This document contains all of the mark scheme sections related to the questions in the previous document. Once you have planned / written those, check the mark scheme below to see if you are on the right lines. Remember, the mark schemes are guides only – they are not the only way to answer the questions so use them loosely.

**Interwar years: conflict and cooperation 1919–1939**

May 15

**15. Examine the reasons why the democratic government in Germany was able to survive the various crises it faced in the years 1919 to 1924.**

Crises could include: Spartacus week in January 1919; the establishment of the Bavarian Republic; the publication of the terms of the Treaty of Versailles; the Kapp Putsch, 1920; problems over reparations (and other factors) that led to the occupation of the Ruhr; the policy of Passive Resistance and the hyperinflation of 1923; the Munich Putsch, November 1923.

The Weimar Republic faced threats from both extreme revolutionaries and extreme nationalists. In the case of revolutionary threats politicians such as Ebert and Scheidemann took decisions that gained them support, for example declaring a republic rather than trying to retain a constitutional monarchy. Ebert also made pragmatic deals such as the Groener-Ebert Pact that meant he could rely on the Reichswehr and the Freikorps to protect the Republic from extreme revolution.

In the case of extreme nationalist threats such as the Kapp Putsch, the republican government could rely, to some extent, on public support (the general strike in Berlin) and the forces of law and order (Munich Putsch). Additionally, the Reichswehr was unwilling to side openly with extreme nationalists because of the presence of occupation forces in Germany and the possible risk of renewed international conflict.

Ebert was also willing to use Article 48 to deal with a crisis, for example the appointment of Stresemann as chancellor to deal with hyperinflation (which he did by introducing the Rentenmark and entering into negotiations that led to the Dawes Plan of 1924).

The Republic survived because both extreme revolutionaries and extreme nationalists had limited support. Astute decisions by moderate politicians also contributed to the survival of the Weimar Republic.

Note: Answers must be confined to the dates in the question.

The above material is an indication of what candidates may elect to use.

**16. “The Republicans lost the Spanish Civil War because they lacked international support.” To what extent do you agree with this statement?**

International support:

Aid to the Nationalists came from Germany and Italy. The impact of the Non-Intervention Pact meant that the Republic found it very difficult to purchase weapons from Britain and France. Germany and Italy simply ignored the Non-Intervention Pact and supplied the Nationalists with military equipment and troops. The Republicans did receive some arms and equipment from the USSR but this was limited and had to be paid for by shipping Spain’s gold reserves to Moscow.

Military inferiority:

Initially the Republicans lacked a disciplined army and relied on untrained militias. The Popular Army was established by autumn 1936, but still lacked clear effective leadership whereas Franco unified all the elements of the Nationalist side. Italian and German troops played a significant role in the conflict. The Republic only had external support from the International Brigades.

Economic weakness:

Nationalists controlled all the main food producing areas by 1937. They had credit facilities with Germany and Italy. Fear of communism meant foreign businesses were more willing to trade with the Nationalists. The Republic lacked resources – the gold reserve had gone to Moscow, and Britain and France refused to extend credit.

Political divisions:

The Republican side consisted of a wide range of groups from the CNT (National Confederation of Labour) to moderate republicans with differing aims. Some, such as the POUM (Workers’ Party of Marxist Unification) and the CNT wanted social revolution whereas moderates wanted to defend the republican constitution. These divisions were exacerbated by the interference of the Soviet Union via the PCE (Spanish Communist Party) – their aim was to control revolutionary elements to prevent Great Britain and France from becoming anxious about revolution in Spain. This interference led to the May Days of 1937 in Barcelona – “civil war within a civil war”. The Republicans’ most effective leader, Largo Caballero, resigned in protest and his successor Negrin continued repression of the Left to try and win help from the democratic states.

However, in November 1938, the International Brigades were withdrawn – Madrid fell in March 1939.

In contrast, the various elements on the Nationalist side had one goal – the overthrow of the Republic. There was also clear leadership with Franco assuming the role of Caudillo from September 1936. The above material is an indication of what candidates may elect to write about in their responses. However, it is not exhaustive and no set answer is required.

