lived in poverty and were desperate to own their own land. Land hunger was a common problem
- many peasants were frustrated at paying redemption payments and at the unwillingness of the government to introduce reforms. An economic slump in Russia hurt the newly-created Russian industries and, coupled with famine in 1902 and 1903, led to food shortages
- peasants were heavily taxed, paying almost seven times as much tax (proportionately) compared to the upper classes
- there was a wave of unrest in 1902 and 1903, which had escalated further by 1905. There were various protests like timber cutting, seizure of landlords’ estates and grain stocks
- there was an outcry when Russian grain was still being exported to pay for foreign loans
- there were claims that peasants should boycott paying taxes and redemption payments and refuse to be conscripted into the army
- peasant violence in the countryside when peasants took over land and burned landowners’ estates started after the government threatened to repossess the land of those behind with their redemption payments.

Political problems:

- political problems for the regime were piling up. On the one hand the regime supported industrialisation but on the other the government responded to unrest with repression and intransigence, refusing to initiate reform
- industrialisation also gave rise to a growing middle class who wanted Russia to modernise in line with European countries. They wanted to be included in government. Middle class liberals wanted the regime to allow the setting up of political parties and an elected Duma (parliament)
- middle class liberals were also finding common cause with other organisations pressing for reform such as trade unions. Nevertheless, they continued to be ignored
- the Mensheviks had influence in the Soviets and the Bolsheviks were involved in the Moscow Rising
- students rioted, and carried out assassinations
- the gentry tried to convince the Tsar to make minor concessions
- Tsar Nicholas II was seen as being too weak and unable to make good decisions for Russia in a crisis
- Nicholas II stoked up resentment among national minorities by continuing to press ahead with Russification, which national minorities hated
- revolutionary ideologies did not yet have mass support, but they were beginning to gain traction among some workers and peasants.

Military defeat in the war against Japan:

- defeat in the war with Japan highlighted Tsarist Russia’s major problems and its incompetence
- the war with Japan was a failure and a humiliation for the country and this was compounded by the heavy losses suffered by the Russian army
- though the war arose from Russian expansionist policy, the Minister for Internal Affairs, Vyacheslav von Plehve, may have viewed it as an opportunity to divert attention from problems at home and to generate patriotic support for the Tsar
- but the war was an unmitigated disaster for Russia. The Russians totally underestimated Japan and overestimated their own superiority
- the incompetence of the government during the war made social unrest worse rather than dampening it
- troops suffered from low morale after the defeats and there were complaints about poor pay and conditions
- there were mutinies by troops waiting to return from the war and on the Trans-Siberian Railway. In June there was the Potemkin Mutiny although the planned general mutiny did not follow, most of the troops remained loyal

	• among the key reasons for the humiliating defeat of Russia on land an at sea were the fact that the Japanese army and navy were better trained, better led, better organised and were operating much closer to home. For example, land battle: decisive defeat at Mukden, sea battle: defeat at Tsushima Strait. The destruction of the Russian fleet in the Tsushima Straits was a catastrophe justifying opposition claims that Russia needed radical change • the Russo-Japanese War was disastrous for Russia. Defeats by Japan led to discontent in Russia over the Tsar’s leadership, the incompetence of the Tsar’s government and the inadequate supplies and equipment of Russia’s armed forces. **Any other relevant factors.**

32.

Context:
After the 1905 revolution Nicholas II continued to rule as an autocrat relying on the Okhrana and the army to enforce his authority as he had always done. But the fundamental problems that had caused the 1905 revolution had not been resolved. The First World War placed huge pressure on the regime and in February 1917 another revolution occurred this time forcing the Tsar from power. The nature of Tsarist government, popular discontent and the impact of the war were key reasons for the February Revolution.

Impact of the First World War:

- the First World War exposed the fact that the rigidity and inefficiency of the Tsarist regime could not cope with the demands of a huge modern industrial war
- Russia experienced catastrophic defeats at Tannenberg and the Masurian Lakes right at the beginning of the war
- Russian generals assumed that the size of the Russian army would be decisive. In fact, what mattered was training, arms and leadership. The Russian army was deficient in all these key areas
- the army was plagued by shortages, the consequence of the transport network being unable to meet the huge demands placed upon it
- soldiers endured terrible conditions at the front. They lacked food, equipment, ammunition and medical care
- defeats continued into 1915 and beyond. Casualty rates were huge. Morale crumbled
- in 1915 the Tsar decided to go to the front to take command. But Nicholas had little understanding of actual command. Defeats continued only now, as Commander-in-Chief, Nicholas was held directly responsible
- by early 1917 the army was in a state of collapse. Officers lost control and soldiers mutinied and deserted in rapidly increasing numbers
- in Petrograd soldiers joined in strikes, encouraged by revolutionary propaganda
- the Tsar lost the support of the army. Nicholas's generals forced him to abdicate in the hope that they could prevent a total collapse of the empire
- the war wrecked the Russian economy. The transport system prioritised military needs so getting grain and other goods to the towns and cities became increasingly difficult leading to shortages of food and fuel
- shortages caused price rises. Inflation soared
- the standard of living in overcrowded towns and cities deteriorated
- by 1916 Petrograd was receiving a third of what it needed in food and fuel
- strikes broke out in 1915 and then in 1916 there were more strikes, more frequent and increasing in militancy
- people were war weary by 1917 and suffering from grief, anxiety and low morale. They wanted the war to end but they knew the Tsar would not agree to that and they so became unhappy and frustrated. They protested and went on strike which led to the February Revolution because the army sympathised with them and consequently sided with them against the Tsarist system
- war exacerbated existing economic problems and showed the frailty of the Russian economy in dealing with a modern, industrial conflict.

Other factors:

Role of Tsar Nicholas II:

- Nicholas II never moved beyond the old autocratic mindset. He struggled to rule such a vast Empire with its varied nationalities
- the concentration of power in the hands of one person, the Tsar, meant that his character mattered
- difficulties in managing change, especially political change demanded by economic developments
- Nicholas was easily influenced by the Tsarina, Rasputin and his Ministers. At times, the Tsar appeared to be more interested in his family than in issues facing Russia
- he was stubborn; he ignored advice and warnings from Rodzianko and the Progressive Bloc. He failed to understand the severity of events in February 1917
- in 1915, pressurised into reconvening the Dumas, Nicholas failed to take the opportunity this presented to form a government that included progressive elements who wanted to be involved in the war effort and to head-off revolution and anarchy
- the Tsar suspended the Duma and so lost the support of progressives who could have made a positive contribution towards making the government more efficient and more effective in running the war
- in August 1915 the Tsar decided to take control of the army. He went out to army headquarters in Mogilev — 600kms from Petrograd. He was now held responsible for Russian defeats, and he was away from the centre of government for long periods of time, leaving the Tsarina in charge
- by February 1917, the Tsar had lost control of the armed forces as well as the support and loyalty of the Russian people, which contributed to the February 1917 Revolution.

