

A-LEVEL **History**

Paper 1LThe Quest for Political Stability: Germany, 1871–1991 Additional Specimen Mark scheme

Version: 1.0

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It must be stressed that a mark scheme is a working document, in many cases further developed and expanded on the basis of students' reactions to a particular paper. Assumptions about future mark schemes on the basis of one year's document should be avoided; whilst the guiding principles of assessment remain constant, details will change, depending on the content of a particular examination paper.

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A-level History Paper 1 Specimen Mark Scheme

1L The Quest for Political Stability: Germany, 1871-1991

Section A

Using your understanding of the historical context, assess how convincing the arguments in these three extracts are in relation to the legacy of Nazism in the years 1945 to 1969.

[30 marks]

Target: AO3

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

Generic Mark Scheme

L5: Shows a very good understanding of the interpretations put forward in all three extracts and combines this with a strong awareness of the historical context to analyse and evaluate the interpretations given in the extracts. Evaluation of the arguments will be well-supported and convincing. The response demonstrates a very good understanding of context.

25-30

L4: Shows a good understanding of the interpretations given in all three extracts and combines this with knowledge of the historical context to analyse and evaluate the interpretations given in the extracts. The evaluation of the arguments will be mostly well-supported, and convincing, but may have minor limitations of depth and breadth. The response demonstrates a good understanding of context.

19-24

L3: Provides some supported comment on the interpretations given in all three extracts and comments on the strength of these arguments in relation to their historic context. There is some analysis and evaluation but there may be an imbalance in the degree and depth of comments offered on the strength of the arguments. The response demonstrates an understanding of context.

13-18

L2: Provides some accurate comment on the interpretations given in at least two of the extracts, with reference to the historical context. The answer may contain some analysis, but there is little, if any, evaluation. Some of the comments on the strength of the arguments may contain some generalisation, inaccuracy or irrelevance. The response demonstrates some understanding of context.

7-12

L1: Either shows an accurate understanding of the interpretation given in one extract only or addresses two/three extracts, but in a generalist way, showing limited accurate understanding of the arguments they contain, although there may be some general awareness of the historical context. Any comments on the strength of the arguments are likely to be generalist and contain some inaccuracy and/or irrelevance. The response demonstrates limited understanding of context.

1-6

Nothing worthy of credit.

Note: This content is not prescriptive and students are not obliged to refer to the material contained in this mark scheme. Any legitimate answer will be assessed on its merits according to the generic levels scheme.

Note: in responding to this question, students may choose to respond to each extract in turn, or to adopt a more comparative approach to individual arguments. Either approach could be equally valid and what follows is indicative of the analysis and evaluation which may be relevant.

Extract A: In their identification of Fullbrook's argument, students may refer to the following:

- it was morally dubious to allow so many former Nazis to keep their jobs but it had positive consequences
- many former Nazis retained their positions within the Civil Service but this was vital to the survival of democracy
- it was easy for former Nazis to re-enter political life under Adenauer but this had a stabilising influence.

In their assessment of the extent to which the arguments are convincing, students may refer to the following:

- only 1000 civil servants were permanently excluded from future employment due to their actions during the Third Reich. Many civil servants dismissed in the immediate postwar period were reinstated after 1951 and received full pension credits for their service in the Third Reich
- it could be argued that the survival of democracy in West Germany owed far more to the 'economic miracle' than to the continuity in personnel in the Civil Service
- it was certainly easy and morally dubious for former Nazis to re-enter political life; most notoriously Hans Globke, who wrote the official commentary on the Nuremburg Laws, became Adenauer's chief aide
- West German democracy was relatively stable in the 1950s and 60s, certainly by comparison with the Weimar Republic. The Grand Coalition of 1966 showed that a former NSDAP member (Kiesinger) and an avowed anti-Nazi (Brandt) could co-operate to ensure the stability of democratic government
- alternatively, it could be argued that the economic recession of the mid-1960s sparked a rise in right-wing dissent, e.g. the success of the NPD in *Land* elections in the later 1960s; and the murder of Rudi Dutschke in 1968.

Extract B: In their identification of Kitchen's argument, students may refer to the following:

- the generation that lived through the Third Reich suffered from a collective amnesia which blocked Germany's 'path to modernity'
- the younger generation felt bitter and resentful towards their elders. The student movement attacked the older generation's failure to address the past
- suppressed memories were revived by events such as the Auschwitz Trial, which helped to expose the 'scandalous' inactivity of the 1950s.

