National
Qualifications
2019

2019 History

Higher — British, European and world history

Finalised Marking Instructions

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General marking principles for Higher History — British, European and world history

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(g) The question stems used in this paper are

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

Marking principles for each question type

Essay questions (22 marks)

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

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

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

Award knowledge and understanding marks where points are

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

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

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

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

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

Examples of relationships between identified factors could include

- Establishing contradictions or inconsistencies within factors.
  For example, *While they were successful in that way, they were limited in this way . . .*
- Establishing contradictions or inconsistencies between factors.
  For example, *While there were political motives for doing this, the economic factors were against doing this.*
- Establishing similarities and consistencies between factors.
  For example, *In much the same way as this group were affected by this development, this group were also affected in this way.*
- Establishing links between factors.
  For example, *This factor led to that factor.*
  OR
  At the same time there was also . . .
- Exploring different interpretations of these factors.
  For example, *While some people have viewed the evidence as showing this, others have seen it as showing . . .*
  OR
  While we used to think that this was the case, we now think that it was really . . .

Evaluation
Award **up to 4 marks.**

Evaluation involves making a judgement based on criteria.

Candidates make reasoned evaluative comments relating to, for example

- The extent to which the factor is supported by the evidence.
  For example, *This evidence shows that X was a very significant area of impact.*
- The relative importance of factors.
  For example, *This evidence shows that X was a more significant area of impact than Y.*
- Counter-arguments including possible alternative interpretations.
  For example, *One factor was . . .. However, this may not be the case because . . .*
  OR
  However, more recent research tends to show that . . .
- The overall impact and/or significance of the factors when taken together.
  For example, *While each factor may have had little effect on its own, when we take them together they became hugely important.*
- The importance of factors in relation to the context.
  For example, *Given the situation which they inherited, these actions were more successful than they might appear.*

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

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

Marking instructions for each question

SECTION 1 — British

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

1.	**Context** Feudalism is a term that is used to describe a society that is organised around relationships that emerge from the holding of land in exchange for service or labour. There is debate about what this means in detail, but the relationship between king, nobility, knights and the peasantry is generally agreed to form the basis of feudalism. **Role and importance of the landed classes** • barons and other powerful magnates received land from the feudal overlords. These lands offered rights and privileges that in turn led to wealth and a comfortable lifestyle • these privileges usually gave the barons judicial control and the right to bear arms, build castles and hold tournaments. This often supplemented their income barons enjoyed a relatively leisured life, with pastimes such as hunting and hawking • the main drawback for the landed classes was the requirement to provide military service. This was occasionally dangerous, even fatal. Many circumvented this by providing substitutes or making excuses for non-appearance. **Other factors** **Role and importance of the peasant classes** • peasants played an important part in feudal society, beyond the need for a productive class working in agriculture, providing goods and service for their lord • it was expected that peasants would run their own day-to-day lives without the need for the feudal lord's presence. Local reeves and bailiffs, appointed by the peasants or the lord himself, would act in his stead • the feudal term of villein or serf indicated a peasant who was not free to leave his home farm or village. They were bought and sold along with the land and were expected to work at least 3 days a week in the lord's lands without recompense and hand over the best of their produce in exchange for the rent of their farmland • peasants, or villeins, tended to work hard, mostly in the agricultural sector. All the work had to be done by hand and this resulted in long hours of backbreaking work • food was basic and, in times of famine, starvation was a real threat. As the 12th century progressed famine became rare in England, since the manor system pulled in isolated communities and helped create new more viable villages throughout the kingdom • serfdom declined by the 14th century as economic conditions allowed landlords to end the idea of tying a peasant to their land and, instead, exchange the labour services of the peasant with cash from rents • peasants became more important through the feudal period as their labour was in demand, especially after the Black Death • peasantry could also have political importance, for example the Peasants Revolt of 1381.

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Changing role of knights

- a knight could be created by the king in return for military or some other service
- the medieval knightly class was adept at the art of war, trained in fighting in armour, with horses, lances, swords and shields. Knights were taught to excel in the arms, to show courage, to be gallant and loyal
- as time went by, the idea developed that they had a duty to protect the weaker members of society, particularly women. This ideal did not always extend beyond their own class
- Christianity had a modifying influence through the classical concept of heroism and virtue. The Peace and Truce of God in the 10th century was one such example, with limits placed on knights to protect and honour the weaker members of society as well as helping the church maintain peace. At the same time the church became more tolerant of war in the defence of faith, developing theories of the just war or crusade.

Role of the clergy

- it was the church that crowned the monarchs led to the idea that the King was dependent on God for his role, and thus in a way subservient to the church
- Popes could apply religious/political sanctions against monarchs, thorough excommunication and interdicts. This was often used to bring political pressure against an opponent, as seen during the reign of King John in England and Robert Bruce in Scotland
- kings needed the literacy and numeracy skills of the clergy in order to help administer their realms. Therefore, clerics could hold high office in government
- the wealth of the church came mostly from large grants of land by the nobles and especially the Kings. Thus the church became an integral part of the feudal structure, holding lands in both Scotland and England and being subject to military duties
- the importance of marriage, funerals and christenings brought people closer to attaining their passage to heaven. Therefore, the ceremonies that marked the passage of life had power and importance to people
- monasteries were seen as 'prayer factories' and used to intercede with God for the ordinary lay population. Many rulers clearly thought they were important and spent time and money resourcing the founding of monasteries. David I of Scotland is one example
- pilgrimage to holy centres was an important part of medieval life. People would travel long distances to places of religious importance, such as Jerusalem and Rome as well as places that had important religious relics like Canterbury and St Andrews.

Role of the king

- vital importance of the king in the feudal structure as from them came grants of almost everything that it was in his power to give: land, privileges, financial and judicial customs, and services
- his favoured lords, tenants-in-chief, performed a symbolic gesture of submission known as homage, a ceremony in which the vassal, on his knees, swore an oath of loyalty (fealty) to his overlord in return for land (fief)
- in return the king expected loyalty and military service from his vassals
- kings could expect military service from both his temporal and spiritual lords. For example, William I created great fiefs for his more important vassals out of confiscated Anglo-Saxon land and gave military duties in return. This included all of his bishops and most of his abbots.

	Social divisions • social stratification was relatively rigid, though it was possible for landowners to rise through the ranks of the nobility, through ability or exceptional service • some peasants famously left behind their humble beginnings, proving that social mobility was possible in the 13th and 14th centuries. William of Wykeham became Bishop of Winchester but such rises outside the church were rare. **Any other relevant factors.**

2.	**Context** The Roman Catholic Church emerged from the fall of Rome to play a central role in daily life in medieval Western Europe. Although the Church was there to ensure people's salvation it served a broader role as well. Through its religious sacraments it marked the important stages of life. It fulfilled a role in education, economic development and even in politics. **Religious** • religion was a dominant force within medieval society; the church provided people with an understanding of the world and how it worked • people were concerned about the fate of their souls after death. The Church taught that salvation, or the saving of one's soul, would come to those who followed the Church's teachings • those who failed were damned to a life of torment in hell. To many believers, hell was a real place. It was depicted in lurid detail by many medieval painters • people were taught that the sacred acts of worship, or sacraments, brought special blessing from God • significance of relics and saints as a means to communicate with God and beg divine favour or protection. Glasgow Cathedral boasted fragments of the Virgin's girdle and hair, along with droplets of her milk. **Other factors** **Differing roles of the secular and regular church** • secular church was responsible for the day-to-day ministration of their flocks and their education in scripture as well as performing important acts of worship • regular church such as monasteries were 'prayer factories' and used to intercede with God for the ordinary lay population • monastic life of dedication to God and a simple life following the rule of St Benedict: poverty, chastity and obedience, was considered important • many rulers spent time and money resourcing the founding of monasteries. David I of Scotland is one example. His dedication to supporting different orders, such as the Cistercians, was undoubtedly pious as well as practical. **Political** • the development of canon law during this period was a direct threat to the growth of the monarchies. The papacy argued that all power of kings was invested through them during their coronation by God through the church • monarchs argued that the power was given directly to them by God. As such, the papal position was that kings were subservient to monarchs. The papacy continued to argue their position and used papal sanctions such as excommunication and the interdict to bring monarchs to heel • political argument between the Church and State as to who had the right to appoint senior clergy members. Such offices came with large grants of land in England and often held considerable political and military significance • monarchs did not wish the papacy to choose political undesirables for such a prominent position, for example William the Lion and the argument over the Bishop of St Andrews in 1180

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	• within the feudal system bishops and abbots were large landowners with the rights to raise troops in time of need, for example Bishop of Durham led the English forces that defeated David I at the Battle of the Standard in 1138 and Bishop Odo had an important role at the Battle of Hastings in 1066 • the Church provided the majority of clerks for the state government. They were needed to keep records, write charters, laws keep accounts etc. **Social** • the church provided the rituals that marked the passage of life which had power and importance to people • rituals including baptism, confirmation and marriage had a social significance as well as religious • the regular church provided a place to meet and celebrate festivals, which provided a social focus for medieval communities • Church even dictated what could be eaten on what day. For example, on a Wednesday, Friday or a Saturday you were expected to abstain from the consumption of meat and dairy produce. Fish was acceptable, however. **Economic** • the medieval church was a significant landholder and was exempt from many taxes • the church had an economic role as an employer, for example in the monastic houses and to till their land • the church also generated wealth through commercial activities, for example Melrose Abbey had a sheep flock of 15,000 in the 14th century and exported wool to the Low Countries and Italy. **Any other relevant factors.**

3.	**Context** The decline of feudalism happened as the previous order of society where land was exchanged for economic or military service was challenged. Economic developments, which changed the relationship between peasants and lord as well as the development of new ways to trade and pay for labour/service led to its decline. **Peasants' Revolt** • the Statute of Labourers 1351 was a law created by the English Parliament in response to the labour shortage caused by the Black Death and rising wages • it sought to set a maximum wage for labourers and force all able-bodied men and women to work • the Statute of Labourers was very unpopular with the peasants who wanted higher wages and better living standards. It is considered to be a contributing factor to the Peasants Revolt of 1381 • the Peasants Revolt of 1381 had numerous causes including high taxation as well as resentment over the way serfdom was operating. For example, in the south-east of England many serfs were unhappy with the way in which landowners ran the manorial courts, particularly the fines and enforcement of unpopular laws. This was challenged with local legal officials being assaulted and animals seized by the courts retaken by their owners even before 1381 • although eventually defeated, the extent of the revolt and the impressive way in which it was organised shows that the old feudal consensus had broken down • there is an argument that the Peasants' Revolt was a reaction to the attempts to force peasants to return to the old ideas of labour services. **Other factors** **Black Death** • the decline in the population caused by the Black Death meant that the survivors, particularly of the lower classes, could demand and often received better wages for their labour. Wage levels in England roughly doubled. Indeed, the shortage of labourers is often seen as causing the decline of serfdom in Western Europe • landowners for the first time needed to negotiate for their serfs' services, leading to higher wages and better living conditions for those that survived • changes to land tenure as a result. Longer leases were granted to attract tenants to the land. By the 15th century lifelong tenancies were granted in return for substantial one-off payments. For example, the abbey at Cupar Angus had leased most of its lands in five-year tenancies, but life tenancies became the norm in order to attract workers • better off peasants were able to acquire land after the Black Death. In Scotland, these were called husbandmen. For example, in the Dumfriesshire barony of Buittle a man called Gilbert Gilbertson rented land in four farm towns as well as the local mill. These peasants produced a surplus from their land and had some economic freedom as a result.

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	Growth of towns • many found the freedom of burgh life allowed them to develop trade without the burden of labour services or restrictions in movement • towns were centres of craft skills and commercialism which did not fit into the feudal model, but which became more important in the late-medieval period, especially on the continent • emergence of a professional class, such as lawyers, in towns. Again, it was a job that didn't fit into the feudal structure, but became increasingly important as towns grew and, presumably, conflict between burgesses needed to be resolved. **Growth of trade and mercantilism** • with markets for their goods fluctuating considerably, many nobles came to understand their weak economic position. For some it was better to let their peasants become tenants who rented their land than to continue as their feudal protector • others discovered that sheep were a far more profitable resource than peasants could ever be. The monasteries in particular turned over large areas to sheep pasture to capitalize on the strong demand for wool • peasants who could afford to purchase or rent extra land could propel themselves upwards on the social ladder. **Changing social attitudes** • social mobility was increasing for a number of reasons, including the move to an economy based more on cash than service. In England the wars against France had brought riches to some and enabled them to climb the social ladder • attitudes to and of the peasantry changed as serfdom declined in places like Scotland. The relationship between landlord and serf changed into that between landlord and tenant. However, landlords developed other ways of exploiting their tenants, such as through fines • increasing lack of deference happened at different times across Western Europe, but one example is French knights in Scotland who were shocked by the upstart nature of the peasantry in 1385 • challenges to social order from lesser nobles, who in Scotland, for example would become lairds as feudalism ended. They were used to challenge the power of important magnates by monarchs seeking to increase, or at least counter-balance their power. **Any other relevant factors.**

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4.	**Context** During the reign of James in England, 1603–1625, the House of Commons had challenged the Divine Right of Kings, and relations between crown and Parliament deteriorated over a number of issues. When James I had ascended the throne, Parliament had become used to wielding some power due to developments during the reigns of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I, but James wanted to exercise the same authority in England as he had been accustomed to in Scotland. Factors contributing towards James's problems were economic, political, legal, religious, and related to the Divine Right of Kings. **Economic issues** • James wanted to exist financially independent of Parliament and manipulated the statute books to re-impose anachronistic laws which were designed merely to raise revenue • fiscal devices such as monopolies and wardships were unpopular • the king alienated his natural allies in the House of Lords by selling honours and titles and appearing to devalue the status of the aristocracy • increases in customs duties led to the Bates Case in 1606 which James won, although Parliament declared the duties illegal in 1610. **Other factors** **Political issues** • Parliament had been encouraged since the days of Henry VIII to make policy, and therefore its members felt they could criticise the Crown freely; James's opposition to this made his status as a foreigner more unattractive to the English Parliament • the House of Commons opposed James so much that the stability of the nation was affected • the king conceded defeat in the Goodwin Case which gave Parliament fresh impetus to challenge him further • James attempted to curtail Parliamentary freedom of speech by imprisoning outspoken MPs in the Tower of London when Parliament was dissolved. **Divine Right of Kings** • there had been far greater accord given to the notion of the Divine Right of Kings in Scotland than England • James had greater power in Scotland but in England Parliament had gained increasing power during the 16th century • James tried to assert the Divine Right of Kings in England as he claimed he had been accustomed to this in Scotland • James's position as head of the Church in England troubled Scots who feared an increasing monarchical influence over the Church of Scotland which might be justified by the Divine Right of Kings • Parliament in London rejected the king's proposed union between Scotland and England as they felt he was making no attempt to understand the English constitution, which accorded greater powers to Parliament in London than were accorded in Edinburgh • James continued to exert the Divine Right of Kings in Scotland which led to some Highland clans resisting his use of force to maintain order there

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	• as legitimate king of Scotland, James was carrying out a role into which he had been born; however, his position in trying to maintain rule over two kingdoms, and the dominance of England, meant Scotland proved to be more than a minor irritation in his attempts to achieve stability and he therefore struggled to control both countries. **Religious issues** • James had a lifelong hatred of Puritanism; Puritans existed in large numbers in the House of Commons and were demanding church reform • the king feared moves towards Presbyterianism and rejected the Millenary Petition at the Hampton Court Conference of 1604, saying 'no bishops, no king', vowing to maintain an Episcopalian Church of England • in 1607 the House of Commons presented a Petition for the Restoration of Silenced Ministers, requesting the reinstatement of preachers who had been previously dismissed for their Puritan views. This set MPs in direct opposition in policy terms to the sitting monarch • James relaxed the Recusancy Laws against Roman Catholics, which revealed that there were more Roman Catholics than many in the House of Commons had feared • the Gunpowder Plot of 1605 increased tension and turned many against Roman Catholics. Parliament was horrified that the king allowed his son to marry a Roman Catholic French princess and allow her to celebrate mass privately at court • furthermore, James admired the religious power of the monarchies in France and Spain, both Roman Catholic countries and England's traditional enemies • James conducted many negotiations with the Spanish Ambassador, Count Gondomar, whose influence at court many Puritans resented. In 1604 they concluded a peace, bringing their nineteen-year Anglo-Spanish war to an end with the Treaty of London • eventually the king issued the House of Commons with the Rebuke of 1621, a ban on discussing foreign policy so that he could forge stronger links with Spain. This generated much anti-Catholic feeling amongst James's political opponents who disapproved of this developing relationship. **Legal issues** • James attempted to control the court system by appointing judges who would favour the Crown; Parliament saw this as unfair and objected to the abuse of power • the king also made sure that only he could sack Justices of the Peace, and not Parliament. this 'immovability of judges' was deeply resented by the House of Commons • the king influenced proceedings in prerogative law courts such as the Court of Star Chamber and protected the landed classes who were exempt from flogging. Savage punishments were imposed on poorer people who could not pay fines, with Justices of the Peace frequently pronouncing 'No goods: to be whipped' • the king imposed martial law in towns where troops were preparing to embark on foreign campaigns; Parliament opposed this • the king billeted troops in the homes of civilians in order to enforce the law. **Any other relevant factors.**

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5.	**Context** Charles I succeeded his father James I (I and VI) in 1625 and ruled over both England and Scotland until 1642. He continued to reign in Scotland until his death in 1649 at the hands of the English Parliament. During this time there were considerable challenges facing the king in his attempts to enforce his policies in Scotland. Some of these difficulties, led to instability in his control of England, which itself led to parliamentary opposition to his reign there too. The factors are the First and Second Bishops' Wars, National Covenant, religious policies and political issues. **Policies of Charles I in Scotland** • 1625: Charles I introduced the Act of Revocation which restored those lands to the Church which had been transferred to the nobility at the time of the Reformation in 1560; this development also saw the proceeds from the tithe passed back to the church, and the king continued to give increasing power to bishops • Charles I's policy was to appoint bishops rather than nobles to the Scottish Privy Council, his chief advisory body in Scotland; in 1635 Archbishop John Spottiswoode was appointed as the king's Chancellor for Scotland, the first non-secular official in this position since the Reformation, leading to fears that the king would impose Anglicanism on the country • Charles I did not visit Scotland until 1633 when he was crowned there by Spottiswoode; his ignorance of the country's political customs and traditions led to a lack of understanding of Scottish affairs; Scots opposition to Charles I meant that the Stuart notion of the Divine Right of Kings was brought to an end by the king's own subjects. **Imposition of the Prayer Book in Scotland** • 1629: the king issued a Royal Demand that Scottish religious practice should conform to English models; in 1633 the king's coronation at St Giles in Edinburgh included Anglican rituals such as candles and crucifixes; Charles I introduced William Laud, the Archbishop of Canterbury, to Scotland, and Laud proceeded to oversee Anglican practice in Scottish churches; many Presbyterians resented the influence of Laud, whose position as the king's representative on spiritual matters led to resentment of royal authority • Laud advised Charles I to agree to unification of the Churches of Scotland and England in 1625 without consulting the Privy Council; despite Presbyterian refusal to ratify this, in 1635 Laud issued the Book of Canons, declaring that the monarch had authority over the Church of Scotland, and subsequently approved a new Service Book, a variation of the English Prayer Book, drawn up by the Scottish bishops; Presbyterian opposition grew • 23 July 1637: a Prayer Book for Scotland modelled on the English Prayer Book was read at St Giles Cathedral by the Bishop of Brechin who had two loaded pistols sitting in front of him in case of unrest; the Dean, James Hannay, subsequently had a stool thrown at him by a serving woman, Jenny Geddes, and in the chaos that ensued, the Bishop of Edinburgh was shouted down by crowd in support of Geddes • across Scotland people declared opposition to the new Prayer Book, placing the king's Scottish Privy Council in difficult position, caught between Charles I and his rivals; the Tables committee was formed in Edinburgh in late 1637 by nobles, middle-class lawyers, Privy Councillors and ministers, all pledged to oppose the king's religious tyranny.

National Covenant

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

First Bishops' War

- Charles I could not raise enough money to fight the Scots effectively as the English Parliament had not been called since 1629, so he could only put together a poorly trained force of 20,000 men at Berwick-on-Tweed, 12 miles from General Leslie's 12,000-strong force camped at Duns; meanwhile there were several minor engagements in the north east of Scotland between Covenanters and Scottish royalists, but as the king was unwilling to send his troops into open battle he was forced to agree to a truce in June
- the king signed the Pacification of Berwick on 19 June 1639, agreeing to the General Assembly being the highest religious authority in Scotland; the treaty also acknowledged the freedom of the Scottish Parliament in legislative matters
- Charles I's inability to put down the Scots brought an end to his 'Eleven Years' Tyranny' in England, as he recalled Parliament in 1640 to request revenue to continue war with Scotland; this 'Short Parliament' lasted one month as the king dissolved it again rather than concede powers to Parliament as a condition of their granting him funds.

Second Bishops' War

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

Any other relevant factors.

