

# **A level History Autumn term 2019 network events**

## **Delegate booklet**

### **Pearson Edexcel A level History: network event**

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## Section B

**Target:** AO1: Demonstrate, organise and communicate knowledge and understanding to analyse and evaluate the key features related to the periods studied, making substantiated judgements and exploring concepts, as relevant, of cause, consequence, change, continuity, similarity, difference and significance.

Level	Mark	Descriptor
	0	No rewardable material.
1	1–3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Simple or generalised statements are made about the topic.</li> <li>Some accurate and relevant knowledge is included, but it lacks range and depth and does not directly address the question.</li> <li>The overall judgement is missing or asserted.</li> <li>There is little, if any, evidence of attempts to structure the answer, and the answer overall lacks coherence and precision.</li> </ul>
2	4–7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>There is limited analysis of some key features of the period relevant to the question, but descriptive passages are included that are not clearly shown to relate to the focus of the question.</li> <li>Mostly accurate and relevant knowledge is included, but lacks range or depth and has only implicit links to the demands and conceptual focus of the question.</li> <li>An overall judgement is given but with limited substantiation and the criteria for judgement are left implicit.</li> <li>The answer shows some attempts at organisation, but most of the answer is lacking in coherence, clarity and precision.</li> </ul>
3	8–12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>There is some analysis of, and attempt to explain links between, the relevant key features of the period and the question, although descriptive passages may be included.</li> <li>Mostly accurate and relevant knowledge is included to demonstrate some understanding of the demands and conceptual focus of the question, but material lacks range or depth.</li> <li>Attempts are made to establish criteria for judgement and to relate the overall judgement to them, although with weak substantiation.</li> <li>The answer shows some organisation. The general trend of the argument is clear, but parts of it lack logic, coherence and precision.</li> </ul>
4	13–16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Key issues relevant to the question are explored by an analysis of the relationships between key features of the period, although treatment of issues may be uneven.</li> <li>Sufficient knowledge is deployed to demonstrate understanding of the demands and conceptual focus of the question and to meet most of its demands.</li> <li>Valid criteria by which the question can be judged are established and applied in the process of coming to a judgement. Although some of the evaluations may be only partly substantiated, the overall judgement is supported.</li> <li>The answer is generally well organised. The argument is logical and is communicated with clarity, although in a few places it may lack coherence and precision.</li> </ul>
5	17–20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Key issues relevant to the question are explored by a sustained analysis of the relationships between key features of the period.</li> <li>Sufficient knowledge is deployed to demonstrate understanding of the demands and conceptual focus of the question, and to respond fully to its demands.</li> <li>Valid criteria by which the question can be judged are established and applied and their relative significance evaluated in the process of reaching and substantiating the overall judgement.</li> <li>The answer is well organised. The argument is logical and coherent throughout and is communicated with clarity and precision.</li> </ul>



# Answer 1 pp.3–8

## SECTION B

Answer ONE question in Section B on the option for which you have been prepared.

You must start your answer to your chosen question on the next page.

### Option 2E.1: Mao's China, 1949-76

#### EITHER

- 3 'The launch of the Great Leap Forward was mainly motivated by a genuine desire to build upon the achievements made in agriculture and industry in the years 1949-57.'

How far do you agree with this statement?

(Total for Question 3 = 20 marks)

OR

(Foot binding)  
communes

- 4 'Social reforms transformed the lives of the Chinese people during the years 1949-76.'

How far do you agree with this statement?

(marriage reform)

education

Prinyin

(Total for Question 4 = 20 marks)

### Option 2E.2: The German Democratic Republic, 1949-90

#### EITHER

- 5 How far do you agree that the economic policies of the GDR in the years 1949-61 were very different from those in the years 1963-71?

(Total for Question 5 = 20 marks)

OR

- 6 How accurate is it to say that the quality of life for people in the GDR improved greatly under Honecker's leadership?

(Total for Question 6 = 20 marks)

CRITERIA  
• Women  
• Family  
• Education

[? Religion?]





Indicate which question you are answering by marking a cross in the box ☒. If you change your mind, put a line through the box ☒ and then indicate your new question with a cross ☒.

Chosen question number: Question 3 ☒

Question 4 ☒

Question 5 ☒

Question 6 ☒

During the years 1949-74 it can be said that social reforms had transformed the lives of the Chinese people. To investigate this I will be looking at the effect on women, the family and on education during 1949-74.

Firstly, communes were introduced in an attempt to increase industrial and agricultural output, as well as increase the government's power. Communes entailed people living together, ~~and~~ working together. Meaning people shared beds, ate together and basically, was never alone. As a result, people were, in a way, supervising each other to ensure everyone followed the communist regime. Under communes women were meant to be able to work instead of doing domestic duties as the government was meant to control the canteen, and childcare services. However in reality the services wasn't maintained so women had to do it. In addition, when women did work they

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Turn over ►



earned less 'work points' than men because they were treated harsher by cadres; because they would take time off for periods, or being <sup>pregnant</sup> ~~pregnancies~~. In communes during famines, or low food supplies men would be more likely to get food <sup>because</sup> ~~due to~~ of their work. Therefore, under communes women's lives transformed for the worst as they were treated poorly and were more likely to starve. The family was also impacted significantly.

Secondly, another social reform was the marriage reform (introduced as Mao strongly disliked arranged marriages) which meant ~~that~~ men and women had to freely enter the marriage; which helped reduce suicides among women. This reform took place and ignored the 'bride price' as it also allowed women (and men) to get a divorce if they wanted as everyone was given the right to divorce. This also benefited children <sup>because</sup> ~~as~~ if they were born out of wedlock they were now treated equally. However, in reality the marriage reform was limited as





people ~~liberally~~ ignored the reform to keep the tradition going as it was seen as dishonouring if an arranged marriage wasn't organised <sup>and if they got divorced</sup>. Therefore, the marriage reform had a limited transformation on people's (mainly women's) lives.

Another social reform was through education as ~~the~~ national primary education was introduced to help the peasants become literate as only 20% of the Chinese population could read. To help this pinyin was introduced as it ~~stayed~~ helped <sup>educate</sup> ~~educate~~ the country as it was easier to understand; mainly symbols. This <sup>led to children</sup> ~~meant that~~ being able to go to universities abroad (for science and technology). It also enabled people to read the red book which was an highly effective tool of propaganda. Therefore, in terms of education people's lives had transformed significantly as everyone had a basic education.

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Turn over ►



lastly, barefoot doctors were introduced and helped reduce epidemics and outbreaks.

This is because they were given the basic knowledge of sanitation and care which they would go and teach villages. This included keeping food away from rats and washing hands. However in rural areas this reform was limited as urban areas got better treatment. Therefore, in terms of healthcare peoples lives were transformed significantly.

