



**Cambridge International Examinations**  
Cambridge Pre-U Certificate

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**HISTORY**

**9769/03**

Paper 3 US History Outlines c. 1750–c. 2005

**May/June 2016**

**MARK SCHEME**

Maximum Mark: 90

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**Published**

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

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This document consists of **20** printed pages.

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*These banding definitions address Assessment Objectives (AOs) 1, 2 and 4, and should be used in conjunction with the indicative content mark schemes for each question. Information about AOs can be found in the 2016–18 Cambridge Pre-U History syllabus.*

## **Introduction**

- (a) The banding definitions which follow reflect, and should be interpreted within the context of, the following general statement:

Examiners will give their highest marks to candidates who show a ready understanding of the relevant material and a disciplined management of the discussion the question provokes. They will be impressed more by critical judgement, careful discrimination and imaginative handling than by a weight of facts. Credit will be given for evidence of a good historical intelligence and for good use of material rather than for a stereotyped rehearsal of memorised information.

- (b) Examiners will use these banding definitions in combination with the paper-specific mark schemes.
- (c) It goes without saying that any explanation or judgement is strengthened if informed by the use of source material.
- (d) Examiners will also bear in mind that analysis sufficient for a mark in the highest band may perfectly legitimately be deployed within a chronological framework. Candidates who eschew an explicitly analytical response may yet be able, by virtue of the very intelligence and pointedness of their selection of elements for a well-sustained and well-grounded account, to provide sufficient implicit analysis to justify a Band 4 mark.
- (e) The Band in which an essay is placed depends on a range of criteria. As a result, not all essays fall obviously into one particular Band. In such cases a 'best-fit' approach will be adopted with any doubt erring on the side of generosity.
- (f) In marking an essay, examiners will first place it in a Band and then fine-tune the mark in terms of how strongly/weakly the demands of the Band have been demonstrated.

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**Band 5: 25–30 marks**

The answer will be sharply analytical in approach and strongly argued. It will show that the demands of the question have been fully understood and that a conscious and sustained attempt has been made to respond to them in appropriate range and depth. It will be coherent and structured with a clear sense of direction. The focus will be sharp and persistent. Some lack of balance, in that certain aspects are covered less fully or certain arguments deployed less strongly than others, need not preclude a mark in this Band. The material will be wide-ranging and handled with the utmost confidence and a high degree of maturity. Historical explanations will be invariably clear, sharp and well developed and historical concepts fully understood. Where appropriate there will be conscious and successful attempts to engage with the historiography, to evaluate source material critically and to demonstrate an awareness of competing interpretations.

**Band 4: 19–24 marks**

The answer will be characterised by an analytical and argued approach, although there may be the occasional passage which does not go beyond description or narrative. It will show that the demands of the question have been very well understood and that a determined attempt has been made to respond to them in appropriate range and depth. The essay will be coherent and clearly structured and its judgements will be effectively supported by accurate and relevant material. Some lack of rigour in the argument and occasional blurred focus may be allowed. Where appropriate there will be a conscious and largely successful attempt to engage with the historiography, to evaluate source material and to demonstrate an awareness of competing interpretations. The material will be wide-ranging, fully understood, confidently deployed and well controlled with high standards of accuracy. Historical explanations will be clear and well developed and there will be a sound understanding of historical concepts and vocabulary.

**Band 3: 13–18 marks**

The answer will attempt an analytical approach, although there will be passages which do not go beyond description or narrative. It will show that the demands of the question have been understood, at least in large part, and that a conscious attempt has been made to respond to them. There will be an effective focus on the terms of the question and, although in places this may break down, standards of relevance will be generally high. Although it may not be sustained throughout the answer, or always fully supported, there will be a recognisable sense of argument. The material will be clearly understood, with a good range, and organisation will be sound. There will be a conscious attempt to draw conclusions and form judgements and these will be adequately supported. Some understanding of differing and competing interpretations is to be expected and some evaluation of sources may be attempted but probably not in a very sophisticated form. Historical explanations and the use of historical concepts and vocabulary will be generally sound but some lack of understanding is to be expected.

**Band 2: 7–12 marks**

The answer may contain some analysis but descriptive or narrative material will predominate. The essay will show that the demands of the question have been understood, at least in good part, and that some attempt has been made to respond to them. It will be generally coherent with a fair sense of organisation. Focus on the exact terms of the question is likely to be uneven and there will be a measure of irrelevance. There will be some inaccuracies in knowledge, and the range may be limited with some gaps. Understanding of the material will be generally sound, although there will be some lack of tautness and precision. Explanations will be generally clear although not always convincing or well developed. Some attempt at argument is to be expected but it will lack sufficient support in places and sense of direction may not always be clear. There may be some awareness of differing interpretations and some attempt at evaluating source material but this is not generally to be expected at this level and such skills, where deployed, will be unsophisticated.

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**Band 1: 1–6 marks**

The answers will respond in some measure to the demands of the question but will be very limited in meeting these. Analysis, if it appears at all, will be brief and undeveloped. If an argument is attempted it will be lacking in real coherence, sense of direction, support and rigour. Focus on the exact terms of the question is likely to be very uneven; the answer is likely to include unsupported generalisations, and there will be some vagueness and irrelevance. Historical knowledge, concepts and vocabulary will be insufficiently understood and there will be inaccuracies. Explanations may be attempted but will be halting and unclear. Where judgements are made they will be largely unsubstantiated and investigation of historical problems will be very elementary. Awareness of differing interpretations and the evaluation of sources are not to be expected. The answer may be fragmentary, slight and even unfinished.