6.	**Context** After the reign of Charles II, James II (II and VII) ruled between 1685 and 1688. His attempts at absolutism led to the Revolution of 1688–1689. Parliament invited the king's daughter Mary and her husband William to become joint monarchs. A series of agreements made between 1689 and 1701, legalising the division of power between Parliament and the crown, became known as the Revolution Settlement. This included changes in religious power, legal powers of Crown and parliament, political issues, and the financial settlement, although there were some loopholes in the settlement. **Changes in religious power** • Parliament passed the Toleration Act of 1689: toleration of all Protestants except Unitarians, those who did not acknowledge the Holy Trinity; and Roman Catholics. Parliament ensured Roman Catholicism could no longer be accepted • although Nonconformist Protestants could now worship freely, the new law maintained an Exclusion from Public Office clause, so they could not obtain teaching positions at universities or elected posts in towns or the House of Commons • the Toleration Act insisted that Nonconformists take the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy as a condition of their religious freedom • Toleration Act stated the king was supreme Head of the Church of England. 400 Non-Jurors — priests and bishops refusing to acknowledge William III — were expelled from their posts by Parliament • however, the king, as head of the church, now had the power to appoint bishops and archbishops. **Legal powers of Crown and Parliament** • 1689 Bill of Rights stated monarchs could no longer require excessive bail to be demanded from defendants nor ask judges to impose cruel punishments • ministers impeached by the House of Commons could not be pardoned by the crown • in 1695 the Treason Act was altered to give defendants the right to be told the indictment against them, to be defended by Counsel, to call witnesses in their defence, and to demand that there be two witnesses against them to prove a case instead of the previous one • Act of Settlement 1701 stated judges could only be removed from their positions if Parliament demanded this • monarchs could still appoint judges. **Political issues** • William and Mary agreed to the Bill of Rights in December 1689, legalising new relationship between Crown and Parliament • Bill of Rights made it clear monarchs could no longer use royal prerogative to suspend or dispense with laws passed by Parliament, and could not interfere in Parliamentary elections • Bill of Rights also stated from now on MPs and peers could not be punished for exercising Parliamentary freedom of speech • Licensing Act was repealed in 1695, removing restrictions on freedom of the press to report Parliamentary criticism of Crown • Revolution Settlement provided for a Triennial Act passed in 1694. This was intended to keep MPs more closely in touch with public opinion. Parliament was now more relevant to voters than ever before, although voters were still the landed classes • the Revolution Settlement still allowed monarchs executive power, so they could dismiss Parliament at will and also rule alone for up to three years, and could still appoint peers.

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Financial settlement

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

Loopholes in the Settlement

- the Bill of Rights stated the monarch could not maintain a standing army during peacetime, and The Mutiny Act of 1689 legalised the army, and had to be passed annually by Parliament, forcing the king to summon Parliament. However, the king controlled foreign policy, had the final say on the decision to send the army to war or to sign peace treaties, and used his patronage to appoint officers in both the army and navy
- the Bill of Rights of December 1689 declared no Roman Catholic could become king or queen in the future, and all future monarchs should be members of Church of England. The later Act of Settlement 1701 stated if William and Mary had no heirs the throne would pass to Sophia of Hanover, Protestant daughter of Elizabeth of Bohemia, sister of Charles I. However, the Hanoverian Succession was desired by William anyway, and so the crown was getting its own way
- the Revolution Settlement did not prevent the Scottish Parliament from passing the Claim of Right officially removing James VII (James II of England) from the throne and approving William II (William III of England) and Mary II as his successors. The new monarchs' acceptance of this suggests that now in Scotland there was a contract between crown and the people
- Scotland was to be allowed to have its own Presbyterian Kirk so there could be no Anglicising influence there anymore
- Scottish Parliament would have a greater share in the government of Scotland and more say in the passing and enforcement of Scots Law
- the crown influenced Scotland by appointing ministers who would not challenge English policy
- Treaty of Limerick 1691 brought an uprising led by James II's (II and VII) French and Irish volunteers to an end and stated Irish Roman Catholics would enjoy the same freedoms as under Charles II, and land confiscated from Roman Catholics by Oliver Cromwell was given back. The treaty also stated Jacobite soldiers captured at the Battle of the Boyne in July 1690 were allowed to flee to France. 14,000 soldiers and their families left. However, promises to treat Roman Catholics better were broken by the Penal Laws of 1693–1694, excluding Roman Catholics from the learned professions and elected public office.

Any other relevant factors.

PART C — The Atlantic slave trade

7.	**Context** During the 18th and early 19th centuries religious denominations such as the Church of England believed that those enslaved would benefit from exposure to civilised Christian ideas. However far from educating slaves, they supported laws which ensured their continued oppression. Religious factors however, were only one of a number of reasons for the development of the slave trade. **Religious factors** • the Church of England had links to slavery through the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel missionary organisations which had plantations and owned slaves. The Church of England supported the laws not to educate enslaved Africans. Some bible passages such as the Curse of Ham from Genesis were used to justify slavery. Other bible passages such as Exodus were banned in British colonies because they could be interpreted as being anti-slavery • many believed that Africans benefited from slavery as they became 'Christian'. This would result in the spread of 'civilisation'. This however did not necessarily mean that they would be treated as equals • some clergy tried to push the idea that it was possible to be a 'good slave and a Christian' and pointed to St Paul's epistles, which called for slaves to 'obey their masters' • however very little missionary work actually took place during the early years. Religion got in the way of a moneymaking venture by taking Africans away from their work. It also taught them potentially subversive ideas and made it hard to justify the cruel mistreatment of fellow Christians. **Other factors** **Military factors** • the Seven Years War was chiefly an imperial war fought between Britain, France and Spain and many of the most important battles of the Seven Years War were fought at sea to win control of valuable overseas colonies. Britain emerged from the war as the leading European imperial power, having made large territorial gains in North America and the Caribbean, as well as India. Slave labour was necessary to exploit these gains. **Importance of West Indian colonies** • the slave trade generated finance — It was an important source of tax revenue and West Indian colonies were an important source of valuable exports to European neighbours • financial, commercial, legal and insurance institutions emerged to support the activities of the slave traders. Slave traders became bankers and many new businesses were financed by profits made from slave trading.

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Shortage of labour

- huge profits made from the trade in tropical crops created a demand for labour to work on plantations in the colonies. Crops such as sugar cane required a large labour force to plant; look after, harvest and process crop in harsh conditions. There was a high death rate among native populations due to lack of resistance to diseases brought by Europeans and ill-treatment at the hands of colonists created a labour shortage in the West Indies.

Racist attitudes

- the unequal relationship that was created as a consequence of the enslavement of Africans was justified by the ideology of racism — the mistaken belief that Africans were inferior to Europeans
- entrenched racism among members of the merchant and landowning classes meant that enslaving African captives was accepted by colonists
- many Europeans claimed that African captives would suffer if the slave trade was abolished, for example criminals and prisoners of war would be butchered and executed at home
- many colonists believed that slaves were fortunate to be provided with homes, protection and employment, in the care of enlightened Europeans rather than African despots.

Legal position

- the legal status of slaves as property was long established. It took a series of court cases from the 1770s that dealt with the rights of former slaves within the British Isles to challenge the legality of slavery and the slave trade, for example Granville Sharp's resolute campaign to prove the illegality of slavery in England that culminated in Lord Mansfield's decision in the Somerset case.

Failure of alternative sources of labour

- the slave trade developed due to the rapid decline in the number of native Indians who were first used as a source of labour in the West Indies. Poor diet and European diseases were largely responsible for this. However compared to the later enslavement of Africans, the use of the native populations was on a small scale. Few colonists were also willing to work voluntarily on the plantations as manual labour
- there was a limit to the number of British criminals who could be sent as forced labour. Britain had very harsh laws in the 18th century with 300 capital crimes, examples would be pick pocketing more than 1 shilling, shop lifting five shillings or more, stealing a sheep or a horse, poaching rabbits. Transportation to the West Indies was seen as an alternative to hanging. Some of those transported were for political or religious reasons. For example, many Jacobite's were treated in this way. As political upheavals subsided, the number of political prisoners declined
- there was also a lack of indentured servants. These poor Europeans would sign a contract binding them to work for a fixed period, usually 3–7 years, in return for their passage abroad although it was not unknown for poor people in cities such as London and Bristol to find themselves on ships to Jamaica after being kidnapped or plied with drink. Some Europeans were classed as Redemptioners: they arranged with the ship's captain to pay for their passage within a specified time after arrival or be sold to the highest bidder

	• historian Eric Williams has argued that there were not enough indentured servants to replace those who had served their time and that escape was much easier for Europeans. As a result, for economic reasons plantation owners started to turn to African slaves for labour. Williams argues that the decisive factor was the fact that enslaved Africans were cheap and that while an indentured servant would be working for a limited number of years, the enslaved African would work for life. For a while European indentured labour existed alongside enslaved Africans but as African slavery increased, European indentured labour gradually came to an end. **Any other relevant factors.**

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8.	**Context** The wealth of ports and merchants was important to the development of the British economy in the 18th century. With the slave trade, ports such as Bristol and Liverpool thrived and local communities and individuals flourished financially. British manufacturing and industry were stimulated by the supply of goods, while profits from the slave trade provided the capital for the establishment of merchant banks and investment in industry and agriculture. **Profits accruing from tropical crops** • the climate and land in the West Indies were suited to the growing of luxury crops such as sugar, coffee and tobacco • Britain made large profits from the trade in fashionable products such as sugar and tobacco which became very popular with British people. **Role of the trade in terms of navigation** • the slave trade contributed to the growth of the Royal Navy. The slave trade was an important training ground for British seamen, providing experienced crews for the Merchant Marine and the Royal Navy • however, the high death rate, particularly from disease, meant that the slave trade could also be considered a graveyard for seamen. **Manufacturing** • the slave trade was important in providing British industries with raw materials which were turned into manufactured goods in Britain and then sold for large profits in Europe • goods manufactured in Britain were used to buy enslaved Africans. These goods included textiles, metals such as iron, copper and brass and metal goods such as pots, pans and cutlery • cloth manufacturing grew. Manchester exported a large percentage of cotton goods to Africa • the slave trade was important to the economic prosperity. **Industrial development** • there was a growth in industries supplying the slave traders with goods such as guns, alcohol, pots and pans and textiles to exchange for captured Africans on the Outward Passage • profits from the slave trade were invested in the development of British industries • investment from the slave trade went into the Welsh slate industry. Canals and railways were also built as a result of investment of profits from the slave trade • the argument that the slave trade was the vital factor in Britain's industrialisation was put forward in Williams' Capitalism and Slavery thesis • wealth generated by the slave trade meant that domestic taxes could be kept low which further stimulated investment • there was an expansion of the service industries such as banks and insurance companies which offered financial services to slave merchants • by the end of the 18th century the slave trade had become less important in economic terms. It has been argued that only a small percentage of the profits from the slave trade were directly invested as capital in the Industrial Revolution.

	Wealth of ports and merchants • ports such as London, Bristol and Liverpool prospered as a direct result of their involvement in the slave trade. In the early 18th century London and Bristol dominated the British end of the slave trade. Liverpool also grew into a powerful city, directly through the shipping of slaves. By the end of the 18th century Liverpool controlled over 60% of the entire British slave trade. Liverpool's cotton and linen mills and other subsidiary industries such as rope making created thousands of jobs supplying goods to slave traders • other ports such as Glasgow profited from trade with the colonies. Glasgow carried a substantial part of the tobacco trade at this time • Liverpool grew wealthy from plantation grown cotton while Bristol's wealth was partly based on slave produced sugar • Liverpool became a major centre for shipbuilding largely as a result of the slave trade. By the 1780s Liverpool had become the largest slave ship building site in Britain • the emergence of financial, commercial, legal and insurance institutions to support the activities of the slave traders also led to the development of the British economy. Huge fortunes were made by slave merchants who bought large country estates or built large town houses. Some merchants used their wealth from the slave trade to invest in banks and new businesses. **Evidence that other developments were important** • changes in agriculture such as enclosure, mechanisation, four-field crop rotation and selective breeding helped create an agricultural surplus which fed an expanding population, produced a labour force in the towns for use in factories and created a financial surplus for investment in industry and infrastructure • the British economy also benefited from technological innovations. New machinery such as the Spinning Jenny in the textile industry played an important part in the growing industrialisation of Britain. Water and steam power were used to power machines for both spinning and weaving and led to the rapid spread of factories and transport changes in the form of the canals allowed heavy goods to be carried easily and cheaply • the British economy also benefited from the increased production of coal and iron • the relative political stability of the 18th century created the conditions through which trade and the British economy could flourish • much of the profits of slavery were spent on individual acquisition and dissipated in conspicuous consumption, for example landed estates and large town houses built as status symbols. **Any other relevant factors.**

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9.	**Context** The latter part of the 18th century saw British public opinion gradually turn against the Atlantic slave trade and in 1807 the British Parliament accepted that it should come to an end. The economic importance of slavery was now somewhat diminished and new sources of investment were sought. **Decline in the economic importance of slavery** • effects of wars with France — slave trade declined by two-thirds as it was seen as harming the national interest in time of war • the slave trade had become less important in economic terms — there was no longer a need for large numbers of slaves to be imported to the British colonies. Profits made by plantation owners varied. On the other hand, the use of slave labour continued after 1807 until it became illegal • there was a world over-supply of sugar and British merchants had difficulties re-exporting it • sugar could be sourced at a lower cost and without the use of slavery from Britain's other colonies, for example India • Industrial Revolution: technological advances and improvements in agriculture were benefiting the British economy. **Other factors** **Effects of slave resistance** • successful slave rebellion in Saint-Domingue led to an exaggerated, general fear of slave revolts. It was argued that Britain began to plan for an exit from the slave trade as a result of this revolt which shook the whole system to its foundations. Already on Jamaica a substantial number of runaways lived outside the control of the authorities there was an argument that if conditions were not improved, for example by the abolition of the slave trade, further revolts would follow. **Military factors** • Napoleon's efforts to restore slavery in the French islands meant that the abolitionist campaign would help to undermine Napoleon's plans for the Caribbean. Abolitionists were no longer regarded as being pro-French and the abolitionist campaign revived as a result • the act banning any slave trade between British merchants and foreign colonies in 1806 was intended to attack French interests as a way to win the Napoleonic war. This act cleared the path for an end to Britain's participation in the Atlantic slave trade. **Campaign of the Anti-Slavery Society** • Thomas Clarkson visited ports such as Bristol and Liverpool to collect evidence from sailors who worked on the slave trade. He obtained witnesses for the Parliamentary investigations which provided Wilberforce with convincing evidence for his speeches. Clarkson also collected objects associated with slavery; handcuffs, whips and branding irons to use as evidence on his tours around the country • books and pamphlets were published, for example eyewitness accounts from former slaves such as Olaudah Equiano, 'The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano' • campaigns to boycott goods produced by slaves in the West Indies such as sugar and rum. Around 300 000 British people took part in sugar boycotts • petitions and subscription lists, public meetings and lecture tours involving those with experience of slave trade, for example John Newton whose sermons became famous. Churches and theatres used for abolitionist propaganda, artefacts and illustrations, for example Wedgwood pottery

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	• lobbying of Parliament by abolitionists to extract promises from MPs that they would oppose the slave trade. Effective moderate political and religious leadership among the abolitionists influenced major figures such as Pitt and Fox; abolitionists gave evidence to Parliamentary Commissions. **The role of Wilberforce** • Wilberforce put forward the arguments of the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade in Parliament for eighteen years • Wilberforce's speeches in Parliament against the slave trade were graphic and appealing and were influential in persuading many others to support the abolitionist cause. Wilberforce's personal qualities earned him the trust and respect of his fellow MPs • Wilberforce's Christian faith had led him to become interested in social reform and link the issues of factory reform in Britain and the need to abolish slavery and the slave trade within the British Empire • Wilberforce was prepared to work with other abolitionists to achieve his aims, including the Quakers, Thomas Clarkson and Olaudah Equiano • despite campaigning inside Parliament over the course of two decades, his attempts to introduce bills against the slave trade were unsuccessful due to powerful opposition to abolition in Parliament • it has also been argued that other abolitionists such as Thomas Clarkson and Granville Sharp deserve as much credit for their equally tireless efforts over many years. **The religious revival** • many of the first Christian opponents of the slave trade came from non-conformist congregations such as Quakers, Presbyterians, Methodists and Baptists • many of the early leaders were Quakers (the Society of Friends), who opposed slavery on the grounds that Christianity taught that everyone was equal. When the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade was formed in 1787, nine of its 12 original members were Quakers • the main thrust of Christian abolitionism emerged from the Evangelical Revival of the 18th century based on its beliefs on morality and sin • the Methodist founder John Wesley questioned the morality of slavery which influenced many Christian abolitionists including the former slave trader turned clergyman, John Newton • evangelical Christians included Thomas Clarkson, William Wilberforce and Granville Sharp, who fought for the freedom of a young African, Jonathan Strong • clergymen such as James Ramsay who had worked in the Caribbean were influential in exposing the facts of plantation slavery and in pointing out that many Africans died without hearing the Gospel • however, some Quakers continued to have links with the slave trade, for example David and Alexander Barclay set up Barclays Bank, Francis Baring set up Barings Bank • the Church of England had links to the slave trade through the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (USPG) missionary organisations which owned slave plantations in Barbados • Scottish churches were amongst the key drivers in the abolitionist movement, although the Church of Scotland did not petition Parliament to end the slave trade. **Any other relevant factors.**

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10.	**Context** In 1851 political power was in the hands of a small number of land owning men. By 1928 this had totally changed and Britain could be described as a democratic country. This happened for a variety of reasons. **Effects of the First World War** • the war necessitated more political change. Many men still had no vote but were conscripted to fight from 1916 • as further reform for males was being considered, fears of a revival of the militant women's campaign, combined with a realisation of the importance of women's war work led to the Representation of the People Act of 1918 which gave votes to more men and some women. **Other factors** **Effects of industrialisation and urbanisation** • urbanisation and growing class identity within an industrial workforce and the spread of socialist ideas led to demands for greater voice for the working classes. Also the growth of the Labour Party offered a greater choice • demographic change, including rapid urbanisation, sparked demands for redistribution of seats • the growing economic power of middle class wealth-creators led to pressure for a greater political voice • basic education, the development of new cheap, popular newspapers and the spread of railways helped to create an awareness of national issues • after 1860 the fear of the 'revolutionary mob' had declined. Skilled working men in cities were more educated and respectable. That was an argument for extending the vote in 1867. **Pressure groups** • the Suffragists and Suffragettes were influential in gaining the franchise for women • the Reform League and Reform Union were active in pushing for franchise change. **Examples of developments abroad** • in a number of foreign countries there was a wider franchise than in Britain; in other countries, such as New Zealand, Finland, Australia, some American states, women could also vote. Neither development had threatened the established social order. **Party advantage** • in 1867 the Conservative Party became the government after 20 years out of power. To an extent the Second Reform Act could be seen as 'stealing the Liberals' clothes' to gain support • the Corrupt and Illegal Practices Act of 1883 limited the amount of spending on elections; the Liberals believed the advantage held by wealthier Conservative opponents would be reduced • by placing the reforms of 1883 and 1884 close to the next election, the Liberals hoped to gain advantage from grateful new voters in towns more fairly represented after the redistribution of seats.

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	Changing political attitudes • political reform was no longer seen as a threat. In the USA and in Europe struggles were taking place for liberty and a greater political say for 'the people'. Britain tended to support these moves abroad, making it logical for this to happen in Britain too • the growing influence of the Liberal Party in challenging older vested interests. The Liberal Party opposed the power of the old land owning aristocracy, for example the secret ballot to assist the electorate to use their 'political voice' to promote social reforms • politicians combined acceptance of changes which they suspected were unavoidable while ensuring that their own party political interests would be protected • the death of former PM Palmerston represented the changing tone of politics as the reactionary ideas of early 19th century gave way to new ideologies • the veto of the unelected House of Lords was removed in the 1911 Parliament Act partly as result of the 1910 elections fought on the issue of 'peers v people' and the financing of social reform to help the poor, especially in urban areas. **Popular attempts to gain the franchise** • the Hyde Park demonstration 23 July 1866 organised by the Reform League • the 1867 Reform Act was passed amongst considerable popular agitations. **Any other relevant factors.**

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11.	**Context** Political change in Britain was an evolutionary, rather than revolutionary, process. These slow changes tended to see people given access to the political system in the 19th century because they had proven themselves worthy of the vote. By the 20th century, developments tended to be about rights of citizens and their equality in the political system. **Widening of the franchise** • the Representation of the People Act of 1867 most skilled working class men living in towns got the vote. The Act increased the electorate to nearly 2·5 million • the 1884 Representation of the People Act extended this to the countryside which now meant that approx. 60% of men had gained the franchise • the 1918 Representation of the People Act entitled all men over the age of 21 to the vote and granted suffrage to women over 30 — as long as they were either owners of property, or married to owners of property • however, it was not until the 1928 Representation of the People Act (Equal Franchise) that all men and all women over the age of 21 were given the vote. **Distribution of seats** • the 1867 and 1868 Representation of the People Act disenfranchised 11 boroughs in England and Wales and crated eight new seats in Scotland • the acts also reduced the number of MPs in many constituencies to just one • this act gave growing towns the right to send more MPs to Parliament and a redistribution of 142 seats took place. This cut the old dominance of southern England and increased Scottish representation to 72. **Corruption and intimidation** • in 1872 the Secret Ballot Act allowed voters to vote in secret during an election which reduced bribery and intimidation and allowed voters to vote for their choice without pressure • the Corrupt and Illegal Practices act of 1883 established what a candidate could spend on election expenses and what the money could be spent on. Allegations of illegal acts during elections did decline after this Act was passed and average election expenditure of candidates also fell • harsh penalties were imposed on those that broke these new rules • however, although corruption in elections was reduced it did not die out completely. **Widening membership of the House of Commons** • the property qualification to be an MP was abolished 1858 • payment for MPs began in 1911 enabling more working class men to stand as candidates for Parliament • by 1918 Parliament was more representative of the British people but points still to be resolved included — undemocratic anomalies — plural votes and the university constituencies — were not abolished until 1948 — voting system still first past the post in UK.