In conclusion, social reforms had transformed peoples lives in both positive and negative ways because some reforms were focused on certain groups (e.g. women or rural areas). In addition, strong traditional values limited the <sup>effectiveness</sup> ~~usefulness~~ of the reforms.





Question	Indicative content
4	<p>Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant.</p> <p>Candidates are expected to reach a judgement about whether social reforms transformed the lives of the Chinese people during the years 1949–76.</p> <p>Arguments and evidence that social reforms transformed the lives of the Chinese people during the years 1949–76 should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Social reforms were successful in undermining traditional social inequalities and customs, particularly in urban areas, e.g. foot-binding</li> <li>• Social welfare provided by communes initially transformed the lives of women and created access to education and medical treatment</li> <li>• The legal status of married women was transformed by the Marriage Law 1950</li> <li>• Mass literacy campaigns, spearheaded by the introduction of pinyin in 1955, led to an increase in literacy rates from 20% in 1949 to 70% in 1976</li> <li>• Health improved due to increased health provision, e.g. training of medical staff in the 1950s, barefoot doctors from the late 1960s, and public health campaigns that eradicated endemic diseases.</li> </ul> <p>Arguments and evidence that social reforms did not transform the lives of the Chinese people during the years 1949–76 should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A lack of resources and sustained commitment meant that the social welfare policies underpinning the communes proved to be a disaster; early gains by women were often eradicated and family life destroyed</li> <li>• Social conservatism, traditional customs and patriarchal attitudes proved difficult to eradicate and remained stubbornly present throughout</li> <li>• The ideological intensity and anti-intellectualism of the Cultural Revolution wiped out the early gains in educational provision creating a 'lost generation' and saw decreased numbers of fully-trained medical staff</li> <li>• The impact of the Cultural Revolution was so great that reforms introduced after 1972 were slow to take hold; only one-third had a secondary education and one per cent of workers had a university degree.</li> </ul> <p>Other relevant material must be credited.</p>



## Answer 2 pp.9–18

### SECTION C

Answer ONE question in Section C on the option for which you have been prepared.

You must start your answer to your chosen question on the next page.

**Option 34.1: Industrialisation and social change in Britain, 1759–1928: forging a new society**

**EITHER**

- 7 To what extent were employers responsible for the improvements in working conditions in the years 1759–1928?

(Total for Question 7 = 20 marks)

**OR**

- 8 'The Triple Alliance (1919) was the most significant development in workers' unions in the years 1759–1928.'

How far do you agree with this judgement?

(Total for Question 8 = 20 marks)

**Option 34.2: Poverty, public health and the state in Britain, c1780–1939**

**EITHER**

*Bazalgette*

- 9 'It was advances in technology that had the most significant impact on improvements in public health in the years c1780–1939.'

How far do you agree with this judgement?

(Total for Question 9 = 20 marks)

**OR**

*individuals  
local areas*

- 10 To what extent were local initiatives rather than central government responsible for improvements in the provision of public health in the years c1780–1939?

*central gov*

(Total for Question 10 = 20 marks)





Indicate which question you are answering by marking a cross in the box ☒. If you change your mind, put a line through the box ☒ and then indicate your new question with a cross ☒.

Chosen question number: Question 7 ☒

Question 8 ☐

Question 9 ☒

Question 10 ☒

Local ~~not~~ initiatives did underpin the whole desire for public health reform however it is wrong to say that it was wholly responsible. Local initiatives are to be judged as more collective ideas formed in specific areas rather than individual ideas which were also extremely significant such as the works of Chadwick separate to any local initiative. Central government's permission was needed at any time to grant improvement and without government intervention there would still be an extreme diversity of practice.

~~These~~ Local initiatives were indeed responsible for public health improvements. In terms of housing cities were left to create improvement acts of their own with the frustration of city wide house improvements being Leeds and Liverpool in 1842. In certain issues in order to improve public health were undertaken



P 5 6 8 1 7 A 0 2 3 3 2

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Turn over ►



on a local level. In Birmingham for example, Josiah Chamberlain attempted to remove all slum dwellings and had some success in that regard. This locally set up initiative was driven by the desire for better quality housing and were completed differently by different local authorities. This was shown that local initiatives may be slightly more influential than central government schemes. However, this is not entirely true throughout as there were central government acts such as the Artisans and Labourers Dwelling Act which were signed for the foundation for local movements. Before progress a central government had to approve slightly challenging that idea. There is also the idea of controlling epidemics which was handled very differently. For example, Tuberculosis (TB) was handled very differently in Oldham and Brighton where there were extremely harsh campaigns leafletting many and forbidding spitting in an attempt to reduce this killer disease even up until the 1912. In fact, harsh campaigns existed until therapy.





were produced after the Second World War. Other local authorities however in rural areas for example where housing was not as crowded and places were more ventilated weaker campaigns existed. This diversity ~~shows~~ highlights how relevant these ~~individual~~ local initiatives are. The government then took this one stage further by putting forward pasteurisation of milk to prevent Bovine TB. ~~These~~ Local initiatives are thus important as well as ~~helped~~ ~~formed~~ on a national level by government.

There is also the work of individuals which is ~~partially~~ a local separate from specific local initiatives. There is firstly the work of Jenner who produced a smallpox vaccine which practically eradicated the disease. It wasn't directed or paralleled by any specific local initiative however this discovery was extremely important in the ~~formation~~ improvement of public health. Not only that central government look it upon themselves to ensure a national level of vaccination starting with a clinic in ~~1820~~ 1808 &



P 5 6 8 1 7 A 0 2 5 3 2



a permissive act in 1840 to two mandatory acts in 1856 and 1871. These all show a central government intervening contributing to an individual's work making a local collective initiative irrelevant. The only time in which local initiatives were important in the history of vaccination was the opposition which included the work of the ~~Anti-Vaccination~~ Leicester Anti-Vaccination movement. This was a coherent local initiative which was successful in gaining concessions but not improving overall public health as complete prevention was more effective than haphazard measures of Leicester's ideas of quarantine. There is also the work of Stopes in providing advice for birth control contraceptive decisions culminating into the first Birth clinic in 1921 giving free advice. This was an extremely important shift in the development of public health as there was finally more care being directed to mothers and the implications towards the family rather than simply the children's principal breadwinner. It provided information that was





much needed at the time in order to keep people healthy happy and not send people into pauperism and thus poor health. Again this was an individual initiative which began to gain influence and desire for information and thus spread with opposition groups within the churches representing a component of local initiative against Slope's needed ideas. Local initiatives were therefore only relevant after Slope's work had gained a mass of support to ensure the construction of a birth clinic. Chadwick was also an important individual movement whose Chadwick's report ~~attack~~ linking poor living conditions with disease was instrumental in the formation of the 1848 Public Health Act finally shifting the government away from an attitude of laissez faire. His constant hard work and attacks against the poor law provided the foundation for improvements from his work in the 1830s to his report in ~~the~~ 1842 even past his knighthood in the 1884. Chadwick - as an individual was key in starting public health reform and thus was not a local initiative but rather an individual.