In their assessment of the extent to which the arguments are convincing, students may refer to the following:

- it could be argued that Germany's 'path to modernity' was blocked, for example large numbers of married women working in the Civil Service were removed from their positions using the 1937 Nazi law against 'double earners'. In the 1960s, only 23% of civil servants were women, a much lower percentage than in the Weimar Republic
- alternatively, it could be argued that West Germany became a very modern state in the 1950s and 1960s due to the economic miracle and the increasing use of modern technology both industrially and domestically
- there is plenty of evidence to support the argument that there was a 'collective amnesia'. By 1953, 60% of new heads of department in the Civil Service were former Nazi Party members. In the Foreign Office, 78% of officials had served under Hitler. The influence of former Nazis in the higher education sector caused persistent complaints
- the student protests of the late 1960s provide clear evidence of the resentment felt towards the older generation. The Grand Coalition's proposal for an 'Emergency Law' in 1968 sparked a wave of protest amongst students denouncing it as comparable to Hitler's Enabling Law
- there is much to support the claim of 'scandalous inactivity' in the 1950s. The Central Office of Land Justice departments for the investigation of war crimes was only established in 1958
- however, the government did decide to extend the statute of limitations on murder in 1965 to enable Nazi war crimes to continue to be prosecuted which goes against the sense of a total moral failure by the older generation.

Extract C: In their identification of Judt's argument, students may refer to the following:

- the view that there was a 'collective amnesia' in Germany is too simplistic, it was rather a case of selectively remembering
- Adenauer pursued a complex policy towards the Nazi legacy. On the one hand, choosing not to speak publicly about the crimes of the Nazis; but on the other hand agreeing reparations with Israel for Jewish survivors.

In their assessment of the extent to which the arguments are convincing, students may refer to the following:

- it could be argued that the difference between 'collective amnesia' and selectively remembering is rather slim. The view of West German officials that Nazis had been properly punished can easily be challenged by highlighting the inadequacies of the de-Nazification process from 1945 to 1950. This seems to fit the definition of 'collective amnesia' as much as it does selectively remembering
- Adenauer only ever spoke of Jewish victims, never of German perpetrators which backs up the view of his 'prudent silence'. The employment of Globke as his chief aide adds considerable weight to the view of Adenauer as one of those selectively remembering
- it would also be fair to point out that Adenauer's negotiation of reparations with Israel was achieved in the face of significant opposition in the Bundestag, including from his own party. Pressure for reparations was hardly 'irresistible' within Germany, although the international context was very different
- overall, therefore, it would seem fair to describe Adenauer's attitude as 'complicated' and not as straightforward as the word 'amnesia' might imply.

Section B

0 2 'Working class Germans did not benefit from the economic transformation of Germany in the years 1871 to 1914.'

Assess the validity of this view?

[25 marks]

Target: AO1

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

Generic Mark Scheme

L5: Answers will display a very good understanding of the full demands of the question. They will be well organised and effectively delivered. The supporting information will be well-selected, specific and precise. It will show a very good understanding of key features, issues and concepts. The answer will be fully analytical with a balanced argument and well-substantiated judgement.

21-25

L4: Answers will display a good understanding of the demands of the question. It will be well-organised and effectively communicated. There will be a range of clear and specific supporting information showing a good understanding of key features and issues, together with some conceptual awareness. The answer will be analytical in style with a range of direct comment relating to the question. The answer will be well balanced with some judgement, which may, however, be only partially substantiated.

16-20

L3: Answers will show an understanding of the question and will supply a range of largely accurate information, which will show an awareness of some of the key issues and features, but may, however, be unspecific or lack precision of detail. The answer will be effectively organised and show adequate communication skills. There will be a good deal of comment in relation to the question and the answer will display some balance, but a number of statements may be inadequately supported and generalist.

11-15

L2: The answer is descriptive or partial, showing some awareness of the question but a failure to grasp its full demands. There will be some attempt to convey material in an organised way, although communication skills may be limited. There will be some appropriate information showing understanding of some key features and/or issues, but the answer may be very limited in scope and/or contain inaccuracy and irrelevance. There will be some, but limited, comment in relation to the question and statements will, for the most part, be unsupported and generalist.

6-10

L1: The question has not been properly understood and the response shows limited organisational and communication skills. The information conveyed is irrelevant or extremely limited. There may be some unsupported, vague or generalist comment.

1-5

Nothing worthy of credit.

Note: This content is not prescriptive and students are not obliged to refer to the material contained in this mark scheme. Any legitimate answer will be assessed on its merits according to the generic levels scheme.