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	Role of the House of Lords • the 1911 Parliament Act reduced the power of the House of Lords and changed their veto with the ability only to delay bills from the House of Commons for two years • the Lords could not now interfere with any 'Money Bills', this meaning that the Commons could make up its own mind about what money it raised through taxation. **National party choice** • although the working class electorate increased by 1880s there was no national party to express their interests. The Liberals and Conservatives were perceived as promoting middle, and upper-class capitalist values. The spread of socialist ideas and trade unionism led to the creation of the Labour Representation Committee by 1900 (Labour Party from 1906) thereby offering a wider choice to the electorate • as the size of the electorate grew individual political parties had to make sure their 'message' got across to electorate, for example development of National Liberal Federation, Conservative Central Office, Primrose League. **Any other relevant factors.**

12.	**Context** In his report in 1942, William Beveridge identified five giants of poverty: Want, Disease, Squalor, Ignorance and Idleness. In the aftermath of the Second World War there was a desire to build a better Britain for all. Reforms based on Beveridge's report were passed by the new Labour government. **Want** • 1946 the first step was made: The National Insurance Act: consisted of comprehensive insurance sickness and unemployment benefits and cover for most eventualities • it was said to support people from the 'cradle to the grave' which was significant as it meant people had protection against falling into poverty throughout their lives • this was very effective as it meant that if the breadwinner of the family was injured then the family was less likely to fall further into the poverty trap, as was common before. However, this act can be criticised for its failure to go far enough • benefits were only granted to those who made 156 weekly contributions • in 1948 the National Assistance Board was set up in order to cover those for whom National Insurance did not do enough • this was important as it acted as a safety net to protect these people • this was vital as the problem of people not being aided by the insurance benefits was becoming a severe issue as time passed. Yet, some criticised this as many citizens still remained below subsistence level showing the problem of Want had not completely been addressed. **Disease** • the establishment of the NHS in 1948 dealt effectively with Disease • the NHS was the first comprehensive universal system of health in Britain • offered vaccination and immunisation against disease, almost totally eradicating some of Britain's most deadly illnesses • it also offered helpful services to Britain's public, such as childcare, the introduction of prescriptions, health visiting and provision for the elderly. This provided a safety net across the whole country: the fact that the public did not have to pay for their health meant that everyone, regardless of their financial situation, was entitled to equal opportunities of health care they had previously not experienced • the NHS could be regarded as almost too successful. The demand from the public was overwhelming, as the estimated amount of patients treated by them almost doubled. Introduction of charges for prescriptions, etc. **Squalor** • after the war there was a great shortage of housing as the war had destroyed and damaged thousands of homes; the slum clearing programmes of the 1930s had done little to rectify the situation • tackling the housing shortage and amending the disastrous results of the war fell upon Bevan's Ministry of Health • Labour's target for housing was to build 200,000 new homes a year. 157,000 pre-fabricated homes were built to a good standard, however this number would not suffice and the target was never met • Bevan encouraged the building of council houses rather than privately funded construction

	• the New Towns Act of 1946 aimed to target overcrowding in the increasingly built up older cities. By 1950 the government had designed 12 new communities • in an attempt to eradicate slums the Town and Country Planning Act provided local communities with more power in regards to building developments and new housing • by the time Labour left government office in 1951 there was still a huge shortfall in British housing. **Ignorance** • reform started by the wartime government: The 1944 Education Act raised the age at which people could leave school to 15 as part of a drive to create more skilled workers which Britain lacked at the time. Introduction of school milk, etc • Labour implemented a two-tiered secondary schooling whereby pupils were split at the age of 11 (12 in Scotland) depending on their ability. The pupils who passed the '11+ exam' went to grammar and the rest to secondary moderns • the 11+ system created a bigger division between the poor and the rich. In many cases, the already existing inequalities between the classes was exacerbated rather than narrowed • Labour expanded university education: introduction of grants so all could attend in theory. **Idleness** • after the war unemployment levels tumbled to 'full employment'. Labour maintained unemployment at 2·5% • the few changes they did make were effective in increasing the likelihood of being able to find work. They increased direct government funding for the universities which led to a 60% increase in student numbers between 1945–1946 and 1950–1951, which helped to meet the manpower requirements of post-war society. This provided more skilled workers and allowed people from less advantaged backgrounds to pursue a higher education, aiming to keep unemployment rates down • Labour government also nationalised 20 percent of industry — the railways, mines, gas and electricity. This therefore meant that the government were directly involved with people employed in these huge industries which were increasing in size dramatically • this tackled idleness by the government having control which meant that employees were less likely to lose their job through industries going bankrupt and people were working directly to benefit society. **Any other relevant factors.**

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13.	**Context** Local self-government for Ireland in the late 19th century had created a number of politically experienced leaders. This, coupled with land reform, gave political nationalism an economic base from which to demand self-government. There was also an increasingly radical edge to this, albeit at the margins, through James Connolly and the Irish Socialist Republican Party. Tension was exacerbated by the reaction from the Protestant dominated north of Ireland. **Differing economic and religious features** • Ulster was mainly Protestant and feared that a government led by Dublin would see the imposition of laws on Ireland based on Catholic faith; they were opposed to this • Ulster people were worried they would lose the economic benefits they enjoyed from being part of the British Empire, such as the linen industry and the shipbuilding industry. **Other factors** **Irish Cultural Revival** • in 1884 the Gaelic Athletic Association was set up 'for the preservation and cultivation of our national pastimes.' Games like Gaelic football and hurling became very popular. In 1883 the Gaelic League was also set up whose aim it was to revive and preserve the Irish language and Gaelic literature. **Re-emergence of Irish Republicanism** • Sinn Féin was founded by Arthur Griffith in 1904 to boycott all things British and to press for the Irish to set up their own parliament in Ireland, which Griffith thought would cause the British Government in Ireland to collapse. The IRB was revived with Thomas Clarke recruiting young men in Dublin for the movement. Both these groups wanted an Ireland separate from Britain and both willing to use force. **Role of John Redmond and the Nationalist Party** • Redmond claimed that the Home Rule Bill would lead to greater unity and strength in the Union, ending suspicion and disaffection in Ireland, and between Britain and Ireland. It would show Britain was willing to treat Ireland equally, as part of the empire. Redmond's Party was consistently strong throughout Southern Ireland, where there was strong support for Home Rule • in 1908 Campbell-Bannerman had been replaced as Prime Minister by Asquith, who in 1909 had declared that he was a supporter of Home Rule. After 1910 the Liberals needed the help of the Irish Nationalists to run the country as they would not have a majority otherwise; they passed the Third Home Rule Bill • with the support of John Redmond, leader of the Nationalists, a Bill was passed to reduce the power of the House of Lords, which was dominated by Conservatives, from being able to block a Bill to only being able to hold up the passing of a Bill for two years. As a result, the Home Rule Bill for Ireland, which was previously blocked by the House of Lords, could now be passed.

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	Responses of Unionists and Nationalists to the Home Rule Bill • the roles of Carson and Craig: Sir Edward Carson's theatrical political performances caught the public imagination and brought the case of the Unionists to the nation. At the signing of the Solemn League and Covenant in Belfast at Town Hall, to the world's press, 250,000 Ulstermen pledged themselves to use 'all means necessary' to defeat Home Rule • in 1912, during the Third Home Rule crisis, the Ulster Unionist Council (UUC) decided to establish a paramilitary body the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) • Curragh Mutiny: British officers stationed in Ireland declared they would not use force against the Unionists • the Irish Volunteer Force (IVF) was set up as a reaction. Members from the Gaelic League, the Gaelic Athletic Association, Sinn Féin and the IRB all joined hoping to use the IVF for their own purposes. By May 1914 it had 80,000 members • in 1913, a third private army was set up, the Irish Citizen Army, under the leadership of James Connolly, a socialist. It had two clear aims — to gain independence for Ireland and set up a socialist republic, for working class of all religions to join up with to improve their lives. **Any other relevant points.**

14.	**Context** Initially the First World War brought prosperity to Ireland. The demands on manufacturing and farming brought low unemployment thus improving relations between Britain and Ireland. However, Sinn Féin, the Easter Rising and the Protestant reaction were to change this along increasingly sectarian lines. **Irish attitudes to World War I** • propaganda — powerful Germany invading helpless and small Catholic Belgium so many Irish people supported Britain • Ulster very supportive of Britain in order to persuade the British government to amend the Home Rule Bill to exclude the Northern Counties of Ireland • Nationalists and Redmond backed war to get Home Rule, urging Irish men to enlist • press gave support to the war effort • Irish Volunteers gave support to help Home Rule be passed after the war • recruitment was successful in the south as almost ¼ million men join up. **Impact of the Easter Rising** • rebels saw war as a chance to rid Ireland of British by force • felt it was an opportunity to gain independence by force as Britain had their troops away fighting the Germans in World War I. This greatly strained relations between Britain and Ireland • Britain had to use force to suppress rebellion, such as using the Gunboat 'Helga' to sail up the River Liffey and fire on the rebels in the GPO, thus distracting Britain's attention and resources away from the war effort, thus straining relations • strong criticism of the Rising initially from the public, politicians, churchmen, as well as press for unnecessary death and destruction. 450 dead, 2500 wounded, cost £2½ million, showing that majority still sided with Britain therefore indicating that there was not too much damage to relations between the two countries • initial hostility by majority of Irish people to the Rising by small group of rebels, majority of people supported Redmond and the Nationalists Party • strong hostility and criticism by Dubliners to rebels for destruction of city centre • the secret court martial, execution of leaders over 10 days as well as imprisonment without trial and at least one execution without a trial saw the rebels gain a lot of sympathy from the Irish public, turning them against British rule • these political developments meant a growth of sympathy and compassion for rebels who were seen as martyrs and replaced the initial condemnation of the Rising • Sinn Féin initially blamed for the Rising saw a subsequent rise in support for them • Catholic Church and business community became more sympathetic to the cause of independence.

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	Anti-conscription campaign • many Irish opposed conscription and this pushed people towards Sinn Féin who openly opposed it • caused the Nationalists to withdraw from Westminster • Sinn Féin and Nationalists organised campaign, for example general strike 23rd April 1918 • Catholic Church, Mayor of Dublin drew up the National Pledge opposing conscription • conscription was not extended to Ireland which Sinn Féin was given credit for • conscription campaign drove Sinn Féin underground which improved their organisation. **Decline of the Nationalist Party** • Irish Convention failed to reach agreement, which weakened position of Nationalists • led to feeling British could not be trusted and Nationalists could not deliver • three by-election wins for Sinn Féin gave impression they spoke for people not Nationalists which increased tension between Ireland and Britain politically • in March 1918 Redmond died which accelerated the decline of the Nationalists. Sinn Féin gained influence and popularity as a result • many moved from the Nationalist Party as they felt Sinn Féin was doing more for Ireland. **Rise of Sinn Féin** • after the Easter Rising, there was a shift in opinion from support for Home Rule to support for Irish Independence. Within a year of the Rising membership of Sinn Féin had increased ten-fold and Sinn Féin establishes itself as the leading nationalist party in Ireland • large numbers of Irish Volunteers join Sinn Féin • in 1917, at Sinn Féin Ard-Fheis, de Valera is elected President of Sinn Féin and of the Irish Volunteers and or the first time the political and military wings of nationalism are under one leader • Sinn Féin campaigns against conscription, anti-conscription rallies held around the country and 2 million people sign anti-conscription pledge • on 17th May 1918 the British Government ordered the arrest of key leading members of Sinn Féin including de Valera, whilst Sinn Féin were banned by the Government. These actions increase support for Sinn Féin • in the 1918 General Election Sinn Féin wins 73 seats, the largest Irish party. **Any other relevant factors.**

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15.	**Context** The civil rights movement of the mid to late 1960s saw a backlash against it from elements of the unionist community, including the largely Protestant RUC. The Provisional IRA emerged as 'protector' of the Northern Ireland nationalist community. The two sides: Nationalist and Unionist, were increasingly polarised through the period with communities dividing, socially and politically, along sectarian lines. The deployment of British troops in Northern Ireland and imposition of Direct Rule saw the conflict widen. **Role of terrorism** • paramilitary groups began to operate on both sides of the sectarian divide, while civil rights marches became increasingly prone to confrontation • in late 1969, the more militant 'Provisional' IRA (PIRA) broke away from the so-called 'Official' IRA. PIRA was prepared to pursue unification in defiance of Britain and would use violence to achieve its aims • Unionist paramilitaries also organised. The UVF was joined by the Ulster Defence Association, created in 1971 • examples of terrorist activity: by the end of 1972 sectarian violence had escalated to such an extent that nearly 500 lives were lost in a single year • PIRA prisoners protest at loss of special status prisoners leading to hunger strikes. Second hunger strike in 1981, led by Bobby Sands. Sands was put forward for a vacant Westminster seat and won. Sands and nine other hunger strikers died before the hunger strikes called off in October 1981 • Sinn Féin won the by-election in June 1983 following Sands' death. These electoral successes raised the possibility that Sinn Féin could replace the more moderate SDLP as the political voice of the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland • indiscriminate terrorism meant Eire public opinion turned against PIRA • in 1985 the violence of Northern Ireland's paramilitary groups still had more than a decade to run and the sectarian divide remained as wide as it had ever been. **Other factors** **Religious and communal differences** • the Protestant majority in Northern Ireland belonged to churches that represented the full range of reformed Christianity, while the Catholic minority was united in its membership of a Church that dominated life in the Republic and much of Europe. These religious divisions made it very difficult for both communities to come together • these divisions further enhanced by traditions embraced by both communities, such as the 'marching season', which became a flashpoint for sectarian violence. Also differences in sport and language • many Catholic political representatives refused to recognise partition and their views only heightened the nationalist community's sense of alienation and fostered unionist hostility towards the Catholic minority • the speeches and actions of unionist and nationalist leaders such as Reverend Ian Paisley and Gerry Adams polarised views in the province, and emphasised the divisions between both communities.

British government policies

- new Northern Ireland Prime Minister Brian Faulkner reintroduced internment, for example detention of suspects without trial, in 1971 in response to unrest. The policy was a disaster, both in its failure to capture any significant members of the PIRA and in its sectarian focus on nationalist rather than loyalist suspects. The reaction was predictable, even if the ferocity of the violence wasn't. Deaths in the final months of 1971 reached over 150
- a number of reforms had followed on from the Downing Street Declaration, for example on allocation of council housing, to investigate the recent cycle of violence and review policing, such as the disbanding of the hated 'B Specials' auxiliaries
- the British government, now led by Prime Minister Edward Heath, decided to remove control of security from the government of Northern Ireland and appointed a secretary of state for the province which lead to the resignation of Stormont government
- direct rule imposed despite attempts to introduce some sort of self-rule, such as the Sunningdale Agreement of 1973, which failed in the face of implacable unionist opposition and led to the reintroduction of direct rule, it would last for another 25 years.

Role of the British Army

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

Role of the Irish government

- Irish Prime Minister Jack Lynch moved Irish troops to the border in 1969, heightening tensions
- Irish government's role in the Anglo-Irish Agreement, signed in November 1985, confirmed that Northern Ireland would remain independent of the Republic as long as that was the will of the majority in the north. Also gave the Republic a say in the running of the province for the first time
- the agreement also stated that power could not be devolved back to Northern Ireland unless it enshrined the principle of power sharing.

Economic differences

- from 1973, the Common Agricultural Policy changed the decision making environment for food prices and farm economics, and employment in the farming sector continued to decline. Traditionally this sector had been dominated by the unionist community
- discrimination against Catholic applicants for employment declined steadily during this period as Catholics in the province began to enjoy the same civil rights enjoyed by the population of the rest of the UK.

Any other relevant factors.

SECTION 2 — EUROPEAN AND WORLD

PART A — The crusades, 1071–1204

16.	**Context** In 1095 Pope Urban II called on thousands of knights to unite against the infidel. Pope Urban II's famous speech at the Council of Clermont also made detailed reference to the violence committed by Christians against fellow Christians. As a man of God, Urban II viewed a crusade as an opportunity to heal the evils of war in Europe and to deflect the violence onto the Muslims in the east. **Fear of Islamic expansion** • founded by the Prophet Muhammad, the Islamic religion had exploded onto the world in the late 7th century, advancing across the Christian principalities of North Africa, through Spain and into southern France, where it had been halted in the 8th century and pushed back into Spain • Pope Urban used the fear of Islamic expansion in his famous speech at Clermont in 1095. He pointed to the successful Reconquista in Spain. El Cid had only captured Valencia from the Moors in 1094 • he pointed to the threat of the Turks to Byzantium, a topic that was already talked about across Europe. He claimed that the loss of Anatolia had 'devastated the Kingdom of God' • Urban detailed claims of Turkish activities such as torture, human sacrifice and desecration. **Other factors** **Threat to Byzantium** • the Seljuk Turks had been threatening the Empire for decades. The Byzantines had been defeated by the Turks in 1071 at the Battle of Manzikert in eastern Anatolia. Between 1077 and 1092 the Byzantines had been driven out of the eastern regions of Anatolia, and the Turks were now encroaching further west towards the Byzantine capital of Constantinople • there was fear in Europe that if Byzantium was allowed to fall then the expansion of this new aggressive Islamic group into central Europe would be inevitable • the Byzantine Emperor, Alexius was seen as a bulwark against this eventuality and his letter asking for help was taken very seriously • the threat to Byzantium was perhaps exaggerated by the Emperor Alexius who had negotiated a treaty with Kilij Arslan in 1092 and was hiring more and more mercenaries from Europe to protect the Empire. **Threat to Mediterranean trade** • the development of trade within the Mediterranean Sea had been in the hands of ambitious cities in Italy, notably Venice, but also Pisa and Genoa. By 1095 Venice had bound its future to Byzantium • their preferential trade agreements with Constantinople for silk, spices and other luxury goods meant that they were keen to see Byzantium saved from the expansion of the Turks.

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	Ongoing struggle between church and state • popes now actually challenged kings and demanded the right to appoint priests, bishops and cardinals as they saw fit. This led to the development of the Investiture Contest, a prolonged war between Pope Gregory VII and the German Emperor, Henry IV. A low point was reached in 1080 when Henry appointed a separate Pope and attacked Rome with his armies. This power struggle had damaged the reputation of the papacy and directly affected Urban, possibly influencing his decision • a crusade would increase the papacy's political status in Europe. The Pope would be seen as a great leader, above princes and emperors • it is believed the Investiture Contest may have delayed the calling of a crusade • there may have been a crusade to drive back the Seljuk as early as the mid-1070s but Gregory's struggle against the German Emperor meant he was too weak to see it through. **Papal desire to channel the aggressive nature of feudal society** • Urban's appeal specifically targeted the nobility of France and northern Europe in an attempt to divert the violence of the warring European kingdoms. The nobility were regularly drawn into wars with their neighbours to take extra land or to settle disputes between rivals • in Medieval Europe the knight was a feature of the feudal system. These highly trained warriors were, by definition, killers. However, the church considered killing a sin. The desire to divert this aggression in a useful way motivated Urban. The prospect of a just war where participation ensured the pardoning of sins was attractive to many knights as it gave them a purpose and ensured salvation • the Church was determined to reverse what it perceived as the breakdown of society in many parts of Western Europe. The culture of violence disturbed the entire local society: peasants became foot soldiers and farming and trade were disrupted. As a man of God, Urban II saw a crusade as an opportunity to avoid the evils of war in Europe • the Church had already successfully introduced the Peace of God movement which attempted to stop the violence. Attempts included forbidding fighting on certain days of the week and sparing churches and non-combatants in any conflict. Urban saw the Crusade as a way to channel this aggression out of Europe and into the Middle East which would be of benefit to Christianity. **The emergence of a knightly class — the idea of chivalry** • medieval society saw the development of heavily armoured and skilled warrior knights • the Church did not really approve of knights as their training and focus as killers went against the teachings of Christ (thou shalt not kill) • going on Crusade was an opportunity to use the skills of the knightly class in a productive way that would benefit Christianity and offer the knights the chance to have their sins forgiven as they were doing god's work in reclaiming Jerusalem for Christianity. **Any other relevant factors.**

17.	**Context** Tens of thousands were inspired to go on Crusade in the years following 1095. There were undoubtedly a range of reasons why people chose to take the cross. Many were inspired by the chance of prestige and honour thousands of people across Europe took vows to go on crusade. For many there was another attraction; the promise of great riches. **Seeking of fame and riches** • not all crusaders were motivated purely by religion and many had mixed motives and agendas which included the prospect of financial gain and glory seeking • young knights like Tancred may have been partly motivated by the desire to use their military skills in the east • the idea of crusading was popular with Norman knights who saw the chance of becoming rich and powerful • the lure of unimaginable wealth may have motivated some. It was known that there was a lot of wealth in the East. It was the centre of trade • some were attracted by the prospect of booty and plunder • the desire for financial gain motivated the Italian cities of Pisa, Genoa and Venice who supported the crusades in the hope of gaining bases for their trading ships • the seeking of riches per se was relatively uncommon. For many lesser knights, going on crusade meant risking financial ruin. They were more likely to lose money than make money since many had to sell or mortgage their lands on poor terms. In addition, land was the real source of wealth and power. **Other factors** **Religious motives** • a key factor motivating people to take the cross was the belief that the crusade was a spiritual war which would purify their souls of sin • Urban took an unprecedented step of offering to those who pledged their soul to the crusade, a ticket directly to heaven • the Remission of Sins offered by Pope Urban was an attractive solution to the dilemma of knights. A crusader now had the blessing of God to ignore the 6th Commandment — thou shalt not kill — as long as he was an Infidel • Urban resolved the need to protect Christianity from the Muslim threat and the general desire to re-establish the pilgrimage routes to the Holy Lands. Urban drew on the ancient tradition of pilgrimage. For centuries people had journeyed to Jerusalem and the holy sites as well as Rome as a form of penance and to gain remission for their sins • Raymond of Toulouse, is often held up as an example of a knight riding to the defence of the Holy Lands. Deeply religious, Raymond was the first prince to agree to join the Crusade. He sold all his lands and wanted to die in the Holy Land. However, his decision to take Tripoli in 1100s casts a shadow over this interpretation of his motives • the appeal of the People's Crusade shows the power of the belief that they were doing good and helping God • in the First Crusade recruitment was strongest in areas which had supported Pope Gregory VII's reform movement and among families with a tradition of pilgrimage and from areas of France that Pope Urban had visited in person

	• such omens as showers of meteorites and heavy rains after years of drought were regarded as prophesies, signs of intervention by the Hand of God. Witnesses to these signs believed they were predestined to join the Soldiers of Christ • evidence from the charters reveal crusaders did indeed want to free Jerusalem and win forgiveness for their sins although it should be noted that most charters were written by clergy who may have recorded the Church's official view. **The desire to acquire territory in the Holy Land** • Pope Urban promised that those who went on crusade would keep possession of any lands they conquered. This motivated many of the great magnates who intended to acquire new estates for themselves • the prospect of gaining land said to flow with milk and honey was tempting for a younger son who would not inherit his father's lands • examples of crusaders motivated by the desire to acquire land include Bohemond and Baldwin who showed little zeal in carrying on with the Crusade once they had acquired Antioch and Edessa respectively. Bohemond of Taranto had not inherited his father's lands in Italy and was eager to gain land elsewhere • the promise of land was an incentive to some although the traditional historians' view of land hunger being a motivation is questioned by the huge financial cost of going on crusade. The cost of chain mail, armour, horses and weapons amounted to several years' income for most knights. **Overpopulation and famine** • a motive of many may have been a desire to escape the hardships of life at the time. Northern Europe was experiencing rising population, constant food shortages, petty wars and lawlessness. Many craved a better life, in this world as well as the next • several years of drought and poor harvests in the 1090s led to a widespread outbreak of a deadly disease called ergotism, caused by eating bread made from fungus infected cereal. Against this background, a long and dangerous journey to a distant land in the east from which they might never return must have seemed a risk worth taking • many were forced to leave because of the lack of available farmland in an already overcrowded Europe. **Sense of adventure** • going on crusade was exciting and engendered a sense of adventure, especially for young men • the idea of an armed pilgrimage was very appealing. It offered a way out for many serfs from their lives in bondage, or perhaps a chance to see the Holy Land. **Peer pressure** • the pressure put on knights by their families to take the cross was at times severe. Noblemen's wives tended to be keenly aware of the politics at court and had a role in influencing the decisions of some • Stephen of Blois was the son-in-law of William the Conqueror and was devoted to his religious wife Adela. It would have been unthinkable for such a notable knight not to go on the Crusade. **Any other relevant factors.**