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initiative challenging the idea of both central government and local authorities in causing public health changes.

Finally there was the work of the government. The central government was key in ensuring a national improvement in public health and opened the floodgates to public health reforms. It started with the Municipal Corporations Act which ended the previously corrupt ways favouring new ideas and actual reform. Under this act Local Authorities could also take ~~action~~ control of paving, sewerage, drainage etc in order to improve public health. With this act the government gave the first opportunity for local initiative to rise and finally improve public health and thus as the group that finally allowed these reforms central government may be more influential. There is the 1848 Public Health Act which allowed the establishment of a Local Board of Health and powers of control in regards to public health but was also permissive. This meant that





the only the areas that wanted reforms would be obliged to implement them. This again gave extreme power to local initiatives who finally wanted a chance to improve the conditions with some influence and control. Again this relevance for local initiatives would not have been possible without a central government. It also set a precedent that the government would be intervening more so in regard to issues of public health and thus taking some relevance from these local initiatives despite their desire to improve. National public health rather than local was established in the Public Health Act of 1875 and 1936. Both were compulsory in the formation of a local board of health with some of those employed to be medically trained in medicine or sanitation and gave significant control to the hands of the Local Board but would be maintained and enforced via a central government. Again this did not seem to give power locally however it was entirely government controls and now was finally benefiting the entire population. It was no longer that



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selected local initiatives would try and improve public health within their area by this point it had reached a national stage ensuring all had some form of access to public health with or without apathy on regards to reform.

In conclusion although local initiatives were extremely important in building up a diverse system of improved public health with areas like Liverpool or Leeds setting an example for others to follow especially in a time of laissez faire. The central government and the individuals who influenced government to change attitudes and legislation were more relevant in creating total changes but also allowing these groups to truly find their footing and allow the local initiatives to develop. As time progressed central government became increasingly interventionist in public health and thus important.

TOTAL FOR SECTION C = 20 MARKS  
TOTAL FOR PAPER = 60 MARKS





Question	Indicative content
10	<p>Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant.</p> <p>Candidates are expected to reach a judgement as to whether local initiatives rather than central government were responsible for improvements in the provision of public health in the years c1780-1939.</p> <p>Arguments and evidence that local initiatives rather than central government were responsible for improvements in the provision of public health in the years c1780-1939 should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A number of local hospitals, which were voluntary organisations, had been set up in the eighteenth century and went some way to address public health needs</li> <li>• The formation of the Manchester Board of Health in 1795 was one of the first responses to public health and was organised locally</li> <li>• Bazalgette's work to improve London's sewerage system showed the influence of local government in the country's largest city</li> <li>• Marie Stopes's work in improving the public health of women was a local initiative first with the clinic in North London, which opened in 1921.</li> </ul> <p>Arguments and evidence that central government was responsible for improvements in the provision of public health in the years c1780-1939 should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Vaccinations aided by central government through the National Vaccine Establishment (1808) and subsequent compulsory vaccination acts had a more significant impact on public health</li> <li>• The Public Health Act 1848 was a significant development marking the beginning of the intervention of the state in public health</li> <li>• The national establishment of Medical Officers of Health in 1875 meant that central government standards were disseminated nationally</li> <li>• The Liberal Government's reforms after 1906, e.g. the Education Act (1907), provided medical inspections</li> <li>• The pasteurisation of milk from 1922 ordered by the Ministry of Health was a significant preventative measure against the spread of TB, which demonstrates the importance of central government.</li> </ul> <p>Other relevant material must be credited.</p>



## Generic Level Descriptors: Section A

**Target:** AO2: Analyse and evaluate appropriate source material, primary and/or contemporary to the period, within its historical context.

Level	Mark	Descriptor
	<b>0</b>	No rewardable material.
<b>1</b>	<b>1–3</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Demonstrates surface level comprehension of the source material without analysis, selecting some material relevant to the question, but in the form of direct quotations or paraphrases.</li> <li>• Some relevant contextual knowledge is included, with limited linkage to the source material.</li> <li>• Evaluation of the source material is assertive with little or no supporting evidence. Concepts of reliability or utility may be addressed, but by making stereotypical judgements.</li> </ul>
<b>2</b>	<b>4–7</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Demonstrates some understanding and attempts analysis of the source material by selecting and summarising information and making undeveloped inferences relevant to the question.</li> <li>• Contextual knowledge is added to information from the source material to expand, confirm or challenge matters of detail.</li> <li>• Evaluation of the source material is related to the specified enquiry but with limited support for judgement. Concepts of reliability or utility are addressed mainly by noting aspects of source provenance and judgements may be based on questionable assumptions.</li> </ul>
<b>3</b>	<b>8–12</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Demonstrates understanding of the source material and shows some analysis by selecting key points relevant to the question, explaining their meaning and selecting material to support valid inferences.</li> <li>• Deploys knowledge of the historical context to explain or support inferences as well as to expand, confirm or challenge matters of detail.</li> <li>• Evaluation of the source material is related to the specified enquiry and explanation of utility takes into account relevant considerations such as nature or purpose of the source material or the position of the author. Judgements are based on valid criteria but with limited justification.</li> </ul>
<b>4</b>	<b>13–16</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Analyses the source material, interrogating the evidence to make reasoned inferences and to show a range of ways the material can be used, for example by distinguishing between information and claim or opinion, although treatment of the two sources may be uneven.</li> <li>• Deploys knowledge of the historical context to illuminate and/or discuss the limitations of what can be gained from the content of the source material, displaying some understanding of the need to interpret source material in the context of the values and concerns of the society from which it is drawn.</li> <li>• Evaluation of the source material uses valid criteria which are justified and applied, although some of the evaluation may be weakly substantiated. Evaluation takes into account the weight the evidence will bear as part of coming to a judgement.</li> </ul>
<b>5</b>	<b>17–20</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Interrogates the evidence of both sources with confidence and discrimination, making reasoned inferences and showing a range of ways the material can be used, for example by distinguishing between information and claim or opinion.</li> <li>• Deploys knowledge of the historical context to illuminate and/ or discuss the limitations of what can be gained from the content of the source material, displaying secure understanding of the need to interpret source material in the context of the values and concerns of the society from which it is drawn.</li> <li>• Evaluation of the source material uses valid criteria which are justified and fully applied. Evaluation takes into account the weight the evidence will bear as part of coming to a judgement and, where appropriate, distinguishes between the degree of certainty with which aspects of it can be used as the basis for claims.</li> </ul>



# Answer 3 pp.20–27

## SECTION A

Choose EITHER Question 1 OR Question 2 for which you have been prepared.