Nov 14

**15. “Collective security failed because of the weakness of the League of Nations.” To what extent do you agree with this statement?**

This is not a “successes and failures’ of the League of Nations question and the main focus should be on factors that limited international cooperation. Examples of where the League was seen to be weak such as Manchuria and Abyssinia should be linked to their impact on international affairs. Candidates may argue that the League was dominated by Britain and France that led to ineffective polices such as weak sanctions against Italy.

The impact of the Great Depression on cooperation is also important. Without the economic crisis in Germany, Hitler would probably not have gained power and Italy would perhaps not have pursued expansion in Abyssinia. Britain and France became more focused on internal problems and there was a tendency to erect tariff barriers which hindered cooperation.

Nations began to act outside of the League eg the Little Entente, the Balkan Pact, the Stresa Front and the Anglo-German Naval agreement in pursuit of national interests and security.

Fear of the Soviet Union was also a factor, Stalin joined the League in 1934 but despite signing agreements with both Czechoslovakia and France, he was still regarded with suspicion, especially by the British. Soviet support for the Republicans in Spain contributed to this suspicion.

By 1936 Britain and to a lesser extent France was pursuing a policy of Appeasement signalling the end of the search for collective security and underlining the weakness of the League of Nations.

**16. Evaluate the impact of Hitler’s social and economic policies in Germany up to 1939.**

Impact on society is the key focus, analysis should relate to pre-1939 Germany, as the outbreak of war led to major change in social and economic policies.

Social policies to consider: youth and education; policies on women (Kinder, Kuche, Kirche); policies on religion; anti-Semitic policies. Some might argue that there was the appearance of change because of propaganda, but that in fact there was limited change except as a consequence of anti-Semitic legislation. By 1939, Germany’s Jewish population was socially, politically and economically excluded from the Volksgemeinschaft.

Economic policies could include: reducing unemployment; Schacht’s New Plan, which attempted to balance the trade deficit; the 1936 Four Year Plan, which aimed to establish autarky and prepare Germany for war.

Answers should be well-balanced and assess impact: (was unemployment ended? was Germany self-sufficient and ready for war in 1939?). There is an opportunity to consider the views of historians.

May 14

**15. “Hitler’s rule in Germany gave most Germans what they wanted in the years 1933–1939.” To what extent do you agree with this statement?**

Answers will have to identify the problems that faced Germany in the years before Hitler gained power and the extent to which Hitler resolved these problems (including: economic crisis; mass unemployment; weak governments; lack of law and order because of political violence; threat of revolution; national humiliation, ie Versailles).

The main focus should be on how these problems were or were not dealt with: unemployment fell because of Schacht’s New Plan, which included public works schemes, conscription and rearmament; the one-party state and dictatorship (fully established by August 1934) ended political violence on the streets and gave the impression of strong, stable government. From the beginning, Hitler pursued a foreign policy designed to remove the Versailles settlement and restore national pride, including leaving the League of Nations, ignoring the military clauses of Versailles and remilitarizing the Rhineland, etc.

All of these actions were popular. Plebiscites and levels of collusion with the regime also indicate that most Germans were willing to support the regime for the benefits it brought. Levels of opposition could also be considered: repression dealt with overt opposition, but there was little covert opposition within Germany until Hitler began to move towards war.

**16. Analyse the political impact of the Great Depression on any one country of the region.**

Case studies might include Germany, Spain, Britain or France, but accept any valid example. For Germany, candidates may focus on Nazi electoral gains and their links with the level of unemployment. The failure of the Müller, Brüning, Schleicher and Von Papen governments may also be outlined. In other cases, it could be argued that the impact was to strengthen the Left, for example in France, with the formation of the Popular Front government in 1936. In Spain, the Great Depression contributed to general political instability with both right-wing and left-wing governments in power during the Second Republic. Another point of view would be that, in general, all governing parties of whatever political persuasion were undermined as a result of the Great Depression.