Arguments supporting the view that working class Germans did not benefit from the economic transformation of Germany between 1871 and 1914, might include:

- many workers lived in cramped conditions in the inner-cities throughout the period
- the average working day for German workers was significantly longer than in Britain or the USA
- wages for German workers were nearly a third less than their British equivalents
- the growth of the SPD throughout the period, becoming the largest party in the Reichstag in 1912, could be seen as evidence that working class Germans were unhappy with their lives and were looking for significant changes
- successive governments of Germany portrayed socialists as 'enemies of the state' and sought to persecute the political representatives of the working class
- trade unions grew significantly after 1890 and the frequency of strikes would suggest that working class Germans were unhappy with their conditions
- the introduction of protection in 1878/79 (and the restoration of these tariffs in 1902) was in response to pressure from the right-wing elites. Protection served to increase the basic cost of living for the working classes.

Arguments challenging the view that working class Germans did not benefit from the economic transformation of Germany between 1871 and 1914, might include:

- Bismarck's policies of State Socialism provided workers with sickness and accident insurance as well as old age pensions
- Caprivi's 'New Course' established industrial tribunals, reduced the working hours of women, banned Sunday working and introduced a minimum wage
- the growth of German industry created thousands of new jobs throughout the period in both the staple industries and the newer industries such as chemicals and electricals
- real wages increased by 25% from 1895 to 1913
- new technology brought improvements to health and to leisure opportunities, e.g. the cinema and improved transport
- the political representatives of the working classes had an increasingly prominent role in the Reichstag and were able to force some concessions out of the government, e.g. payment of MPs in 1906 and the 'defence tax' on property in 1913
- socialist organisations became very active in providing clubs, holidays, educational and cultural opportunities for working class Germans.

Higher level answers will provide some judgement in direct response to the question, for example they might argue that the rapid urbanisation and industrialisation of Germany in this period was bound to lead to significant problems, most obviously overcrowded living conditions. However, at least for the more skilled workers, living and working conditions did improve over the period and new technology contributed to a higher standard of living. Politically, however, the representatives of working class Germans found it harder to gain concessions from the increasingly conservative government, especially under Wilhelm II. By 1914, the Kaiser's desperation to undermine socialism through aggressive patriotism had led Germany to the brink of war and it was working class men who would die in their millions as a result.

0 3 'The influence of the military undermined the political stability of Germany in the years 1890 to 1929.'

Assess the validity of this view.

[25 marks]

Target: AO1

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

Generic Mark Scheme

L5: Answers will display a very good understanding of the full demands of the question. They will be well-organised and effectively delivered. The supporting information will be well-selected, specific and precise. It will show a very good understanding of key features, issues and concepts. The answer will be fully analytical with a balanced argument and well-substantiated judgement.

21-25

L4: Answers will display a good understanding of the demands of the question. It will be well organised and effectively communicated. There will be a range of clear and specific supporting information showing a good understanding of key features and issues, together with some conceptual awareness. The answer will be analytical in style with a range of direct comment relating to the question. The answer will be well-balanced with some judgement, which may, however, be only partially substantiated.

16-20

L3: Answers will show an understanding of the question and will supply a range of largely accurate information which will show an awareness of some of the key issues and features, but may, however, be unspecific or lack precision of detail. The answer will be effectively organised and show adequate communication skills. There will be a good deal of comment in relation to the question and the answer will display some balance, but a number of statements may be inadequately supported and generalist.

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Arguments supporting the view that the influence of the military did undermine the political stability of Germany between 1890 and 1914, might include:

- the military influenced Wilhelm II to pursue naval expansion and to enlarge the army to 4 million soldiers by 1914 as part of the policy of Weltpolitik. The budget increases that this expansion required caused significant difficulties for the chancellors of Germany in dealing with the Reichstag in the run up to 1914, exacerbating the political tensions between the left and right wing parties
- the Zabern Affair in 1913 revealed the arrogance of the army and the Kaiser's support for their actions. A vote of no confidence in the chancellor was passed in the Reichstag but ignored by the government further increasing political tensions
- the military dictatorship of Ludendorff and Hindenburg was heavily criticised in 1917 by the Reichstag. Their refusal to compromise and modify their ambitions led to military failure and increasing unrest in Germany which resulted in the political unrest of October/November 1918 and the creation of the Weimar Republic
- the propagation of the 'stab in the back' myth by Ludendorff and other leading figures in the army sought to destabilise the new democratic Weimar government from the outset
- during the Kapp Putsch of 1920, General Seeckt refused to order the army to crush the Freikorps
- after 1920, the army became a privileged elite beyond political accountability exploiting the freedom of action granted by the Ebert-Groener Pact. Some members of the regular army openly supported right-wing paramilitaries who sought to assassinate leading Weimar politicians.