18.	**Context** The Fourth Crusade was called by Pope Innocent III. The original plan was to reconquer Muslim controlled Jerusalem by invading through Egypt. However, this plan was never put into action and for a variety of reasons the Crusaders eventually attacked and sacked Constantinople, the capital of Byzantium. **Coexistence of Muslim and Christian states** • attempts at peace between Muslim and the Crusading states during the reign of Baldwin IV, before his death and the fall of Jerusalem • also other examples, such as the mutual protection agreed between King Amalric of Jerusalem and the Emir of Damascus prior to the Second Crusade. **Corruption of the crusading movement by the church and nobles** • popes were willing to use crusades against Christians, such as the Albigensian crusade against the Cathar heretics of Languedoc (Toulouse and southern France) in 1209–1229. The Cathars did not believe in the hierarchy of Rome, all you needed was to be able to read the bible. This is only the first of many such crusades in Europe, seen as diluting the crusading ideal, for example killing Muslims • examples of nobles using the crusade for their own ends are all over the place, from Bohemond and Baldwin in the First Crusade, to arguably Richard the Third. The Fourth Crusade is littered with examples. **Effects of trade** • trade links directly into the Fourth Crusade and the influence of Venice • Pisa and Genoa both had a lot of influence in events during the Third Crusade; they both had favoured candidates for the vacant throne of Jerusalem, for example used trade rights as a bargaining chip to get what they wanted • Venice did not want to join the fighting part of the Fourth Crusade as if she was seen attacking with the other European Crusaders it would impact on her trade relations in the Middle East • the Doge of Venice, Enrico Dandolo was ambitious, and wanted to expand Venetian power through mercantile expansion • in order to deflect the Crusaders from their planned invasion of Egypt which would impact on their trading ports there, the Venetians distracted the Crusaders by using their military power to retake Zara from the Hungarians and then Constantinople. So in seeking to defend and expand their trade routes the Venetians corrupted the Fourth Crusade • Venetian control of much of the new Latin territories after the collapse of Byzantium allowed them to control more strategic ports which helped expand their trade routes. **Fourth Crusade** • the initial inspiration of the Fourth Crusade had a strong crusading ideology behind it. Pope Innocent III was a highly effective pope. He had managed to settle the problem of the investiture contest with Germany and hoped to sort out the issue of the Holy Lands as well. Innocent believed that the inclusion of medieval monarchs had caused the previous two Crusades to fail, unlike the first Crusade that was nominally under the command of Bishop Adhemar. This Crusade would fall under the command of six papal legates. These men would hold true to the ideal of the Crusade and not be bound by earthy greed of politics

	• however, The Fourth Crusade has also been described as the low point of the crusading ideal. Hijacked by the Venetians, the Crusade instead became a tool for their growing political and economic ambitions • while attacking Zara (Zadar), Alexius, son of the deposed emperor of Byzantium, arrived with a new proposal for the Crusaders. He asked them to reinstate his father, who had been imprisoned by his brother, and if they agreed they would be handsomely rewarded. He also promised to return control of the Byzantine Church to Rome. The church was against such an attack on another Christian city, but the prospect of wealth and fame led the Crusade to Constantinople • when the Crusaders discovered that Alexius and his father could not, or would not, meet the payment as agreed, the Crusaders stormed the city. The murder, looting and rape continued for three days, after which the crusading army had a great thanksgiving ceremony • the amount of booty taken from Constantinople was huge: gold, silver, works of art and holy relics were taken back to Europe, mostly to Venice. Most crusaders returned home with their newly acquired wealth. Those that stayed dividing up the land amongst themselves, effectively creating several Latin Crusader States where Byzantium had once stood. **Role of Venice** • by 1123 the city of Venice had come to dominate maritime trade in the Middle East. They made several secret trade agreements with Egypt and North African emirs, as well as enjoying concessions and trade agreements within the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Byzantium however, remained a constant rival for this dominance of trade and in 1183 Venice was cut off from the lucrative trading centres of the empire • Venice's participation in the Crusade was only secured when the Pope agreed to pay huge sums of money to Venice for the use of its ships, and supplies as well as half of everything captured during the Crusade on land and sea • Venice's leader, the Doge Enrico Dandolo, had sold the Crusaders three times as much supplies and equipment as required for the Crusade. The crusading leader, Boniface of Montferrat, found that he was unable to raise enough money to pay, and the Crusaders were all but imprisoned on an island near Venice. Dandolo's proposal to pay off the Crusaders' debt involved attacking Zara, a Christian city that had once belonged to Venice but was now under the control of the King of Hungary, a Christian monarch. Thus the Crusade had become a tool of the Venetians • the Fourth Crusade's intended target, Egypt, was totally unsuitable from a Venetian perspective. Thus when the Pope's representative approached the Venetians in 1201 they agreed to help transport the Crusaders, hoping to divert the Crusade to a less friendly target. The final target for the Fourth Crusade was therefore determined by politics and economics. **Any other relevant factors.**

19. **Context**

By 1763, Britain had ruled the thirteen American colonies for over a century. The harmony with Britain which colonists had once held had become indifference during Whig Ascendancy of the mid-1700s. The ascendancy of George III in 1760 was to bring about further change in the relationship between Britain and America. When the Seven Years War ended in 1763, the King strengthened Britain's control over the colonies. Factors contributing to colonial resentment included the Navigation Acts, the old colonial system, George III, political differences between the colonists and the British, and British neglect of the colonies.

Navigation Acts

- the Navigation Acts stated that colonists in any parts of the British Empire could only sell their goods to British merchants, they could only import goods from British traders, and they could only use British shipping in the transportation of goods in and out of the colonies
- this meant that colonist merchants were being denied access to European markets for their produce such as tobacco or whale products, reducing their potential income and creating opposition to this aspect of British rule
- moreover, although colonists had ignored the acts during the Whig Ascendancy, the laws were re-enforced by Prime Minister Grenville after the Seven Years War ended in 1763
- this caused deep resentment, since the presence of the Royal Navy, patrolling the Eastern Seaboard for rogue Dutch, French or Spanish ships, restricted the trading ability of the colonists who felt their enterprising spirit was being penalised
- it could, however, be argued that the Navigation Acts gave the colonists a guaranteed market for their goods. Generally though, the Navigation Acts were disliked by those wishing to trade freely with European merchants.

Other factors

Resentment towards the old colonial system

- the thirteen colonies in North America had been used by Britain for almost two centuries as a source of revenue and convenient market
- valuable raw materials such as timber or cotton or fur were plundered from the continent and then used to manufacture goods which were then sold in Europe and around the world. This meant that the profits from North American goods were being made by British trading companies, which was resented by those colonists whose labour produced the raw materials to make goods such as fur-trimmed hats or rifles
- in addition, colonists in the more populated New England and Middle Colonies objected to being used as a dumping ground for British goods
- poverty led to minor rebellions by tenant farmers against their landlords throughout the 1740s, including the Land Riots in New Jersey and the Hudson River Valley Revolt in New York
- elsewhere, wealthy Southern plantation owners, who considered themselves the aristocracy of the continent, objected to members of British government attempting to control them through trading restrictions on sugar, cotton and molasses
- also, the Proclamation Line drawn up by Parliament in 1763 led to frontiersmen feeling frustrated at British attempts to prevent them from settling beyond the Appalachian Mountains
- some historians would point out that being part of the British Empire meant British Army protection for the colonists against the threat of the French and Indians; the British had fought the Seven Years War which prevented the colonies being ruled by France. Despite this advantage, colonists greatly resented the efforts of Britain to restrict their movements and economic development.

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Role of George III

- George III increased the number of British soldiers posted to the colonies after the Seven Year War ended in 1763
- one function of the king's Proclamation of 1763 was to protect the colonies from future threats posed by foreign powers. However, all colonies and even some larger towns and cities within the colonies had their own militia already, and felt that the British Army in fact posed a threat to the colonists' freedom to defend themselves
- in addition, George III ensured there was a highly visible Royal Navy attendance on the Atlantic coast, whose job it was to patrol for smugglers importing from Holland, France or Spain and ensure compliance with the Navigation Acts
- this measure, to support the Revenue Bill proposed in Parliament 1763 was seen as equivalent to foreign invasion by many colonists who had acted in an independent spirit during Whig Ascendancy
- on the other hand, it can be debated that George III was aiming to guarantee the protection of the colonies by maintaining British military presence and that together with Parliament he was planning a sensible economic strategy to raise money from the colonists to pay for their own security
- however, cynics in America argued that the King was merely working to ensure continued revenue for Britain, whose national debt had grown from £75million to £145million between 1756 and 1763.

Political differences between colonies and Britain

- the colonies were more enlightened politically than Britain, as each had its own elected Assembly which had passed local laws and raised local taxes since the 1630s
- Britain appointed a Governor for each colony, but the Governor was paid by the colony, which ensured a slight element of control for colonists over whoever was in the post
- lack of representation for the colonists in the British Parliament which sought to control their lives, however, frustrated many
- in addition, radical proposals in the colonies were rejected by the British authorities, such as the abolition of slavery, favoured by the Massachusetts Assembly led by lawyer James Otis and brewer Samuel Adams but continually vetoed in the early 1760s by the British Governor Hutchinson
- nevertheless, some understood that the British Empire provided an order to the existence of the colonies, and Britain acted out the role of Mother Country in a protective manner. This did not stop many colonists from wishing to have a greater say in their own daily lives.

British neglect of the colonies

- during the Whig Ascendancy from 1727 to 1760, colonist Assemblies had assumed the powers which should have been exercised by Governors, such as the settlement in new territories acquired during that time including the Ohio Valley and Louisiana. Although they objected Parliament's attempt to reverse this after the Royal Proclamation of 1763, they were politically impotent and could not prevent it
- in addition, individual colonists and land companies expanding west into the Michigan area unwittingly violated agreements between Britain and Native American Indians such as the 1761 Treaty of Detroit
- therefore, quarrels arose as it appeared that the British government, and in particular Secretary of State William Pitt, was ignoring colonist aspirations to explore new regions in the continent
- one school of thought suggests that Britain's policies highlighted the status of the colonies as lands to be fought over with imperial powers like France and Spain who viewed America as potential possessions, and that British legislation maintained colonist security under the Union Jack

	• however, colonists such as planter and lawyer Patrick Henry of Virginia believed by 1763 that, whilst the right of the King to the colonies was indisputable, the right of the British Parliament to make laws for them was highly contentious. **Any other relevant factors.**

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20.	**Context** Since the 1600s, the thirteen colonies of North America had been part of the British Empire. However, on 4 July 1776 the Continental Congress met in Freedom Hall, Philadelphia and issued the Declaration of Independence. This historic event, the turning point in the American Revolution, came after over ten years of opposition by colonists to British rule. The action by the delegates in Philadelphia led to the American War of Independence. The main factors towards this were the Boston Massacre, disputes over taxation, the Punishment of Massachusetts, military events of 1775 and the rejection of the Olive Branch Petition. **Boston Massacre** • on 5th March 1770, during a riot in Boston in opposition to the Townshend Duties, forces sent by General Gage, the British Commander-in-Chief in North America, to quell resistance. They opened fire on a crowd on the orders of Captain Preston, killing three people instantly, injuring eleven others, and fatally wounding two more. Preston and four soldiers were charged with murder. Many Bostonians were horrified at what they perceived as the brutal actions of the British Army • Committees of Correspondence, which had been established during the 1760s, quickly spread news of the massacre around the thirteen colonies, and Paul Revere, a Boston silversmith, depicted the event in an engraving which shocked colonists viewing prints of it. The soldiers were represented at the trial in October by John Adams after he volunteered to ensure there was a fair hearing, and the result was the acquittal of all defendants. This outcome outraged colonists as it suggested that British soldiers had a free hand to kill Americans • Committees of Correspondence would later prove effective after the Gaspee Incident in summer of 1772, when a Royal Navy schooner was captured off Rhode Island and burned by smugglers who resented its enforcement of the Navigation Acts. Britain resolved to transport any culprits to England for trial. Subsequently, all thirteen colonies' Committees worked together to investigate the legality of all British actions towards them from now onwards. **Other factors** **Disputes over taxation** • indirect taxation appeared in 1764 with the Sugar Act which controlled the export of sugar and other items which could now only be sold to Britain; this was to be enforced through greater smuggling controls; colonist merchants protested on the grounds of their reduced income and the idea that there should be no taxation of colonists who had no representation in the British Parliament • also, the Stamp Act, passed by Grenville's administration in 1765, was the first direct taxation on colonists. It stated that an official stamp had to be bought to go on printed matter such as letters, legal documents, newspapers, licences pamphlets and leases. Many colonists subsequently refused to pay the tax, with James Otis of Boston arguing that 'taxation without representation is tyranny' • while the British argued that taxation would contribute to the costs of Seven Years War and pay for the continued presence of British Army in America, colonists claimed that they already paid financial dues to the British. This was through the Navigation Acts and other trading restrictions; also, they had their own militia and did not need the British Army to protect them • the slogan 'No Taxation without Representation' was a familiar protest during this time, and due to inability to enforce the Stamp Act, Prime Minister Rockingham oversaw its repeal in March 1766. At the same time he passed the Declaratory Act, supporting any future taxation of the colonies. To underline opposition to any taxation by Britain, the secret organisation Sons of Liberty was founded in February 1766 by colonist like John Adams and Patrick Henry, who proclaimed loyalty to the king but opposition to Parliament

- in 1767, Prime Minister William Pitt proposed indirect taxation in the form of duties against imports into the colonies. Chancellor of the Exchequer Lord Townshend introduced taxes on glass, tea, paper and lead. These were opposed by those such as Boston merchant John Hancock whose ships, including the 'Liberty', were regularly raided by Customs Board officials acting on behalf of Prime Minister Grafton, and there were riots across Massachusetts
- in 1773, tea duties in the colonies were reduced by the Tea Act, designed by the Lord North's government to give the British East India Company a monopoly in North America to help ease it out of financial difficulty. Although this also benefited colonist tea merchants, many felt not only that Britain may extend this monopoly to other commodities. The key effect of the act was to lead many to suggest that accepting the cheap tea symbolised acceptance of Britain's right to tax America
- in Boston, crowds of colonists organised blockages of loading bays to prevent the unloading of tea cargoes. On 16th December 1773, in what became known as the Boston Tea Party, hundreds of people, co-ordinated by Samuel Adams, boarded three British East India Company ships and threw £10,000 worth of tea into the harbour. This destruction of British government property was an expression of colonist frustration at policies.

Punishment of Massachusetts

- the British response to the Boston Tea Party, was a series of measures between March and June 1774, known to colonists as the Intolerable Acts and the British as the Coercive Acts – the Port of Boston Act closed the port, denying valuable revenue to the city, the constitution of the Massachusetts Assembly was altered reducing its powers, the Quartering Act billeted British troops in colonial homes, and trial by jury was suspended. In addition, the Quebec Act, passed in June, allowed French-speaking Catholics to settle in the Ohio valley with local law-making powers that were now being denied to Massachusetts. These legislative measures enraged colonists such as Thomas Jefferson of Virginia who proclaimed that 'the British have a deliberate plan of reducing us to slavery'
- the Virginia Assembly was now motivated to call for unity amongst the thirteen colonies to discuss the current crisis and the 1st Continental Congress, with delegates from all colonies except Georgia, met on 5th September in Philadelphia. There it issued the Declaration of Rights and Grievances which, although proclaiming loyalty to George III, dismissed the Coercive Acts as null and void and rejected the supremacy of the British Parliament.

Military events of 1775

- General Gage, the British commander in North America, requested further military support in the colonies, including the hiring of foreign troops, but thousands of German mercenaries in place of regular soldiers offended colonist sensibilities as Britain was underestimating the Continental Army
- on 19th April 1775 British troops encountered colonial militia at Lexington Green in Massachusetts after General Gage sent a force of 700 men to Concord to seize a store of military supplies held by local militia, and were intercepted on the way by Lexington's 'minutemen'. Eight colonists were killed, and reports of the skirmish raised issues about the conduct of British officers, as there were questions about warnings not being given before firing. This incident was significant because it was the first blood spilled in a military engagement between colonist and British in the developing conflict in America, and led to a series of attacks by various New England militia groups on British forts

	• the Battle of Bunker Hill over 16–17th June 1775 saw the British defeat 1,200 militia on high ground overlooking Boston, but although the colonists suffered over 400 casualties, the British sustained over 1,000, including 200 dead. This was important as colonists took heart and attacked more British posts in New England and even Canada, and the 2nd Continental Congress, which had met on 10 May, decided in June to form the Continental Army in June with George Washington of Virginia appointed as its Commander • in November 1775, the British Governor Dunmore of Virginia formed a regiment of black soldiers in the South, promising freedom to slaves, and this brought many indignant Southerners, previously reluctant to become involved in the conflict, on board the movement towards independence. **Rejection of Olive Branch Petition** • the 2nd Continental Congress had written an appeal to the King in June 1775, known as the Olive Branch Petition, which pledged colonists' allegiance to the crown but expressed bitterness towards Parliament, Lord North and the King's ministers • Congress requested Constitutional Union, which would allow the colonies to legislate for themselves and raise their own taxes but remain within the British Empire under royal authority, yet this last hope of compromise fell on deaf ears as George III rejected the petition in October, declaring the colonists to be in rebellion • the Olive Branch Petition was written alongside the Continental Congress's Trade Declaration, stating that the colonies would no longer obey the Navigation Acts • British intransigence and uncompromising attitudes in the face of continued colonist protest and pleas for compromise, as well as a perception in America of Parliamentary ignorance of the spirit and determination of the colonists, irked many in the colonies • in January 1776 the British republican writer Thomas Paine produced his pamphlet 'Common Sense' which advocated war in order for the colonies to free themselves from British rule. This sold 100,000 copies and influenced many middle-class, educated colonists • on 4th July 1776 Congress met to sign the Declaration of Independence, which had been drafted by Jefferson and Franklin to state that 'all men are created equal', and they have 'inalienable rights' amongst which are 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness'. It expressed the 'right of the people' to abolish their own government if they so desire. Lord North immediately ordered more troops to America in preparation for war. **Any other relevant factors.**

21.	**Context** The American War of Independence took place between 1776 and 1781, between Britain and its thirteen colonies of North America. For many colonists, this was a revolutionary conflict fought by people fighting for freedom against tyranny, monarchy and the threat of enslavement. The war was fought not only on American soil, but on the high seas and across the world once other European Powers became involved. **Americans' reflection of their experience under British rule** • as part of the British Empire, colonists had been ruled by King and British Parliament, who together made key policy decisions, set laws and taxes, and enforced the law. As a result, there had been no checks and balances on executive, legislative and judicial processes • the notion of 'No Taxation without Representation' had been a source of much of the original resentment towards British colonial policy • during their experience of being ruled by Britain, colonists had learned to be suspicious of all forms of government, and they feared the potentially tyrannical power of a monarch • they designed the Constitution to thwart any future attempts of American heads of state to act in a similar manner as George III. **Significance of the Constitution** • the Bill of Rights was drawn up in 1791 as the first ten amendments to the Constitution, after several states refused to ratify the Constitution as it stood • these states' delegates at Philadelphia wanted greater protections for citizens against the federal government. Therefore, the Bill of Rights became an important document that set out the limitations of the power of Congress • the Bill of Rights established liberty for individual citizens in states within a federal union of all states, and set out clear lines of authority between federal government and individual states • central government controlled matters of national importance, and state assemblies were to be responsible for local government and administration • the Bill of Rights stated that neither Congress nor the government could pass laws which established religion as a part of state institutions, for example within the education system. School prayer was, therefore, prohibited • the Bill of Rights protected the freedom of the press, freedom of speech, and the right to peaceable assembly. Also it set out the rights of citizens who were under investigation or being tried for criminal offences, for example no-one could be compelled to give evidence which might incriminate them • any powers which had not been written into the Constitution as being delegated to the federal government would be delegated to state governments. **Roles of Presidency** • executive power was vested in the elected President, and his Vice-President and Cabinet • the first President, George Washington, was elected in February 1789, and could make all key decisions and establish policy • members of the Executive, including the President, or Thomas Jefferson, who became the USA's first Secretary of State, could be removed from office by the electorate in four-yearly elections.

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Congress and Supreme Court

- the colonists built in a separation of powers to the Constitution, providing checks and balances
- this was driven through by Alexander Hamilton and James Madison who had disapproved of the too-powerful Continental Congress
- the separation of powers is considered to be the most revolutionary aspect of the Constitution
- no branch of government should ever be subordinate to any other — the Executive, Legislature and Judiciary had to remain apart
- the President could not take a seat in Congress, Congressmen could not be part of the Supreme Court, and members of the Supreme Court could only be appointed by an agreed confirmation between President and Congress
- the President and his Cabinet, Congressmen and Supreme Court judges could all lose their jobs if they acted improperly
- each strand of government acted independently of each other.

Legislature and judiciary

- legislative power lay in the hands of an elected Congress which was divided into two Houses, the Senate and Representatives
- the Senate was set up with each state equally represented and the House of Representatives was set up with states represented proportionately to size and population
- the job of Congress was to pass laws and raise taxes
- in addition, Congress was given responsibility for international trade, war and foreign relations
- the newly formed Supreme Court of Justice, consisting of nine judges, would hold judicial power in the United States
- the Supreme Court was formed in order to prevent legal matters becoming entwined with political ones
- the Supreme Court could be called upon to debate the legality of new laws enacted by Congress. It also acted as the highest court of appeal in the United States
- Supreme Court judges were nominated by the President upon advice from his Cabinet and political staff. New appointments had to be ratified by Congress after a rigorous vetting process.