**Band 0: 0 marks**

No evidence submitted or response does not address the question.

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### Section 1: c. 1750–c. 1820

#### 1 'Opposition to British rule in the Thirteen Colonies was motivated mainly by taxation.' Do you agree?

**AO1** – The question requires an assessment of the reasons for opposition to British rule in the Thirteen Colonies. Candidates may consider the long term effect of taxation, dating from 1750. Emphasis should be on the issue of taxation but other factors should be analysed.

**AO2** – Candidates might consider the impact of particular taxes, for example, the Sugar Tax, Stamp Tax, and the Townshend Duties. The principles that colonists felt were at stake in the taxation imposed on them and the views of leading thinkers of the time might be considered. The strength of colonial feeling might be weighed with reference to the actions of the Sons of Liberty, the boycott of tea and the Boston Tea Party. The more rigorous collection of customs duties might be assessed as an aspect of taxation. Opposition was also based on the limitations imposed on colonial trade and the restrictions on the westward movement of people into lands acquired from France in 1763 with the Proclamation Act. The increase in the size of the British military might be considered and the resentment felt about billeting soldiers. Events at Lexington and Bunker Hill might be mentioned to illustrate the extent of the opposition to the British army.

#### 2 Who, in this period, made the greatest contribution to the American Enlightenment?

**AO1** – Candidates are likely to concentrate on some of the following thinkers and writers in America from 1750 to c. 1820: Franklin, Washington, John Adams, Jefferson, Tom Paine and James Madison. Knowledge about their ideas on politics, economics, society, the law, religion, etc. are likely. Candidates are required to weigh the contribution of these men of letters to arrive at a judgement about which of them was most significant.

**AO2** – Some candidates might stress the common ground between American thinkers who shared a belief in republicanism, patriotism, citizenship, and property, and collectively they helped establish the principles and core ideas of the American Enlightenment. Some candidates might judge the contribution of particular thinkers by the impact they had on developments in the period. For example, Franklin's views on the virtue of thrift, industry and money helped motivate the Sons of Liberty and the Committees of Correspondence, Jefferson's Declaration of Independence provided justification for revolt, Madison's ideas influenced the creation of the constitution, Tom Paine's 'Common Sense' was a call to arms.

#### 3 How close did the British come to victory in the War of Independence?

**AO1** – The question requires an analysis of the fortunes of the British in the War. Given the outcome, some candidates might argue that the British were never close to victory. Others might identify times when the British had opportunities which were not realised. Most are likely to consider that the British were closer to victory at the beginning of the War and that their chances faded the longer the War continued, especially after the intervention of France.

**AO2** – Candidates might assess the potential for victory by the British, given their strengths (regular army, naval supremacy, economic power, loyalist support) and the weaknesses of the rebels (political division between states, poorly disciplined troops). The outcome of early encounters such as Lexington and Bunker Hill and Howe's successes in 1777 might be assessed. Most candidates are likely to assess the significance of Saratoga and Yorktown. The progress made by British forces in the South from 1780 might be considered an indication that victory was close, even late in the war.

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**4 'The Constitution was primarily designed to secure the property rights of the few rather than the liberties of the population as a whole.' Discuss.**

**AO1** – The question requires knowledge of the Constitution and the intentions or motives of those who designed it. Aspects of the Constitution that secured the property rights of a few should be examined as well as those strands of the Constitution that safeguarded the liberties of the population as a whole. The linkage between the two might be considered.

**AO2** – Property rights were clearly important and none more so than that of ownership of slaves, reflected in the provisions in the Constitution on fugitive slaves. Also, the franchise was set by individual States and in many cases favoured men of property. Senators had to be 30 years old and the President 35 years of age which tended to favour men of property. Liberties of the population as a whole might be interpreted to include those of the States which were taken into account in the composition of the Senate and the power of the States to legislate on certain areas of government. The Bill of Rights is likely to be considered as important in establishing the liberties of individuals. Candidates might assess the role of the judiciary and the Supreme Court in defending the liberties of all.

**5 Why were Anglo-US relations so strained in the period 1801–1825?**

**AO1** – The question requires an analysis of the reasons for the difficulties between Britain and the US. Candidates are likely to focus on differences in attitude towards the French Revolution and Napoleon, matters of trade, the war of 1812 and the border with Canada. Candidates should attempt to assess the relative importance of these factors.

**AO2** – The US was more tolerant of events in France, 1801–1815, not least because of the republican principles espoused by the Revolution and the sense of debt owed to France for its help in the War of Independence. The Louisiana Purchase of 1803 was regarded in Britain as a provocation, given that Britain was fighting France at the time. Also, trade with France and her Empire was important to the US. However, British Orders in Council of 1807 forbade trade by any ship with Europe matched by the US Embargo Act of 1807 forbidding all exports from the US to England. This, and the issue of impressments, were the dominate issues dividing Britain and the US which culminated in the War of 1812, details of which candidates might assess. The border with Canada remained an issue till 1818 when negotiations settled the line between the US and Canada by the Great Lakes.

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## Section 2: c. 1820–1865

### 6 How effective were the activities of abolitionists in the period c. 1820–1860?

**AO1** – Most candidates will associate the abolition movement with the foundation of The Liberator paper in 1831 and the Anti-Slavery Society in 1833. An assessment of the policies and activities of both would be relevant. Abolitionists helped influence the Compromises of 1820 and 1860. The effects of individual activists such as John Brown were important.

