

CAMBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL EXAMINATIONS

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MARK SCHEME for the October/November 2014 series

9697 HISTORY

9697/52

Paper 5, maximum raw mark 100

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9697/51 & 9697/52 : THE HISTORY OF THE USA c1840–1968 : NOVEMBER 2014

QUESTION 1: How far do Sources A–E support the hypothesis that the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act was beneficial to the South?

	SOURCE & CONTENT	ANALYSIS: LEVEL 2/3	CROSS-REFERENCE	CONTEXT AND/OR PROVENANCE	EVALUATION: LEVEL 4/5
A	A cartoon which shows an abolitionist resisting efforts of a slave owner to recover one of his slaves who had fled to the North.	The difficulty the slave owner has in regaining his 'lost property' shows that the Fugitive Slave Act was not beneficial to the South. Thus No .	Clearly supported by Source E and to some extent by Source D . Source B might be seen as supporting the cartoon while Source C adds nothing of value.	The passage of personal liberty acts by Northern states shows that the FSA was hard to enforce. Provenance provides no help in evaluation.	The cartoon summarises the arguments on both sides accurately and succinctly. Also supported by context. Thus No .
B	A newspaper article which considers the implications of the number of fugitive slaves escaping to Canada for the Fugitive Slave Act.	The article argues that the Fugitive Slave Act is working as well as can be expected and should be more successful in years to come. Thus Yes .	Source C is the most helpful, if unreliable, and Source A much less so. In their different ways, Sources D and E undermine Source B's arguments.	Where Source B argues the North was cooperating with the FSA in reality it was in opposition. Also the article was written soon after the passage of the Act.	This Southern source is untypically positive about the FSA. Unfortunately, its arguments receive no valid support from other sources or context. Thus No .
C	An extract from the President's state of the union address.	The President argues that those opposing the Act are against the constitution, not just the FSA. More importantly, they are few in number and diminishing daily. Thus Yes .	Source B provides some support, Source A much less. Sources D and E undermine the president's argument.	A state of the union address, always partisan, will be even more so, so soon after the passage of the 1850 Compromise.	Hard to place any faith in the extract as a reliable assessment of the Fugitive Slave Act. Thus No .

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D	An extract from a speech by the ex-slave abolitionist to a women's anti-slavery group.	Douglass argues that the FSA has benefited the abolitionist cause by revealing the reality of slavery. Thus No .	Some support from E , which is a Southern source. Little or none, though, from the more positive B and C or the more even-handed A .	An abolitionist talking to an abolitionist society is an unreliable source. Some contextual support, though, for the assertion that the FSA had resulted in 'manly resistance from fugitives.	Provenance suggests unreliability, context and Source E the opposite. Context and the Southern source support Douglass. Thus No .
E	A newspaper article written some six or seven years after the passage of the FSA.	The Southern newspaper argues that with regard to the FSA Northern states disregard the rights and feelings of the South. Thus No .	Some support from Sources D and A , though not from B and C .	This partial interpretation is to be expected from a Southern source. it is supported by contextual information about Northern resistance.	Provenance suggests unreliability but contextual evidence supports the source. Thus No .

Level 6: in addition to reaching Level 5, candidates can also EITHER (a) explain why one set of sources for or against the hypothesis is preferred to the other OR (b) use the evaluated sources to support an alternative hypothesis. Thus:

Either (a): Although there is evaluated evidence to both challenge and support the hypothesis that the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act was beneficial to the South, evidence against the assertion is stronger. The two sources supporting the hypothesis, Sources B and C, are shown on evaluation to be unreliable, mainly because contextual evidence undermines the arguments they make and evidence they provide. The three sources initially against the assertion, A, D and E, are shown to be reliable, mainly via the provision of contextual information. Thus the sources which are clearly against the hypothesis are preferred to those which support it

Or (b): The evaluated evidence shows the difficulties of implementing the Fugitive Slave Act. While Sources B and C do their best to put the positive case for the Act, the most pessimistic analyses are more convincing. Thus a more appropriate hypothesis supported by the evaluated sources would be that while the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act seemed to be beneficial to the South, its implementation showed the Act to work against the interests of the South.

N.B. The above summaries indicate possible approaches to analysing and evaluating the sources. Other approaches are valid, if supported by accurate knowledge, sound understanding, as well as by the skills of source evaluation.