Nov 13

**15. Compare and contrast the economic and political problems facing Germany in the years 1919–1923 and 1929–1933.**

Comparisons: Political problems, including threats from extremist parties in the early years, Spartacus Week, the Kapp Putsch and the Munich Putsch. In the 1930s, growing support for anti-republican parties such as the Nazis and KPD. Coalition governments which had to rely on Article 48 (emergency powers to govern). Anger at the Treaty of Versailles led to criticism of republican governments, who were often referred to as “the November Criminals”. Political violence made the governments look weak – eg Rathenau’s assassination in 1922; frequent clashes between the various paramilitary groups in the 1930s.

Economic problems, including government budget deficit because of high welfare spending (Ruhr Crisis in 1923 and mass unemployment from 1930 onwards). Reparations were seen as an economic problem – in the early period they seemed to be hampering economic recovery from the war and, in 1929, the need to continue making payments exacerbated the budget crisis.

Contrasts: In the years 1929–1933 what appeared to be similar problems were actually on a much greater scale. Politically, there was a much greater use of non-democratic methods of government (Article 48 used by Bruning 109 times). By 1932 anti-republican parties were in the majority in the Reichstag (230 Nazis, 89 KPD). In the early period international action probably would have helped the republic survive. In the early 1930s Britain and France were too preoccupied with internal problems to be involved. Politically in the early period President Ebert used his powers to protect the republic; in the 1930s, Hindenburg used his powers to protect Germany from the left wing threat.

Economically, the Depression and its consequences was causing unemployment on a massive scale (6 to 8 million people were out of work by 1932). There was a crisis in the banking system, with German banks collapsing. By 1932 reparations had been suspended by the Hoover Moratorium.

**16. “The Spanish Civil War was caused by divisions in Spanish society, not ideology.” To what extent do you agree with this statement?**

Several key divisions could be identified: poor peasants versus landed aristocracy; urban workers versus big business; regional divisions; the desire of Catalonia and the Basque region for autonomy; anti-clericals versus the Catholic Church. Answers should link these divisions to the various political parties in Spain and the events of the years 1931 to 1936, from the establishment of the republic to the outbreak of civil war in July 1936. The best answers will be able to link the broad divisions to the polarization of politics, which made compromise at the political level difficult. Reference could be made to the limited nature of Azana’s reforms up to 1933, the bienio negro, the Asturian Rising and the Popular Front victory in the February 1936 elections.

May 13

**15. Evaluate the methods used by Mussolini to gain and retain power in the years 1919–1926.**

Methods used to gain power could include: flexible policies. He completely changed his manifesto after failure in the 1919 election. He made an electoral alliance with Giolitti, so he used the parliamentary system to his advantage. He gained the support of the Church and the traditional elites in Italy by exploiting their fear of communism.

He also used violence and the threat of violence. The tactic of Squadrismo during the Biennio Rossi effectively weakened the left but also undermined the Liberal state which appeared ineffective in contrast. The threat of force was the planned March on Rome if he was not given the premiership.

Methods to retain power were similar: he used his position in the state to strengthen his position by “legal” means – the Acerbo Law 1923, and beginning the establishment of the Corporate state.

He used violence against the opposition (for example, the murder of Matteotti). He continued the use of Squadrismo in order to reinforce the need for a strong leader. Once in office he continued to gain the support of the elites. The army was happy he left Victor Emmanuel III in place. He began negotiations with the church which resulted in the Lateran Accords (1929).

“Evaluate” invites candidates to make a judgment as to which methods were more important or even whether it was a combination of these methods, which allowed Mussolini to exploit the weakness of the Liberal state.

**16. “Hitler had clear foreign policy aims but no plan of how to achieve them.” To what extent do you agree with this statement?**

Hitler’s aims need to be stated clearly. Basic answers will assert that he sought Lebensraum. Better/more developed answers may argue that he had a range of goals: the removal of the terms of Versailles, incorporating all Germans into the Reich, and, in the longer term, gaining Lebensraum in the east.Candidates should consider the extent to which Hitler planned his foreign policy initiatives. Was there a timetable or did he seize opportunities? Some candidates may make reference to historians’ theories (particularly well-known ones such as Bullock and Kershaw) but this is not a requirement for higher level marks.