You must start your answer on page 3.

**Option 2H.1: The USA, c1920–55: boom, bust and recovery**

**Study Sources 1 and 2 in the Sources Booklet before you answer this question.**

- 1** How far could the historian make use of Sources 1 and 2 together to investigate the objectives of the Second New Deal towards business in the USA?

Explain your answer, using both sources, the information given about them and your own knowledge of the historical context.

(Total for Question 1 = 20 marks)

**Option 2H.2: The USA, 1955–92: conformity and challenge**

**Study Sources 3 and 4 in the Sources Booklet before you answer this question.**

- 2** How far could the historian make use of Sources 3 and 4 together to investigate how President Johnson was able to persuade Congress to support his civil rights programme?

Explain your answer, using both sources, the information given about them and your own knowledge of the historical context.

(Total for Question 2 = 20 marks)

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS AREA

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS AREA

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS AREA

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS AREA

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS AREA

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS AREA





## 2H.2: The USA, 1955–92: conformity and challenge

### Sources for use with Question 2.

**Source 3:** From Joseph A Califano, *The Triumph and Tragedy of Lyndon Johnson, A Personal Memoir*, published 1991. Califano was President Johnson's chief domestic policy adviser. Here he is describing Johnson's attempts in January 1965 to secure support for his Voting Rights Bill.

When civil rights legislation was pending, Johnson would make call after call, hold meetings into the night, and make a head count of supportive congressmen. He would scrutinise the tally sheet with each member's name printed on it and the columns for 'yes', 'no' and 'undecided'. It was never too late to make one more call or hold another meeting to secure an uncertain vote. 5

LBJ would sit for hours with his friend, Senate Republican Minority Leader Dirksen, seeking his support. Dirksen enjoyed drinking bourbon and Johnson matched him drink for drink. But the President's drinks had only half an ounce of liquor in them; Dirksen's had an ounce and a half.

An aide told me that he was having difficulty with a Democrat senator. The President asked the aide if the senator's mistress knew how the senator intended to vote. 'The reason the-so-and-so won't talk about his vote is his mistress,' snapped Johnson. 'He's been with the Negro woman for years.' A few minutes later, the senator got a call in the Democrat cloakroom. 'Yes, dear. Well, I didn't realise how important it was to you,' he stammered. The aide said he knew he had one more precious vote. The story reflected his awe at Johnson's vote-getting determination. 10 15

**Source 4:** From President Johnson's special message to Congress, 15 March 1965. He was speaking eight days after the 'Bloody Sunday' incident where Martin Luther King began his civil rights march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama.

We are here tonight as Americans – not as Republicans or Democrats. Many of the issues of civil rights are most difficult. But about this there can be no argument: every American citizen must have an equal right to vote. There is no excuse for the denial of that right. There is no duty that weighs more heavily on us than the duty we have to ensure that right. Yet the harsh fact is that, in many places in this country, men and women are kept from voting simply because they are Negroes. Every device of which human ingenuity is capable has been used to deny this right. The Negro citizen, turning up to register, is told the day is wrong or the official is absent. And, if he persists and manages to find the registrar, he may be disqualified because he cannot recite the whole Constitution or explain the most complex provisions of state law. 20 25

This time there must be no delay, no hesitation, no compromise with our purpose. We cannot, we must not, refuse to protect the right of every American to vote in every election in which he may desire to participate. 30

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Indicate which question you are answering by marking a cross in the box ☒. If you change your mind, put a line through the box ☒ and then indicate your new question with a cross ☒.

Chosen question number: Question 1 ☒

Question 2 ☒

President Lyndon B Johnson was ~~focused on~~ ~~his~~ determined to turn America into a state of equality. ~~this connotes that through bills such as the benefits for mothers and civil rights getting black Americans the vote.~~

source 3 agrees with the statement as it connotes that Johnson was relentless and determined to speak to as much congressmen as possible in order to gain more support.

A historian would argue that Johnson's ethic towards the bill implies that he is committed to wanting to better American society.

~~However some~~ on the contrary historians would ~~say~~ suggest that the source is biased as it was a depiction of his efforts from his policy advisor.

~~Therefore, it is highly unlikely his policy advisor would depict~~





~~in a negative way.~~

Historians to an extent could use Source 3 to investigate Johnson's efforts to his civil policy, however they would question the reliability due to where it's come from.

Source 4 highlights a moment in Johnson's speech where he demonstrates the issue of "negroes" being unable to ~~secure~~ make votes, ~~when~~ he expresses that they have been ~~deny~~ denied their rights. Historians ~~could convey~~ could argue from that Johnson acknowledging the ~~the~~ black Americans struggle, would suggest that he ~~doesn't~~ acknowledges all the Americans, ~~and is~~ ~~at~~ This suggests that he ~~his~~ wants change for the black Americans. However historians could also that his speech was put forward in order to get rid of the risk of Johnson losing support.

On the otherhand, Source 3 depicts Johnson as ~~relentless~~ being ~~perce~~ being persistent, through going through to lengths as





knowing a senator's private life ~~to~~ and using it to his advantage in order to get support from them. historians would argue that source 3 would assist well in order to investigate Johnson's efforts to get civil rights programme passed.

Source 4, illustrates Johnson's efforts through equality as he states we must not refuse the rights of every american to vote.

This suggests that Johnson is portraying a united front to get more Congressmen to stand beside him ~~in~~ with his civil rights programme.

In conclusion, historians would agree and suggest sources 3 and 4 would aid to gain a judgement on Johnson's efforts to investigate get his civil rights programme through as both sources compliment each other ~~in~~ when referring to his efforts.