**AO2** – The effectiveness of the propaganda of Garrison and the A-SS and the public meetings they organised might be assessed; they generated support but also an intransigent response from defenders of slavery. The work of those involved in the ‘underground railroad’ might be assessed. Similarly, the effectiveness of direct action, for example, of those who fought in the civil war in Kansas in 1856 and John Brown’s Raid of 1859 might be considered. The political impact of the abolitionist movement might be analysed; for example, its influence on the Compromises of 1820 and 1850 and the Personal Liberty Laws of the 1850s. Some assessment of the strength of anti-slavery sentiment, especially in the North, and whether this increased over the period might be attempted.

### 7 How significant were the differences between the Democrats and the Whigs in the period 1833–1854?

**AO1** – The ‘second party system’ was dominated by the Democrats and the Whigs. There were clear differences between the parties. Democrats preferred government to play a limited role in the affairs of the country whilst the Whigs favoured government intervention. However, there were similarities, not least, in organisation, even on policy.

**AO2** – Candidates might discuss differences in the role of government on issues like infrastructure and a United States Bank. On slavery, the Whigs were resistant to concessions to the South whereas the Democrats were prepared to support the measures of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska Act, 1854. On immigration the Whigs were more favourably inclined than the Democrats. It might be argued that the Democrats’ foreign policy was more forward than that of the Whigs. Yet, it could be argued that differences were more apparent than real. Tyler, a Whig, appointed Democrats to high office. The Whigs drew support from bankers and manufacturers, the Democrats from farmers, workers and cotton growers, yet both drew on national not sectional support. Both engaged large numbers of people in campaigning at state and local level. Both parties might be accused of corrupt practices.

### 8 ‘Events after 1854 gave the Southern states which seceded little option but to leave the Union.’ Discuss.

**AO1** – Events that most candidates are likely to refer to include the formation of the Republican Party, 1854, the civil war in Kansas, 1856, the Dred Scott Affair, 1857, John Brown’s Raid, 1859, the election of Lincoln, 1860, and Fort Sumter, 1861. In December 1860, South Carolina seceded with the secession of upper South states in April 1861.

**AO2** – Candidates might analyse the significance of events individually or thematically and some might stress the cumulative effect of a sequence of events. More rigorous analysis may assess the fact that four slave states stayed in the Union and that West Virginia broke away from Virginia rather than secede. Candidates might consider the various attempts to broker agreement between the Southern states and the North including the Washington Conference of 1861. An examination of the extent of the cultural, economic and political divide between the Sections might be attempted. The concept of inevitability, implicit in the question, might be challenged.

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### 9 What best explains why the Confederacy survived for so long?

**AO1** – Implicit in the question is an assumption that the South lacked the means to win and the North's strengths were such that it was surprising the war did not finish sooner. Candidates might outline the weaknesses of the Confederacy and strengths of the Unionists, perhaps considering, number of men, resources, leadership etc.

**AO2** – In analysing these factors, candidates might assess their weight relative to each other. The qualities of Davies should not be underestimated and help explain why the Confederacy survived so long. Northern armies may have had advantages but the generals in the South's armies were competent. Early blunders by the North in failing to take Richmond might be considered to have had long term significance. Geographical considerations might be explored such as the size of the South. The population of the North might have been free and supportive of the Union but they were not united, with divisions between the rich and the workers (disruptive strikes) and pro-Confederacy sympathisers ('copperheads'). Similarly, though the slave population of the South was unreliable Southern morale was strong in defence of a way of life they regarded as threatened by Northern aggression.

### 10 What was Lincoln's most important quality as president?

**AO1** – The question requires an assessment of Lincoln's qualities in the context of the secession of Southern states and the civil war. Candidates might emphasise Lincoln's relationships with his generals, the effectiveness of his administration in mobilising Northern society for war, his inspiration to others as well as the way he worked with other politicians.

**AO2** – Candidates might stress how Lincoln selected men of talent whom he trusted and treated with respect. Lincoln's success in securing the support of Congress (largely Republican) and State governments might be discussed. Lincoln set an example to other politicians in his dedication to the task in terms of hard work and constancy of purpose. Lincoln's appointments of commanders might be assessed: McClellan may have disappointed but Grant and Sherman proved triumphant. Lincoln set strategy and had a broad perspective. His skill as a speaker and his steel in dealing with opposition with moderate policies might be stressed.



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### Section 3: Themes c. 1750–c. 1900

#### 11 Why was the concept of ‘Manifest Destiny’ attractive to so many in the USA?

**AO1** – Candidates might define the notion of ‘Manifest Destiny’ as the pursuit of the frontier incorporating a sense of obligation to settle and civilise new lands as part of a divine plan. The concept was attractive in broad terms because it served as a licence for settlers to pursue political, economic, social, moral and individual interests.

**AO2** – The concept allowed the establishment of Territories and the scope to establish the principles of democracy. The belief that business and commercial life should be free of regulation was another attraction of the concept and stimulated many to move west. The Gold Rush of 1849, railway construction and the opportunities for land ownership are examples of the practical attraction of the concept. Manifest Destiny also appealed as a justification for establishing a society according to the moral and religious convictions of many: civilising the Native Americans and building a society based on faith, such as the Mormons did in Utah, for example. Manifest Destiny chimed with notions of individualism and the rights of people to pursue their aspirations and develop their talents.