Role of Tsarina Alexandra:

- the Tsarina's interventions in government caused chronic instability. There were constant changes of ministers. Competent ministers were dismissed, for example, War Minister, Polivanov, and incompetent people were appointed instead often because they were compliant or flattered the Tsarina
- the fact that the Tsarina was German meant she was viewed with suspicion
- Alexandra's (and Nicholas's) relationship with Rasputin caused a scandal that undermined the credibility of the Tsar and Tsarism. The murder of Rasputin in December 1916 made the situation worse
- Alexandra had never been at ease among the Russian ruling elite, and they now turned against her and the Tsar.

Discontent among the working class:

- little had changed for urban workers following the 1905 revolution. Most still lived in poverty and in overcrowded, unhealthy accommodation. They worked for long hours and low pay. The war exacerbated these problems
- as the war went on workers faced food and fuel shortages, higher prices and longer hours
- disruption to the supplies of raw materials led to factory closures and unemployment
- workers were now more receptive than ever before to revolutionary groups' propaganda
- there had been a wave of strikes by the workers in Petrograd towards the end of 1916 which the government had suppressed so discontent among the urban workers only got worse. Even a police report in January 1917 showed sympathy with them; it talked of the despair of the workers who are 'reduced to the level of cattle only fit to serve as cannon-fodder'
- by February 1917 in Moscow and Petrograd in particular acute distress led to strikes that created a volatile situation. Hunger, endless queueing, cold and unemployment radicalised workers
- in Petrograd towards the end of February rumours of bread rationing led to bread riots
- on 23 February, International Women's Day protests attracted thousands of women onto the streets. Women workers went on strike and persuaded men from the huge Putilov Engineering Works in the Vyborg district of the city to join them.

Peasant discontent:

- a small minority of peasants enjoyed rising living standards after 1905, but the bulk of peasants remained impoverished
- Stolypin's land reforms were supposed to tie the peasants closer to the Tsar and to go some way towards resolving the question of land redistribution, but they had proved to be divisive
- peasant discontent over the land issue increased during the war years. When order began to break down, land seizures by peasants became common
- the horror of Russia's huge casualties was felt most among the peasants. This added further misery to their already poor lives
- the demands of the war led to requisitioning (of horses, for example) making life even harder for the peasants
- the bulk of soldiers were conscripts and mainly peasants, which reduced the rural workforce and so reduced production levels.

Any other relevant factors.

33.

Context:
From 1918−1921 Russia was engulfed in a brutal civil war. The war was fought in conditions of extreme hardship and by its end perhaps as many as 10 million people had died as a result of military action or hunger or disease. The Reds' victory was not inevitable, but in the end the geographical advantages of the Red Army, a lack of unity among the Whites, the leadership of Lenin and the organisational abilities of Trotsky as well as the failure of foreign intervention enabled to Reds to prevail.

Strengths of the Reds:

- the Red Army had a single, unified command structure and a clear ideological outlook which contributed to its development as a highly organised fighting force
- the Reds benefited in particular from geographical advantages. For example, the Bolsheviks never lost control of the central area of the Russian Empire, which included Moscow and Petrograd. They moved their capital to Moscow enabling them to control the railway network which had Moscow as its hub
- the central area also contained Russia's major armaments factories so the Bolsheviks could continue to produce war materials
- the Reds had also taken over the equipment of the old Russian army
- the central area was also heavily populated so the Bolsheviks had a much greater pool of men to conscript from and to provide labour for factories. Red armies often outnumbered their White opponents by a considerable amount
- by contrast the Whites were scattered around the edges of this central area often separated by large distances. Communications were difficult hampering efforts to organise the movement of men and weapons needed to launch coordinated attacks
- the Reds also had greater support among the peasants than the Whites. Lenin promised the peasants land whereas the Whites said the land would be returned to its former owners
- to workers and soldiers the Reds seemed to offer the best chance of protecting the gains made in the revolutions of 1917.

Other factors:

Disunity among the Whites:

- the Whites were made up of different groups with different aims and beliefs. This caused disagreement and confusion
- disagreement on aims and beliefs made cooperation difficult and prevented the Whites from developing a political strategy
- they were also split by their differing views on nationalities. Old Tsarists opposed independence for the nationalities whereas liberals supported independence for nationalities
- division also prevented the Whites from developing a coordinated military strategy, and White generals often would not work together because they did not trust each other. There were at least three important White leaders; Kolchak, Yudenich and Denikin, but no overall commander-in-chief or clear chain of command
- it was not unusual for the Whites to fight one another.

Leadership of Lenin:

- Lenin ensured that the Reds had a clear ideological outlook, which helped unify the Red Armies
- Lenin provided the political leadership of the new Bolshevik regime
- Lenin and Trotsky took strategic decisions together, but Lenin gave Trotsky political support when necessary, for example, he supported Trotsky's decision to use ex-tsarist officers in the Red Army
- to ensure that that the whole economy of the Red-held part of Russia was geared to the needs of the Red Army Lenin introduced War Communism
- a key element of War Communism was the Red Terror, which Lenin authorised. He was ruthless in pursuit of victory and had no qualms about the systematic use of terror to back up War Communism and deal with opposition
- Lenin also authorised the assassination of the Tsar and the Tsar's family, which he knew, in the long run, would help to undermine the Tsarist cause.

Role of Trotsky:

- Trotsky was an inspirational leader with an ability to boost soldiers' morale through powerful oratory and personal charisma
- Trotsky directed special forces to sectors of the front where the fighting was fiercest
- he also built a highly effective fighting force using a mixture of 'carrot and stick'. Soldiers were subjected to harsh discipline including execution for retreating or desertion. But soldiers were also given incentives; for example, they were given wristwatches to encourage punctuality
- Trotsky organised the Red Army on strict hierarchical lines bringing back thousands of ex-Tsarist officers to train and command army units. These officers' families were held hostage to ensure they stayed loyal
- he also deployed political commissars to each army unit to make sure officers stayed ideologically correct
- when it looked as though Petrograd might fall to the forces of Yudenich, Trotsky took the decision to rush forces to defend the 'home of the revolution'.

Effects of foreign intervention:

- foreign intervention did bring in supplies and weapons for the Whites, but it was a half-hearted effort and ineffective overall
- bringing in supplies was often so disorganised that the weapons and materials in fact fell into the hands of the Reds
- foreign governments were not prepared to commit military forces on a large scale. The Japanese never left Siberia and the British and French headed for areas which contained industrial assets lost in the October Revolution. For example, the British headed for Baku, centre of the Russian oil industry
- the Allies were war-weary and there was little popular support for intervention in Russia
- foreign intervention was a propaganda gift for the Reds who could present themselves as the defenders of 'Mother Russia' against foreign forces.

Any other relevant factors.

34. **Context:**

By 1918 US society had become deeply divided and overtly racist. In the face of these problems black Americans continued their struggle for equality. However, an important obstacle to the achievement of civil rights before 1941 was the discrimination, segregation and popular prejudice which were aimed at preventing black people from asserting their rights. The activities of the KKK, particularly in the Southern states, were central to black Americans not achieving equal rights.