Leaving the League of Nations and Rearmament policies reduced the impact of Versailles. The Reoccupation of the Rhineland in 1936 after the collapse of the Stresa Front when Britain and France were preoccupied by Abyssinia may be considered. He exploited Britain’s policy of Appeasement and her fear of communist expansion to gain Austria and the Sudetenland. Even his signing of the Nazi–Soviet pact could be deemed opportunism as this happened after the failure of the Anglo–French mission to reach an agreement of the Soviet Union in 1939.

Nov 12

**15. “Mussolini’s foreign policy between 1922 and 1941 was inconsistent and unsuccessful.” To what extent do you agree with this statement?**

Success

Mussolini’s foreign policy was largely effective until the mid 1930s. It was largely based on diplomatic activity designed to maintain Italy’s status as a major power. Relations were good with Britain and France. Evidence could include the various treaties he made in the early twenties, settling the issue of Fiume, his involvement with the Locarno Accords but there was also the Corfu Incident.

The early 1930s were also mainly concerned with diplomatic activity e.g. Treaty of Friendship with Austria cooperating with Britain and France in the Stresa Front. From 1935 onwards it was much more aggressive – Abyssinia, Spanish Civil War, Axis agreement, Pact of Steel etc. However he was also keen to avoid war at the Munich Conference and was still attempting to get some sort of treaty with Britain as late as 1939.

There is ample material to illustrate “inconsistent”. The issue of “unsuccessful” could include the cost and failure of his military actions, his closer ties with Hitler which drew Italy into war in 1940 with disastrous consequences.

**16. Analyse the political impact of the Great Depression on either Britain or Germany.**

Germany will probably be the most popular choice. The focus is political and therefore social and economic issues should be linked to the consequences for politics. The economic crisis led to the polarization of politics with the rise of right- and left- wing political parties.

In the case of Germany the problems caused by the depression can be directly linked to the decline of parliamentary government in the years 1929–1933. They also contributed to the rise of the Nazis on a national level from a position of weakness pre-1929.

In Britain politics also drifted to the right with the collapse of Macdonald’s government in 1931 and the establishment of the National government. The impact of the depression also contributed to support for Mosley and the BUF (British Union of Fascists), but the parliamentary system remained in place.

May 12

**15. Compare and contrast the reasons for the rise to power of Hitler and Mussolini.**

Comparisons are much more obvious – contrasts may be limited. Comparisons include: flawed political structures in both cases which led to weak coalition government. Economic crises include: in Italy post-war recession, in Germany the impact of the Depression, in both high levels of unemployment led to support for the left and fear of revolution. Increased disillusion with democracy. In Italy the Biennio Rossi and in Germany the continued support for the K.P.D. increased fear of communism.

Desire for a strong leader and lack of support from the elites, undermined democratic governments. The fear of a coup contributed to the appointment of leaders who were hostile to democracy. In both cases the class based nature of political parties in coalitions made effective government difficult and weakened support for democracy.

Contrasts: In Germany Hitler had much greater popular support, thus appearing more democratic. Mussolini, in contrast, only had 35 Fascist deputies in 1921. This could be explained by the fact that Hitler had a clear programme which attracted mass support. Mussolini’s tactics were much more overtly violent than Hitler’s – Squadrismo was used to undermine the Liberal governments in Italy in the years 1919–1922.

Candidates may refer to the period of the consolidation of power, the main focus should be on the rise to power.

If only Hitler or Mussolini is addressed, mark out of a maximum of [8 marks].

**16. “The policy of appeasement was a major cause of the outbreak of war in 1939.” To what extent do you agree with this statement?**

This is a “causes of the Second World War” question and will allow candidates to use their knowledge of the historical debate on appeasement. It is not a “failure of the League of Nations” question and answers which focus on this should not score highly. Although appeasement is most closely associated with Chamberlain it could be argued that it was followed earlier on issues such as rearmament and the reoccupation of the Rhineland and the Anschluss. However Chamberlain was more definite in his pursuit of appeasement as was seen in his willingness to negotiate over the Czech crisis in 1938. He even accepted the German occupation of Czechoslovakia in 1939 as Czechoslovakia had not technically been invaded. The Nazi–Soviet Pact could also be seen as Stalin temporarily appeasing Hitler. Candidates could argue that war was inevitable as a consequence of Hitler’s goal of Lebensraum in the east. However they could also argue that appeasement allowed Hitler to gain confidence in pursuit of that goal and undermined potential military opposition in Germany who were satisfied with the gains of German foreign policy up to 1938. In that sense it was a cause of war as Hitler remained in power. If there is reference to historians’ views then they should be discussed, challenged or supported.