#### 12 ‘White people only intended to subjugate and exploit Native Americans.’ How valid is this judgement with reference to this period?

**AO1** – The question requires an examination of the motives of white people in their dealings with Native Americans. Candidates might analyse the motives of governments, businesses and institutions as well as individuals. Consideration of changes over time would be relevant.

**AO2** – Evidence of government subjugation includes the suppression of native tribes (the Tecumseh Confederacy (1811) and actions by the US Army in the Indian Wars of the later nineteenth century, the creation of reservations and the policy of assimilation. The failure of governments to honour treaties or abide by Supreme Court decisions might be assessed. The behaviour of other agencies might be analysed, such as the destruction of the buffalo, the building of railways and the gratuitous violence against Native Americans. Legislation such as the Homestead Act and the acquisition of land from Native Americans is relevant. However, charities and missionaries worked with Native Americans and in 1836 the Bureau of Indian Affairs was established to regulate provisions for Native Americans. Religious organisations also worked to improve the lot of Native Americans.

#### 13 What best explains hostility in the USA to immigration in the period c. 1840–c. 1920?

**AO1** – Candidates are likely to focus on the economic reasons for hostility to immigration. Closely linked to this were social factors. In addition, hostility was based on political, religious and cultural reasons. Some assessment of the relative importance of different factors is expected. The scale of immigration is relevant (20 million immigrated between 1820 and 1900, with another 10 million between 1900 and 1910).

**AO2** – Immigrants were employed in a wide range of jobs, often, it was assumed, pushing wages lower and blighting the prospects of local workers. The concentration of national groups in suburbs divided urban populations and raised problems in the provision of schools and housing. Immigrants were often opposed because of their religious persuasion or the increase in crime (Mafia activity). Some were disliked because of their political views, with immigrants often linked to radical/socialist views which were seen as a threat to US values. Candidates may assess the activities of certain groups e.g. the ‘Know Nothings’ party (1850s), the Asiatic Exclusion League (1905) and the KKK as evidence of hostility.

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**14 Assess the value of novels written in this period as historical evidence about American life in the years c. 1750–c. 1900.**

**AO1** – Novels of the early nineteenth century were typical of the Romanticism of the times in contrast to the realism of the post-Civil War years. To that extent it could be argued that the novels of the early 1800s are not as valuable as those of the later period in reflecting American life. Nonetheless, candidates may stress the limitations of any work of fiction as historical evidence.

**AO2** – Candidates may focus on specific novels or, more generally, on the work of a particular novelist, or a book that focuses on a key issue. Either way, candidates might judge its value by reference to knowledge of events in the period. Many candidates are likely to refer to Harriett Beecher Stowe's 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' (1852) as providing an insight into the system of slavery, even if it might be criticised as overly moralistic and idealistic. 'The Red Badge of Courage' by Stephen Crane (1871–1900) might be analysed for its utility as evidence about the Civil War. Similarly, the adventures of Jack London (1876–1916) in the Pacific Northwest and Alaska, which were the basis of his novels, give a sharp insight into the gold rush and the challenges faced by those involved. The line of approach is likely to vary hugely.

**15 Did urbanisation do more to strengthen or weaken American family life in the nineteenth century?**

**AO1** – Urbanisation affected family life in various ways. The position of women as mothers and daughters was affected. The routine of family life was altered. The influence of the Church in family life was modified. The position of the family within the local community shifted. Increased leisure activities and greater access to education changed family life.

**AO2** – In treating these effects, candidates should aim to assess how they strengthened or weakened family life. For example, it might be argued that urbanisation gave women greater independence which strengthened family life, as women were able to increase the family income yet, conversely, did this result in a weakening of family cohesion? Lifestyles adapted to the timetables of transport and work shifts may have reduced the time families shared together, yet provided routine and stability. Family life was inextricably integrated into the life of the local community in 1800. This was still the ideal by 1900 but it was less practical in urban areas of rapid population increase. Candidates might also consider whether leisure activities in cities undermined or strengthened family life.

**16 Which had the greater impact on the USA in the nineteenth century: the telegraph or the railway?**

**AO1** – The question requires knowledge of the extent and speed with which the telegraph and railway systems were established. The telegraph began in 1844 by which time railways served many parts of the eastern and mid-west USA. By 1900, the rail system was all but complete and the telegraph had been supplemented by the telephone.

**AO2** – Candidates might argue that the two communications systems were interlinked, not least because the telegraph tended to run parallel to the railway. They also complemented each other in terms of their economic and social benefits. They allowed companies to establish operations throughout the country and the administration and delivery of trade was coordinated. Efficiency was enhanced by both systems of communication. Social integration was also advanced by both. Some might argue that the telegraph was more important, socially, than the railways, which were more important economically.

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#### Section 4: 1865–1914

#### 17 'Racial divisions widened during the period of Reconstruction, 1865–1877.' Do you agree?

**AO1** – The question requires an analysis of race relations after the Civil War. Measures were taken that were intended to improve the lot of African Americans: including the 13th 14th, and 15th Amendments and the Freedman Bureau Act. However, steps were taken by white supremacists to reinforce racial divisions such as the Black Codes.