Activities of the Ku Klux Klan:

- the Ku Klux Klan was a secret organisation formed to prevent former slaves achieving equal rights
- in the South, the KKK used fear to stop black Americans registering to vote. Dressed in sinister white robes and hoods and riding out in the night, they intimidated, beat, mutilated and murdered black Americans who tried to assert their rights. Their calling card was a burning, fiery cross
- black Americans were afraid to resist these attacks as they wanted to be seen to be living in a law-abiding way. They preferred to leave their homes and hide in wooded areas to avoid attack
- the violent atrocities committed by the KKK were unprecedented and were directed not only against black people, but also at anyone who supported them or furthered their cause. Hence, politicians and any white men who furthered the cause of equality for black Americans felt the full force of their hatred and prejudice. Anyone involved in helping black people was attacked
- the KKK had the support of rich and powerful individuals, including the police, judges and politicians. The atrocities were carried out by poor, young white people, as well as white professionals
- the fear instilled by incidents of lynching prevented black people from fighting for their rights. Mobs carried out executions which included burning alive as well as hanging
- the KKK was suppressed by 1872 but re-emerged in the 1920s. By 1925 it had three million members. The ‘second’ Klan grew most rapidly in urbanising cities which had high growth rates between 1910 and 1930, such as Detroit, Memphis, Dayton, Atlanta, Dallas, and Houston.

Other factors:

Legal impediments:

- the Southern states passed a series of discriminatory measures against black Americans known as Jim Crow laws; for example, transport, hospitals, education, sports and cemeteries were all segregated
- another impediment was the attitudes of presidents who did not consider civil rights a vote winning issue. President Wilson said ‘Segregation is not humiliating and is a benefit for you black gentlemen’
- the ‘separate but equal’ decision of the Supreme Court. In the case of Plessy v. Ferguson in 1896 the Supreme Court ruled that racially separate facilities, if equal, did not violate the US Constitution. The 1896 ‘separate but equal’ decision of the Supreme Court made Jim Crow laws legal. After 1896 more Jim Crow laws spread across the South
- the Supreme Court’s ruling hampered progress towards civil rights by spreading segregation all over America particularly in the South where segregation became the way of life
- Roosevelt refused to support a federal bill to outlaw lynching in his New Deal in the 1930s fearing the loss of Democrat support in the South.

Popular prejudice:

- since the institution of slavery, the status of African Americans was stigmatised, and this stigma was the basis for the racism that persisted, particularly in the Southern States
- popular prejudice led to continued migration of black Americans from the South to the North
- black Americans also faced discrimination in the North. Millions of black Americans relocated from their roots in the Southern states to the industrial centres of the North after World War I, particularly to cities such as Boston, Chicago, and New York (Harlem). In northern cities, racial tensions exploded, most violently in Chicago, and lynchings increased dramatically in the 1920s.

Lack of political influence:

- in the 1890s, loopholes in the interpretation of the Fifteenth Amendment were exploited so that states could impose voting qualifications. For example, payment of the poll tax, residency and literacy qualifications. Many Southern states created such voting qualifications that made it difficult for black Americans to vote
- the 1898 case of Mississippi v. Williams ruled that voters must understand the American Constitution. This rule applied only to black voters and led to a significant drop in the number of registered black voters since many black people in the South were illiterate
- ‘Grandfather Clause’ was used by some states. This stated that black Americans could have the right to vote provided that this right had been in the family for at least two generations which excluded all who had been freed from slavery. This was a significant impediment to black people voting which meant that they could not elect anyone to oppose segregation and discrimination
- some states identified ownership of property as a voting qualification which was an obstacle to voting as most black people in the South were sharecroppers and did not own land
- by 1915, almost every Southern state had introduced voting qualifications.

Divisions in the black community:

- before 1941 there were several organisations working to improve the lives of black Americans. The three main organisations, however, had different aims and methods which weakened the campaign for civil rights
- Booker T. Washington adopted an accommodationist philosophy arguing that black people could only achieve an equal place in a mixed society if they were first educated. He was regarded as an ‘Uncle Tom’ figure, in part due to the fierce disagreement between Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois
- in contrast Du Bois founded the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP) — a national organisation whose main aim was to oppose discrimination through legal action. In 1919 he launched a campaign against lynching, but it failed to attract most black people and was dominated by white people and well-off black people
- Marcus Garvey founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). Garvey urged black Americans to be proud of their black identity. The UNIA aimed to get black Americans to ‘take Africa, organise it, develop it, arm it, and make it the defender of Negroes the world over.’

Any other relevant factors.

35.

Context:

The Depression was a shattering and demoralising experience. The new Democrat President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, believed that the government should be responsible for people's welfare and so should actively help struggling US citizens caught up in the Depression. Hence Roosevelt introduced the New Deal which aimed to provide relief, recovery and reform. The New Deal had considerable success in achieving these three main aims.

Role of Roosevelt and 'confidence-building':

- during his first 100 days as President, Roosevelt set up over 100 government or federal agencies. The agencies became known by their initials and were collectively known as the 'Alphabet Agencies'
- 15 major laws were passed through Congress which met Roosevelt's promise for 'Action and Action Now!'
- Roosevelt's priority was to restore confidence in the US banking system
- Roosevelt gave 'fireside chats': over 30 from March 1933. The fireside chats were brilliant pieces of public relations using the latest mass communication device, the radio
- Roosevelt declared that 'the only thing we have to fear is fear itself' and his fireside chats on the radio, a great novelty, did a great deal to help restore the nation's confidence
- the First New Deal 1933−1934
- the Second New Deal 1935−1937
- the New Deal increased the role of the Federal government in American society and the economy
- the Federal government played a role in strengthening the power of organised labour
- the Federal government also played a role as regulator between business, labour and agriculture
- there were, however, challenges in the Supreme Court to the Federal government's increased intervention
- there was also opposition from State governments (especially in the South) who believed the Federal government was becoming too powerful and was taking away individual states' rights to run their own affairs. Employers' groups who formed the Liberty League opposed the New Deal. Some groups believed the New Deal was 'un-American'.

Banking:

- a number of confidence-building measures were introduced. The Emergency Banking Relief Act (1933) allowed the closing and checking of banks for four days, to ensure they were well-run and credit worthy. Only 'sound' banks were allowed to reopen. It was hoped these measures would restore public confidence in the banks and stop people from withdrawing all their savings
- by the end of 1933, many small banks had closed or were merged
- most depositors regained much of their money
- by restoring public confidence with a federal guarantee in the banks, it was hoped that it would not only dissuade further large withdrawals of funds but would also encourage people to reinvest their savings in the banks once again
- the Banking Act (1935) established the Federal Bank Deposit Insurance Corporation that insured deposits up to $5,000, and later, $10,000.

Agriculture:

- the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) helped farmers by keeping prices steady and limiting overproduction
- as a result of the attempts to limit overproduction, prices did go up and farmers' incomes doubled between 1933 and 1939
- in the USA 30% of the workforce were employed in agriculture. Increasing their income allowed farm workers to spend more
- the unpopular prohibition was ended to raise revenue and to boost grain production
- the Farm Credit Union (FCA) helped farmers by providing low-interest loans and as a result many farmers did not lose their farms.