**Option 2H.2: The USA, 1955–92: conformity and challenge**

Question	Indicative content
<b>2</b>	<p>Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Other relevant material not suggested below must also be credited.</p> <p>Candidates must analyse and evaluate the sources to consider how far the historian could make use of Sources 3 and 4 together to investigate how President Johnson was able to persuade Congress to support his civil rights programme.</p> <p><b>Source 3</b></p> <p>1. The following points could be made about the origin and nature of the source and applied when evaluating the use of selected information and inferences:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• As Johnson's chief domestic policy adviser, Califano was in a good position to know about the strategy the President employed to push legislation through Congress</li><li>• To appeal to readers of his personal memoirs, he is likely to choose selected highlights as entertaining anecdotes from the White House years, which may not be representative of the President's day-to-day strategy</li><li>• As Johnson's former adviser, Califano wishes to emphasise the President's political strengths.</li></ul> <p>2. The evidence could be assessed here in terms of giving weight to the following points of information and inferences about how President Johnson was able to persuade Congress to support his civil rights programme:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• It indicates that Johnson's attention to detail was relentless and all-consuming ('It was never too late to make one more call or hold another meeting to secure an uncertain vote.')</li><li>• It provides evidence that Johnson believed that bipartisan support was vital in attracting a majority ('LBJ would sit for hours with his friend, Senate Republican Minority Leader Dirksen, seeking his support.')</li><li>• It suggests that Johnson was pragmatic and not very principled in being prepared to use dirty tricks to secure the support of congressmen ('The reason the so-and-so won't talk about his vote is his mistress').</li></ul> <p>3. Knowledge of historical context should be deployed to support and develop inferences and to confirm the accuracy/usefulness of information or to note limitations or to challenge aspects of content. Relevant points may include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Johnson faced considerable potential opposition to his civil rights programme from a large section of his own party, the Southern Democrats, and from conservative Republicans</li><li>• Johnson enjoyed unusually strong cross-party congressional support in the so-called 'honeymoon period' immediately after the assassination of President Kennedy, indicating that he had to try less hard to gain support</li><li>• When Kennedy was assassinated and Johnson became President, he promised to fulfil JFK's hopes of civil rights reform by overcoming the conservative blocking majority of Southern Democrats and Republicans</li><li>• The media played a vital part in helping Johnson to obtain congressional</li></ul>



Question	Indicative content
	<p>support for civil rights at first by publicising Dr King's campaigns, but later helped to thwart him by highlighting Black Power excesses.</p> <p><b>Source 4</b></p> <p>1. The following points could be made about the origin and nature of the source and applied when evaluating the use of selected information and inferences:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The tone of the statement reveals a very negative view of existing legislation to solve the problems of black Americans. In this way, it clearly emphasises the urgent need to find congressional support for voting rights</li> <li>• Johnson is speaking in the wake of a well-publicised campaign by Dr King and his words seem to be a mission statement to persuade Congress to support civil rights legislation. Its sincerity gives the speech reliability</li> <li>• The fact that Johnson is making a special message to Congress reveals the importance Johnson attaches to its content for persuading the legislature to accept responsibility for civil rights causes.</li> </ul> <p>2. The evidence could be assessed here in terms of giving weight to the following points of information and inferences about how President Johnson was able to persuade Congress to support his civil rights programme:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The speech suggests that there is no bipartisan consensus for civil rights legislation and that Johnson's goal is to find it by use of lofty rhetoric ('We are here tonight as Americans – not as Republicans or Democrats.')</li> <li>• It states that many American law-makers are determined to resist existing civil rights laws by finding loopholes, which Johnson must persuade Congress is an unworthy tactic ('Every device... has been used to deny this right.')</li> <li>• It states both the importance Congress should attach to the problem of voting rights as well as the pressing urgency of the need for them to resolve the problem ('no duty that weighs more heavily on us'... 'there must be no delay')</li> <li>• It suggests that a whole new system of politics is necessary to support black Americans, rather than permitting the status quo ('We... must not refuse to protect the right of every American to vote in every election').</li> </ul> <p>3. Knowledge of historical context should be deployed to support and develop inferences and to confirm the accuracy/usefulness of information or to note limitations or to challenge aspects of content. Relevant points may include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Southern congressmen and state governors were opposed to civil rights legislation; the Southern Manifesto (1956), signed by the entire delegations to Congress of seven Southern states, was still active in the mid-1960s</li> <li>• Martin Luther King had appealed to President Johnson for federal support in the wake of the police riot during the first Selma March earlier in the month</li> <li>• Johnson used King's words in appealing to Congress to pass the Voting Rights Bill: 'we shall overcome'. Johnson had already been successful in using stirring phrases to ensure the passage of the Civil Rights Act, 1964</li> </ul> <p><b>Sources 3 and 4</b></p> <p>The following points could be made about sources in combination:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Both sources emphasise the importance of obtaining bipartisan support, with Source 3 stressing the use of practical action, while Source 4 shows</li> </ul>



Question	Indicative content
	<p>the importance of fine words</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Both sources suggest Johnson's complete commitment to the cause of civil rights for black Americans</li> <li>The sources contrast in their purpose – Source 3 acknowledges the primacy of the skill of lobbying as a vehicle for reform, Source 4 targets corrupt legislators and uses a display of rhetoric as a means to secure reform.</li> </ul>



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### Source for use with Section A.

From a letter written by Henry VII to Sir Gilbert Talbot, 20 July 1495. Sir Gilbert Talbot was a councillor and had fought for the King at the Battle of Stoke in 1487. Similar letters were written to all Henry's councillors.

Trusty and well-beloved Talbot, we greet you well.

You will not have forgotten the great hatred that the Lady Margaret of Burgundy holds continually against us. She showed this lately in sending here the boy Simnel, describing him as the son of the Duke of Clarence, and accompanied by the Earl of Lincoln, the Lord Lovell, and a great many Irishmen and Germans. The outcome was as you know well - blessed be God! Margaret's hatred continues with another lad called Perkin Warbeck, born in France. When he first came to Ireland, he called himself first the bastard son of King Richard. Now he calls himself the second son of our father-in-law King Edward IV. She is now promising her supporters lands within this, our Kingdom, to encourage them to support her in the destruction and disinheritance of the noble men and our subjects, the inhabitants of the kingdom. 5 10

As we are always ready to resist her hatred, we therefore write to you at this time. We require you to prepare eighty persons on horseback, organised for war. These should be thoroughly prepared and equipped and ready to come with a day's warning, to do us the service of war in this case. And you shall have payment for every horseman well organised for war. For each fully armoured horseman you will receive twelvecpence and for each lightly armoured horseman ninepence and for archers or men at arms on horseback eightpence a day. This will be paid from the time of your leaving until the time of your return to your home again. For this you shall deserve such thanks from us for your loving and true support, and this will be to your honour for time to come. We pray that you will make such preparations so that you are ready with your men to come to us upon our sudden warning. 15 20

Given under our signature at our Castle of Kenilworth the Twentieth day of July. 25

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## SECTION A

### Answer Question 1.

~~FKH~~  
Challenge!

Study the source in the Source Booklet before you answer this question.

- 1 Assess the value of the source for revealing the seriousness of opposition to Henry VII and the extent of Henry VII's power in late-fifteenth century England.