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2 Assess the importance of the frontier to the development of the USA in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Candidates will be familiar with the concept of the frontier in US history, especially as detailed by historian Frederick John Turner in 1893. He described the frontier as ‘the outer edge of the wave – the meeting point between savagery and civilisation.’ It was the broad western boundary of the USA which continued to advance from east to west in the nineteenth century, coming to a halt by the 1890s. This border region, where civilisation and the formal rule of law had yet to be established, was of prime importance in converting European immigrants into American citizens. The hierarchies of Europe were replaced by the egalitarianism of the frontier. Order imposed by elites was replaced by order imposed by communities, which often ‘took the law into own hands’. The high culture of European elites gave way to a more populist American culture, at the heart of which was the ‘Wild West’. ‘The frontier is productive of individualism,’ Turner asserted, which in turn ‘promotes democracy’. This thesis was fundamental to the teaching of American history in the early twentieth century. Few challenged the core of Turner’s arguments.

Turner’s thesis is retrospective, looking back of events of the previous century, imposing an analytical framework upon events which were more disjointed. Its assertions can be disputed. In one sense, with California joining the USA in 1850, the frontier was already closed. Westward migration began on a large scale with the Californian gold rush of 1848–9 and accelerated with the construction of the transcontinental railroad in the 1860s, helped also by the Homestead Act of 1862. Most settled either in the Mississippi basin or on the Pacific coast. One major exception was the Mormons, who, to escape persecution, settled in the Rockies. People moved west to lands already part of the USA rather than to the meeting point between savagery and civilisation. Furthermore, the egalitarianism of the frontier applied only to male European immigrants. Excluded were Native Americans, Asian immigrants and women.

3 ‘The Compromise of 1877 was no compromise; it was a victory for the Democrats.’ Discuss.

The so-called Compromise of 1877 was necessitated by the 1876 Presidential election result. On initial counts, the Democratic candidate, Samuel Tilden, won the popular vote but was one short of winning the majority of Electoral College votes. The Republican candidate, Rutherford Hayes, was twenty electoral college (EC) votes short of winning. In four states, with a total of twenty EC votes, the results were disputed. Three were the only remaining Southern states with Republican governments: Florida, Louisiana and South Carolina. The deadlock led to a five-month constitutional crisis which was resolved just three days before inauguration day. On 2nd March, the two parties agreed that all twenty disputed EC votes should go to Rutherford Hayes. Hayes got the presidency but at the cost of agreeing to withdraw federal troops from the two remaining Republican states, Louisiana and South Carolina, in effect handing them to the Democrats. Reconstruction, which had been losing momentum for some years, certainly since 1873, finally came to an end.

Thus the Republicans kept control of the Presidency while allowing the Democrats in the South to gain what some called ‘home rule’ over their own states. For Southern Democrats, this was a victory: they passed laws limiting the rights of ex-slaves, including from 1890 various Jim Crow laws. They did give up the Presidency when their candidate had clearly won the popular vote, however. The Republicans kept the Presidency but it was a less powerful position, no longer able to uphold constitutional rights of ex-slaves in the South. To counter the assertion, it is possible to argue that both sides made concessions in order to avoid a constitutional crisis which might have led to even more bitter political conflict, just twelve years after the end of the civil war.

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4 Assess the causes and consequences of the problems facing US agriculture in the nineteenth century.

The farming regions with the greatest problems in the later nineteenth century were the South and the Midwest. Both cattle and arable farming faced problems, if at slightly different times. Problems which had predominately economic causes resulted in consequences which were mainly political.

Causes

- **Falling prices**

This resulted from an increase in supply as more farmers produced more cattle or grain, not only in the USA but also South America, Canada and western Russia. Between 1870 and the mid-1890s wheat prices fell by 50%.

The Great Depression, which lasted in some form or other from 1873 to 1896, only added to farmers' plight.

- **Rising debt**

The annual production cycle required farmers to go into debt. They borrowed from banks to buy the grain which they did not sell until the following year.

- **The structure of the farming sector**

Individual farms were very difficult to organise into larger collective groups which could exercise economic power. Farming cooperatives were usually short-lived. This contrasted with the ability of industrial cooperation in the form of trusts and labour cooperation in the form of labour unions.

