AS History
The quest for political stability: Germany, 1871–1991
Component 1L Empire to democracy, 1871–1929
Mark scheme
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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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The quest for political stability: Germany, 1871–1991

Component 1L Empire to democracy, 1871–1929

Section A

01 With reference to these extracts and your understanding of the historical context, which of these two extracts provides the more convincing interpretation of the impact of socialism on Germany in the years 1890 to 1914? [25 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: Answers will display a good understanding of the interpretations given in the extracts. They will evaluate the extracts thoroughly in order to provide a well-substantiated judgement on which offers the more convincing interpretation. The response demonstrates a very good understanding of context. 21-25

L4: Answers will display a good understanding of the interpretations given in the extracts. There will be sufficient comment to provide a supported conclusion as to which offers the more convincing interpretation. However, not all comments will be well-substantiated, and judgements may be limited. The response demonstrates a good understanding of context. 16-20

L3: The answer will show a reasonable understanding of the interpretations given in the extracts. Comments as to which offers the more convincing interpretation will be partial and/or thinly supported. The response demonstrates an understanding of context. 11-15

L2: The answer will show some partial understanding of the interpretations given in the extracts. There will be some undeveloped comment in relation to the question. The response demonstrates some understanding of context. 6-10

L1: The answer will show a little understanding of the interpretations given in the extracts. There will be only unsupported, vague or generalist comment in relation to the question. The response demonstrates limited understanding of context. 1-5

Nothing worthy of credit. 0
Indicative content

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.

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 evaluation which may be relevant.

Students must assess the extent to which the interpretations are convincing by drawing on contextual knowledge to corroborate or challenge.

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

- Craig’s main argument is that socialism undermined the political stability of Germany as it was perceived as a threat to the dominance of the right-wing elites
- Socialist opposition to the Kaiser’s government was not to be ‘bought off’ by the limited concessions of Caprivi’s ‘New Course’
- by 1912, the rise of the SPD was causing a ‘near panic’ amongst the right-wing elites who were not prepared to reach an accommodation with the forces of the left.

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

- the Marxist ideology of socialism and the SPD caused fear amongst the traditional elites who pursued a range of policies to reduce its influence, including the policy of ‘concentration’ in the 1890s, Weltpolitik, and Bulow’s nationalistic campaign in the 1907 election
- despite the social welfare reforms of 1890–94 and 1900–03, the SPD continued to win more votes, becoming the largest party in the Reichstag in 1912, which suggests that the ‘labour movement’ was not to be ‘fobbed off’ with these concessions
- in opposition to Craig, it could be pointed out that the SPD voted to approve the expansion of the military budget in 1913 in return for a new defence tax on property, and they also voted to approve war credits in 1914.

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

- Carr’s main argument is that socialism did not undermine the political stability of Germany in this period as Socialists had too much to lose by vigorously opposing the government
- the social welfare legislation introduced in this period significantly improved the standard of living of the working classes and the SPD did not want to jeopardise this progress
- in 1913, the SPD supported the increased military budget and had no desire to challenge the position of the monarchy.

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

- the social welfare measures introduced by Caprivi between 1890 and 1894, and those introduced 1900–03 under Bulow’s chancellorship, were significant attempts to improve working conditions and welfare support for the working classes
- the SPD was always conscious of appearing unpatriotic. They did not take full advantage of the Zabern Affair in 1913 to gain greater concessions from the government.
- in opposition to Carr, it could be pointed out that the SPD’s rhetoric in this period was often distinctly Marxist and talked about the overthrow of the existing system. The SPD campaigned vigorously for the abolition of the three-class voting system to the Prussian Landtag and often opposed government finance bills in the Reichstag.

In arriving at a judgement as to the relative value of each extract, students may conclude in agreement with Craig that the ideology and rhetoric of socialists in this period did cause a genuine concern amongst the traditional elites who reacted in a way which increased political and social divisions within Germany. However, it could also be argued in agreement with Carr that the actions of the SPD were often markedly more moderate that their rhetoric and that in 1913 and 1914 they supported the financial preparations for war.
Section B

02 ‘Bismarck’s policies strengthened the unity of Germany in the years 1871 to 1890.’