**AO2** – Candidates might distinguish between the theory and the reality of the measures which were expected to reduce the divide between African Americans and whites. The 13th Amendment may have abolished slavery but Mississippi refused to ratify it, and its implications were widely resented by African Americans as well as whites. The other Amendments were not applied so the divide between African Americans and whites in terms of their legal status and voting rights remained largely unchanged. The Freedman Bureau did advance the lot of African Americans but segregation and discrimination based on race was undiminished. Indeed, the Black Codes, the emergence of the KKK and the large movement of African Americans to the North is evidence of how divisions had widened.

#### 18 What best explains why American socialism was supported by so few in the period c. 1880–1914?

**AO1** – The question requires an assessment of the reasons why socialism lacked support. In doing so, a judgement of the relative importance of the reasons discussed needs to be attempted. Some may challenge the assertion and argue that support for socialism was greater than the question claims.

**AO2** – Candidates are likely to stress how US values of freedom, individualism and limited government made socialism unattractive to most. The trade unions of the period might be considered a factor in so far as they were perceived as motivated by socialism and their activities were considered to be economically damaging. Some candidates might argue that this point explains the opposition of businessmen and property holders rather than union members. Governments were sceptical about socialism as a threat to the Constitution. Yet, some administrations, e.g. Teddy Roosevelt's, were prepared to intervene in industrial disputes on behalf of the workers, if only to prevent them escalating into a greater problem.

#### 19 Did the Populist movement mark a new departure in US politics?

**AO1** – The Populists were formally created in 1892 by the merging of different groups that had existed earlier: the Granger Movement (1867), the Greenbacks (1875) and The Farmers' Alliance (1880s). After the election of 1900, the Populist Party and broader movement faded. Even if short-lived, its legacy may have had longer term significance.

**AO2** – It might be considered new in that its core support was the rural sector. However, they failed to make an impact on Southern White farmers for whom race remained their first concern and, from 1892 at least, they tried to appeal to industrial workers, too. Their policies might be assessed as new in that they challenged orthodox financial theory, they favoured nationalisation and, in general, were anti-capitalist. Yet, with improving economic conditions for farmers in the late nineteenth century their views moderated. Their methods might be considered new as their leaders (Weaver and Watson) indulged in demagoguery. Ultimately, as a third party they failed to change the two party system though some candidates might argue their agenda helped stimulate the progressive era of Roosevelt, Taft and Wilson.

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**20 In what ways, if any, was the United States a ‘great imperial power’ by 1914?**

**AO1** – Historians continue to debate whether the US merely pursued its interests or established an empire. Different episodes or areas of US foreign policy may be assessed in turn, for example, in the Pacific, Central America and the Far East. In doing so, candidates might consider how the US exercised its power and established its influence. Comparison with the British, French and other imperial powers would be appropriate.

**AO2** – The imposition of political control might be regarded as ‘imperialistic’ and, if so, candidates might analyse US interference in Hawaii, the Philippines, Guam, Puerto Rico, Samoa, Virgin Islands, and other places. It might be argued this was the case in Cuba too as a result of the treaty of 1902. Although confined to a 10-mile strip, the US gained control of the Panama Canal: did this constitute empire? US interference in the internal affairs of other states might be considered more a question of the US merely extending its influence rather than empire building but there is room for argument, for example in the Dominican Republic, Haiti and Nicaragua. In China, the US favoured an ‘open door’ policy where dollar diplomacy was deployed to further its economic interests. US intervention in Mexico was surely motivated by a desire to stabilise an immediate neighbour rather than colonise it. Similarly, US mediation between Russia and Japan was prompted by her concerns for stability in the north-west Pacific. Some might argue that these examples serve to show that US policy was driven by high ideals rather than ambitions of empire.

**21 How successful was the domestic policy of Woodrow Wilson to 1916?**

**AO1** – He made his aims clear in his inaugural speech in 1913. His domestic agenda was dubbed ‘The New Freedom’. As a programme it targeted the three pillars of wealth – trusts, tariffs and the banks. The objective was to mitigate the evils of industrialisation in the interests of liberty for all American people. Did he realise these objectives?

**AO2** – He tackled the trusts with the Clayton Anti-Trust Act of 1914 which attempted to regulate big business more closely than ever before, though the Supreme Court interpreted the Act in ways which limited its effect. The Federal Trade Commission, also set up in 1914, was more successful. The tariff was reduced by 10% to 27% in 1913 and allowed more goods into the USA free of duty. However, income tax was raised on higher incomes to compensate. A new federal banking system was started in 1913 which increased the flow of money and boosted investment. Other reforms were introduced which improved conditions for workers in various occupations and government money was used to subsidise road building. By November 1916, he had achieved much of what he set out to do, though the outbreak of war made it impossible for him to do as much as he had intended.

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### Section 5: 1914–1953

**22 ‘The importance of the USA’s role in the 1918–1919 peace process that followed the First World War was far greater than its importance in the war itself.’ Discuss.**

**AO1** – In considering the role of the USA in the peace process, mention might be expected of Wilson’s Fourteen Points (January 1918) and the contribution of the USA to the treaties of 1919. In assessing the role of the USA in the war, mention might be made of its limited involvement in the early stages of the war and its direct engagement in the latter stages of the war.

**AO2** – Candidates may argue that the 14 Points gave the Allies some direction and formed the basis of peace negotiations in Paris. However, some might regard them as irrelevant in bringing about the end of the war and of little value during the peace talks themselves. In analysing the role of Wilson during the talks, candidates might discuss how he affected the outcome of the treaties. In assessing the importance of the USA in the war itself, most candidates are likely to argue that the delayed entrance of the USA prolonged the war and discuss how their intervention in 1918 expedited the end of the war. Some may conclude that its military contribution was key to any authority it exerted during the peace process itself.