Industry:

- the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) aimed to build dams and power plants to provide electric power to rural areas along the Tennessee River in seven states
- the Public Works Administration (PWA) also provided work through the building of hospitals, dams, bridges and schools
- the National Labour Relations Act ('Wagner Act') (1935) protected the rights of workers to collectively bargain with employers. Employers were prevented from discriminating against workers who joined trade unions
- the WPA (Works Progress Administration) (1935) launched a programme of public works across America. By 1938 it provided employment for three million men and some women, building roads, schools and tunnels, for example, the Rural Electrification Act (1936) provided loans to provide electricity to rural areas of America
- the economic effects in terms of relief and recovery have been debated. The New Deal certainly helped in terms of providing basic relief
- Roosevelt's first term in office saw one of the fastest periods of GDP growth in US history. However, a downturn in 1937–1938 raised questions about just how successful the policies were
- although it never reached the heights of before the Depression, the New Deal did see a couple of positive results economically. From 1933 to 1939, GDP increased by 60% from $55 billion to $85 billion. The amount of consumer products bought increased by 40% while private investment in industry increased five times in just six years
- however, unemployment continued to be a problem, never running at less than 14% of the working population
- the importance of re-armament in reducing unemployment and revitalising the American economy was considerable, particularly after the mini slump of 1937.

Society:

- the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) aimed to help the poor by setting up soup kitchens and providing money for clothes and school costs
- the Economy Act cut wages of state employees by 15%. It also cut the budgets of government departments by 25% in order to balance the budget. Economic prudence was shown by spending the savings on relief programmes
- the Social Security Act (1935) provided a state pension scheme for old people and widows, as well as help for the disabled and poor children
- the Second New Deal introduced reforms to improve living and working conditions for many Americans through legislation
- the WPA (Works Progress Administration) (1935) launched a programme of public works across America. By 1938 it provided employment for three million men and some women, building roads, schools and tunnels, for example.

Any other relevant factors.

36.

Context:
With the passing of the Civil Rights Act in 1964 followed by a Voting Rights Act a year later it appeared that the Civil Rights movement had achieved its aims. However, for many black Americans forced to live in the ghetto areas of the cities in the north, social and economic hardships and inequalities remained and the Civil Rights movement had not been effective, so they were prepared to join more radical organisations in the fight for racial equality.

Roles of NAACP, CORE, SCLC:

Role of NAACP
- NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People) were involved in the court case 'Brown v. Topeka Board of Education,'1954 which decided that segregated schools were unequal and that schools should be desegregated
- NAACP was also involved in the Montgomery Bus Boycott, 1955 which successfully pressured the bus company into desegregating the buses.

Role of CORE
- CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) organised Sit-ins and during 1961 members of CORE organised the Freedom Rides, which aimed to ensure that segregation really had ended on interstate highways
- CORE helped organise the March on Washington in August 1963
- CORE helped established Freedom Schools, temporary free schools for black Americans, in towns throughout Mississippi.

Role of SCLC
- in 1957 Martin Luther King was instrumental in forming the SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference) which supported Martin Luther King's beliefs in peaceful, non-violent protest
- SCLC staged a huge demonstration in Birmingham, Alabama, 1963. The negative publicity and hostility from white Americans forced Kennedy to order an end to segregation in Birmingham.

Role of Martin Luther King:
- Martin Luther King rose to prominence during the Montgomery Bus Boycott. In 1957, King was instrumental in forming the SCLC
- Martin Luther King's involvement in the events at Little Rock, Arkansas. The national publicity influenced the introduction of the Civil Rights Act in 1957
- Martin Luther King believed in peaceful, non-violent protest as exemplified by the Sit-ins and Freedom Rides
- in 1963 Martin Luther King (and the SCLC) staged a huge demonstration in Birmingham, Alabama. The demonstrators, including children and students, were subjected to extreme police violence. The police chief, 'Bull' Connor used water cannons and dogs to attack the peaceful protesters. The bad publicity and hostility from white Americans forced Kennedy to order an end to segregation in Birmingham
- Martin Luther King with other civil rights leaders organised a march on Washington, to gain publicity and support for a new Civil Rights Law. Martin Luther King gave his now famous 'I Have a Dream' speech
- Martin Luther King believed that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 gave black Americans some part of their rightful dignity, but without the vote 'it was dignity without strength'. King believed that it was vital that black Americans were also able to vote freely
- in March 1965, King led a march from Selma to Montgomery to publicise the way in which the authorities made it difficult for black Americans to vote easily. Once more, scenes of police attacking marchers shocked TV audiences across the USA. In August 1965, Congress passed the Voting Rights Act, which removed a number of barriers to voting.

Changes in federal policy:

- Truman used Executive Orders to make black appointments and order equality of treatment in the armed services. Kennedy signed the 1962 Executive Order outlawing racial discrimination in public housing
- Eisenhower sent in federal troops and National Guardsmen to protect nine African American students enrolled in Central High School, Little Rock. Kennedy sent troops to Oxford, Mississippi to protect black student James Meredith, first black student at Mississippi University
- the 1964 Civil Rights Act passed during Johnson's presidency made racial discrimination and segregation illegal
- the 1965 Voting Rights Act made it easier for black Americans to vote. By the end of 1965 over 250,000 Black Americans were newly registered to vote.

Social, economic and political changes:

- the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 resulted in momentous changes in the South but were mostly irrelevant to the cities of the North where segregation and discrimination had never been the main problems. The Civil Rights Movement split due to disagreements regarding the movement's next steps. The main goals to end segregation and discrimination in the South had been met. Some black Americans no longer supported Martin Luther King's methods and aims and became disillusioned by the failure of the southern-based Civil Rights campaign to improve conditions in the cities of the North
- economic issues, unemployment, poor housing, high rents and poverty, were more important in the North
- the problems facing black Americans in urban ghettos resulted in violent riots in Watts, Los Angeles in 1964. Other race related riots across urban America
- Martin Luther King attempted to help with the problems of Chicago. In 1966 King and the SCLC proposed the Chicago Plan, a non-violent action plan to improve the Chicago area. Martin Luther King's failure to prevent the riots, which broke out, however suggested that his methods were irrelevant to black Americans in the late 1960s
- Martin Luther King was criticised by many people due to the failure of his campaign to make any real difference to life in the ghettos in the main cites of the North and West. Urban poverty and de facto segregation were still common.

Rise of black radical movements:

- in 1966 a new leader emerged within the SNCC: Stokely Carmichael. He called for a campaign to achieve Black Power as an alternative to King's non-violent protest methods. According to Stokely Carmichael 'Black Power' involved black Americans taking control of their political and economic future without relying on white support to 'give' black Americans their civil rights
- another radical group who rejected white help were the Black Panthers who supported the anti-White, Black separatist ideas of Stokely Carmichael and Malcolm X. The Panthers gained a reputation for violence due to supporting the use of guns and gunfights with the police
- the Black Panthers engaged in self-help projects in the ghettos to help black communities out of poverty
- Malcolm X, a leader of the Nation of Islam, also known as the Black Muslims, publicised the increasing urban problems within the ghettos of America
- in 1967 President Johnson set up an investigation into the urban riots called the Kerner Commission. Its findings that US society remained divided with one white society and one black society — one rich and one poor, shocked people across the USA.

Any other relevant factors.

PART H — Appeasement and the road to war, to 1939

37. **Context:**

Fascism and Nazism were based on the idea of national renewal and expansion. Both Mussolini and Hitler wanted to expand their respective countries' territory and influence in the world, and to gain the respect and great power status that they each thought his country had been denied by the Treaty of Versailles. From 1933 Mussolini and Hitler each pursued foreign policies using a variety of methods among which making pacts and alliances was very important. In addition, Mussolini and Hitler were quite prepared to pursue their follow policy aims through diplomacy, through the threat, and use of military force, and through sheer force of personality underpinned by their strong ideological convictions.