Democratic ideals

- the Constitution stated that 'all men are created equal' and that everyone was entitled to 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness'
- from now on, people would be asked to ratify many of the stages within democratic processes at state and national level
- however, women and blacks were excluded from the franchise, and in reality only one-fifth of eligible voters turned out for national elections
- the Philadelphia Convention introduced an elitist system of electors in Presidential elections voting for an electoral college. The Electoral College consisted of educated men who would vote for the President, a system which still exists today.

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	Other features • the Articles of Confederation had been written in 1776, signed in 1781, and acknowledged in 1787, to declare that states would retain individual sovereignty and provided for state representatives to Continental Congress • in relation to religion, the church was separated from the state in order to ensure equality was extended to include freedom of belief for everyone • regarding the question of slavery, in northern states measures were taken for the practice, already declining, to be gradually abolished, although pro-slavery sentiment in south intensified simultaneously. **Any other relevant factors.**

22.	**Context** In France, the Ancien Régime was the old order, which came to an end with the French Revolution of 1789. The king was at the centre of the Ancien Régime, governing through Councils and Ministries. Taxes and laws were set by royal edict. The absolute monarchy ruled in provinces through Intendants, and in towns through Parlements. The Ancien Régime consisted of Three Estates. Factors contributing to the threat to security included financial issues, taxation and corruption, the royal family, the position of the clergy and nobility, and the grievances held by the peasantry and bourgeoisie. **Financial issues** • financial problems were arguably the biggest threat to the Ancien Régime, created in part by France's involvement in wars — most recently the American War of Independence — brought France to bankruptcy • by the 1780s, the Treasury deficit was estimated at 112,000,000 livres • failure to reform — several finance ministers suggested changes to the taxation system but were thwarted by the privileged classes • Turgot, Controller-General 1774–1776 was dismissed after suggesting physiocratic reform and the abolition of town guilds • Controller-General Necker, 1776–1781, reduced court expenses, cut the number of tax-farmers, but had to borrow heavily to finance the war in America. Disclosure of court expenditure brought about his dismissal • Controller-General Calonne, 1783–1787, floated loans and spent freely, and attempted to persuade nobles to accept a land tax but resigned when they refused this • Controller-General Brienne, 1787–1788, tried to impose taxes on the privileged classes but the Parlements refused to confirm this and he was dismissed. **Other factors** **Taxation and corruption** • unfair nature of the system • privileged orders of the First and Second Estates were exempt from many taxes • the Church received the tithe from peasants who lived on its lands — one tenth of their produce • the nobility could tax the peasantry for hunting, shooting and fishing on their land • cumbersome administration — tax collected by the Farmers General, who had a vested interest in collecting as much as they could • the Third Estate (peasantry, urban workers and bourgeoisie) had to pay indirect taxes such as the gabelle (on salt), aides (on luxury goods) and douanes (on imports) • the Third Estate paid direct taxes such as the capitation (to local government) and the vingtieme (to central government) • absolutist monarchy meant many resented a lack of political representation • much of the functioning of central and local government was carried out with favour shown to individuals • court advisors were concerned with protecting their position rather than contradicting the king or warning him against bad decisions.

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Role of the royal family

- Louis XVI was viewed as a wasteful monarch, creating an excess of expenditure
- king was seen as weak and indecisive, surrounded by incompetent sycophants
- king never called the Estates General (before 1789)
- Marie-Antoinette was despised by many in the population for her Austrian nationality
- queen was unwilling to improve her political knowledge
- monarchy perceived as being ignorant of the lifestyles of the peasantry
- decadence of the court.

Position of the clergy and nobility

- the clergy was split into the upper and lower clergy, the latter identifying more closely with the Third Estate. The church hierarchy was resented by the lower clergy
- parish priests often sided with the peasants in their locality but the upper clergy viewed peasants with contempt and merely as a source of taxation
- the Church owned a large amount of land and paid relatively little taxation. The upper clergy were concerned to protect their privileges
- like the clergy, the upper nobility were concerned to protect their privileged status, particularly access to posts at court and in the army, and their exemptions from taxation
- natural supporters of the monarchy, they saw a threat from the rise of the bourgeoisie
- there were also tensions between the traditional nobility (of the sword) and the newly ennobled nobility (of the robe)
- the 'old' sought to hold onto their control of key positions of the State, the Army and the Church, much to the annoyance of the 'new'.

Grievances held by the Third Estate

- the Third Estate was liable for compulsory military service
- the peasantry were liable for forced labour on public roads and buildings — this service was called the corvée
- the peasantry had to pay to use their landlords' ovens to bake bread
- the peasantry would likely be willing to support change when it came
- poor pay and high food prices
- during times of poor harvests and bad winters, resented the lack of help from the First and Second Estates
- the bourgeoisie had to pay the taille if they did not want to do military service
- the bourgeoisie desired political power but the Estates General, the collective group of representatives from each of the Three Estates, had not been called since 1614
- resented the extravagant lifestyle of the Second Estate
- the bourgeoisie were educated and were aware of the criticisms made of the Ancien Régime by the French philosophical movement of the 18th century.

Any other relevant factors.

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23.	**Context** The outbreak of the French Revolution saw the collapse of royal authority, the downfall of the Ancien Régime, the end of absolutism and the eventual abolition of the French monarchy. The Ancien Régime had been weakened gradually over several decades before a combination of factors contributed to revolution in 1789. Amongst the factors were the influence of the Enlightenment, the financial problems of the Ancien Régime, the effects of the American Revolution, the crisis of 1788–1789 and the actions of Louis XVI. **Influence of the Enlightenment** • while not advocates of revolution, these 18th century philosophers had challenged many of the social, political and economic assumptions of the Ancien Régime and their ideas fostered principles of social, political and economic liberty which increasingly undermined it • Rousseau had advocated direct democracy and government by the 'General Will' • Montesquieu had advocated a constitutional monarchy with powers based on the British model • Diderot had written an Encyclopaedia which was meant to be a history of France but which instead became a diatribe against the Ancien Régime • Voltaire had written satirical plays that criticised the monarchy, nobility and church • the philosophers had all died before 1789 so their influence has been questioned as being limited. **Other factors** **Financial problems of the Ancien Régime** • the cost of the Seven Years War and France's financing of the American War of Independence had added considerably to the debt incurred by the wars fought by Louis XIV earlier in the century • much of this was financed by loans so that by the 1780s about half of France's national income was going on payment of debt • the nobility and the clergy were almost wholly exempt from the payment of taxes. Attempts to raise taxation revenue from these social groups were opposed at every turn • anticipated tax revenues were projected to fall, making matters worse. There had to be changes to the system of taxation if the Régime was to survive • taxation had to be extended to the previously exempt nobility and clergy since the rest of society (the Third Estate) could bear no further burden of taxation. Controller-General Calonne's attempts to introduce a land tax foundered on the opposition of the nobles and the Assembly of Notables in 1787. **Effects of the American Revolution** • French involvement in the war in the colonies contributed to the massive financial problems of the Régime • news from America also reinforced amongst the educated middle-classes the principles of 'no taxation without representation' and liberty from centralised authority • French soldiers and sailors returning from America brought with them these ideas which many of the lower nobility and bourgeoisie embraced in the years before 1789

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	• when short-term loans to finance the American wars had to be repaid from 1786 onwards there could be no more large-scale borrowing since investors were losing faith in the state's ability to re-pay • the republican writing of Thomas Paine who had influenced events in America was translated into French and provided inspiration to many. **Crisis of 1788-1789** • peasant unrest intensified as a result of bad harvests and severe grain shortages also caused disquiet in the major cities such as Paris • the Paris mob consisted of hungry and resentful members of the working class looking for food and shelter • this added to the revolutionary atmosphere and increased the pressure on the monarchy and the system of government • the convocation of the Estates-General brought social divisions between First, Second and Third Estates to a head • the hopes which would be raised by Louis XVI created a mood of optimism amongst the Third Estate who would soon be disillusioned when these hopes were dashed • the Cahiers des Doléances revealed deep disquiet over a range of inequalities such as feudal dues and the unfairness of the taxation system and put immense pressure on the Ancien Régime. **Actions of Louis XVI** • the king's tax concessions to the First Estate meant that the church was resented by the peasantry who paid the tithe to their local parishes, creating further social division; even within the church the hierarchy that was allowed to exist was resented by the lower clergy; parish priests often sided with the peasants in their locality but the upper clergy viewed peasants with contempt and merely as a source of taxation • the king's dismissal of Calonne ended any hopes of significant tax reform • the king's favouring of the traditional nobility (noblesse d'épée, 'nobility of the sword') — bestowing upon them the responsibilities of key positions of the state, the army and the church — created tension amongst the newly ennobled nobility (noblesse de robe, 'nobility of the robe') • the king recalled the Estates-General in 1789; this marked the beginning of the end for the Ancien Régime as the king would have to signal his intention to make concessions towards the Third Estate • the king's refusal to give increased representation to the Third Estate did little to dampen revolutionary feelings amongst them — they became increasingly discontent with the disproportionate burden of taxation which fell on them • many educated members of the bourgeoisie had wanted to have a political voice but were now rendered impotent by the king's actions. **Any other relevant factors.**

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24.	**Context** The French Revolution is widely considered to be one of the most important historical events in human history. Its effects within France were profound and lasting. In particular, the impact on the French Aristocracy and Clergy was long lasting as was the enduring French liking for Republicanism. **The social and political impact on** **bourgeoisie** • the Revolution instigated a fundamental shift in political and economic power from the First and Second Estates to the bourgeoisie • the ending of feudalism in August 1789 heralded profound social and economic change (for example facilitating the development of capitalism) whilst the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen later in the month did the same for political life. In both cases the main beneficiaries were the bourgeoisie • successive constitutions and legislative reforms throughout the 1790s favoured the bourgeoisie above all other social groups by emphasising the notion of a property-owning democracy with voting rights framed within property qualifications, whilst the ending of trade restrictions and monopolies favoured an expanding business and merchant class • France had moved from a position of privileged estates to one where increasingly merit was what counted. It was the educated bourgeoisie who were best placed to benefit from this profound change in French society. **peasants** • in contrast to the Catholic Church and the nobility the position of the peasantry was in many ways strengthened by the Revolution. The ending of feudalism in August 1789 removed many of the legal and financial burdens which had formed the basis of peasant grievances in the Cahiers des Doléances presented to the Estates-General in 1789 • the revolutionary land settlement, instigated by the nationalisation of church lands in November 1789, had transferred land from the nobility and the clergy to the peasantry to their obvious advantage. It should be noted, however, that not all peasants benefited equally from this. Only the well-off peasants could afford to purchase church land which had been seized by the National Assembly. **urban workers** • at key points throughout the Revolution overt demonstrations of discontent by the urban masses — particularly in Paris — impacted on key events as successive regimes framed policy with an eye to appeasing the mob. However, any modest gains by the urban poor were short-lived. A decade of almost continuous wars in the 1790s had created shortages and inflation which hit the urban poor particularly hard • the passing of the Chapelier Law in June 1791, by a bourgeois-dominated National Assembly protecting the interests of industrialists, effectively banned the formation of trade unions and thereafter the Revolution brought few tangible economic or political gains for urban workers.

	nobility • the aristocracy had enjoyed similar privileges and tax exemptions to those of the Catholic Church under the Ancien Régime. Advancement in the key positions of the State, the Army and, indeed the Church, depended more often on birth than merit. The traditional nobility monopolised these key positions and sought at all times to defend its favoured position. Again, the Revolution swept away aristocratic privilege even more completely than that of the clergy • the ending of feudalism in August 1789 marked the prelude to a decade when the status of the nobility in France effectively collapsed. In 1790 outward displays of 'nobility' such as titles and coats of arms were forbidden by law and in 1797, after election results suggested a pro-royalist resurgence, the Convention imposed alien status on nobles and stripped them of French citizenship • the Revolution brought in a regime where careers were open to talent regardless of birth or inheritance and the traditional aristocracy simply ceased to exist. Having said that, some nobles simply transformed themselves into untitled landlords in the countryside and continued to exercise significant economic and political power. **clergy** • the Catholic Church was a key pillar of the Ancien Régime. The Upper Clergy (usually drawn from the ranks of the traditional nobility) enjoyed considerable wealth and status based on a raft of privileges and tax exemptions. These privileges and exemptions were swept away by the Revolution and the position of the Catholic Church within France by 1799 was far less assured than it had been under the Ancien Régime • the Civil Constitution of the Clergy (July 1790) polarised attitudes towards the place of the Catholic Church within French society and promoted conflict between opposing factions through the rest of the period to 1799. In November 1789 Church lands were nationalised, stripping the Church of much of its wealth. The net result of all of this was that the Church never regained its primacy within the French state and can be seen to have lost far more than it gained. **Any other relevant factors.**

25.	**Context** Nationalism was the idea that people with a common culture, language and history should have the right to rule themselves. Although nationalist hopes were ignored in the Treaty of Vienna in 1815, support of nationalism grew during the period from 1815 to 1850 partly due to the legacy of the French occupation. **Effects of the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars** • ideas of the French Revolution (liberty, equality and fairness) appealed to the middle classes in the German states • impact of Napoleonic Wars — many Germans argued that Napoleon/France had been able to conquer German states pre-1815 due to their division as separate, autonomous territories. German princes had stirred national feeling to help raise armies to drive out the French, aiding the sense of a common German identity with common goals • prior to the Napoleonic Wars there were over 400 semi-independent German states within the Holy Roman Empire. Napoleon reorganised the states into larger states and then formed the most important of these into the Confederation of the Rhine. Although the victorious powers replaced this with the German Confederation in 1815, the latter resembled Napoleon's reorganised 39 states which was a small step towards a modern unified German state. **Other factors** **Economic factors** • middle-class businessmen called for a more united market to enable them to compete with foreign countries. They complained that tax burdens were holding back economic development • Prussian economic expansion — drift in power away from Austria and towards Prussia as the latter began to build on rich resources such as coal and iron deposits • Prussia's gain of territory on the River Rhine after 1815 meant it had good reason to reach an agreement with neighbours to ensure relatively free travel of goods and people between its lands in the East and the West • Prussia created a large free-trade area within Prussia itself • railway/road development — post-1830s the development of railways/roads ended the isolation of German states from each other. This enabled the transport and exploitation of German natural resources. Economic cooperation between German states encouraged those seeking a political solution to the issue of German unity • Zollverein — the 'mighty lever' of German unification. By 1836, 25 of the 39 German states had joined this economic free-trade area (Austria excluded) • members of the Union voluntarily restricted their sovereignty (even if only for selfish interests) to allow for economic gain through joining the Prussian-led Customs Union • German nationalists in the late 1830s saw it as a step towards a wider political union.

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	Cultural factors • main unifying force was language — 25 million Germans spoke the same language and shared the same culture and literature • writers and thinkers (for example Heine, Fichte, Goethe, Brothers Grimm, Schiller and Hegel) encouraged the growth of a German consciousness • post-1815 nationalist feelings first expressed in universities • growth of Burschenschaften pre-1815 dedicated to driving French from German soil — zealous but lacking a clear idea of how best to accomplish the task • the Hambacherfest and student demonstrations — little was accomplished by the students • early 19th century was a time of great change in all European states and it has been suggested that the political changes of the time can be partly explained by an understanding of the cultural developments of the time. **Military weakness** • the French Revolution led to a realisation that, individually, the German states were weak • French troops had marched across Germany for over 20 years, and had humiliated Prussia, the strongest 'German' state at Jena and Auerstadt. Germany had been carved up by Napoleon, the North Sea coast being incorporated into France itself, and the Confederation of the Rhine set up as a puppet state. Divided, the German states could not defend their territorial integrity • Germany had been used as a recruiting ground by Napoleon: Germans had died to protect France. Even the enlarged post-Vienna states would be powerless, with the exception of Prussia, to prevent this happening again. **Role of the Liberals** • 1848 revolutions in Germany raised consciousness greatly even though they failed • many Liberals were middle-class and were also receptive to nationalist ideas. **Any other relevant factors.**

26.	**Context** Chancellor Metternich of Austria had a deep mistrust of nationalism and used the German Confederation to clamp down on any attempt to create a united Germany. Despite the problems the emotional appeal of nationalism was experienced by increasing numbers of Germans by 1850. **Supporters of nationalism** • nationalist sentiment was strongest among middle-class Germans who, as a result of industrialisation were growing in economic and social power • it was the educated middle classes who were most influenced by German writers and poets who encouraged nationalist feelings by promoting the idea of a German identity and culture. Fichte described 'Germany' as the Fatherland where all people spoke the same language and sang the same songs and German poets like Goethe and authors, such as the Grimm brothers, and composers such as Beethoven encouraged feelings of national pride in the German states • nationalist feelings were expressed in the universities. During the Napoleonic Wars nationalist student societies had emerged called Burschenschaften. There was further student activity in 1832 at the Hambach Festival where the red, gold and black colours were used to symbolise German nationalism. Their nationalist enthusiasm however tended to be of the romantic kind with no clear ideas of how their aims might be achieved • nationalist sentiment was further demonstrated in 1840 when Germans were roused to the defence of the fatherland when France threatened to extend its frontier to the Rhine • books and newspapers supporting the idea of national unity also began to influence public opinion • there was undoubtedly also a growth in liberal ideas by the 1840s • the economic co-operation between the German states as a result of the Zollverein also provided encouragement to liberals and nationalists whose dreams of a politically united Germany seemed more attainable • some liberals believed a united Germany should have a liberal constitution that would guarantee the rights of citizens, however others envisaged a federation of states under a constitutional monarch. Some Liberals were also suspicious of full democracy and wanted to limit the vote to the prosperous and well educated. Most liberals were concerned with developments in their own states, not in the situation across Germany as a whole. Small in number and far from unified they were also isolated from the mass of the people. **Opponents of nationalism** • the person most opposed to German nationalism was the Austrian Chancellor, Metternich. One-fifth of the population of the Austrian Empire were German thus the Austrian Emperor feared nationalism would encourage them to break away and join Germany. This would leave Austria weaker and cause other national groups in the Empire to demand their independence • the Carlsbad Decrees (1819) introduced by Mettternich greatly restricted the opportunity for nationalism to grow for a considerable period of time. The decrees disbanded student societies, ordered the appointment of inspectors to keep order in the universities, and introduced censorship of newspapers • there was another blow to nationalists the following year when representatives of Austria, Prussia and Russia met at Troppau in 1820 and agreed to suppress any nationalist uprisings which might threaten the power of the monarchs • the particularism of the various German states also limited the spread of nationalism

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- there was a great deal of political apathy amongst the mass of the German people. Only small numbers of workers in towns were beginning to take an interest in politics. Most Germans had little desire to see a united Germany
- France and Russia feared that a strong, united Germany would be a political, economic and military rival to them
- the nationalist cause was not of relevance to the bulk of the German peasantry who were concerned with the more immediate problems of rising rents and harsh working conditions. Such hardships did however lead to resentment towards their rulers. By the late 1840s peasants were demanding that remaining feudal dues should be cancelled by their German princes
- Golo Mann wrote that most Germans 'seldom looked up from the plough'. He doubted the influence of artists and intellectuals whom most Germans knew little or nothing about.

Political turmoil in the 1840s

- trade depression, unemployment and high food prices because of bad harvests led to revolutions throughout Europe. In the German states a shortage of food, high prices and widespread unemployment led to demands for change by workers and peasants. There were however no demands for liberalism or nationalism only demands for an improvement in their conditions
- there was also unrest amongst the middle classes who resented the lack of job opportunities. Unlike the workers and peasants middle class demands included the creation of a united Germany
- in the German Confederation nationalists and liberals saw that change was a real possibility. There were calls from several German states for meetings to tackle the issue of German unity. A national Constituent Assembly was elected known as the Frankfurt Parliament.

Frankfurt Parliament

- the Frankfurt Parliament was the first serious attempt to challenge Austria's political power in Germany and Austrian opposition to the liberals and nationalists but without clear aims, decisive leadership and an armed force to enforce its decisions, the Frankfurt Parliament failed in its revolutionary aims
- nationalists could not agree on the size of a new united Germany. Supporters of Grossdeutschland believed that Germany should include Austria but Kleindeutschland supporters wanted a united Germany without Austria or its empire
- progress towards nationalism was hampered by divisions and distrust between the Protestants of the North and Southern Catholics. There were also cultural differences between the more industrialised and liberal west and the agrarian, autocratic east.