Arguments challenging the view that the influence of the military did undermine the political stability of Germany between 1890 and 1914, might include:

- the policy of Weltpolitik, significantly promoted by the military, served to unite Germans through patriotic fervour in the run up to the First World War. In 1914, all parties joined the political truce and voted in favour of the money needed for the military budget
- Germany evolved into a military dictatorship under Ludendorff and Hindenburg during the war, which was an effective way of by-passing the political tensions and divisions which had dogged the pre-war years. It was only as military defeat became imminent that the stability of this leadership was broken
- the Ebert-Groener Pact of November 1918 ensured that the new Weimar government had the support of the military, which enabled the new Republic to overcome a series of threats from the extreme left-wing in the years 1919 to 1923
- the army did not voice open support for the Kapp Putsch and played a role in restoring order once it was clear that the putsch did not have widespread support
- during the Munich Putsch, the army in Bavaria did not join the Nazis and in the aftermath Seeckt ordered Weimar troops to restore central control.

Higher level answers will provide some judgement in direct response to the question, for example they might argue that the military exerted a huge influence over German society and politics throughout this period often acting in its own interests. These interests largely aimed to preserve the traditional supremacy of the right-wing elites but in doing so contributed to Germany's descent into war in 1914 as well as undermining the strength of the new democratic government after the war. When the military did support the government in the 1920s, it was only when it was confident that its traditional power and influence would not be affected. Therefore, it could be argued that the military did undermine political stability in Germany in this period as it resisted changes which would have brought about a more representative and stable system of government.

o 4 'The development and success of the Nazis in the years 1920 to 1941 was due to Hitler's leadership.'

Assess the validity of this view.

[25 marks]

Target: AO1

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

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1-5

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Arguments supporting the view that the Nazis' development and success was due to Hitler's leadership might include:

- Hitler contributed to the 25 Point Plan in 1920 and soon became the undisputed leader of the party through his strength of personality and particularly his skill as an orator, attracting large crowds and new members
- when Hitler was in prison in 1924 the Nazi Party nearly fell apart without his
 charismatic leadership. Following his release from prison in December 1924, Hitler
 reorganised and relaunched the Nazis as a party who would win power through the
 democratic system not overthrowing it by force
- Nazi propaganda between 1929 and 1932 made very frequent use of Hitler's image or his name, emphasising that a vote for the Nazis was a vote for Hitler
- Hitler's powerful speeches, in the years 1930 to 1932 especially, convinced many Germans to vote for the Nazis
- Hitler was capable of ruthless and decisive action in order to strengthen the Nazis' position in power, most notably in the Night of the Long Knives
- the Cult of the Führer, carefully crafted by Goebbels, raised Hitler to a messianic level in the minds of many Germans, thereby strengthening support for Nazi rule
- Hitler's leadership of the war effort in the early years was praised, his bold tactics in western Europe and in Russia convinced many in 1941 that the Nazis would lead Germany to victory.

Arguments challenging the view that the Nazis' development and success was due to Hitler's leadership might include:

- Hugenburg provided Hitler with the opportunity to gain recognition on a national scale through access to his media empire during the Anti-Young Plan campaign in
- the economic depression which followed the Wall Street Crash provided the catalyst for the Nazis' rise to power. In 1928, before the crash, the Nazis polled less than 3% of the vote
- Goebbels' propaganda played a crucial role in the Nazis' rise to power, exploiting the
 discontent created by the economic depression; and afterwards in strengthening
 Nazi control, e.g. through creating the Cult of the Führer
- the weakness of Weimar democracy aided the Nazis' rise to power. The inability of the Weimar government to deal with the depression provided the Nazis with the opportunity to seize power
- fear of communism drove many Germans towards the Nazis, especially after 1929
- the SA played a crucial role in the Nazis' rise to power, presenting the image of a disciplined and strong party able to stand up to the Communist threat
- Hitler was a 'lazy dictator'. Nazi rule was strengthened through the work of Hitler's lieutenants, not least the propaganda empire of Goebbels and the terror state of Himmler.

Higher level answers will provide some judgement in direct response to the question, for example they might argue that Hitler's leadership was clearly crucial to the Nazis' development and success throughout the period. Without his charismatic oratory, the Nazis would not have attracted so many supporters and won so many votes between 1929 and 1932. Once in power, Hitler's leadership was further enhanced through the Cult of the Führer. However, Hitler's leadership was not enough on its own as the Nazis' contrasting election fortunes in 1928 and in 1930 reveal. The circumstances of the depression created the opportunity for Hitler to exploit. Once in power, the success of the Nazis rested as much on the work of the other leading figures such as Goebbels and Himmler as on Hitler. Therefore, Hitler's leadership was crucial to the success of the Nazis but it was not the only factor behind their rise to power and subsequent strength of control.