Pacts and alliances:

- January 26, 1934: the German-Polish Non-Aggression Pact between Nazi Germany and Poland. Normalized relations between Poland and Germany and promised peace for 10 years. Germany gained respectability and calmed international fears
- on 18 June, 1935: Britain and Germany signed the Anglo-German Naval Agreement which allowed Germany parity in the air and to build up its naval forces to a level that was 35% of Britain's. Germany was also allowed to build submarines to a level equal to Britain's. Britain did not consult her allies before coming to this agreement
- 25 October 1936: Rome-Berlin axis. A treaty of friendship signed between Italy and Germany
- May 22, 1939: Pact of Steel. An agreement between Italy and Germany signed for immediate aid and military support in the event of war
- 25 November 1936: Anti-Comintern Pact between Nazi-Germany and Japan. The pact was directed against the Communist International (Comintern) but was specifically directed against the Soviet Union. In 1937 Italy joined the Pact
- 30 September 1938: Munich Agreement. Negotiations between Germany, Britain and Italy led to Hitler gaining the Sudetenland and weakening Czechoslovakia
- 23 August 1939: Nazi Soviet Non-Aggression Pact. Hitler now had time and freedom to attack Poland, and Stalin hoped he would now be able to keep Russia out of war with Germany. To Hitler it seemed war in Europe over Poland was unlikely. Britain had lost the opportunity for an anti-Germany alliance with Russia.

Other factors:

Diplomacy:

- Mussolini's and Hitler's aims were, broadly, the destruction of the Treaty of Versailles, the weakening of European democracies, the expansion of Fascist and Nazi powers and the destruction of Communism
- diplomacy and the declarations of 'peaceful' intentions and 'reasonable' demands were methods used frequently. For example, before the Re-militarisation of the Rhineland Hitler made an offer of 25-year peace promise. Diplomacy was used to distract and delay reaction to Nazi action
- also, after reoccupying the Rhineland the Nazis made reasonable offers to create a demilitarised zone on both sides of the Franco-German border knowing full well that the French would not agree
- appeals to sense of international equality and fairness and the righting of past wrongs; for example, Versailles was an unfair treaty and so should be abandoned

- withdrawal from League and Disarmament Conference in 1933: Hitler had demanded parity with the French in terms of armaments. They did not agree so Hitler withdrew from the Conference and League, claiming that they existed to keep Germany down
- Anglo-German Naval Treaty 1935: Germany was allowed to expand its navy. Versailles was ignored in favour of bi-lateral agreements. A gain for Germany.

Military action:

- Italy’s naval ambitions in the Mediterranean (‘Mare Nostrum’)
- Italian invasion of Abyssinia: the Italian army used dubious methods including poison gas and took a comparatively long time to defeat their poorly equipped enemy
- Italian invasion of Albania: relatively easy annexation of a client state
- Spanish Civil War: both Italy and Germany provided aid to Franco’s Nationalists, testing weapons and tactics (participating in the aerial bombing of Guernica). Spain became a Fascist country and Italy gained naval bases in the Spanish Balearic Islands
- Anschluss: there had been an attempted Nazi coup in Austria in 1934. This failed when opposed by Italy. By 1938 Mussolini no longer opposed Hitler’s desire for Anschluss. The Austrian chancellor Schuschnigg was bullied and eventually removed by pro-Nazi forces. German military forces marched into Austria and it was incorporated into the German Reich
- Poland: in 1939 Hitler turned his attention to Poland using familiar methods of threat, escalating demands, provocation and eventually invasion, only this time Britain and France were willing to call Hitler’s bluff.

Military threat:

- rearmament of Germany under the Nazis: expansion of army, the reintroduction of conscription and the development of the Luftwaffe all in contravention of the Treaty of Versailles gave Hitler the means to threaten
- the threat of using force was often used instead of, or before military force was actually used. For example, the German remilitarisation of the Rhineland March 1936. Hitler claimed provocation by the Franco-Soviet Mutual Assistance Treaty and moved troops into the demilitarised Rhineland, which bordered France. His generals had warned Hitler that the army was not strong enough, but the Allies were unprepared and failed to act, increasing Hitler’s confidence
- also, Czechoslovakia September 1938. Hitler claimed the German minority in the Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia were being persecuted. Hitler threatened to take action to protect fellow Germans. Military manoeuvres by 750,000 German troops on the border were part of the pressure Hitler brought to bear on the Czechs. Germany was given the Sudetenland as a result of the Munch agreement.

Role of Hitler and Mussolini:

- Hitler’s foreign policy was driven by his ideological goals as set out in *Mein Kampf:* the desire to avenge the Treaty of Versailles, the desire to reunite all German people in one Reich, and the desire to gain *Lebensraum* to ensure the German people were well resourced and able to thrive as the dominant ethnic group in Europe
- likewise, Mussolini pursued his ideological goals in his foreign policy. So he wanted to re-create the greatness of the Roman Empire, he viewed military ventures as good for building men of character, and he wanted to be the dominant power in the Mediterranean which he regarded as Italy’s sea (which informed his thinking with regard to Corfu, Fiume and Libya).

Any other relevant factors.

38. **Context:**

By the 1930s appeasement had become a keystone of British foreign policy at least in relation to Europe. Appeasement — a diplomatic strategy that involved making concessions to aggressive foreign powers in order to avoid war — grew out of experience of the horror of WWI. It was a pragmatic strategy most closely associated with Neville Chamberlain but in fact followed by his predecessors including Stanley Baldwin and Ramsay MacDonald. It reflected Britain's domestic concerns and diplomatic philosophy with the maintenance of peace in Europe a priority. Up until March 1938 it could be argued that appeasement was successful in containing — though not stopping — Fascist aggression. Neither Italy's invasion of Abyssinia nor Hitler's remilitarisation of the Rhineland nor Hitler's Anschluss nor the Spanish Civil War led to a general European war. There were no immediate, negative consequences either of the Anglo-German Naval Agreement of 1935. It was only after 1938 that appeasement came to be regarded as a failure because it did not prevent WWII.

Abyssinia:

- Mussolini's plans for a new Roman Empire in the Adriatic, the Mediterranean and North Africa were a blow to British foreign policy in hoping to convert Mussolini into an ally
- Stresa Front (1935) initially seemed successful in binding Mussolini to the democracies
- Italian invasion of Abyssinia (modern day Ethiopia) in 1935
- Mussolini's Italy had broken the rules of the League of Nations by using aggression and invading one of the only independent African nations and deserved to be punished under League rules
- however, the British and French wanted to keep Mussolini friendly so attempted to contain Italy by offering concessions and land in Africa
- the British Foreign Secretary Sir Samuel Hoare and French Foreign Minister, Pierre Laval, came up with a plan to try to buy off the Italians by offering them some of Abyssinia's land from the south of the country (Abyssinia was not consulted)
- public revulsion towards Franco-British connivance at Italian aggression led to Hoare's resignation
- the imposition of limited economic sanctions on Italy alienated Mussolini, thereby driving him closer to Hitler, yet failing to save Abyssinia.