Collapse of revolution in Germany, 1848–49

- the failure of the 1848–1849 revolutions was a serious blow to nationalists. The events of 1848 and 1849 appeared to show that German nationalism was too weak and divided to achieve its aims of German unity
- hopes for a united Germany were dashed when King Frederick William of Prussia withdrew his support for the Frankfurt Parliament. His rejection of the crown of a united Germany signalled the end of revolutionary activity
- the Frankfurt Parliament failed to satisfy the needs of the starving workers who had helped create the revolution. The Frankfurt Parliament also had to rely on the Prussian army to crush the disturbances which had begun occurring throughout the German states
- the rulers of the German states saw few advantages for themselves in a united Germany. The self-interest of the German rulers led to opposition to the actions at Frankfurt

	• at Olmutz in 1850, it was agreed to return to the Constitution of 1815 which signalled the triumph of Austria and the humiliation of Prussia. The ideals of nationalism appeared to be a spent force. **Any other relevant factors.**

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27.	**Context** Once in power Hitler acted quickly to establish a totalitarian state. The regime deployed a formidable apparatus of terror but debate continues about the popularity of the regime between 1933 and 1939 due in part to its social policies which appealed to many German people. **Social policies** • the Nazis attempted to create a *Volksgemeinschaft* (national community) in which the German people would act together and support the Nazi regime • the Nazi vision of a Volksgemeinschaft also involved the exclusion of 'outsiders'. Nazi propaganda won people over to the persecution of Jews and other minority groups viewed by the Nazis as a threat to the regime • to indoctrinate the young, Nazi youth organisations were set up, for example the Hitler Youth to prepare boys for military service and the League of German Girls to prepare young women for motherhood • also with the aim of controlling Germany's youth, the Nazis made changes to the education system. Anti-Nazi teachers were removed and the school curriculum was redesigned with stress put on physical exercise and subjects such as History and Biology were used to promote nationalism and racism. New Nazi schools, NAPOLOAS, to train future leaders were set up and run by the SS • the Nazi view of women could be summed up in the slogan Kinder, Kirche, Kuche (Children, Church, Kitchen). Nazi policies towards women including marriage loans, increased welfare services and the setting up of women's organisations were viewed positively by many women • although many Germans were not committed Nazis, they accepted the Nazi regime as for many, life was better than under the Weimar Republic. **Other factors** **Establishment of a totalitarian state** • following the Reichstag Fire, the Decree of the Reich President for the Protection of the Nation and the State (28 February 1933) suspended constitutional civil rights • the Enabling Act (24th March 1933) passed under pressure by the Reichstag gave Hitler dictatorial powers for four years • the Law for the Reconstruction of the State (30th January 1934) abolished state (local) governments and Nazi Gauleiters (leaders of local branches of the Nazi Party) were appointed to run states • when Hindenburg died (2nd August 1934) Hitler combined the posts of Chancellor and President which secured Hitler's grip on power • within eighteen months of being appointed Chancellor, Hitler had established a legal dictatorship. **Fear and state terrorism** • violence and terror was crucial in Hitler's rise to power and continued throughout the time of the Nazi regime and played a vital role in strengthening the Nazi dictatorship • the SS, the state's internal security service and the Gestapo, the Secret State Police, expanded in power and their brutal acts of repression ensured there was an atmosphere of fear that the Nazis used to control the people • the SS defended the Nazi dictatorship from enemies of the state and took over responsibility for running the concentration camps • the Gestapo were feared due to their reputation for the use of torture to gain confessions from suspects. The use of informants was vital to maintain fear.

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Propaganda

- Nazi propaganda was important in maintaining control, spreading Nazi beliefs and in persuading people to support the regime
- a Ministry of Propaganda headed by Josef Goebbels, an expert in propaganda, was created and took complete control of all aspects of the media
- newspapers were censored and used to spread Nazi government news
- radio became one of the most important tools for indoctrination and was used to broadcast Hitler's key speeches. The sale of cheap radios to the German population encouraged this
- mass rallies, for example the spectacular Nuremburg Rallies, strengthened commitment to the Nazi regime and created feelings of wishing to belong to the Nazi movement
- newsreels were used as propaganda in cinemas and films, such as Triumph of the Will were made to encourage involvement in the regime although most films were pure entertainment to maintain support for the Nazi regime by diverting people's attention away from unpopular policies
- Goebbels and the Ministry of Propaganda developed the Hitler Myth in which Hitler was portrayed as Germany's all powerful Führer which contributed to Hitler's personal popularity.

Economic policies

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

	The crushing of opposition • Hitler's first actions were against opposition political parties and organisations. Communists, Social Democrats and trade unionists were imprisoned in the weeks after the Reichstag Fire • trade unions were abolished (2nd May 1933) and replaced by the German Workers' Front (DAF) • the SPD were banned (22nd June 1933) and the other political parties dissolved themselves soon after • under the Law Against the Formation of New Parties (14th July 1933) Germany became a one-party state • Hitler avoided potential opposition from the churches by reaching a Concordat with the Catholic Church (20th July 1933) and the creation of a Reich Church to co-ordinate all Protestant churches • the Night of the Long Knives (30th June 1934) removed internal opposition from the SA, and earned the gratitude of the Army • the army took an oath of personal loyalty to Hitler in August 1934 which resulted in opponents within the army being torn between their consciences and their loyalty • opposition was not strong enough to pose a real threat to the Nazi regime, for example the lack of cooperation between the Social Democrat or SPD and the Communist underground opposition which remained bitterly divided. **Social controls** • the 'Law for the Re-establishment of the Professional Civil Service' allowed for the dismissal of anti-Nazi members • anti-Nazi judges were dismissed and replaced with those favourable to the Nazis. Cases involving treason were to be heard by a People's Court led by Nazi judges • the passing of the all-embracing law 'Acts Hostile to the National Community' (1935) allowed the Nazis to persecute opponents in a 'legal' way. **Successful foreign policy** • much of Hitler's popularity after he came to power rested on his achievements in foreign policy, especially when he appeared to be reversing the humiliations of the Treaty of Versailles • a series of major foreign policy successes: the remilitarisation of the Rhineland (1936), the Anschluss with Austria (1938) and the takeover of the Sudetenland of Czechoslovakia, were hugely popular and increased support for the regime. **Any other relevant factors.**

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28.	**Context** Between 1815 and 1850, Italy was not a unified country. However, during this period nationalist ideas developed steadily. The idea of a Risorgimento of the Italian nation implied that a reborn, unified Italy might once again become great and powerful. Such ideas became entwined with a desire for independence from Austria. **Resentment of Austria** • after the Vienna Settlement in 1815, hatred of foreign control centred on Austria. The Hapsburg Emperor directly controlled Lombardy and Venetia; his relatives controlled Parma, Modena and Tuscany. Austria had strong ties to the Papacy and had alliances with other rulers. Conscription, censorship, the use of spies and the policy of promotion in the police, civil service and army only for German speakers was resented • Austrian army presence within towns like Milan and the heavily garrisoned Quadrilateral fortresses ensured that 'Italians' could never forget that they were under foreign control and this inspired growing desire for the creation of a national state. **Other factors** **Cultural factors** • the Risorgimento was inspired by Italy's past. Poets such as Leopardi glorified and exaggerated past achievements kindling nationalist desires. Poets and novelists like Pellico inspired anti-Austrian feelings amongst intellectuals as did operas such as Verdi's '*Nabucco'* and Rossini's '*William Tell*' • there was no national 'Italian' language — regional dialects were like separate languages. Alfieri inspired 'Italian' language based on Tuscan. The poet and novelist Manzoni wrote in 'Italian'. Philosophers spread ideas of nationalism in their books and periodicals • moderate nationalists such as Gioberti and Balbo advocated the creation of a federal state with the individual rulers remaining but joining together under a president for foreign affairs and trade. Gioberti's '*On the moral and civil primacy of the Italians*' advocated the Pope as president whilst Balbo, in his book '*On the hopes of Italy*', saw the King of Piedmont/Sardinia in the role. **Economic factors** • economic factors were not important directly. Wealth lay in land (landowners were often reactionary) and trade (where the educated bourgeoisie were more receptive to ideas of liberalism and nationalism) • the election of a new, seemingly reformist Pope, Pius IX, in 1846 inspired feelings of nationalism particularly amongst businessmen and traders as he wished to form a customs union. **Military weakness** • the French Revolution led to a realisation that, individually, the Italian states were weak • the fragmentation of Italy in the Vienna Settlement restored Italy's vulnerability to foreign invasion.

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	Effects of French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars • 'Italian' intellectuals had initially been inspired by the French Revolution with its national flag, national song, national language, national holiday and emphasis on citizenship • Napoleon Bonaparte's conquest inspired feelings of nationalism — he reduced the number of states to three; revived the name 'Italy'; brought in single system of weights and measures; improved communications; helped trade, inspiring desire for at least a customs union • Napoleon's occupation was hated — conscription, taxes, looting of art. **Secret societies** • by the time of the French invasions, secret societies, dedicated to freeing Italy from foreign rule, were already in existence. After 1815 their chief enemy was Austria • the growth of secret societies, particularly the Carbonari (the Charcoal Burners), led to revolts in 1820, 1821, 1831. Also 'Young Italy' and their revolts in the 1830s • they had support throughout Italy, mostly drawn from the middle classes — doctors, teachers, lawyers, etc. along with a few army officers • these groups were patriotic idealists rather than practical politicians: men prepared to risk their lives for their cause. Some wanted an Italian Republic while others looked for constitutional reforms. **Role of Mazzini** • radical nationalist Mazzini not only inspired dreams of a united, democratic Italian republic through his written works, but also formed an activist movement 'Young Italy' whose aim was to make these dreams a reality. **Any other relevant factors.**

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29.	**Context** Despite the Vienna Settlement returning Italy to a system of separate states, each under its own ruler and system of government, there is evidence to suggest that nationalism was steadily growing in Italy from 1815 to 1850. By 1850 however the balance of power between Austrian strength and the forces of nationalism remained unchanged with Austrian control firmly re-established. **Supporters of nationalism** • new political ideas did begin to spread among the educated middle classes after 1815 as a result of the experiences of a more unified and representative government in the Napoleonic period • there was a growth in the idea of Risorgimento of the Italian nation which implied that a 'reborn' unified Italy might once again become great and powerful • the Risorgimento saw 'patriotic literature' from novelists such as Silvio Pellico whose work stirred up anti-Austrian feeling and poets such as Giacoma Leopardi whose poems encouraged nostalgia for Italy's past. These inspired the educated middle class • an influential writer was Abbe Gioberti who wrote the Primato in 1843. He believed that the Pope and the Catholic Church should lead the Italian national revival. Although Gioberti's ideas attracted a fair amount of support, the reputation of the Papal States and the Church as oppressive stood in the way of his ideas • Cesare Balbo and Giuseppi Mazzini promoted their ideas for a national state which inspired nationalism amongst the middle classes. National unity however was not widely considered before the 1840s • those of sufficient education and wealth to seek change were relatively small in number and were drawn from a narrow circle of the middle classes, mainly from the north of Italy. For some their motives owed more to the desire for advancement rather than a real commitment to nationalism • among some liberals and business classes there was a growing interest in social and economic reform after 1830. The Riformisti ('the Reformers') believed that economic and social reform was the key to Italy's future. These liberals were inspired by the changes introduced by Napoleon Bonaparte. They believed that Italy would flourish if freed from Austria's restrictive influence. Their ideas stressed the importance of industrial growth to the future if Italy and put forward plans for banks, schools and a common currency across several states. In the 1830s this progressive message was spreading among liberals in Italy • French revolutionary ideals had inspired popular sentiment for a national Italian state. The idea of being a citizen of an Italian nation with its own flag and language appealed to many people. The changes introduced under Napoleon also helped to make Italians think of themselves as Italians rather than as citizens of a state. On the other hand, many resented French rule which reminded them that if they were disunited they were easy to conquer. One reaction to the French was the formation of secret societies • the nationalist message was spread by Guiseppe Mazzini and his movement 'Young Italy', a youth movement, committed to nationalism whose motto was 'thought and action'. Mazzini argued that true liberty would only be possible when Italy was united as a single nation. He hoped to increase patriotism so that Italians could expel the Austrians and bring about the unification of Italy. Although his planned risings were unsuccessful, Mazzini provided an inspiration to nationalists across the whole of Italy and abroad. Many students joined Young Italy which was also supported by the educated middle classes although it was never very successful with the peasantry

- developments in literature, music, poetry and painting encouraged feelings of unity, a pride in being Italian and a hostility to the idea of separate regional states. Romantic novels such as '*I Promessi Sposi*' ('The Betrothed') by Alessandro Manzoni, were popular among the reading classes. Based on past glories they encouraged patriotic feeling. Music was also used as a vehicle for patriotic themes such as Gioacchino Rossini's '*William Tell*' and the Giuseppe Verdi opera '*The Lombards of the First Crusade*' which inspired growing feelings of patriotism. Painters depicted great battles which encouraged a pride in being Italian
- the use of Tuscan as a 'national' language by Alfieri and Manzoni spread ideas of nationalism. However, it was not until the 1840s that the Italians shared a national language
- Liberal and nationalist ideas were spread through a number of secret societies. The Carbonari represented around 5% of the adult male population of Naples and also gained membership in the Papal States and Piedmont-Sardinia. Members were willing to revolt and die for their beliefs which included desire for a national state. Their impact was limited however as there was little co-ordination between the different groups and their aims were never clearly defined
- the unrest throughout Italy in the first half of the 19th century was also gradually converting the masses to nationalism. By 1848 there were many prepared to fight for the Italian cause. However, the revolts were not all inspired by nationalist motives. Traditions of local allegiance remained.

Opponents of nationalism

- Austrian influence in Italy was maintained through its network of family alliances and military dependence. The Dukes of Tuscany and Modena and the King of Piedmont-Sardinia were all cousins of the Emperor
- the foreign correspondence of the Italian states had to pass through Austria and was thus subject to Austrian control
- Metternich's highly organised police system and the Austrian spy network ensured widespread surveillance of the Italian states. Metternich maintained an Austrian minister at each court, with agents and informers reporting private conversations and gossip, as well as infiltrating suspected revolutionary groups. On the other hand, resentment against Austrian influence in the Italian peninsula and their use of spies and censorship, helped increase support for the nationalist cause
- Austrians never left Italian soil. The Carbonari inspired revolts of 1820–21 and of 1831 were crushed by Austrian troops thus destroying any progress made by nationalists
- twice, in 1848 and 1849, Austria had defeated Italian forces which led nationalist to believe that only when Austria was defeated could Italians unite.

Italian rulers

- the Vienna Settlement largely restored the individual rulers of the different states. These rulers were concerned with maintaining and increasing their own power and were therefore opposed to nationalism
- some rulers were excessively oppressive. Ferdinand, ruler of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies set himself up as an absolute ruler and in the Papal States; torture was used to extract confessions from any whose ideas were viewed as subversive
- in the Central Duchies, a number of duchies were ruled with the help of an extensive secret police network modelled on that of Austria
- censorship and surveillance imposed by the rulers curtailed freedom of speech and limited the progress of nationalist ideas
- some rulers were under Austrian control or depended on Austrian strength demonstrated by the crushing of the revolts in the 1820s and 1830s and in 1848–1849.

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	Position of the Papacy • the Roman Catholic Church regained its influence after 1815 particularly in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, Piedmont-Sardinia and the Papal States. Preaching a message of conservatism and acceptance, the teachings of the Church reached far more ears than the words of the liberal reformers • the Pope looked to Austria for support, as it was the most important of the Catholic states of Europe • nationalists had high hopes when a new Pope, Pius IX was elected. Pius IX had a reputation as a liberal and a mood of expectation was created when he introduced a programme of reform and modernisation in government and education. However, nationalist hopes were dashed when Pope Pius IX denounced the war against Austria, in 1848. Pope Pius' decision to oppose Italian unity was a bitter blow to nationalists. **The failures of the revolutions of 1848** • Charles Albert, the King of Piedmont, abdicated after two military defeats by Austria, at Custoza (July 1848) and Novara (March 1849) • the revolution in the other states across Italy all failed. Their monarchs were restored with the help of troops from Austria or France. The Roman Republic led by Mazzini and Garibaldi was defeated by the French in June 1849 and the Republic declared in Venice under the leadership of Daniele Manin fell to the Austrians in August 1849 • the ideas of the nationalists had been discredited and the lack of agreement and cooperation between the different nationalist groups highlighted • much of northern Italy was more firmly than ever under the control of Austria. **Attitude of the peasants** • nationalism never affected the mass of Italian people • there was great deal of political apathy among the peasantry. Due to widespread illiteracy and in the South, in particular, poverty and ignorance, for many Italians everyday living was far more important than politics • only a very small minority of the peasants were involved in the nationalist movements and revolts before 1848. When they did revolt it was usually for economic reasons. They did revolt during bad times as can be seen in 1848 — but their revolts were due to bad harvests and bad economic times and were not inspired by feelings of nationalism • for the majority of Italians there appeared to be little genuine understanding of what nationalism meant • many Italians thought in terms of loyalty to a state, not to Italy as a whole. **Any other relevant factors.**

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30.	**Context** Between 1922 and 1939 Mussolini was the fascist leader of Italy. It has been argued that Mussolini's dictatorship, although repressive, was popular. Like other dictators, Mussolini used propaganda and sport to encourage support for the regime. **Propaganda** • press, radio and cinema were all controlled and were used to extoll the virtues of Fascism • government policies, such as the draining of the Pontine Marshes near Rome, received massive publicity • Italian sporting victories were also exploited by the regime as examples of the superiority of Fascism. Examples include Italy's victory in the 1934 and 1938 World Cup and Primo Carnera who became the World Heavyweight Boxing Champion in 1933 • Mussolini was highly promoted as a 'saviour' sent by God to help Italy — heir to Caesar, world statesman, supreme patriot, a great thinker who worked 20 hours a day, a man of action, incorruptible. **Other factors** **Establishment of the Fascist state** • Mussolini appointed himself as Minister for the Interior once he was appointed prime minister by the Italian king. He had direct control of the Italian police as a result • Nov/Dec 1922 Mussolini was given emergency powers. Nationalists merged with PNF 1923. Mussolini created MSVN (fascist militia) — gave him support if the army turned against him — and Fascist Grand Council — a rival Cabinet. These two bodies made Mussolini's position stronger and opposition within PNF weaker. The establishment of a dictatorship began — 1926 — opposition parties were banned. A one party state was created — 1928 — universal suffrage abolished — 1929 — all Fascist Parliament elected — freedom of the press was severely curtailed. **Fear and intimidation** • Mussolini favoured complete state authority with everything under his direct control. All Italians were expected to obey Mussolini and his Fascist Party • the Squadristi were organised into the MVSN (Milizia Voluntaria per la Sicurezza Nazionale) the armed local Fascist militia (Blackshirts). They terrorised the cities and provinces causing fear with tactics such as force-feeding with toads and castor oil • the secret police OVRA, was established in 1927 and was led by Arturo Bocchini. Tactics included abduction and torture of opponents. 4000 people were arrested by the OVRA and sent to prison • penal colonies were established on remote Mediterranean islands such as Ponza and Lipari. Conditions for those sentenced to these prisons were primitive with little chance of escape • the death penalty was restored under Mussolini for serious offences but by 1940 only ten people had been sentenced to death.

	Foreign policy • foreign policy successes in the 1920s, such as the Corfu Incident, made him popular. He was also able to mobilise public opinion very successfully for the invasion of Abyssinia • Mussolini's role in the Munich Conference of 1938 was his last great foreign policy triumph • as Mussolini got more closely involved with Hitler his popularity lessened. His intervention in Spain proved a huge drain on Italy's resources. **Economic and social policies** • fascists tried to develop the Italian economy in a series of propaganda-backed initiatives, for example the 'Battle for Grain'. While superficially successful, they did tend to divert resources from other areas • development of transport infrastructure, with building of autostrade and redevelopment of major railway terminals, for example Milan • one major success was the crushing of organized crime. Most Mafia leaders were in prison by 1939 • Dopolavoro had 3.8 million members by 1939. Gave education and skills training; sports provision, day-trips, holidays, financial assistance and cheap rail fares. This diverted attention from social/economic problems and was the fascist state's most popular institution. **Crushing of opposition** • opposition the Fascists was weak and divided. The Liberals were divided into four factions and the Left three. They could not co-ordinate opposition to the Fascists • socialist offices, newspapers, trade unions and peasant leagues were smashed by the paramilitary Blackshirt violence • after 1925−1926 around 10,000 non-fascists/opposition leaders were jailed by special tribunals • opponents were exiled internally or driven into exile abroad. **Relations with the Papacy** • Lateran Pacts/Concordat with Papacy enabled acceptance of regime by the Catholic majority • many Catholics supported Mussolini's promotion of 'family values'. **Any other relevant factors.**

31.	**Context** From 1894 Tsar Nicholas II was the sole ruler of Russia. A vast country composed of many different nationalities, languages and time zones, there were many challenges. However, in the early days of his rule, at least, he appeared to be secure and loved. Alongside other Pillars of Autocracy, the Russian Orthodox Church had a key role to play in ensuring the support of his disparate peoples and up to 1905 helped secure his authority over the vast empire. **Tsar** • Tsars believed that they had a divine right to rule Russia, their position and power had been given to them by God • The Tsarist legal system was designed to support autocracy and Tsarist authority. It was also intended to suppress opposition and increase fear among the population • a standard punishment for opponents of the Tsar was exile to the remote region of Siberia. Many thousands of people viewed as enemies of the state were sent to Siberia. They were so far away that they had little chance of threatening Tsarist power • the Empire did not have an elected parliament and there were no elections for positions in the government • there were no legal or constitutional methods by which Tsarist power could be challenged. During Nicholas II's reign, the Black Hundreds was formed. This was an extreme nationalist movement that supported the Tsar. They assassinated pro-democratic politicians and intimidated the workers in the towns. **Army/Okhrana** • the secret police was set up to ensure loyalty to the Tsar and weed out opposition to the Tsar • the secret police would do this by spying on all people of society irrespective of class. They would infiltrate opposition groups to find their key leaders, etc • large numbers were exiled, however they were unable to completely eradicate all of the ideas opposing the Tsar • the Army was controlled by officers who were mainly upper class and therefore conservative, and loyal to the Tsar • the Army ensured that the population and the peasants in particular were loyal to the Tsar • most of the soldiers had been peasants themselves, but had been taught to be loyal to the Tsar • the Army was used to crush insurgence and to enforce order in the country, and loyalty to the Tsar. **Role of the church** • the Church helped to ensure that the people, especially the peasants, remained loyal to the Tsar • the Church preached to the peasants that the Tsar had been appointed by God and that they should therefore obey the Tsar • the Church also ensured that the peasants were aware of the Fundamental Laws.

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Russification

- Russification was an effort to restrict the influence of the national minorities in the Russian Empire by insisting that Russian was the first language
- the law and government of the country were conducted throughout the Russian Empire in the Russian language, which maintained the dominance of the Russian culture over that of the minority cultures
- due to Russification, discrimination of minority peoples became more widespread. There was state intervention in religion and education by the Tsarist government over the minority people to ensure Russification
- the Tsarist state treated subjects from minority areas as potential enemies and inferior.

Political opposition

- opposition groups, for example Social Democrats (supported by industrial workers) and Liberals (who wanted a British-style parliament), were fairly weak. However, these groups were not powerful or popular enough to affect change
- there were various revolutionary groups like the Social Revolutionaries (supported by peasants seeking land reform). Moreover, these groups were further weakened by the fact they were divided and disorganised
- the leaders were often in prison or in exile
- the Pillars of Autocracy strengthened the Tsarist state, making it impossible for opposition groups to challenge it.

Censorship

- censorship controlled what people were able to read which therefore meant the Civil Service could control what University lecturers could say and also controlled access to schools as well as limiting books available in libraries. As a result the Civil Service were able to prevent reading anti-Tsarist literature.