Explain why you agree or disagree with 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 good understanding of the demands of the question. They 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 leading to substantiated judgement. 21-25

L4: 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. The answer will be effectively organised and show adequate communication skills. There will be analytical comment in relation to the question and the answer will display some balance. However, there may be some generalisation and judgements will be limited and only partially substantiated. 16-20

L3: The answer will show some understanding of the full demands of the question and the answer will be adequately organised. There will be appropriate information showing an understanding of some key features and/or issues but the answer may be limited in scope and/or contain inaccuracy and irrelevance. There will be some comment in relation to the question. 11-15

L2: The answer will be 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. 0
Indicative content

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 suggesting that Bismarck’s policies strengthened the unity of Germany in the years 1871 to 1890 could include:

- his alliance with the National Liberals from 1871 to 1878 enabled him to introduce a range of measures to promote the unity of Germany, including a new currency, the Reichsbank, abolition of internal tariffs, single legal code and court system and a postal service
- the abandonment of the Kulturkampf in the late 1870s enabled Bismarck to form a new alliance with the Catholic Centre Party in favour of protection and the Anti-Socialist Laws, which overcame some of the hostility which had existed during the Kulturkampf
- the Anti-Socialist Laws initially reduced the strength of the SPD and resulted in the departure from Germany of some of the more extreme socialist elements. Bismarck’s policies of state socialism were a constructive attempt to win over working class opinion to the government
- Germanisation in the Polish areas of the east was successful in suppressing the Polish language, expelling 34,000 Poles, and encouraging the purchase of Polish farms by Germans.

Arguments challenging the view that Bismarck’s policies strengthened the unity of Germany in the years 1871 to 1890 could include:

- the Kulturkampf caused greater opposition to the government in the 1870s from the increasingly assertive and successful Centre Party, and caused German Catholics to pull together against the government in defence of their religion
- the Anti-Socialist Laws and State Socialism both failed to suppress the growth of socialism from 1878 to 1890, causing greater political and social divisions. In 1890, the SPD won 35 seats in the Reichstag
- the introduction of protective tariffs in 1878/79 caused greater division between the elites, who benefitted most from the policy, and the working classes, who endured higher food prices as a consequence
- persecution of the national minorities did little to promote their integration into the new Reich. The French in Alsace-Lorraine and the Danes in Schleswig-Holstein consistently elected deputies who represented their separate national identities.

Overall, students might conclude that Bismarck’s policies strengthened the unity of Germany in the 1870s, as he famously remarked that ‘In 1871, I had an empire, but by 1879 I had a nation’. There were, however, inherent tensions within the new Germany along religious, political and ethnic lines which were difficult to overcome and Bismarck’s rather confrontational attitude served as much to widen these divisions as to heal them up to 1890.
03 ‘German society in 1929 was little different from what it had been in 1914.’

Explain why you agree or disagree with 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 good understanding of the demands of the question. They 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 leading to substantiated judgement. 21-25

L4: 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. The answer will be effectively organised and show adequate communication skills. There will be analytical comment in relation to the question and the answer will display some balance. However, there may be some generalisation and judgements will be limited and only partially substantiated. 16-20

L3: The answer will show some understanding of the full demands of the question and the answer will be adequately organised. There will be appropriate information showing an understanding of some key features and/or issues but the answer may be limited in scope and/or contain inaccuracy and irrelevance. There will be some comment in relation to the question. 11-15

L2: The answer will be 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. 0
Indicative content

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 suggesting that German society in 1929 was little different from what it had been in 1914 might include:

- tension between the industrial elites and the working classes remained. The war benefitted the rich industrialists but also saw workers become more unionised. In the 1920s, the rich employers resented the higher taxation needed to fund the welfare state and they resisted some of the changes to working hours and industrial arbitration
- the aristocracy maintained its hold on the land and retained an elite social status through education, marriage and leadership of the military
- there were limitations to the 'emancipation' of women in Germany in the 1920s. There remained a social expectation that women stop working when they got married. Many peasant women were largely unaffected by their supposed 'emancipation'
- there was limited social change in the countryside where the traditional way of life persisted far more than in the cities. The pattern of land ownership between large landowners and smallholder peasants was largely the same.

Arguments challenging the view that German society in 1929 was little different from what it had been in 1914 might include:

- many more women entered the workforce during the war and levels of female employment remained higher in the 1920s. Women were given formal equality under the Weimar Republic, including the vote. Contraception was more widely available
- the welfare state was significantly extended throughout the Weimar period, improving the standard of living of millions of working class Germans. Unions were given greater recognition and some control over pay and conditions
- Jews, and most national minorities, were given protection under the Weimar constitution and were increasingly assimilated into mainstream German society
- the economic recovery after 1924 created a growth in consumerism, the media, leisure opportunities and new cultural output. There was a distinctly new, ‘modern’ and ‘American’, feel about the society and culture of Germany in the mid-1920s.

Overall, students may argue that the impact of the First World War and the creation of the Weimar Republic clearly brought about a significant change in the degree of social equality and tolerance envisaged by the constitution and government. Women, Jews and the working classes all benefitted from the democratic forces which now held sway in the Reichstag. However, the traditional elites remained resistant to many aspects of these social changes and sought to protect their privileged positions in society with some success. Class divisions and the divide between urban and rural areas remained. Therefore, German society was not the same in 1929 as in 1914, but there were clear elements of continuity as well.