Explain your answer, using the source, the information given about its origin and your own knowledge about the historical context.

(20)

The source is relatively useful for both enquiries as it addresses both Henry's own perception of the threat against him and the power which he has to prepare for an attack by opposition. As a letter written by Henry himself to all his (presumably loyal) councillors, it is likely to present the seriousness of the opposition relatively accurately, while also showing that he derived power from his loyal and noble supporters in the form of this appeal. Therefore the source is relatively useful for investigating the seriousness of the opposition and the extent of Henry's power in late-fifteenth century England.

The source emphasises the imminent danger of attack from opponents including Margaret of Burgundy and a 'great many Irishmen and Germans' who supported her endorsement of Seinel during his rebellion in the years 1486-87. This indicates that the opposition against him was serious, as it garnered foreign support. However, the 'Germans' mentioned were actually mercenaries hired by Margaret to fight at the Battle of Stoke, where most of them were killed along with their leader, Martin Schwartz. Therefore, this shows that foreign opposition to





Henry was significant, but not to the extent to which Henry describes it. Also, the source suggests that there is some confusion surrounding the strategy of this opposition, as Warbeck was initially proclaimed as the 'bastard son of King Richard', but later was identified as the 'second son of our father-in-law King Edward IV'. This disappointed threat makes the threat perhaps appear less significant than it actually was by focusing on the attempted ~~at~~ deceptions of the opposition. Furthermore, Henry implies that there is an immediate threat of attack in the urgency of appeal for troops in the absence of a standing army. He asks that the cavalry be 'ready to come with a day's warning' in response to 'our sudden ~~is~~ warning'. This may show that the opposition to Henry has recently grown in size and strength due to the urgency of his message, but also that the opposition is more serious because Henry himself was relatively ~~was~~ unaware of the threat. Therefore, the source is useful in revealing the seriousness of the opposition through Henry's urgent tone.

The source is also valuable in assessing the extent of Henry's power in England at the time, although his view may be altered by the personal nature of the enquiry. He reflects on the outcome of the Battle of Stoke in 1487 with the exclamation 'blessed be to God!' suggesting that there may have been an element of luck or divine intervention in the victory of his





12,000 troops over the 8000 rebels. The source also shows that Henry is less powerful than other European leaders such as Margaret of Burgundy, who is 'promising ~~over~~ her supporters lands within this, our Kingdom'. This statement shows how Henry does not have sufficient power to say confidently that he will defeat the threat because of his limited power, even as late as 1495. On the other hand, Henry does also present his power as relatively extensive both economically and over his nobility. He orders Talbot and the other councillors to whom he wrote 'similar letters' to call up troops to defend against the Yorkist opposition, and says that 'you shall have ~~power~~ <sup>payment</sup>', indicating his economic power in being able to finance an army without much apparent consideration. By the end of the letter, Henry seems relatively confident and secure in his power, stating that 'this will be to your honour for time to come' after victory has been achieved. Therefore, the source is accurate and reliable in its depiction of ~~the~~ Henry having financial power over his nobility and the rest of England, but less power than Margaret of Burgundy and other threatening ~~not~~ leaders.

The provenance of the source is also useful for an investigation into the two enquiries. A contemporary letter written by Henry himself while the threat of Warbeck and a trade embargo with Burgundy were still in place, it suggests an accurate representation of Henry's perception of the extent of his own





power in the face of the Yorkist threat. Also, the fact that similar pleas for troops were written to 'all Henry's councillors' implies that he appreciated the seriousness of the opposition, although for the same reason the immediacy of the threat may be exaggerated in order to obtain an army more quickly than perhaps he would otherwise. Furthermore, the nature of a letter asking for troops being sent only to loyal councillors suggests that Henry may be more realistic about the seriousness of the threat and his consequent relative power to the opposition when speaking to a trustworthy audience instead of in a public declaration to the country and, by extension, to the opposition as well, such as Burgundy and its spy ring. Therefore, the provenance of the source makes it more reliable and likely to be accurate as it is a private letter written to someone who had been loyal to the King for at least eight years (since the Battle of Stoke) before the letter was produced.

In conclusion, the source is valuable for revealing the seriousness of opposition to Henry and the extent of his power in contemporary England. While it is undoubtedly subjective due to its author, it provides an accurate depiction of Henry's perception of his own power ~~and~~. It also expresses how serious he thought the opposition was by showing what ~~his~~ measures he was taking to defend against an attack. Therefore, the source has value for both enquiries.



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Turn over ►



regarding the seriousness of opposition to Henry VII, and also the extent of his power in late-fifteenth century England





## Section A: indicative content

Question	Indicative content
1	<p>Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Other relevant material not suggested below must also be credited.</p> <p>Candidates must analyse the source to consider its value for an enquiry into the seriousness of opposition towards Henry VII and the extent of Henry VII's power. Henry VII and the events referred to in the extract are named in the specification, and candidates can therefore be expected to know about them and be aware of the context.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The following points could be made about the authorship, nature or purpose of the source and applied to ascribe value to information and inferences: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>It was written in July 1495 following Warbeck's landing in Kent</li> <li>The King has written a private letter to a trusted councillor</li> <li>The letter was written by the King commanding his councillor, so Talbot would have had no choice in how to respond; it is an authoritative letter</li> <li>The purpose of the letter is to instruct Talbot, however the tone of the letter attempts to be persuasive.</li> </ul> </li> <li>The value could be identified in terms of the following points of information from the source, and the inferences which could be drawn and supported from the source: <p><b>The seriousness of opposition to Henry VII:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The source implies that pretenders (Warbeck and Simnel) have seriously threatened the throne</li> <li>It provides evidence that Margaret of Burgundy continued to oppose the King and remained a significant threat</li> <li>It suggests that she has a number of foreign supporters, which increased the seriousness of the opposition to Henry</li> <li>It claims that there is a military threat to the King who considers such opposition as an act of war.</li> </ul> <p><b>The extent of Henry VII's power:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The source provides evidence that the King was able to command assistance (although dressed as a request)</li> <li>It suggests that Henry's hold on the throne was not absolutely secure and that his power was threatened by the arrival of pretenders in the kingdom</li> <li>It indicates that the King required frequent armed assistance in order to deal with the pretenders</li> <li>It suggests that Henry had the financial resources to reward supporters in order to enhance the King's power.</li> </ul> </li> <li>Knowledge of historical context should be deployed to support and develop inferences and to confirm the accuracy/usefulness of information. Relevant points may include: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The nature of Henry's acquisition of the throne, e.g. obtaining the crown at the Battle of Bosworth</li> <li>The threat that the pretenders posed to the crown, e.g. the support gained by Simnel and Warbeck</li> <li>The nature of support for Simnel and his defeat at the Battle of Stoke</li> <li>The nature and method of Henry's efforts to maintain his hold on the throne, e.g. Acts of Attainder.</li> </ul> </li> </ol>



## Section C

**Target:** AO3: Analyse and evaluate, in relation to the historical context, different ways in which aspects of the past have been interpreted.