Rhineland:

- the Rhineland had been demilitarised as part of the Treaty of Versailles. No military installations were permitted there
- 22,000 German troops marched into the Rhineland on 7 March, 1936
- remilitarisation was a clear breach of the Treaty of Versailles (1919), yet no action was taken by Britain or France because of their differing attitudes towards Hitler's actions: France was polarised politically and would not act without British support; Britain denounced the action, but there was also considerable sympathy for Hitler's actions because the Rhineland was part of Germany (so why should Germany not have armed forces there?)
- no war occurred as a result of the Rhineland crisis, but the lesson Hitler learned was that the democracies were divided. He took this as weakness.

Naval Agreement:

- the Anglo-German Naval Agreement (1935) successfully limited German naval strength to 35% of Britain's, however, it also allowed for the construction of submarines, up to British strength, although the Germans agreed to build up to 45% of British strength
- this can be seen as a success for British foreign policy in the sense that they felt they were managing Germany's demands. However, it can also be seen as a sign of weakness because, yet again, the terms of the Treaty of Versailles had been broken.

Non-intervention:

- the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) was fought between forces defending the democratically elected Republican government and Nationalist forces that opposed it
- the policy of non-intervention was sponsored by Britain and France through the Non-Intervention Committee; the policy suggested that Britain would be on good terms with the victors. But the policy was openly breached by Germany and Italy who sent significant military aid to Franco’s Nationalist forces. It was also breached by the USSR who sent help to the Republic
- there was also intervention by volunteers of the International Brigades who fought for the Republic
- attacks on non-Spanish shipping ended after the British and French navies were ordered to destroy attacking foreign submarines and aircraft
- the Spanish Civil War did not turn into a wider European conflict.

Anschluss of March 1938:

- the joining together of German speaking Austria and Germany was banned by the Treaty of Versailles
- an attempt at the annexation of Austria had failed in 1934 because the Italians opposed it. By 1938 that opposition had gone
- in 1938 Hitler once again worked to achieve Anschluss, and this time he was successful. German troops and tanks rolled into Austria on 12 March
- the invasion itself was chaotic and inefficient from military point of view, but war did not break out in Europe as a result of the Anschluss
- Britain was sympathetic to Germany’s actions, and the enthusiastic welcome given to the German troops by the Austrians seemed to confirm that the Anschluss was genuinely popular among Austrians and among Germans too
- but Hitler had gained resources and, again, had got away with aggressive actions encouraging to turn his attention towards Czechoslovakia.

Any other relevant factors.

39. **Context:**

Elements of the broader context of the outbreak of what became World War II would include the Treaty of Versailles, the world economic depression, the failure of appeasement and the League of Nations, and the rise of militarism in Germany and Japan. However, just as important, if not more so were what can be described as immediate causes of the war among which the Nazi-Soviet Pact of August 1939 was very important because of the impact it had on the balance of power in Europe at that time. However, there were other important immediate causes of the war including changing British attitudes towards appeasement, the Nazi occupation of Bohemia and the collapse of Czechoslovakia, British diplomacy and relations with the Soviet Union, and the German invasion of Poland.

Nazi-Soviet Pact:

- the Nazi-Soviet Pact of 1939 developed diplomatic, economic and military co-operation between Nazi Germany and the Communist Soviet Union. It also planned for the division of Poland
- the pact was completely unexpected because Germany and the Soviet Union were ideological enemies. But pragmatism and self-interest, as well as shared interests over Poland, brought them together. The pact was an agreement of convenience
- the pact put an end to British-French talks with Russia on guarantees to Poland and ensured that there was little chance of the USSR siding with Britain and France in 1939
- Hitler was freed from the threat of Soviet intervention and war on two fronts
- strengthened Hitler’s belief that Britain and France would not go to war over Poland without Russian assistance
- as a result of the pact Hitler now felt free to attack Poland
- Hitler believed that the longer war was delayed the more the balance of military and economic advantage would shift against Germany
- however, given Hitler’s consistent, long-term foreign policy aims (for example, the destruction of the Versailles settlement and *lebensraum* in the east) the Nazi-Soviet Pact could be viewed as a factor influencing the timing of the outbreak of war rather more than as a major underlying cause
- the pact did not override Hitler’s long-term aim of destroying destruction of the Soviet Union and conquering Russian territory and resources for the Reich
- the pact reinforced Hitler’s view that the British and French would never give up on appeasement and would continue to seek to avoid war at all costs.

Other factors:

Changing British attitudes towards appeasement:

- events in Bohemia and Moravia consolidated growing concerns in Britain
- Czechoslovakia did not concern most people until the after September 1938 when they began to object to a small democratic state being bullied by Nazi Germany. However, most of the press and population went along with it after all in his speech of 27 Sept 1938 the Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain, referred to, ‘a quarrel in a faraway country, between people of whom we know nothing’. Even so, the level of popular opposition is often underestimated
- German annexation of Memel (largely German population, but in Lithuania) again showed Hitler’s bad faith
- Hitler’s actions convinced the British government of growing German threat in south-eastern Europe
- the failure of appeasement resulted in guarantees to Poland and promised action in the event of threats to Polish independence.

Occupation of Bohemia and the collapse of Czechoslovakia:

- British and French realisation, after Hitler's breaking of Munich Agreement and invasion of Czechoslovakia in March 1939, that Hitler's word was worthless and that his aims went beyond the incorporation of ex-German territories and ethnic Germans within the Reich
- promises of support to Poland and Rumania
- British public acceptance that all attempts to maintain peace had been exhausted
- Prime Minister Chamberlain felt betrayed by the Nazi seizure of Czechoslovakia, realised his policy of appeasement towards Hitler had failed, and began to take a much harder line against the Nazis.

British diplomacy and relations with the Soviet Union:

- Stalin knew that Hitler's ultimate aim was to attack Russia
- Lord Halifax, the British Foreign Secretary, was invited by Stalin to go to Russia to discuss an alliance against Germany. The British declined this invitation because they hated Russian Communism and thought the Russian army too weak to be of any use against Hitler
- in August 1939, with war in Poland a real possibility, the British and French eventually sent a military mission to discuss an alliance with Russia. As a result of travel difficulties, it took five days to reach Leningrad
- the Russians asked if they could send troops into Poland if Hitler invaded. The British said no knowing that the Poles would not want this. The talks broke down
- this merely confirmed Stalin's suspicions of the British. He felt they could not be trusted, especially after the Munich agreement, and that if it served British interests, they would be happy to leave Russia to fight Germany alone. This concern led to opening talks with the Nazis who seemed to be taking the Soviets seriously by sending Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop to offering peace and land.

Invasion of Poland:

- Hitler's long-term aims for the destruction of the Treaty of Versailles included the return of Danzig and elimination of the Polish Corridor
- British and French decided to stick to their guarantees to Poland
- on 1 September 1939, Hitler and the Nazis faked a Polish attack on a minor German radio station in order to justify a German invasion of Poland. An hour later Hitler declared war on Poland giving one of his reasons for the invasion as, 'the attack by regular Polish troops on the Gleiwitz transmitter'
- the defensive pact Britain and France had agreed with Poland now led to declarations of war against Germany, 3 September 1939.