**23 How successful was the New Deal in addressing the economic problems of the USA?**

**AO1** – The question requires an appreciation of the economic problems of the USA by 1933. Mention might be expected of problems in banking, industry and agriculture and the attendant problem of unemployment. Knowledge of the measures associated with the New Deal is required, with some assessment of their effect in solving the problems identified.

**AO2** – Candidates might approach the question either by analysing how the New Deal addressed particular problems or by consideration of the impact of the New Deal in more general terms. Candidates might make a distinction between the First and Second New Deal and the fluctuations in the economy from 1933 to 1941. Indeed, some might measure the success of the New Deal by comparison of the economy in 1941 with the situation in 1933. Some might assess whether the successes of the New Deal were more superficial than substantial and, arguably, too costly.

**24 ‘The foreign policy of the United States in the period 1920–1941 lacked consistency.’ Do you agree?**

**AO1** – Knowledge of the aims and objectives of the USA abroad is required. Details about specific policies adopted to meet particular circumstances or those applied to certain regions and countries would be relevant. Emphasis is likely to be on US policy in Latin America, the Far East and Europe.

**AO2** – Candidates might argue that the Monroe Doctrine underpinned US policy in Latin America. The withdrawal of US troops from Cuba, Dominican Republic and Nicaragua, and Haiti was, arguably, because US power was so well established in these areas. The US ‘Open Door’ policy of the nineteenth century was applied in the Far East. The Washington Conference on naval power, 1921–22, confirmed this. However, when this was challenged by Japanese aggression in the 1930s the US merely condemned the Japanese rather than acting against them. The US was involved in the resolution of the reparations issue (Plans of 1924 and 1929) though it rejected the Treaty of Versailles and the Neutrality Acts of 1935 and 1937 which were applied to the wars in Abyssinia and Spain. In general terms, US policy might be regarded as consistent in its aim of avoiding war (K-B Pact) and neutrality in World War II initially.

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**25 'Air power was the most important contribution of the United States to the Second World War'. Discuss.**

**AO1** – The question requires consideration of the ways in which US air power was used in World War II. However, to assess whether this was the most important element of the US contribution to the war it will be necessary to assess the contribution made by other military services, the political and military leadership of the US and its economic input.

**AO2** – In the analysis of the importance of US air power candidates are likely to discuss the daytime bombing raids in Europe, the cover provided for key operations (D Day and the advance from one Pacific island to another), the effectiveness of US parachute operations and the dropping of the Atomic Bomb. Candidates might argue that air power was merely supportive of land and sea operations in which the army and navy were the more important branches of the services. The economic power of the USA might be stressed as essential in supplying her allies, but also providing the aircraft on which US air power depended. Candidates might discuss the leadership of Roosevelt and key officers in the armed forces.

**26 What best explains the increasing fear of communism in the USA in the years 1943–1953?**

**AO1** – The question requires knowledge of the international context as well as domestic developments. Answers should attempt to address the notion that fear of communism increased in the period and also to weigh the relative significance of the explanatory factors.

**AO2** – Soviet advances westwards from 1943 alarmed the US, though candidates might argue this was only so after 1945 when they consolidated their hold in Eastern Europe. The emergence of Communist parties in Western Europe, and the backing they received from Moscow, might be considered. The Chinese Revolution of 1949 might be discussed. Events in Korea might also be analysed. The acquisition of the atom and hydrogen bombs by the USSR might be assessed. The growth of socialist groups in the USA might be analysed. In doing so, candidates are likely to place emphasis on McCarthyism.

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### Section 6: 1953–2012

#### 27 'Persistent misjudgement characterised the foreign policy of President Eisenhower.' Discuss.

**AO1** – The question requires some evaluation of the wisdom or otherwise of the foreign policy of Eisenhower. Misjudgements may be identified, but a judgment as to whether they were persistent is required. The scope of the discussion is considerable and reference might be made to events in the Far East, Europe, the Middle East and Latin America.

**AO2** – Candidates might argue that the forcing of a truce in Korea showed sound judgement but the 'brinkmanship' of Dulles frightened the allies of the USA. Trying to garrison islands close to China might have been a misjudgement as the Chinese forced the US to abandon them. However, US constancy in defending Formosa paid dividends politically and militarily. Was the US decision to help France in Vietnam a misjudgement, as Diem Bien Phu followed and the US was subsequently embroiled in Vietnam? Perhaps the arms race was a misjudgement as Cold War tensions increased, but there was a thaw in 1959. Ike's different responses to events in Hungary and Egypt in 1956 and his support for Latin American dictators might be analysed. Were US reactions to the threat to Berlin from 1958 and the failure of the 1960 summit wise?

#### 28 Was the Tet Offensive of 1968 the turning point in the War in Vietnam?

**AO1** – Knowledge of the Tet Offensive is important but the background to it and the events which followed will also be required. Answers might span the period from 1954 to 1975. To answer the question, the case for and against the Tet Offensive being a turning point should be made. The counter argument might include reference to other potential turning points.