Nov 11

**15. Why did attempts at cooperation in Europe between 1919 and 1939 end in failure?**

Although the League of Nations is relevant for this question, candidates should not attempt to answer the question solely on the failure of the League of Nations. Points on this issue could include: the inherent weaknesses of the League, such as its constitution and workings, and especially the lack of important countries, including the US; its lack of an army, and its failure to impose its will on larger states, such as Italy and Japan. Other reasons for attempts at cooperation ending in failure could include some of the following: the effects of the First World War and the treaties that followed; the failure of disarmament; distrust between nations, especially between France and Germany; US policies, which tended to be regarded as inconsistent; the Great Depression, which led states to pursue their own interests even more selfishly; the Spanish Civil War, and the failure of the Non-Intervention Pact; the rise, attitudes and policies of dictators. The Second World War broke out as the ultimate result of the failure of attempts at cooperation. Candidates may mention the failure of collective security as being partially a consequence of fear and distrust of the Soviet Union.

If only one key factor is addressed for example the League of Nations or Hitler’s Foreign Policy then award a maximum of [11 marks]

**16. “The Spanish Civil War was essentially a domestic matter that rapidly became an international issue.” To what extent do you agree with this statement?**

The causes of the Spanish Civil War were mainly domestic issues. They included: separatism; the wealth and privileges of the nobility and the Church, which contrasted with peasant and urban poverty. This poverty in the countryside, and in the towns with the growth of new industries and its labour problems, led to strikes and unrest; many wished to overturn the existing order. Government extremes within the Republic, formed in 1931 after the departure of Alfonso XIII; polarization of politics; army revolt led by various generals with Franco emerging as the Nationalist leader by September 1936.

The actual conflict (1936–1939) did become a European and an international issue. The former developed with the attempt to limit the conflict to Spain, with the failure of the policy of Non-Intervention pursued by Britain and France. Germany and Italy supported the Nationalists, and the USSR and the International Brigades supported the Republicans. European issues were fought out in Spain. Germany and to a lesser extent Italy, used it as a “dress rehearsal” for a larger conflict; it was also perceived to be a conflict between Communism and Fascism.

Do not expect or demand all of the above and credit other relevant material. Candidates should focus on both domestic and international parts, but there is no set division of marks for each section.

May 11

**15. Analyse the consequences of the Great Depression on any one country in Europe.**

Consequences will obviously include mass unemployment, with its attendant social ills. However, consequences should also be seen to be political – the growth of political extremism in many countries (both left and right-wing). Economic protectionism/growth of nationalism are also consequences. Detailed knowledge, not generalizations, is required. Obvious exemplars – Britain, France or Germany – but this also provides an opportunity for candidates to explore their own national history.

**16. Evaluate the success of Hitler’s domestic policies between 1933 and 1939.**

Hitler’s aims should be identified and analysis should consider how successful he was in achieving those aims. Policies to be examined could include: consolidation of power and the establishment of a strong dictatorship; economic recovery and Autarky; a racially pure society focus must be on internal measures and not on the Final Solution, the creation of the Volksgemeinschaft; levels of support/scale of opposition; scale of the police state; strength of the economy by 1939. It would be legitimate to argue that a strong, unified nation would enable Hitler to pursue his foreign policy goals.

Nov 10

**15. Analyse the reasons for the weaknesses and collapse of democracy between 1918 and 1939 in either Italy or Spain.**

The main similarity is lack of confidence in the ability of democracy to maintain national self-respect and social order. In both countries extreme rightists gained widespread support because of fear of the “Red Menace” in its various forms. Mussolini and Franco both appealed to the public desire for a strong leader. Another key reason could be the failure of democratic parties to cooperate with each other and establish stable governments.