Zubatov Unions

- the Zubatov Unions were used to divert the attention of the workers away from political change by concentrating on wages and conditions in the factories
- the Zubatov Unions reduced the chances of the workers being influenced by the revolutionary groups.

Fundamental Laws

- this was used to impose the authority of the Tsar over the peasants as it stated 'To the emperor of all Russia belongs the Supreme and unlimited power. God himself commands that his supreme power be obeyed out of conscience as well as out of fear'.

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	Civil Service • the Civil Service was set up to ensure loyalty to the Tsar and weed out opposition to the Tsar • the Civil Service spied on all people of society irrespective of class with those showing any sign of opposition to the Tsar being imprisoned or sent in to exile • large numbers of people were exiled, however they were unable to completely eradicate all of the ideas opposing the Tsar • the Civil Service mainly employed middle class people, which therefore ensured the loyalty of the middle class people in general • the Civil Service was responsible for enforcing laws on censorship and corruption as well as about meetings, which made it very difficult for the revolutionaries to communicate. **Any other relevant factors.**

32.	**Context** At the turn of the century, famine, land hunger, growing industrialisation and lack of political representation meant that the people of Russia were growing weary of Tsarist rule. Seeking change, under the direction of Georgy Gapon many workers gathered in St Petersburg to petition the Tsar for change. His reaction was to ignore their demands and by January 1905 Russia's problems had led to open opposition to the Tsarist state. **Bloody Sunday** • Sunday 9th 22nd January, 1905, Father Gapon, an Orthodox priest attempted to lead a peaceful march of workers and their families to the Winter Palace to deliver a petition asking the Tsar to improve the conditions of the workers • marchers were fired on and killed by troops • many of the people saw this as a brutal massacre by the Tsar and his troops • Bloody Sunday greatly damaged the traditional image of the Tsar as the 'Little Father', the Guardian of the Russian people • reaction to Bloody Sunday was strong and was nationwide with disorder, strikes in urban areas, terrorism against government officials and landlords, much of which was organised by the SRs. **Other factors** **Working class** discontent • the working and living conditions in the cities were very poor and this, along with long working hours and low pay, led to discontent • at the start of the 1900's industrial recession caused great hardship for workers • in January 1905, there was a wave of strikes involving almost half a million people — 10 times as many as in previous decades • in October there were two and half million people on strike as well as demonstrations held in key cities • Soviets had been formed to speak for workers and express their political demands. **Discontent among the peasantry** • the vast majority of Russians were peasant farmers who lived in poverty and were desperate to own their own land. Land hunger was a common problem • many peasants were frustrated at paying Redemption Payments and at the unwillingness of the government to introduce reforms. An economic slump in Russia hurt the newly-created Russian industries and, coupled with famine in 1902/1903, led to food shortages • peasants were heavily taxed, paying almost seven times as much tax (proportionately) compared to the upper classes • there was a wave of unrest in 1902 and 1903, which had escalated further by 1905. There were various protests like timber cutting, seizure of landlords' estates and grain stocks • there was an outcry when Russian grain was still being exported to pay for the foreign loans • there were claims that peasants should boycott paying taxes, redemption payments and refuse to be conscripted to the army • peasant violence in the countryside when peasants took over land and burned landowners' estates started after the government threatened to repossess the land of those behind with their Redemption Payments.

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Political problems

- growing unhappiness with Tsarist autocratic rule. The liberal middle classes and the industrial workers were calling for a constitutionally-elected government as they were frustrated by the incompetence of the Tsar's government, especially during the war with Japan. The Russian nobility feared a revolution if moderate reforms were not introduced
- there was propaganda from middle class groups; the Zemstva called for change, and the Radical Union of Unions was formed to combine professional groups
- students rioted, and carried out assassinations
- the gentry tried to convince the Tsar to make minor concessions
- political groups did not really play a role although they encouraged peasant unrest, and strikes in the urban areas the Mensheviks had influence in the soviets and the Bolsheviks were involved in the Moscow Rising
- Tsar Nicholas II was seen as being too weak and unable to make good decisions for Russia in a crisis
- national minorities hated the policy of Russification as it ignored their language, customs and religion and many felt so isolated that the desire for independence intensified
- as the war with Japan progressed there were a growing number of protests from different parts of Russian society calling for the war to end and the Tsar to share his power.

Military defeat in the war against Japan

- in 1904 Japan and Russia went to war over Imperial ambitions in Korea and Manchuria
- the war with Japan was a failure and humiliation for Russia and moreover this was compounded by the heavy losses suffered by the Russian army
- the incompetence of the government during the war made social unrest worse rather than dampening it
- troops suffered from low morale after the defeat and were complaints about poor pay and conditions
- there were mutinies by troops waiting to return from the war and on the Trans-Siberian Railway
- in June there was the Potemkin Mutiny although the planned general mutiny did not follow
- generally though most of the troops remained loyal (unlike 1917)
- land battle: decisive defeat at Mukden
- sea battle: defeat at Tsushima Strait. They sailed 18,000 miles before being defeated in under an hour
- the Russo-Japanese War was disastrous for Russia. Defeats by Japan were humiliating and led to discontent in Russia over the Tsar's leadership, the incompetence of the Tsar's government and the inadequate supplies and equipment of Russia's armed forces
- the incompetence of their leaders and their defeats led to low morale.

Economic problems

- Russia had been experiencing a number of economic problems in the period before 1905
- Russia had started the process of industrialisation, however its cost meant that Russia used foreign loans and increased taxes to fund it
- socially and economically Russia was fairly backward country compared to European counterparts.

Any other relevant factors.

33.	**Context** Following their victory in the Revolution of October 1917, the Bolsheviks were tested by a prolonged period of Civil War. The unity of the Reds leadership of Lenin was central to their success. The Whites on the other hand were essentially a conglomeration of different groups with different aims. As a united and well organised force, the Reds ultimately secured victory in the Russian Civil War. **Leadership of Lenin** • introduction of War Communism • by forcing the peasants to sell their grain to the Reds for a fixed price the Reds were able to ensure that their troops were well supplied and well fed • the White armies were not as well supplied and fed as the Red Army • skilled delegation and ruthlessness. **Other factors** **Strengths of the Reds** • unified political leadership. The Bolsheviks were fortunate in the quality of their leadership, for example, Lenin and Trotsky • the Red Army was better organised than the White armies and better equipped and therefore able to crush any opposition from the White forces • use of ex-officers from old Imperial Army brought expertise essential to winning the civil war • reintroduction of rank and discipline brought control over the Red Army • political Commissars were drafted into army units to spread socialist ideas and maintain loyalty • once the Reds had established defence of their lines they were able to repel and exhaust the attacks by the Whites until they scattered or surrendered • by having all of their land together it was easier for the Reds to defend. With the major industrial centres in their land (Moscow and Petrograd) the Reds had access to factories to supply weapons etc, and to move due to their control of the railways • control of the railways meant they could transport troops and supplies quickly and efficiently and in large numbers to the critical areas of defence or attack • the decisive battles between the Reds and Whites were near railheads • the Reds were in control of a concentrated area of western Russia, which they could successfully defend due to the maintenance of their communication and supply lines. Having the two major cities of Moscow and Petrograd in their possession meant that the Reds held the industrial centres of Russia as well as the administrative centres • having the two major cities gave the Reds munitions and supplies that the Whites were never able to access.

Disunity among the Whites

- the Whites were an uncoordinated series of groups whose morale was low
- the Whites had a collection of different political beliefs who all wanted different things and often fought amongst themselves due to differences. All of the Whites shared a hatred of Communism but other than this they lacked a common purpose
- no White leader of any measure emerged to unite and lead the White forces, for example Yudenich, Wrangel, Kolchak and Denikin. This was in stark contrast with the Reds who were led by Trotsky and Lenin.

Role of Trotsky

- Trotsky had a completely free hand in military matters
- HQ was a heavily armed train, which he used to travel around the country
- he supervised the formation of the Red Army, which became an army of three million men
- he recruited ex Tsarist army officers and used political commissars to watch over them, thus ensuring experienced officers but no political recalcitrance
- he used conscription to gain troops, and ordered deserters to be shot. Trotsky helped provide an army with great belief in what it was fighting for, which the Whites did not have.

Effects of foreign intervention

- the Bolsheviks were able to claim that the foreign 'invaders' were imperialists who were trying to overthrow the revolution
- the Reds were able to stand as champions of the Russian nation from foreign invasion
- the help received by the Whites from foreign powers was not as great as was hoped for
- the foreign powers did not provide many men due to the First World War just finishing and their help was restricted to money and arms.

Use of Terror (Cheka)

- the Cheka was set up to eradicate any opposition to the Reds
- there was no need for proof of guilt for punishment to be exacted
- persecution of individual people who opposed the Reds as well as whole groups of people, which helped to reduce opposition due to fear, or simply eradicate opposition
- the Cheka carried out severe repression
- some of the first victims of the Cheka were leaders of other political parties.

Propaganda

- Whites were unable to take advantage of the brutality of the Reds to win support as they often carried out similar atrocities
- the Whites were unable to present themselves as a better alternative to the Reds due to their brutality
- the Reds kept pointing out that all of the land that the peasants had seized in the 1917 Revolution would be lost if the Whites won. This fear prevented the peasants from supporting the Whites.

Any other relevant factors.

34.	**Context** In the 1920s the attitudes of Americans towards immigration began to change. Rather than celebrating America's open door policy, many Americans feared that their way of life would be undermined by the millions of 'new' immigrants arriving from eastern and central Europe. **Social fears** • attitudes towards immigration changed due to fears that immigration would lead to competition for housing and jobs. White working class Americans experienced rising rents due to the high demand for housing • the majority of new immigrants settled in cities in the north and east of the USA and often congregated with people from their own culture in ghettos. Some Americans felt this was a threat to their way of life • there were also fears that immigrants would increase the already high crime rates in cities. Such fears were heightened by the existence of organised crime gangs such as the Mafia with its Italian roots. Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were two Italian immigrant anarchists who were convicted of robbery and murder. Their trial linked crime, immigration and 'un-American' political revolutionary ideas in the minds of many Americans • the activities of Al Capone, the son of Italian immigrants also reinforced the stereotype that all Italian immigrants were in some way linked to crime. **Other factors** **Isolationism** • attitudes towards immigration in the 1920s were in some respects a development of existing attitudes towards immigration apparent in the 19th century. Before the 1920s, the USA's 'open door' policy did not apply to everyone. Before 1900 the USA had reduced Asian immigration. The first significant law to restrict immigration into the USA was the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 which banned Chinese immigration • the first general Federal/Immigration Law in 1882 imposed a head tax of 50 cents on each immigrant admitted and denied entrance into the USA of 'any convict, lunatic, idiot, or any person unable to take care of himself or herself without becoming a public charge' • the Immigration Restriction League was founded in 1894 to oppose 'undesirable immigrants' from southern and eastern Europe who, it was believed, threatened the American way of life • the 1913 Alien Land Law prohibited 'aliens ineligible for citizenship' from owning agricultural land or possessing long term leases. This particularly affected Chinese, Indian, Japanese and Korean immigrant farmers • at the beginning of the First World War, American public opinion was firmly on the side of neutrality and wanted to keep out of foreign problems and concentrate solely on America. When the war ended, most Americans were even more in favour of a return to the USA's traditional policy of isolationism • despite Woodrow Wilson's support of a League of Nations to sort out future disputes between countries, in November 1919 and March 1920 the US Senate voted against US membership of the League of Nations, and refused to accept the terms of the League of Nations covenant. The USA was determined not to be involved in Europe's problems or become dragged into another European war. The USA was now firmly committed to a policy of isolationism.

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Fear of revolution

- attitudes towards immigration changed due to the 'red scare' which increased suspicion of immigrants. The Russian Revolution in 1917 had established the first Communist state in Russia, which was committed to spreading revolution and destroying capitalism. As many immigrants to the USA came from Russia and Eastern Europe, it was feared that these immigrants would bring communist ideas into the USA
- in 1919 there was a wave of strikes in the USA. Many of the strikers were unskilled and semi-skilled workers and recent immigrants from southern and eastern Europe. People opposed to the strikes linked the strikes with communism as it was believed that revolution was imminent
- the American public's fear of red revolution appeared to be confirmed when the US Attorney General Mitchell Palmer's house in Washington, DC, was blown up and letter bombs were sent to government officials. The red scare reached a peak of hysteria in January 1920 when, one night, Palmer ordered the arrest of 4000 alleged communists in 33 cities in what became known as the Palmer Raids.

Prejudice and racism

- attitudes towards immigration changed due to fears concerning the changing nature of immigration. Up until the 1880s most immigrants to the USA came from northern and western Europe from, for example, Britain, Germany and Scandinavia. After 1880 the majority of immigrants came from southern and eastern Europe, from countries such as Russia, Poland and Italy. Descendants of the more established immigrants, known as WASPs (White, Anglo-Saxon Protestants) were concerned there would be a flood of new immigrants from southern and Eastern Europe which they believed would threaten their way of life. Some new immigrants continued to wear traditional dress which was not viewed as being 'American'
- many new immigrants were Catholic or Jewish which led to the belief that the arrival of new immigrants would threaten the Protestant religion
- many new immigrants were unfamiliar with democracy. This was viewed as a threat to the American constitution
- 'nativists' who believed immigrants brought new and threatening ideas into the USA, were most prevalent in the mid-western and southern states.

Economic fears

- attitudes towards immigration changed due to increased fears that the jobs of 'Americans' would be threatened. Due to new production methods employers realised they could make huge profits by employing immigrants and paying them low wages. Trade unions believed that anything they did to improve conditions or wages was wrecked by Italian or Polish workers who were prepared to work longer hours for lower wages
- new immigrants were also used as 'strike breakers' as long hours and low wages in the USA were often better than what they were used to. There was huge resentment towards immigrant strike breakers which led to an increase in the desire to stop immigrants coming into the country.

	The effects of the First World War • many immigrants during the First World War had sympathies for their mother country which led to resentment within the USA • a large part of the US immigrant population was of German or Austrian origin. Many of these immigrants had supported the German side in the war and society was split when the USA joined the war against Germany. Anti-German propaganda containing stories of German atrocities increased dislike and suspicion of immigrants from Germany and the old Austrian Empire • Irish Americans were suspected of being anti-British • many citizens felt hostile to anything foreign. During the war, many Americans resented having to become involved in Europe's problems. After the First World War the USA was even more in favour of isolationism. By 1918 the USA wanted to leave Europe behind especially after the November armistice, when ships began to bring the wounded back to the United States from the European Western Front. Many Americans therefore did not want new waves of immigrants bringing 'European' problems to the USA. **Any other relevant factors.**

35.	**Context** In the face of overt racism black Americans continued their struggle for equality. Several organisations were formed to fight segregation. However, an important obstacle to the achievement of civil rights before 1941 was the weaknesses within the black community. **Divisions in the black community** • before 1941 there were several organisations working to improve the lives of black Americans. The three main organisations however had different aims and methods which weakened the campaign for civil rights • Booker T Washington adopted an accommodationist philosophy arguing that black people could only achieve an equal place in a mixed society if they were educated first. He was regarded as an 'Uncle Tom' by many • in contrast W E B De Bois founded the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP) — a national organisation whose main aim was to oppose discrimination through legal action. 1919 he launched a campaign against lynching, but it failed to attract most black people and was dominated by white people and well off black people • Marcus Garvey founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). Garvey urged black Americans to be proud of their black identity. The UNIA aimed to get black Americans to 'take Africa, organise it, develop it, arm it, and make it the defender of Negroes the world over'. **Other factors** **Legal impediments** • the Southern states passed a series of discriminatory measures against black Americans known as Jim Crow laws, for example transport, hospitals, education, sports and cemeteries were all segregated • another impediment was the attitudes of presidents who did not consider civil rights a vote winning issue. President Wilson said 'Segregation is not humiliating and is a benefit for you black gentlemen' • in the case of Plessy v. Ferguson in 1896 the Supreme Court ruled that racially separate facilities, if equal, did not violate the US Constitution • the 1896 'separate but equal' decision of the Supreme Court made Jim Crow laws legal • the Supreme Court's ruling hampered progress towards civil rights by spreading segregation all over America particularly in the South where segregation became the way of life. **Popular prejudice** • since the institution of slavery the status of Africans was stigmatized, and this stigma was the basis for the anti-African racism that persisted • black Americans also faced discrimination in the North. Millions of black Americans re-allocated from their roots in the Southern states to the industrial centres of the North after World War I, particularly in cities such as Boston, Chicago, and New York (Harlem). In northern cities, racial tensions exploded, most violently in Chicago, and lynchings increased dramatically in the 1920s.

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Activities of the Ku Klux Klan

- the Ku Klux Klan was a secret terrorist organisation formed in the 1860s to prevent former slaves achieving equal rights
- in the South the KKK used fear to stop black Americans registering to vote. Dressed in sinister white robes and hoods and riding out in the night, they intimidated, beat, mutilated and murdered black Americans who tried to assert their rights. Their calling card was a burning, fiery cross
- black Americans were afraid to resist these attacks as they wanted to be seen to be living in a law abiding way. They preferred to leave their homes and hide in wooded areas to avoid attack
- the violent atrocities committed by the KKK were unprecedented and were directed not only against black people, but also at anyone who supported them or furthered their cause. Hence, politicians and any white men who furthered the cause of equality for black Americans felt the full force of their hatred and prejudice
- the KKK had the support of rich and powerful individuals, including the police, judges and politicians. The atrocities were carried out by poor, young white people and lawyers, doctors and dentists
- the fear instilled by incidents of lynching prevented black people from fighting for their rights. Mobs carried out executions which included burning alive as well as hanging
- Roosevelt refused to support a federal bill to outlaw lynching in his New Deal in 1930s fearing the loss of Democrat support in the South
- the KKK was suppressed by 1872, but re-emerged in the 1920s. By 1925 it had three million members. The 'second' Klan grew most rapidly in urbanising cities which had high growth rates between 1910 and 1930, such as Detroit, Memphis, Dayton, Atlanta, Dallas, and Houston
- KKK membership in Alabama dropped to less than 6,000 by 1930. Small independent units continued to be active in places like Birmingham, where in the late 1930s members launched a reign of terror by bombing the homes of upwardly mobile African-Americans
- KKK activities in the 1930s led to continued migration of black Americans from the South to the North.

Lack of political influence

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

Any other relevant factors.

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36.	**Context** The Civil Rights movement aimed to bring about equality in law to all black Americans. With the passing of the Civil Rights Act in 1964 followed by a Voting Rights Act a year later it appeared that the Civil Rights movement had achieved its aims. However, for many black Americans forced to live in the ghetto areas in the cities of the north and west, social and economic hardships and inequalities remained. **Roles of NAACP, CORE, SCLC** • NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People) were involved in the court case 'Brown V. Topeka Board of Education',1954 which decided that segregated schools were unequal and that schools should be desegregated • NAACP were also involved in the Montgomery Bus Boycott, 1955 which successfully pressured the bus company into desegregating the buses • CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) organised sit-ins and during 1961 members of CORE organised the Freedom Rides which aimed to ensure that segregation really had ended on interstate highways • CORE helped organise the March on Washington in August 1963 • CORE helped establish Freedom Schools, temporary free schools for black Americans in towns throughout Mississippi • in 1957 the SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference) was formed and supported Martin Luther King's beliefs in peaceful, non-violent protest. **Role of Martin Luther King** • Martin Luther King rose to prominence during the Montgomery Bus Boycott • Martin Luther King's involvement in the events at Little Rock, Arkansas. The national publicity influenced the introduction of the Civil Rights Act in 1964 • Martin Luther King believed in peaceful, non-violent protest as exemplified by the Sit-ins and Freedom Rides • in 1963 Martin Luther King and the SCLC staged a huge demonstration in Birmingham, Alabama. The demonstrators, including children and students, were subjected to extreme police violence. The police chief, 'Bull' Connor used water cannons and dogs to attack the peaceful protesters. The bad publicity and hostility from white Americans forced Kennedy to order an end to segregation in Birmingham • Martin Luther King with other civil rights leaders organised a march on Washington, to gain publicity and support for a new Civil Rights Law. Martin Luther King gave his now famous 'I Have a Dream' speech • Martin Luther King believed that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 'gave Negroes some part of their rightful dignity, but without the vote it was dignity without strength'. King believed that it was vital that black Americans were also able to vote freely • in March 1965, King led a march from Selma to Montgomery to publicise the way in which the authorities made it difficult for black Americans to vote easily. Once more, scenes of police attacking marchers shocked TV audiences across the USA. In August 1965, Congress passed the Voting Rights Act which removed a number of barriers to voting.

Changes in federal policy

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

Social, economic and political changes

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

Rise of black radical movements

- in 1966 a new leader emerged within the SNCC — Stokely Carmichael who called for a campaign to achieve Black Power as an alternative to King's non-violent protest methods. According to Stokely Carmichael 'Black Power' involved black Americans taking control of their political and economic future without relying on white support to 'give' black Americans their civil rights
- another radical group who rejected white help was the Black Panthers who supported the anti-white, black separatist ideas of Stokely Carmichael and Malcolm X. Alongside gaining a reputation for violence due to supporting the use of guns and gun fights with the police the Black Panthers were involved in self-help projects in the ghettos to help black communities out of poverty
- Malcolm X, a leader of the Nation of Islam, also known as the Black Muslims, publicised the increasing urban problems within the ghettos of America
- in 1968 Johnson set up an investigation into the urban riots called the Kerner Commission. Its findings that US society remained divided with one white society and one black society — one rich and one poor, shocked people across the USA.

Any other relevant factors.