**AO2** – The case for Tet being a turning point hinges on the US decision taken after it to withdraw. This was made clear by the decision of LBJ not to stand for re-election and the policy of Vietnamisation which his successor, Nixon, followed. It might be argued that the increased emphasis on air power after 1973, a feature of the new policy, extended the war into Cambodia and Laos, making the situation worse, adding weight to the argument that Tet was a turning point. Candidates may argue that Tet was not a turning point as the war continued for another seven years and the US remained engaged there till 1973. Further, in military terms, Tet was a failure for the Vietcong. Alternative turning points which candidates might propose include the overthrow of Diem in 1968 and the Vietcong offensive of 1972.

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**29 How successful was President Johnson’s ‘unconditional war on poverty in the USA’?**

**AO1** – The question requires an assessment of LBJs attempt to deal with poverty in the US. A thematic treatment might consider policies adopted on education, health, urban renewal and the environment. Candidates should assess the positive and negative aspects of the policies considered.

**AO2** – In education, 11 million benefited from new scholarships, low-interest loans and resources for schools and colleges. Yet, local school boards often directed the money to middle class pupils. Also, individual states retained control of education policy. There were more hospitals, nurses and doctors and medical testing yet at great cost. House building, slum clearance, urban transport and improved cleanliness of cities helped. Measures to preserve the environment included national parks and sanctuaries. However, the scale of urban deprivation was huge and much was left undone. Head Start, Jobs Corps and public works provided jobs. The minimum wage and social security rates were raised. Black people benefited. Given the political and financial constraints, the extent of the programme was impressive. Nonetheless, the numbers in poverty remained high.

**30 What best explains why the United States followed a policy of detente in the 1970s and 1980s?**

**AO1** – An understanding of the term, detente, as some sort of rapprochement between the USSR and the USA would be appropriate. There were a range of factors – political, military and economic – that help explain detente. The question requires an assessment of their relative importance. Some may question whether the policy lasted through the 1980s.

**AO2** – Answers are likely to focus on the 1970s and might discuss the importance of some of the following reasons: Soviet support in pressurising the North Vietnamese to make peace was a reason for the US to find accommodation with the USSR. The involvement of the USSR in Afghanistan through the 1980s made it possible for the US to exploit the difficulties of the USSR. Some candidates might stress Carter’s preference for peace and the emergence of Gorbachev in the mid-1980s made it possible for Reagan to work with the Soviets. In the 1970s, the US realised it was not winning the arms race so was prepared to consider the SALT agreement. The US was keen to develop trade with the USSR. Detente with the USSR was a way of exploiting the tension between the Soviets and China. Candidates might comment on the fragility of detente (boycotts of Olympic Games, suspension of SALT II, a new arms race). Credit should be given for reference to improvement in relations in the 1980s but may achieve highest marks by a well-developed analytical answer on the 1970s.



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**31 ‘The domestic policies of Ronald Reagan only favoured the rich.’ Did they?**

**AO1** – The question requires an assessment of the domestic policies of Reagan. These were focused on economic recovery after a decade of relative high unemployment and inflation. His economic and fiscal policies – ‘Reaganomics’ – focused on making large cuts in taxation to motivate enterprise and employment. They were intended to help rich and poor.

**AO2** – In providing evidence that his policies favoured the rich, candidates might include the reduction of income tax to 25% and the growth of the stock market. Also, big reductions in federal spending on welfare including healthcare, food stamps and ‘workfare’ hit the elderly and the poor, especially African Americans. By 1989, the gap between the rich and poor had widened. However, Reagan’s increased spending on the military and the incentives of low tax helped reduce unemployment and inflation which benefited more than just the rich. Reagan introduced measures to give private enterprise more scope in job training, for example, and he favoured the privatisation of education and medical care. Also, the stock market crash of October 1987 hit the rich hard.

**32 How similar were the reasons for Clinton’s election victories in 1992 and 1996?**

**AO1** – The question requires a comparative analysis of the elections of 1992 and 1996 to explain Clinton’s victories. Answers require the identification of factors that were common to both but, in addition, different factors will need to be considered to properly address ‘how similar’ the reasons were. The actual results of the elections were very similar, statistically (% of popular votes, electoral college votes and states won).

**AO2** – Points of similarity that candidates might assess include Clinton’s charisma and the appeal of Al Gore, the importance of economic circumstances (in 1992 it was poor but by 1996 it had improved) and Clinton’s centrist policies on education, welfare and medical care. All these factors help explain his appeal to the less well-off. Also, his opponents might be considered a negative factor that helped Clinton (in 1992: Bush/Quayle, in 1996: Dole/Kemp). In addition, Republicans in Congress were unpopular (especially Gingrich). Differences analysed might include the fact that in 1992 Clinton offered a change from Republican government which was not the case in 1996. Also, in 1996 he could campaign on his record which included successes abroad (Middle East) and at home (the economy).

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### Section 7: Themes c. 1900–2000

#### 33 How significant was technology in promoting economic change in the USA in the period 1941–c. 1980?

**AO1** – The question requires an assessment of the importance of technology as a factor in changing the economy in the USA. Answers might focus on technology alone, assessing the ways it promoted economic change with consideration of its limitations in this respect. An alternative approach might be to weigh the impact of technology with other factors.

**AO2** – Technological advances in the period were immense in terms of products made and the increased automation of production. Candidates might consider technologies developed as a result of war, the arms race, developments in nuclear power and the increased application of advances in science and the way they promoted economic change, for example, in terms of the scale of operations, location of business, jobs and means of trade.