Any other relevant factors.

40.

Context:
The end of World War II in 1945 saw the Red Army in control of much of Eastern Europe. Stalinist regimes were put in place to ensure these East European states were loyal to the Soviet Union. Although Soviet motives in creating a buffer zone of states with sympathetic pro-Stalinist governments made sense to the Russians many in the satellite states did not share the Russians’ perspective. Frustration and resentment within the satellite states grew as events in, for example, Poland, Hungary and in East Berlin showed.

Khrushchev’s policies of de-Stalinisation:
- 1955 — emergence of Nikita Khrushchev as leader on death of Stalin. He encouraged criticism of Stalin and seemed to offer hope for greater political and economic freedom across the Eastern European satellite states
- speech to 20th Party Congress, Feb 1956: Khrushchev attacked Stalin for promoting a cult of personality and for his use of purges and persecution to reinforce his dictatorship. Policy of de-Stalinisation
- development of policy of peaceful co-existence to appeal to the West
- development of policy of different roads to Socialism to appeal to satellite states in Eastern Europe who were becoming restless.

Soviet reactions to events in Poland,1956:
- riots sparked off by economic grievances developed into demands for political change in Poland
- when Stalinist leader Boleslaw Bierut died in 1956, he was replaced by Wladyslaw Gromulka, a former victim of Stalinism, which initially worried the Soviets
- Poles announced their own road to Socialism and introduced reforms
- release of political prisoners (including Cardinal Wyszynski, Archbishop of Warsaw); collective farms broken up into private holdings; private shops allowed to open, greater freedom given to factory managers
- relatively free elections held in 1957 which returned a Communist majority of 18
- no Soviet intervention despite concerns
- Gromulka pushed change only so far. Poland remained in the Warsaw Pact as a part of the important 'buffer zone'
- political freedoms were still very limited indeed and Communism remained. Poland was a loyal supporter of the Soviet Union until the 1980s and the emergence of the Solidarity movement. Limited challenge to Soviet control
- Soviet policy to leave the Poles to develop their own road to socialism seemed to have worked well.

Soviet reaction to events in Hungary,1956:
- Hungarians complained of a lack of political freedom, economic problems and poor standard of living
- encouraged by Polish success, criticism of the Stalinist regime of Mátyás Rákosi grew, and he was removed by Khrushchev
- in Budapest a popular upsurge in support for change led to a new Hungarian government led by Imre Nagy, who promised genuine reform and change. Khrushchev hoped to control the situation in a similar way to Poland
- however, the Nagy government planned multi-party elections, political freedoms, the withdrawal of Hungary from the Warsaw Pact and demands for the withdrawal of Soviet forces

- Nagy went too far; the Soviet Union could tolerate this challenge to the political supremacy of the Communist Party and the break-up of their carefully constructed buffer zone. The Soviets intervened using military force to crush the rising brutally
- successful intervention in the buffer zone, maintained Communism
- deep resentment among the Hungarian people remained
- some economic flexibility allowed the new regime of Janos Kadar to improve economic performance and living standards.

Soviet reaction to events in Berlin,1961:

- the Problem of Berlin — a divided city in a divided nation. West Berlin had a free western-style capitalist economy in contrast to the state-controlled economy of the East
- to begin with the lack of formal boundaries in Berlin allowed East Berliners and East Germans freely to enter the West, which they did in reaction to the lack of political freedom, economic development and poor living standards in the East
- many of those fleeing (2.8 million between 1949 and 1961) were skilled and young, just the people the Communist East needed to retain. This was embarrassing for the East as it showed that Communism was not the superior system it was claimed to be
- from 1958 concerns of Ulbricht and Khrushchev over the loss of population and perceived inferiority of the Communist system led to attempts by bluster and threat to encourage the Western forces to leave Berlin. These failed
- Kennedy of America spoke about not letting the Communists drive them out of Berlin. Resultant increase in tension could not be allowed to continue
- to stem the flood of people crossing into West Berlin from East Berlin and beginning in August 1961 barriers were built to separate West Berlin from East and to leave the whole city trapped in East Germany. To begin with the barriers were built with barbed wire then stone. Eventually watchtowers and patrols of armed guards created a strong fortification that became a highly very visible symbol of the split between East and West
- the wall was successful in that it reduced the flow of people crossing from East to West to a trickle. For that reason, too, perhaps, it reduced the threat of war
- to an extent events suited the West as well because before the wall went up Berlin was a source of potential conflict and escalation
- the wall added to the frustration and resentment of many in East Germany. And it was a propaganda gift for the US and their allies, although Soviets had controlled the direct challenge to Communist authority.

Any other relevant factors.

41.	**Context:** The Vietnam War (1954–1975) was fought between the Communist government of North Vietnam and its allies in South Vietnam, known as the Viet Cong, against the government of South Vietnam and its principal ally, the USA. The Vietnam War was a manifestation of the Cold War between the USA and the USSR. The costs and casualties of the conflict in the end proved too much for the USA to bear, and US combat troops were withdrawn by President Nixon 1973. The difficulties faced by the US military were a key reason why the Americans lost the war. But other reasons were highly significant too including the strengths of North Vietnam, the weaknesses of South Vietnam, big changes in American public opinion about the war and America's increasing isolation. **Difficulties faced by US military:** • terrain did not suit US military strengths of airpower and firepower. This was an army geared to fight the Soviet Union, not a guerrilla war • difficulties dealing with the jungle conditions and knowing which Vietnamese were the enemy led to stress and confusion • short commissions for officers and rotation of troops led to lack of expertise in the field • soldiers were brave, but a minority did not believe in the war. Many were also reluctant conscripts. Many were addicted to drugs. As the war developed there were many examples of 'fragging' where soldiers shot their officers. Also, racial tension between white and black American soldiers was a serious as the war progressed • according to the Jason Study by MIT in 1966, mass bombing had no real effect because of the agricultural nature of North Vietnam and the widespread jungle cover • US tactics on the ground were ineffective; technological superiority in heavy weapons was negated by the terrain • the widespread use of helicopter gunships was also ineffective. These gunships inflicted heavy casualties but were a blunt weapon. There were also many civilian deaths, which did not help win 'hearts and minds' • use of defoliants like Agent Orange: US (and their South Vietnamese allies) lost the battle for hearts and minds. **Other factors:** **Strengths of North Vietnam:** • North Vietnam: a hard peasant life bred determined soldiers. Viet Cong enlisted for years unlike American troops who signed up for a year. Belief in their cause of Communism also a factor. Great determination: for example, the Ho Chi Minh trail was kept open despite American bombers continually bombing it • Viet Cong knew the jungle, survived in atrocious conditions, developed effective tactics and were more effective in winning the 'hearts and minds' of civilians than the Americans. Military objectives were realistic: General Giap aimed to break the will of the American Government • though ageing by the mid-60s, the North Vietnamese leader, Ho Chi Minh, was inspirational • the role and determination of Le Duan was also important in the North's leadership. He was behind the policy of active attacks on American and South Vietnamese forces to demoralise the enemy. He was important, too, in developing the Tet offensive • the military support for the North from China and the Soviet Union from 1965 was important. For example, it enabled the development of a sophisticated air defence system which inflicted heavy casualties on American bombers and fighters.