Consequences

- **Political associations**

From the 1870s onwards, farmers set up various associations in attempts both to help farmers and to influence government policies. Their anger focused on the railroad companies, which overcharged them, various business trusts and the deflationary monetary policy followed by the federal government. Thus:

- **The Grange 1867+**

Initially with more of an economic focus, following the Panic of 1873 this association began to contest elections, with variable results.

- **The Farmers' Alliance 1877+**

With two separate groups, Southern and Northern, attempts at a merger had some impact, especially in Kansas.

- **The Populist Party [aka the People's Party] 1891+**

This purely political movement contested the 1892 Presidential election, its candidate winning four states. In 1896, it chose as its candidate the Democratic party's candidate, William Jennings Bryan. This shows the difficulties facing third parties and the Populist party declined thereafter, though some of its ideas continued to influence the emerging Progressive movement.

- **Limited government support**

From 1887, the federal government provided some financial support for agricultural research, later supported by extension agents to make sure new ideas were disseminated.

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5 Who contributed more to improve the position of African Americans in the early twentieth century: W E B Du Bois or Booker T Washington? Explain your answer.

- **W E B Du Bois**

From a free black family in the North, Du Bois was an academic who argued the need for African Americans to oppose racism and racial inequalities. A leading member of the NAACP from its formation in 1909 until his resignation in 1934, he edited *The Crisis*, the organisation's main publicity against racism. He highlighted white racism, e.g. lynchings, which Booker T Washington did not criticise. He was less involved in the other aspect of the NAACP's work, i.e. using the legal system to uphold the constitutional rights of African Americans.

While he did much to publicise the plight of African-Americans, it could be argued that he did little which actually improved their position, whether political or economic.

- **Booker T Washington**

From the South and born a slave, in 1881, Washington was appointed head of the Tuskegee Institute when just 25 years old. He soon emerged as the leader of African Americans, most of whom still lived in the South. He was much more conservative in his attitudes than Du Bois, who called him 'the Great Accommodator'. In what was called the Atlanta Compromise of 1895, Washington agreed that African Americans should accept their position in society, not agitate for political rights and gain an 'industrial education' to help improve their position within existing society and politics. In 1901, he met President Roosevelt in the White House and gained national prominence as the leading African American of his generation. Less accommodating African Americans from the North in 1905 at Niagara Falls urged a more activist approach. Present at the Falls was W E B Du Bois.

While Washington accepted the social and political status quo, making him something of an Uncle Tom figure, it could be argued his focus on education did more to improve the position of many African Americans than did the publicity work of Du Bois.

Thus there is plenty to argue either way. Note the limit to 'the early twentieth century' in the question. Du Bois lived until the 1960s, continuing to be a political activist throughout. Only his work up to and including the First World War is strictly relevant. Washington died in 1915.

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6 Why did the policies of President Hoover, 1929–33, fail to remedy the problems caused by the Great Crash?

The question covers the whole Hoover presidency, which implies that the effects of the Great Crash of 1929 lasted from some three years. The economic developments of 1929-32 are best divided into:

- **The start of the economic slump 1929–30**

This was more of a US problem as prices and production fell while unemployment grew. The recession began before the Great Crash but the slump in the stock market turned a recession into a deeper and longer depression.

President Hoover did what little he could to offset the slump by (a) spending on federal infrastructure projects and (b) getting employers and union leaders to avoid drastic action to cut the workforce or to demand pay increases. He did nothing to help alleviate the hardship being experienced by the unemployed. Hoover had to rely on the ‘bully pulpit’ of the Presidency to urge others to act, including the independent Federal Reserve.

Thus Hoover had few devices which he could use to remedy the depression. In part, however, the start of the slump was seen as a necessary corrective to the excesses of the previous five years.

NB His acceptance of the Smoot-Hawley tariff bill, which raised tariffs, in June 1930, was not a major cause of the deepening depression. It does show, however, Hoover’s reluctance to take a lead at times of national crisis.

- **The banking crisis 1930–2**

This was both an American and an international problem. The first major US bank to collapse was the Bank of the United States in December 1930. In May 1931, the fall of Credit-Anstalt, a leading Austrian bank, made the crisis a serious international problem. By 1931, the imbalances in gold reserves between the major economies were so great – UK and Germany had few, USA and France had plenty – that the gold standard began to collapse, e.g. UK left the gold standard in September 1931. This destabilised international trade and led to higher interest rates and further deflation in the USA.