There are also factors peculiar to each country. In Italy frustration at failure in the First World War led more quickly to democratic collapse because the Liberal leaders were ready to collaborate with Fascism. In Spain, as in Italy, the monarchy sided with authoritarian rule in the 1920s during the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera. In Spain the monarchy’s fall in 1931 created a vacuum, and the new republic had many enemies and few loyal supporters. In Spain Fascism did not become a mass movement as in Italy but part of a reactionary Nationalist coalition. Unlike in Italy political violence erupted into a full-scale civil war and bitter divisions on the left helped the extreme right to destroy the Republic and set up a Fascist dictatorship.

In both countries political divisions were exacerbated by economic problems.

**16. For what reasons, and with what results, were appeasement policies followed in the 1930s?**

British and French opinion was deeply affected by the carnage of the Western Front and the belief that the First World War must be “the war to end wars”. British and French governments, as democracies, could not be seen by the voters to be preparing for war. There was strong support for the League of Nations and organizations like the Peace Pledge Union.

British and French governments were also influenced by considerations other than pacifism. The Great Depression, which resulted in economic weakness, made them reluctant to finance any military build-up to match Hitler’s. In France this prevented completion of the Maginot Line or maintenance of French air superiority. In Britain it led to the Anglo–German Naval Pact in 1935 to prevent a naval race, as was the case before 1914. Chamberlain was warned by the service chiefs before Munich in 1938 that Britain was not prepared for war. There was real fear that German bombing of London, Paris and other cities would create huge civilian casualties and social breakdown.

There were those on the right who saw Hitler as a bulwark against Soviet Communism. “Better Hitler than Blum” was a slogan in France, where the left-wing Popular Front government in 1936–1938 feared that political tensions could lead to civil war as in Spain, so it failed to take a strong line in spite of its anti-Fascist ideology. In Britain there was a firm belief that Germany had been unfairly treated at Versailles in 1919 and that Hitler’s demands that all German speaking lands should join the Reich were not unreasonable.

Results could include Hitler’s successful foreign policy up until March 1939, the disillusion of Stalin, and the signing of the Nazi–Soviet pact (August 1939), which in itself could be considered as a policy of appeasement by Stalin.

If only reasons or results are discussed, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks].

May 10

**15. Compare and contrast the domestic policies of Hitler and Mussolini.**

Comparison: both authoritarian rulers, both fostered a Cult of Personality/strong leadership. Hitler – Fuhrer, Mussolini – Duce. Both used coercion and terror to control potential opposition (GESTAPO/OVRA). Both used propaganda effectively. Both attempted to reach accommodation with the Church. Education was controlled and Youth movements were established to indoctrinate the young. Leisure activities were also influenced by the government.

Both focused on the economy but the levels of government intervention varied (Four Year Plan, Corporate state, search Autarky).

Contrast: Hitler’s domestic policies were underpinned by his desire to establish the racially pure Volksgemeinschaft. From 1935 anti-semitic legislation was passed to marginalise the Jews, in Italy Mussolini did not introduce anti-semitic policies until 1937, they were not rigorously applied.

The main contrast was the level of personal power, Hitler and the Nazis were totally dominant whereas in Italy traditional power centres such as the Church and to a lesser extent the monarchy remained influential.

Do not demand all the above, and accept other domestic policies. If only Hitler or Mussolini is addressed, mark out of a maximum of [7 marks].

**16. For what reasons, and to what extent, did attempts to achieve collective security between 1919 and 1939 fail?**

Collective security was a term widely used in international diplomacy between the wars. It implied that the security of individual states was guaranteed jointly by other states.

The League of Nations was responsible for implementing this policy especially in the 1920’s. In the 1930’s the term could be applied to the Non-Aggression and Mutual Assistance Pacts (e.g. Franco/Soviet/Czech Pact 1936) which were signed to limit the aggression of the dictators. Reasons could also include the impact of the Depression.

Failure could be attributed to the weaknesses of the League, it’s loss of credibility in the 1930’s after the Manchurian and Abyssinian crises. Failure to negotiate disarmament also undermined the credibility of the League. The British pursuit of Appeasement also weakened attempts to establish collective security. By the late 1930’s states were pursuing policies independently of the League to protect their own security (Nazi-Soviet Pact August 1939). Failure could also be attributed to the more dangerous atmosphere of the 1930’s.