Level	Mark	Descriptor
	0	No rewardable material.
<b>1</b>	<b>1–3</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Demonstrates only limited comprehension of the extracts, selecting some material relevant to the debate.</li> <li>• Some relevant contextual knowledge is included, with limited linkage to the extracts.</li> <li>• Judgement on the view is assertive, with little or no supporting evidence.</li> </ul>
<b>2</b>	<b>4–7</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Demonstrates some understanding and attempts analysis of the extracts by describing some points within them that are relevant to the debate.</li> <li>• Contextual knowledge is added to information from the extracts, but only to expand on matters of detail or to note some aspects which are not included.</li> <li>• A judgement is given, but with limited support and related to the extracts overall, rather than specific issues.</li> </ul>
<b>3</b>	<b>8–12</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Demonstrates understanding of the extracts and shows some analysis by selecting and explaining some key points of interpretation they contain and indicating differences.</li> <li>• Knowledge of some issues related to the debate is included to link to, or expand, some views given in the extracts.</li> <li>• A judgement is given and related to some key points of view in the extracts and discussion is attempted, albeit with limited substantiation.</li> </ul>
<b>4</b>	<b>13–16</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Demonstrates understanding of the extracts, analysing the issues of interpretation raised within them and by comparison of them.</li> <li>• Integrates issues raised by extracts with those from own knowledge to discuss the views. Most of the relevant aspects of the debate will be discussed, although treatment of some aspects may lack depth.</li> <li>• Discusses evidence provided in the extracts in order to reach a supported overall judgement. Discussion of points of view in the extracts demonstrates understanding that the issues are matters of interpretation.</li> </ul>
<b>5</b>	<b>17–20</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Interprets the extracts with confidence and discrimination, analysing the issues raised and demonstrating understanding of the basis of arguments offered by both authors.</li> <li>• Integrates issues raised by extracts with those from own knowledge when discussing the presented evidence and differing arguments.</li> <li>• Presents sustained evaluative argument, reaching fully substantiated judgements on the views given in both extracts and demonstrating understanding of the nature of historical debate.</li> </ul>



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## Extracts for use with Section C.

**Extract 1:** From Catherine Merridale, *Red Fortress: The Secret Heart of Russia's History*, published 2013.

Yeltsin was building an independent power-base by appealing to ethnic Russian patriotism. In 1989 and 1990, nationalist demonstrations dominated the news. These demonstrations culminated in unilateral declarations of independence in the Baltic and armed uprisings in the Caucasus. Gorbachev's creation of a new post, President of the USSR, was intended to strengthen the Soviet Union and hold the republics together by giving them a single figurehead. However, spurred by the success of their neighbours in Eastern Europe, Soviet citizens increased their demands. Lithuania's campaign for independence was particularly vocal. 5

Protesters in Moscow called on Gorbachev to 'Remember Romania!', linking him with the detested Ceauşescu\*, who had been executed following a popular uprising in December 1989. This was unfair, for it was Gorbachev who had unleashed the popular tide in Europe in the first place. In January 1991, Soviet troops moved into the Lithuanian capital, Vilnius. The demonstrations there were suppressed at the cost of fourteen lives. Thanks to Gorbachev's earlier reforms, the violence was televised and images of Soviet tanks loomed once again across Europe. President Gorbachev – and the Soviet Union – had lost the moral argument forever. 10 15

\*Ceauşescu - ruler of communist Romania

**Extract 2:** From Archie Brown, *The Myth of the Strong Leader: Political Leadership in the Modern Age*, published 2014.

Gorbachev has been regarded by some as a 'weak' leader, or even a failure, because the country over which he presided – the Soviet Union – ceased to exist at the end of 1991. The USSR could have been held together for many more years had he not embarked on the liberalisation of the Soviet economy, the democratisation of the Soviet political system, and the transformation of Soviet foreign policy. The most dissatisfied Soviet nationalities – the Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians – saw the peoples of Eastern Europe achieving independent statehood in 1989. This raised their aspirations from seeking greater freedom within a Soviet state to demanding full independence. 20 25

Gorbachev consciously sought to prevent the dissolution of the Soviet state but he was not prepared to resort to the kind of sustained use of force that would have been required to crush independence movements once expectations were aroused. The fact that the Soviet Union was dissolved largely peacefully was in some ways an achievement on Gorbachev's part, although it was very much an unintended consequence of changes to the system. Most fundamentally, it was Gorbachev's liberalisation and democratisation that made the pursuit of independence possible. His 'guilt' in relation to the break-up of the Soviet state lay in replacing fear by freedoms and in his strong dislike of bloodshed. 30 35

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## SECTION C

Study Extracts 1 and 2 in the Extracts Booklet before you answer this question.

- 5 In the light of differing interpretations, how convincing do you find the view that the USSR collapsed in 1991 because of a nationalist resurgence in the Soviet bloc?

To explain your answer, analyse and evaluate the material in both extracts, using your own knowledge of the issues.

(20)

<sup>process of the</sup>  
The fall of the USSR brought together a combination of forces which historians have since disagreed on in relation to their relative importance in the Union's end in 1991. Merridale's argument shows how Gorbachev's reforms greatly increased the potential of nationalism as a force while Brown takes a more internationalist approach to look at Gorbachev's handling of nationalism and reform. It seems the interpretations can be reconciled to examine the influence of a nationalist resurgence in the Soviet bloc.

Merridale shows how nationalism spread through the Soviet bloc as nationalists within the USSR were "spurred by the success of their neighbours". This relates to how the granting of the Sinatra Doctrine to Eastern Europe inspired nationalists within the USSR to act similarly - with the largely unopposed fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 a symbol of diminishing Soviet control and authority. Brown makes a similar reference to how "this raised their aspirations from seeking greater freedom... to demanding full independence". This can be exemplified by how Estonia initially only demanded

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sovereignty from the USSR. The two historians differ on ~~how~~ the impact of Gorbachev's treatment of nationalists. While Meridale states that the use of force in Lithuania saw ~~the~~ Moscow "lose" the moral argument forever" because of popular knowledge of it, Brown suggests that the breakup of the USSR was more to do with his "replacing fear by freedom" and his "strong dislike of bloodshed". The latter argument seems to omit the notion of Tbilisi syndrome - from 1989 local police forces were reluctant to use force on nationalists as they feared Moscow would blame them for the violence, as had happened in Georgia, Gorbachev's use of violence in Uzbekistan, Tbilisi, Lithuania and introducing direct rule in Nagorno-Karabakh undermine the notion that the lack of forceful response was because of his reluctance as it seems he was willing when saw it necessary, but was inhibited both by Tbilisi Syndrome and popular discontent - Yeltsin led the condemnations of the Soviet army's actions in Vilnius. Overall, Brown's historical agenda, shown in the title 'The Myth of the Strong Leader' is to show how Gorbachev was not weak but was working within the constraints of an oppressive system, and thus seems to undermine his argument to a degree.