Weaknesses of South Vietnam:

- corruption and decay of South Vietnamese government, especially in Saigon, was a problem. A Catholic elite controlled a largely Buddhist population. Lack of political and social cohesion in South Vietnam led to divisions and turmoil which filtered through to their armed forces
- South Vietnamese troops could fight well if well led and motivated, but many generals acted as local warlords. Americans complained they went on 'Search and Avoid' missions rather than engaging with the Viet Cong
- the leadership was corrupt. The rule of Diem favoured family members, and he was unwilling to scale back his anti-Buddhist actions thereby alienating a large proportion of his own population. He was eventually removed by South Vietnamese army officers in 1963 with the full knowledge of the CIA
- his successors were not much better. Even the Americans thought that the leaders Ky and Thiem were 'bottom of the barrel individuals.'

Changing public opinion in the USA:

- public opposition, reflected in and supported by the press, was a main reason for US withdrawal. Vietnam was a media war. Images exposed the public the brutality of the war; for example, South Vietnamese police chief executing a Viet Cong in Saigon during the Tet Offensive of '68; Mai Lai massacre. Such images undermined any American claims to be the 'good guys'
- extent of the opposition is debated, but it was certainly growing from 1965. October 1969 saw largest anti-war protest in US History. Protestors demonstrated in every major city in America. Opposition came from Black Power groups too. Protests could be violent; for example, the May 1970 protest at Kent State University, Ohio that led to four students being shot
- unpopularity of the draft
- USA was a democracy: public pressure and perception mattered. Nixon noted the extent of opposition hence the withdrawal of 60,000 troops in 1969 and the policy of Vietnamisation
- the economic cost of the war was important. The US deficit was \$1.6 billion in 1965 but \$25.3 billion in 1968. Every one dollar of damage inflicted by the US in Vietnam cost ten dollars. Tax increases were unpopular. Congress only got involved in limiting money and action in late 60s and early 70s
- divisions arose within administrations: for example, LBJ had Rusk advising to continue the struggle in South-East Asia whereas Senator Fulbright argued for de-escalation.

International isolation of the USA:

- the US lost the media war: in time the media helped to turn international opinion against the US
- none of America's allies from the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation became involved in the war
- there was support from allies in Asia, such as Australia, South Korea and New Zealand, but this assistance often made the governments of allies unpopular hence Australia's participation was formally declared to be at an end on 11 January 1973. As a superpower American could ignore this, but it was a propaganda gift for her enemies.

Any other relevant factors.

42. **Context:**

When Mikhail Gorbachev became General Secretary of the Communist Party in 1985, he was the first leader of the Soviet Union who had not directly experienced either the First or Second World War. Aware of economic stagnation in the USSR and recognising that this economic stagnation was caused by the structure of the regime and by the impact of the Cold War, Gorbachev decided that reform at home and more positive engagement with the West to bring the Cold War to an end were the ways to improve the lives of the people of the Soviet Union and ensure the survival of the Soviet state. So Gorbachev was pivotal in the bringing about the end of the Cold War. However, the defeat of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan was also a significant reason for the end of the Cold War as were the failure of Communism in Eastern Europe, the economic differences between East and West, and the actions of US President, Ronald Reagan.

Role of Gorbachev:

- Gorbachev realised that the USSR could not afford a new arms race. The Soviet economy was at breaking point. Commitments to the arms race and propping up allied regimes meant consumer goods and other things such as housing, which mattered to Russian people, were neglected
- Gorbachev implemented policies of *Perestroika* (the policy or practice of restructuring or reforming the economic and political system) and *Glasnost* (the policy or practice of more open government), which aimed to reform the Soviet economy and liberalise its political system
- Gorbachev worked to improve relations with the USA. He took ideology out of his foreign policy, as exemplified by arms agreements: Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty, December 1987; Nuclear Weapons Reduction Treaty, 1989. This then allowed him to concentrate on internal matters
- Gorbachev told leaders of the satellite East European states in March 1989 that the Soviet army would no longer help them to stay in power.

Other factors:

Defeat of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan:

- the Afghan war illustrated the economic and political problems of the Soviet Union
- Soviet forces intervened in Afghanistan in December 1979 to support the pro-Soviet regime there which was in conflict with the Mujaheddin. Russian army morale crumbled: over 20,000 Soviet soldiers died, as did support at home
- the conflict exposed the weaknesses of the Soviet economy. War led to a slump in living standards for ordinary Russians
- Russians began to question the actions of their own government in the prosecution of the war. Criticism of the government also came from returning soldiers
- Soldiers from the Asian Republics complained they were doing more fighting than those from the European Republics
- the war in Afghanistan also undermined the Red Army, which had previously been the glue holding the Soviet Union together. The military prowess of the Soviet Union was now challenged. Gorbachev withdrew troops in 1988–1989.

Failure of Communism in Eastern Europe:

- Poland: the Poles had a strong sense of identity and a long history of hostility towards Russia. By the 1970s, Poland was in an economic slump. Opposition to the Polish Communist government now emerged centred on Gdansk in 1980
- in the wake of a serious economic crisis the government put up food prices leading to a wave of strikes and factory occupations across the country. In Gdansk workers in the Lenin shipyard went on strike and the strike committee, led by Lech Walesa, issued a list of demands to the government. Walesa's Solidarity, an independent trade union, grew rapidly reaching nine million members in a matter of months. Solidarity was suppressed by General Jaruzelski's government in December 1981 and banned in 1982
- however, multiparty elections in Poland in 1989, after Soviet troops left, saw victory for Solidarity
- Czechoslovakia: political prisoners were released in November 1989 and by the end of that month the Communist government had gone. There was no Soviet intervention
- Germany: changes in the leadership of the GDR and speeches by Gorbachev indicating non-intervention in Eastern Europe raised hopes for the eventual reunification of Germany. But most people were taken by surprise when during the night of 9 November 1989 crowds of Germans began dismantling the wall, the greatest symbol of the Cold War division of Europe. By 1990 Germany was reunited
- *Perestroika* and *Glasnost* effectively led to the end of Communist rule in Eastern Europe and ultimately in the USSR.

Economic differences between East and West:

- Western European economies outperformed the Communist economies in terms of growth, innovation and production of consumer goods
- America's enormous wealth enabled the development of the 'Star Wars' weapons programme
- perceptions of the affluent West through television and consumer goods undermined Communist claims of the superiority of the Communist economic system
- Soviet economy was geared towards heavy industry and arms production. What consumer goods were produced were generally shoddy and far behind their western counterparts.

Role of Reagan:

- unlike many in the US administration, Reagan actively sought to challenge Soviet weakness and strengthen the West in order to defeat Communism. In 1983 he denounced the Soviet Union as an 'Evil Empire'
- under Reagan the US began a massive military upgrade to improve their armed forces. This included developing intermediate nuclear weapons such as the Pershing and Cruise missiles, as well as the proposed Strategic Defence Initiative missile programme which challenged the belief in MAD
- Reagan was very charming when he met Gorbachev and visited the Soviet Union. He saw the opportunity for compromise in his dealings with the new Soviet leader and acted to push arms control as a result.

Any other relevant factors.

[END OF MARKING INSTRUCTIONS]