In June 1931, Hoover called for a one-year moratorium on all intergovernmental debts, which was agreed. From late 1931, Hoover made more radical moves to tackle the depression. They included the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to help prop up the banking sector and the Emergency Relief and Construction Act. However, these more positive moves were offset by (a) the 1932 Revenue Act which increased direct taxes, thus causing more deflation, and (b) the forced removal of the Bonus Army from Anacostia River flats by the US army in July 1932. The presidential election was just over three months away.

There is much ground to cover in terms of what Hoover did as well as why he took the actions he did. Stronger candidates will focus on why rather than how.

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7 Assess Franklin Roosevelt’s role as war leader between 1941 and 1945.

The question can be approached either by time – which should include events of 1941 before Pearl Harbour as well as the war itself – or by specific role: military, as commander-in-chief; diplomatic, as charge of relations with allies; political, as leader of the American people.

- **Military**
 - FDR accepted the ‘Europe First’ Strategy agreed even before Pearl Harbour and broadly supported it throughout the war, even if initially ensuring more resources went to the war in the Pacific in 1942–3, before D-Day. He usually left the details of military strategy to his generals, and especially George Marshall.

- **Diplomatic**
 - **Lend-Lease: March 1941**

This put into practice the ‘Arsenal of Democracy’ speech of December 1940, providing much-needed support to the hard-pressed UK and USSR.

 - **Atlantic Charter: June 1941**

The first meeting with Churchill resulted in a statement of war aims which became the foundation for creating the United Nations.

 - **Casablanca Conference: June 1943**

Important because FDR agreed to the policy of unconditional surrender; some argue this was a major diplomatic mistake.

 - **Tehran Conference: November 1943**

The first meeting with Stalin as well as Churchill; FDR agreed to Second Front in Western Europe in 1944. Stalin tended to dominate, FDR was accommodating.

 - **Yalta Conference: February 1945**

This was crucial to the end of the war in Europe and to FDR’s reputation. A sick man, he was seen as making too many concessions to Stalin, especially once the Cold War began.

- **Political**
 - **Internment of American-Japanese February 1942**

FDR has been criticised for agreeing to the policy which resulted in 110 000 American-Japanese, 60% of them US citizens, being interned. The EO did not actually identify this ethnic group and at the time was regarded as a regrettable necessity of war. In this case FDR followed rather than led public opinion.

 - **Fireside Chats**

FDR made some 15 radio broadcasts to the American people between 1940 and 1944, using this effective device to rally support behind the war effort.

 - **Presidential Election 1944**

FDR won an unprecedented fourth election quite comfortably, if not by the landslide that being a successful war leader might success. Already his poor health was something of an issue.

FDR somehow seems a less effective war leader than either Churchill or Stalin and perhaps because mainland USA was never under threat. His poor health in 1944–5 also affected his ability to negotiate with Stalin. There is plenty to discuss, however; the problem will be what to include.

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8 Account for the increasing importance of youth culture in the 1950s and 1960s.

Evidence of the importance of youth is plentiful, from emergence of rock n roll in the mid-1950s to the student rebellions of the mid-1960s. Giving 18–21 year olds the vote in 1969 was further evidence of the primacy of youth. However, the question asks why youth culture became important rather than how. Possible reasons include:

- **Demographic**
The baby boom of the late 40s and 50s certainly helps explain the primacy of youth in the 1960s. It must be remembered that the rebels of the 1950s who did much to challenge traditional culture – James Dean, Marlon Brando, Jack Kerouac – were born in the 1920s and 1930s.
- **Economic**
The continued prosperity of the post-war era gave young people opportunities and income which enabled them to develop their own lifestyles, independent of their parents. This resulted in the emergence of ‘teenagers’ who spent their money on radios and LP records.
- **Political**
There was widespread political support for investment in high school and college education, which gave young people several years before entering the workplace.
- **Post-war context**
There was a sharp divide, especially in the 1960s, between the ‘greatest generation’ and their children in terms of attitudes and values, especially given the Vietnam war.

There is plenty to cover. To gain higher marks, candidates must explain and not just describe.