Both interpretations allude to Gorbachev's <sup>political</sup> reforms, with Meridale saying he "had unleashed the popular





hide in Europe in the first place" while this pertains to the Sinatra Doctrine, it can also be seen as significant to glasnost - Gorbachev's pursuit of political openness. This showed nationalists how poorly they had been treated by Stalin and exposed the inferiority of life in the East to the West. The impact of this on the stability of the USSR is questionable, however, as Vogue was widely available under Brezhnev and around half of the prison population were nationalists, showing how awareness of Western life and nationalism were neither new or solely fatal circumstances for the longevity of the USSR. Brown states that it was "liberalisation and democratisation that made the pursuit of independence possible". ~~this~~ This seems fair as liberalisation allowed nationalists to publish their message and circulate it among supporters, accessing a wider number of people. However, mere scope for circulation of a message was not the only force at play as rule had been based on the social contract, suggesting an economic argument must be considered as that was Brezhnev's means of control which served to limit the impact on increasing awareness of the superiority of life in the West due to the loss of control of print media. Overall, both interpretations draw an intrinsic link between political liberalisation and nationalism, but it seems that this argument lacks a motivation for national sentiments to grow, only really providing the means as national

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Sentiments were clearly not a new phenomena from 1986.

Brown also suggests that had Gorbachev not "embarked on the liberalisation of the Soviet economy" he may have been capable of surviving for longer. This reform of the economy saw market forces introduced to the system after the failed attempt to generate growth through *uskorenie* - acceleration - had left the Soviet government close to bankruptcy. The policy also played a part in increasing nationalism as it led people to associate its failure with cadres change which had seen Russians take up leading positions in the republics. While Merridale makes minimal reference to the economic decline which saw the economy shrink 4% from 1986-90, Brown's initial intentionalism seems to have structuralist influences from his use of "guilt" indicating his deployment of the word was partially ironic. This suggests that Brown acknowledges that Gorbachev was working within an inhumane system as a largely humane man, which links to the failure to deliver the welfare and warfare state as a result of the failing social contract. The USSR had established a major economic burden post-Stalin, seeking rising living standards while sustaining its Cold War with the USA and Gorbachev's failing economy ultimately failed to live up to these





expectations. The social contract and superpower pride were pivotal in holding the USSR together, and therefore this had a major part to play in the fall.

In conclusion, the nationalist resurgence was arguably a consequence of Gorbachev's own reforms, as they undermined what held the system together. Differing historical agendas generate different views on whether this represents weakness or just incompatibility with what the USSR and communism had become on Gorbachev's behalf. Overall, to attribute the fall solely to nationalism would seem inaccurate as other forces were clearly at play.

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## Section C: indicative content

Question	Indicative content
<b>5</b>	<p>Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Other relevant material not suggested below must also be credited.</p> <p>Candidates are expected to use the extracts and their own knowledge to consider the views presented in the extracts. Reference to the works of named historians is not expected, but candidates may consider historians' viewpoints in framing their argument.</p> <p>Candidates should use their understanding of issues of interpretation to reach a reasoned conclusion concerning the view that the USSR collapsed in 1991 because of a nationalist resurgence in the Soviet bloc.</p> <p>In considering the extracts, the points made by the authors should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include:</p> <p>Extract 1</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In 1989-90, nationalist discontent within the USSR, spurred on by events in the Eastern Bloc countries and Yeltsin's activities, was undermining the cohesion of the Soviet Union</li> <li>• Gorbachev's actions had unleashed 'people power' in the Eastern Bloc and his attempt to hold the Soviet Union together by creating the 'unifying' post of President of the USSR did not have the desired effect</li> <li>• The heavy-handed suppression of demonstrations in the Lithuanian capital, Vilnius, in 1991 undermined Gorbachev and discredited the Soviet government.</li> </ul> <p>Extract 2</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The USSR would have continued to exist had Gorbachev not attempted to reform the economy, political system and Soviet foreign policy</li> <li>• The events of 1989 in Eastern Europe encouraged the most disaffected nationalities within the USSR (Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians) to demand independence</li> <li>• Gorbachev played a significant role in the dissolution of the USSR because he refused to use overwhelming force against the independence movements and his reforms facilitated the pursuit of independence.</li> </ul> <p>Candidates should relate their own knowledge to the material in the extracts to support the view that the USSR collapsed in 1991 because of a nationalist resurgence in the Soviet bloc. Relevant points may include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Yeltsin used the Russian republic as a nationalist power base to undermine Gorbachev and the central Soviet government's position; Yeltsin also encouraged the demands of the non-Russian republics for independence</li> <li>• The growth, and damaging impact, of nationalist discontent in key parts of the USSR, e.g. the Baltic republics, Nagorno-Karabakh and Georgia</li> <li>• Gorbachev's foreign policy towards the Eastern Bloc encouraged 'people power' and self-determination rather than his desired 'socialist commonwealth'</li> <li>• Gorbachev's insensitive handling of the national minorities inside the USSR undermined central government-republic relations, e.g. Nagorno-Karabakh (1988) and the Baltic republics (1990-91).</li> </ul>



Question	Indicative content
	<p>Candidates should relate their own knowledge to the material in the extracts to counter or modify the view that the USSR collapsed in 1991 because of a nationalist resurgence in the Soviet bloc. Relevant points may include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gorbachev's political reforms, notably the amendment of Article 6, effectively ended the communist one-party state and permitted other parties to be set up and contest elections</li> <li>• Gorbachev's economic initiatives, such as <i>perestroika</i> and market reforms, undermined the unity of the USSR by failing to produce adequate supplies of food and consumer goods for the Soviet population</li> <li>• By ending the Brezhnev Doctrine, Gorbachev ruled out Soviet armed intervention in the Eastern Bloc satellite states; for the most part, he adopted the same approach to independence movements inside the USSR</li> <li>• Gorbachev's promotion of <i>glasnost</i>, along with other reforms, assisted the development of internal nationalist movements that increasingly pressed for autonomy or independence.</li> </ul>