Some candidates might consider the role of government in the economy, if only because of its regulation of technology, with consideration of the positive and negative aspects of this. The massive expansion of the consumer market might be considered as a factor in promoting economic change. Developments in infrastructure, particularly the building of interstate roads and the growth of air travel might be analysed.

#### 34 'Its power increased most during the Second World War.' Assess this view of the presidency during the period 1933–1974.

**AO1** – The question requires an analysis of the power of the presidency during World War II. However, answers should consider other times when the power of the presidency increased. In reaching a judgement the restraints on the presidency imposed by Congress and the Supreme Court might be assessed.

**AO2** – FDR gained powers to deploy troops and to execute war policy and also to co-ordinate the running of the war at home. Comparison might be made with Johnson in that he exercised similar power at home and abroad. It might be argued that Nixon did the same, if illegally (Watergate). All presidents have used executive powers to varying degrees. Did the power of the president increase most in the 1930s? Some might argue that the power of the presidency has been increased by the use of the media, and discuss the relative success of FDR, JFK and others in this respect. It might be argued that all the time the power of the presidency has been checked by the Supreme Court and Congress.

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- 35 ‘Cultural developments in the United States during the twentieth century suggest that modernism was a mistake.’ By reference to any one art form, how far do you agree?**

**AO1** – Modernists rejected the past in favour of creative destruction. It necessitated a break with tradition. Modernists adopted a practical view of the world and regarded technology as the vehicle of progress. Newness was all. Although such notions emerged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it was the convulsions of world wars that gave modernism real impetus. However, by the 1960s, there was a reaction against modernism as it was increasingly regarded as oppressive and sterile and it gave way to post-modernism. The question requires an analysis of the impact of modernism. In addressing the question, answers should consider the negative effects of modernism but also its positive effects.

**AO2** – Modernism in either architecture, the theatre, literature, music, painting, sculpture, film and so on might be considered. It might be argued that modernism provided optimism and hope at a time when the weaknesses of more traditional cultural norms were exposed, especially during the world wars. However, candidates might argue that the emphasis on rational and clinical form lacked inspiration, beauty and relevance.

- 36 ‘Feminism had a broad agenda but it achieved little.’ Assess the validity of this view for the 1960s and 1970s.**

**AO1** – The question requires some knowledge of what constituted the feminist agenda. This included issues of sexual liberation, including the right to abortions, equality at work, opportunities in education, greater freedom within the family. Further, an assessment of the advances made by women in realising their goals is required.

**AO2** – JFK established a commission on the status of women in 1961. A law was passed by Congress in 1964 dismantling discrimination in the work place, yet it was not widely observed, though more women gained work because of the growth in the economy. In 1972, laws were passed to ensure equality for women in colleges of education, and another to guarantee sexual equality. The Roe v. Wade case of 1973 legalised abortion. Yet, this had to be upheld by the Supreme Court in 1992. Were feminist organisations helpful? National Organization for Women (NOW), successfully prompted women’s issues, but were the strike (1970) and bra burning (1960s) counterproductive? Women’s rights were rejected by the New Left politics. Women were divided (upper/lower class, young/old, radicals/conservatives) and lacked leadership. The FBI was effective in disrupting their activities.

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**37 What best explains the rise of a conservative culture in the years 1968–2000?**

**AO1** – The question requires an explanation for the emergence of a conservative culture. A range of reasons should be considered and a judgement is needed about what best explains the rise of a conservative culture.

**AO2** – The challenge of the civil rights movement since the 1960s to traditional notions of social hierarchy might be discussed. Developments in religion, including the controversy about gay bishops and extra marital sex, have served to stimulate conservative tendencies. The situation is similar with gun ownership. The right to bear arms is defended vigorously by many despite the pressure from many quarters to restrict the ownership of guns. This matter has assumed a greater intensity in light of the misuse of arms in the late twentieth century. It also epitomises a broader aspect of conservative culture which is the traditional defence of the Constitution. Most Americans see the political arrangements of the late eighteenth century as immutable, despite the increasing evidence of their inadequacy in the context of the late twentieth century. Arguably, as concerns about terrorism increases, and with the experience of authoritarianism abroad, it is plausible to talk of a rise of conservative culture.

**38 ‘The political influence of organised religion in the US was greatest in the South.’ Discuss.**

**AO1** – The question requires an analysis of the influence of organised religion on politics within different areas of the country. Christian organisations enjoy most support, although other faiths – Islam, Hinduism, Mormonism, etc. – might be considered. A large percentage of the population is religious and most religious organisations are conservative.

**AO2** – In the ‘Bible-Belt’, election campaigns and political debate are shaped, to a degree, by organised religion and few politicians at State or Federal level, including the President, can afford to ignore it. The Mormons dominate the state of Utah and influence politics there. In the Western States and areas of the North East where there are large concentrations of Latinos and immigrants from Europe, the Catholic Church is very influential. This is shown in all these areas at times of election especially at local level in the appointment of community officers (police, fire, etc.), and on government policy at State and Federal level, for example, in setting the agenda on syllabuses in schools (particularly in Biology and Ethics) and the appointment of teaching staff. University research is also controlled to a degree by the financial influence of the Christian Right in providing the funding. Their views on abortion help explain the intensity of the public debate on this issue and related matters. Organised religions help set the agenda or have demonised socialists and radicals as unpatriotic. The tendency of organised religions to exploit recent terrorist outrages is an example of this.