37.	**Context** The interwar years saw the rise of fascist political parties in numerous European countries. One facet of fascism was an aggressive nationalism that placed the idea of nation and loyalty to nation at the core of their belief, and political system if they got into power. This aggression illustrated in the actions of Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy in the 1930s. **British policy of appeasement** • appeasement was intended to solve genuine foreign policy grievances that had arisen from the 1919 peace treaties, through negotiation • British public opinion broadly supported the policy of Appeasement, though there were voices raised in dissent. Many felt that Germany had genuine grievances which deserved to be settled • British appeasement to an extent encouraged both Germany and Italy to increase their demands and do so increasingly forcefully. They certainly reinforced fascist belief in the weakness of democracies • British attempts to keep Mussolini away from Hitler's influence during the Abyssinian Crisis resulted in the Hoare-Laval Pact, which produced a popular outcry when the terms were leaked. Mussolini saw that Britain and France were not opposed in principle to gains for Italy in East Africa and he was able to defy sanctions and keep Abyssinia • Hitler knew of British reservations about some terms of the Versailles Treaty and was able to play on these, increasingly realising that he would not be stopped, for example rearmament, the reoccupation of the Rhineland and then the Anschluss. **Other factors** **Peace Settlement of 1919** • determination to revise/overturn Paris Peace Settlement — German resentment of Article 48 which made Germany accept guilt for starting the war, hatred of the reparations bill of £6,600,000,000, disarmament clauses were also a cause of resentment as the German army was reduced to 100,000 men and was not allowed heavy weaponry, lost territory, in particular in the east to Poland was bitterly resented • German desire to get revenge for defeat in WWI. Hitler called the treaty a Diktat; a dictated treaty forced on a helpless Germany • Italy came into the war on the side of the Allies in 1915. Italy suffered during the war, but hoped to gain land at the expense of Austria-Hungary, in particular the Dalmatian coast. In fact, Italian territorial gains were small scale. It was felt that the Italians had suffered and gained little • Mussolini in Italy promised to make Italy great again and wipe out the embarrassment of the peace treaties when he gained power in 1922. **Fascist ideology** • fascism was nationalistic in nature; emphasising the importance of loyalty to country [and superiority over others] • fascism is often defined by what it dislikes. One fundamental belief was a pathological hatred of communism which led to an anti-Soviet crusade as well as contempt for the 'weak' democracies • fascism as seen through Nazism was racist. This belief in the superiority of the 'German/Aryan' people [through a crude Social Darwinism] allowed Nazis to perpetuate the idea of a racial mission to conquer the world and cleanse it of 'weaker' races

	• fascism was militaristic in nature — fascist glorification of war; Prussian/German military traditions/harking back to the glories of the Roman Empire in Italy • fascist foreign policies were driven by Hitler's and Mussolini's own belief, but also their personalities and charismatic leadership • irredentism or the intention to reclaim and reoccupy lost territory, for example Hitler's commitment to incorporation of all Germans within the Reich • fascism between the wars was expansionist. Mussolini's 'Roman' ambitions in the Mediterranean and Africa; Hitler's ambitions for lebensraum or living space in Eastern Europe and Russia. **Economic difficulties after 1929** • in 1929 the US economy crashed leading the world into economic recession. This had a particularly dramatic effect on Germany as unemployment soared to 6 million • by 1929 Italy fascist economic policy was failing; an aggressive foreign policy was useful in distracting the people at home • an aggressive foreign policy was also useful in gaining resources for the fascist powers. For example, Italian invasion of Abyssinia and Hitler's obsession with lebensraum • Germany also developed policies to use their economic and political power to make the countries of Southern Europe and the Balkans dependent on Germany. Germany would exploit their raw materials and export manufactured goods to them. It was not a big step to invasion. **Weakness of the League of Nations** • purpose of the League was to ensure world peace through collective security and disarmament. This the League conspicuously failed to do allowing Fascism to grow unchecked • the League was divided politically. Its main supporters had their own domestic audiences which dictated their policies, which led to confusion and inconsistency in the international response to aggression • British policy of appeasement and concerns over their Empire • French political divisions between the left and right led to their inaction and perceived unreliability as an ally • the USA retreated into isolationism • there was suspicion of Communist Soviet Russia from the democracies • the Peace treaties created many small states in Eastern Europe which were difficult to defend • determined aggression worked as the League failed to stop the Italian invasion of Abyssinia. Even when the League did act, by putting mild sanctions on Italy they were too little, too late. **Any other relevant factors.**

38.	**Context** Once in power the fascist governments of Germany and Italy set about translating rhetoric about overturning the Peace settlements into action. From 1933 both counties expanded their armed forces and then launched a series of aggressive actions to further their demands for land/resources. **Military action** • Italian invasion of Abyssinia — the Italian army used dubious methods including poison gas and took a comparatively long time to defeat their poorly equipped enemy • German remilitarisation of Rhineland — Hitler's claimed provocation by the Franco-Soviet Mutual Assistance Treaty and moved troops into the demilitarized Rhineland, which bordered France • Spanish Civil War — both Italy and Germany provided aid to Franco's Nationalists, testing weapons and tactics, aerial bombing of Guernica. Spain became a fascist country and Italy gained naval bases in the Spanish Balearic Islands • Anschluss — there had been an attempted Nazi coup in Austria in 1934, but it had failed after Italian opposition. By 1938 conditions were more favourable as Mussolini no longer opposed German interest in Austria. The Austrian chancellor Schuschnigg was bullied and eventually removed by pro-Nazi forces. German military forces marched into Austria and it was incorporated into the German Reich • Czechoslovakia — Hitler turned his attention to Czechoslovakia in 1938. He claimed the German minority in Czechoslovakia was being persecuted. Initially he was given the Sudetenland as a consequence of the Munch agreement, but he invaded and took the Czech lands of Bohemia and Moravia in March 1939 • Italian invasion of Albania • Poland — In 1939 Hitler turned his attention to Poland using familiar methods of threat, escalating demands, provocation and eventual invasion. **Other factors** **Diplomacy** • diplomacy and the protestation of 'peaceful' intentions 'reasonable' demands was a frequent method. For example, before the re-militarisation of the Rhineland Hitler made an offer of a 25-year peace promise. Diplomacy used to distract and delay reaction to Nazi action • also, after reoccupying the Rhineland the Nazis made reasonable offers to create a demilitarised zone on both sides of the Franco-German border, knowing full well that the French would not agree • appeals to sense of international equality and fairness and the righting of past wrongs, for example Versailles was an unfair treaty • withdrawal from League and Disarmament Conference in 1933. Hitler had demanded parity with the French in terms of armaments. The French did not agree so Hitler withdrew from the Conference and League, claiming that they existed to keep Germany down. **Military threat** • the extent to which it was the threat of military force which was used rather than military force itself — for example Sudetenland/Czechoslovakia in 1938 • the extent to which military force itself relied on an element of bluff — for example the military reoccupation of the Rhineland.

	Pacts and alliances • the German-Polish Non-Aggression Pact between Nazi Germany and Poland signed on 26th January 1934 — normalized relations between Poland and Germany, and promised peace for 10 years. Germany gained respectability and calmed international fears. On 18th June 1935, Britain and Germany signed the Anglo-German Naval Agreement which allowed Germany parity in the air and to build up its naval forces to a level that was 35% of Britain's. Germany was also allowed to build submarines to a level equal of Britain's. Britain did not consult her allies before coming to this agreement • Rome-Berlin Axis — treaty of friendship signed between Italy and Germany on 25th October 1936 • anti-Comintern Pact between Nazi-Germany and Japan on 25th November 1936. The pact directed against the Communist International (Comintern) but was specifically directed against the Soviet Union • in 1938 Italy joined the Munich Pact — negotiations led to Hitler gaining Sudetenland and weakening Czechoslovakia • Pact of Steel an agreement between Italy and Germany signed on 22nd May 1939 for immediate aid and military support in the event of war • Nazi Soviet Non-Aggression Pact August 1939 — Both Hitler and Stalin bought time for themselves. For Hitler it seemed war in Europe over Poland unlikely. Poland was doomed. Britain had lost the possibility of alliance with Russia. **Role of Hitler and Mussolini** • Hitler hugely influential in shaping German foreign policy. He had clearly stated his position on the Peace treaties [a tribute-diktat] as well as rearmament and his desire to create a Grossdeutschland with the return of land lost in 1919 and union with Austria • during the remilitarization of the Rhineland Hitler's generals had warned Hitler that the army was not strong enough if faced with military opposition. However, the Allies were unprepared, and in the case of Britain sympathetic, and failed to act. This increased Hitler's confidence in his abilities to read situations • Mussolini's glorification of warfare, desire to create a new Roman Empire as well as the desire for revenge on the Abyssinians [for defeating an Italian Army in 1896], set the context and blueprint for Italian actions from 1933. **Any other relevant factors.**

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39.	**Context** The hoped for 'peace in our time' did not emerge and Hitler's ambitions led to the outbreak of World War Two in 1939. Hitler miscalculated that he could keep talking his way out of being held to account. Familiar claims as to provocation by the Poles as well as 'generous' offers of a peace pact with Britain led to Britain declaring war on Germany on 3rd September 1939. **Changing British attitudes towards appeasement** • events in Bohemia and Moravia consolidated growing concerns in Britain about Hitler and his intentions • Czechoslovakia did not concern most people until the middle of September 1938, when they began to object to a small democratic state being bullied. However, most press and population went along with it, although level of popular opposition was often underestimated • public opinion began to turn against appeasement with the German seizure of Bohemia and Moravia • German annexation of Memel [largely German population, but in Lithuania] further showed Hitler's bad faith • German actions convinced British government of growing German threat in Eastern Europe • guarantees were given to Poland and promised action in the event of threats to Polish independence. **Other factors** **Occupation of Bohemia and the collapse of Czechoslovakia** • British and French realisation, after Hitler's breaking of the Munich agreement and invasion of Czech provinces of Bohemia and Moravia in March 1939, that Hitler's word was worthless and that his aims went beyond the incorporation of ex-German territories and ethnic Germans within the Reich. The peoples of the Czech lands were Slavs • British public acceptance that all attempts to maintain peace had been exhausted • Prime Minister Chamberlain felt personally betrayed by the Nazi seizure of the Czech lands, realised his policy of appeasement towards Hitler had failed, and began to take a much harder line against the Nazis. **British diplomacy and relations with the Soviet Union** • Stalin knew that Hitler's ultimate aim was to attack Russia • Lord Halifax, the British Foreign Secretary was invited by Stalin to go to Russia to discuss an alliance against Germany • Britain refused as they feared Russian Communism, and they believed that the Russian army was too weak to be of any use against Hitler • in August 1939, with war in Poland looming, the British and French eventually sent a military mission to discuss an alliance with Russia. Owing to travel difficulties it took five days to reach Leningrad • the Russians asked if they could send troops into Poland if Hitler invaded. The British refused, knowing that the Poles would not want this. The talks broke down • this merely confirmed Stalin's suspicions regarding the British. He felt they could not be trusted, especially after the Munich agreement, and they would leave Russia to fight Germany alone. This led directly to opening talks with the Nazis who seemed to be taking the Russians seriously by sending Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop and offering peace and land.

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	Nazi-Soviet Pact • pact — diplomatic, economic, military co-operation; division of Poland • Hitler and Stalin's motives behind the Nazi-Soviet Pact were very different but it was seen as a 'marriage of convenience' in 1939 • put an end to British-French talks with Russia on guarantees to Poland • Hitler was freed from the threat of Soviet intervention and war on two fronts • Hitler's belief that Britain and France would not go to war over Poland without Russian assistance • Hitler now felt free to attack Poland • but, given Hitler's consistent, long-term foreign policy aims on the destruction of the Versailles settlement and lebensraum in the east, the Nazi-Soviet Pact could be seen more as a factor influencing the timing of the outbreak of war rather than as one of its underlying causes • Hitler's long-term aims for destruction of the Soviet state and conquest of Russian resources — lebensraum • Hitler's need for new territory and resources to sustain Germany's militarised economy • Hitler's belief that British and French were 'worms' who would not turn from previous policy of appeasement and avoidance of war at all costs • Hitler's belief that the longer war was delayed the more the balance of military and economic advantage would shift against Germany. **Invasion of Poland** • on 1st September 1939, Hitler and the Nazis faked a Polish attack on a minor German radio station in order to justify a German invasion of Poland. An hour later Hitler declared war on Poland stating one of his reasons for the invasion was because of 'the attack by regular Polish troops on the Gleiwitz transmitter' • France and Britain had a defensive pact with Poland. This forced France and Britain to declare war on Germany, which they did on 3rd September. **Any other relevant factors.**

40.	**Context** The wartime alliance had always been one of convenience owing to the common enemy of Nazism. America had not recognised the Soviet Communist government's legitimacy until 1933. As the Second World War came to an end the inherent tensions between a Capitalist America and her allies and Communist Russia became all too clear. **Arms race** • one aim of the use of atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki was to impress the USSR and make them ready to make concessions in Eastern Europe • in reality Stalin knew about the Manhattan Project and it made him determined to make the Soviet Union a nuclear power as soon as possible leading to the development of the arms race. To Stalin it was another example of why the Western powers were not to be trusted. The Soviet Union needed to be strong • British and French were also developing their independent nuclear deterrents — which, realistically, were only aimed at the USSR • development of technologies to deliver nuclear weapons. **Other factors** **Tensions within the wartime alliance** • although they fought together there was tension between the USSR and Western Democracies during the war. The democracies were suspicious of the USSR because of the Nazi-Soviet Pact of 1939. Stalin was paranoid that the Western Powers would throw their lot in with the Nazis and turn against the Soviet Union. His call for a second front against the Nazis did not happen until 1944. Millions of Russians had died by then • at the end of the war these tensions resurfaced. Soviet Union felt they had done the bulk of the land fighting and wanted security for the USSR • Yalta conference: Stalin determined to hang on to land gained and create a series of sympathetic regimes in Eastern Europe. The USA wanted to create a free trade area composed of democratic states. Soviet actions in Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, etc in creating pro-Communist regimes and Allied actions in Western Europe and Greece further increased tensions. **Ideological differences** • impact of 1917 Bolshevik revolution in Russia on relations with the western powers: Soviet withdrawal from WWI, involvement of West with anti-Bolshevik Whites: ideological differences between Communist and Capitalism • fears in the West that Communism was on the march led President Truman to the policy of containment: British power was in retreat: WWII had been expensive, so the British aimed to reduce their world commitments, specifically in Greece where civil war raged between Communists and Royalists. Fear of similar problems in Italy when allied troops left; activities of Mao in China • Truman acknowledged world dividing into two hostile blocs in his speech to Congress to support free peoples and proposals to oppose totalitarian regimes — exemplified by the Marshall Plan. Fulton speech by Churchill • creation of competing military alliances: NATO and Warsaw Pact further polarised the world • the Soviet Union rejected the Western economic model and set up its own economic bloc: Comecon.

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	Disagreements over the future of Germany • the Potsdam Conference and policy over Germany whereby the allied sectors remained free as compared to Soviet sector which was stripped of assets as reparations • the economic status of Germany: creation of Bizonia in West Germany. Contrast between the developing capitalist west and centrally controlled east: introduction of Deutsche Mark in West led to the Berlin Blockade in 1948/1949 • the disagreement over the status of Germany was illustrative of the broader competing visions of Capitalism and Communism. **Crisis over Korea** • Stalin encouraged Communist North Korea to invade Capitalist South. This led to American-led UN intervention on behalf of the South, and resultant Chinese intervention. Soviet and American pilots fought each other across Korea. Stalemate along 38th parallel • the war illustrated how far the world had been divided into two competing political camps, each determined that their vision of society should prevail. The Cold War had been sealed with a Hot War. **Any other relevant factors.**

41.	**Context** Although Soviet motives in creating a buffer zone of states with sympathetic pro-Stalinist governments made sense to the Russians, many of those in the satellite states did not see it that way. Resentment within the satellite states grew, especially when the standard of living did not rise. The death of Stalin seemed to offer an opportunity for greater freedom. However, Soviet tolerance of change only ran so far. **Khrushchev's policies of de-Stalinisation** • 1955 — emergence of Nikita Khrushchev as leader on death of Stalin. He encouraged criticism of Stalin and seemed to offer hope for greater political and economic freedom across the Eastern European satellite states • speech to 20th Party Congress, February 1956: Khrushchev attacked Stalin for promoting a cult of personality and for his use of purges and persecution to reinforce his dictatorship. Policy of de-Stalinisation • development of policy of peaceful co-existence to appeal to the West • development of policy of different roads to Socialism to appeal to satellite states in Eastern Europe who were becoming restless. **Soviet reactions to events in** **Poland (1956)** • riots sparked off by economic grievances developed into demands for political change in Poland • on the death of Stalinist leader Boleslaw Bierut in 1956 he was replaced by Wladyslaw Gomulka, a former victim of Stalinism which initially worried the Soviets • poles announced their own road to Socialism and introduced reforms • release of political prisoners (including Cardinal Wyszynski, Archbishop of Warsaw); collective farms broken up into private holdings; private shops allowed to open, greater freedom given to factory managers • relatively free elections held in 1957 which returned a Communist majority of 18 • no Soviet intervention despite concerns • Gomulka pushed change only so far. Poland remained in the Warsaw Pact as a part of the important 'buffer zone'. Political freedoms were very limited indeed. Poland was a loyal supporter of the Soviet Union until the 1980s and the emergence of the Solidarity movement. Limited challenge to Soviet control • in many ways this was the most successful Soviet intervention in that they did not directly intervene, although Khrushchev was worried • communism in Poland was reformed with some limited economic and political freedoms. It looked like Socialism in One Country could work • however, problems in that reform in Poland only contained the inefficacy of the economic aspects of Communism and the lack of political freedom. The genie was out of the bottle and other counties demanded change and worryingly, greater change. This led to a very different sort of Soviet intervention.

	Hungary (1956) • Hungarians had similar complaints: lack of political freedom, economic problems and poor standard of living encouraged by Polish success, criticism of the Stalinist regime of Mátyás Rákosi grew and he was removed by Khrushchev • popular upsurge of support for change in Budapest led to a new Hungarian government led by Imre Nagy, who promised genuine reform and change • Nagy government planned multi-party elections, political freedoms, the withdrawal of Hungary from the Warsaw Pact and demands for the withdrawal of Soviet forces • Nagy went too far. The Soviet Union could not see this challenge to the political supremacy of the Communist Party and the break-up of their carefully constructed buffer zone. They intervened and crushed the rising brutally • successful intervention by the Soviets in the sense that a direct challenge to Soviet control in Eastern Europe was stopped and the integrity of the Communist bloc was maintained • successful intervention in that the Warsaw Pact maintained its military integrity • however, lingering resentment from mass of Hungarian people, through some economic flexibility allowed the new regime of János Kádár to improve economic performance and living standards. **Berlin (1961)** • problem of Berlin — a divided city in a divided nation • lack of formal boundaries in Berlin allowed East Berliners and East Germans to freely enter the West which they did owing to the lack of political freedom, economic development and poor living standards in the East • many of those fleeing (2.8 million between 1949 and 1961) were skilled and young, just the people the communist East needed to retain. This was embarrassing for the East as it showed that Communism was not the superior system it was claimed to be • concerns of Ulbricht and Khrushchev: attempts to encourage the Western forces to leave Berlin by bluster and threat from 1958 failed • President Kennedy spoke about not letting the Communists drive them out of Berlin. Resultant increase in tension could not be allowed to continue • building of barriers: barbed wire then stone in August 1961 to stem the flood from East to West • success for the Soviets in that the wall reduced the threat of war and the exodus to the West from the East dropped to a trickle • success for the Soviets as the threat to Communist unity had been contained, for now • to an extent the wall suited the West as well as they did not like the obvious threat of potential conflict and escalation that Berlin represented • frustration of many in East Germany. Propaganda gift for the US and allies, though Soviets had controlled the direct challenge. **Any other relevant factors.**

42.	**Context** When Mikhail Gorbachev became General Secretary in 1985 he was the first leader of the Soviet Union who had not directly experienced the Second World War. He was also aware of the economic stagnation in the USSR. He sought reform at home which led to engagement with the West. An initially sceptical West eventually warmed to his initiatives leading to extensive arms control agreements. Reagan challenged communism with increased military spending but was willing to engage with Gorbachev. **Role of Reagan** • unlike many in the US administration Reagan actively sought to challenge Soviet weakness and strengthen the west in order to defeat Communism. In 1983 he denounced the Soviet Union as an 'Evil Empire' • programme of improving US armed forces, including nuclear weapons and he proposed a Star Wars missile shield to challenge the belief in MAD (SDI) • he was very charming when he met Gorbachev and visited Soviet Union. Their personal relationship was important in persuading both sides to reduce nuclear armaments. **Other factors** **Defeat of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan** • the Afghan War can be seen as a symptom of the problems of Soviet Union • intervention in December 1979: conflict with the Mujahidin. Russian army morale crumbled when over 20,000 Soviet soldiers died, as did support at home • the conflict showed the weaknesses of the Soviet economy • the war led to a slump in living standards for ordinary Russians • Russians began to question the actions of their own government and it led to unprecedented criticism of the war effort, particularly from returning soldiers. Gorbachev withdrew troops in 1988. **Failure of Communism in Eastern Europe** • strong Polish identity and history of hostility with Russia. By 1970s, Poland in economic slump. Emergence of opposition around Gdansk in 1980: industrial workers strike led by Lech Walesa, who argued for the creation of an independent trade union. Solidarity grew to nine million members in a matter of months. Movement suppressed in 1981 by General Jaruzelski's government • multiparty elections in Poland, after Soviet troops left, victory for Solidarity • Czechoslovakia, political prisoners released in November 1989 and by the end of the month, the communist government had gone. No Soviet intervention • opening of the Berlin Wall: division of Germany finally came to an end • Soviet domination ended • Perestroika and Glasnost and end of Communist rule in USSR.

	Economic differences between East and West • Western economies were much more innovative and wealth creating than the command economies of the East • allowed America to embark on the Star Wars weapons programme • perception of the affluent West through television and consumer goods undermined Communist claims of the superiority of their economic system • economic stagnation of Eastern bloc economies. **Role of Gorbachev** • Gorbachev saw that the USSR could not afford a new arms race. The Soviet economy was at breaking point. Commitments to the arms race and propping up allied regimes meant consumer goods and other things such as housing that mattered to Russian people were neglected • Gorbachev implemented policies of Perestroika and Glasnost which aimed to reform the Soviet economy and liberalise its political system • Gorbachev worked to improve relations with the USA. He took ideology out of his foreign policy, as exemplified by arms agreements to allow the USSR to concentrate on internal matters: Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty, December 1987, Nuclear Weapons Reduction Treaty, 1989 • Gorbachev told leaders of the satellite East European states in March 1989 that the Soviet army would no longer help them to stay in power, which undoubtedly encouraged reform and protest in those states. The Brezhnev Doctrine had ended. **Any other relevant factors.**

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