



National
Qualifications
2023

X837/77/11

History

TUESDAY, 2 MAY

9:00 AM – 12:00 NOON

Total marks — 90

Attempt ONE Section only

Write your answers clearly in the answer booklet provided. In the answer booklet you must clearly identify the question number you are attempting.

Use **blue** or **black** ink.

Before leaving the examination room you must give your answer booklet to the Invigilator; if you do not, you may lose all the marks for this paper.



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SECTION 1 — Northern Britain: from the Iron Age to 1034

Attempt **BOTH** Parts**PART A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks**Attempt **TWO** questions.

- | | |
|--|----|
| 1. 'In the longer term Northern British society was unchanged by the Roman occupation.' | |
| How valid is this view? | 25 |
| | |
| 2. 'The Picts have remained a mysterious people mainly on account of their symbol stones.' | |
| How valid is this view? | 25 |
| | |
| 3. To what extent did the kingdoms of the Britons and Angles in the 4 th to the 8 th centuries derive power from their ability in warfare? | 25 |
| | |
| 4. How valid is the view that the peoples of Northern Britain were unable to mount effective resistance to Viking incursions? | 25 |
| | |
| 5. To what extent had the distinctions between the peoples of Northern Britain disappeared by 1034? | 25 |

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SECTION 1 — Northern Britain: from the Iron Age to 1034

PART B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the following three questions.

Source A from *The Customs of the Britons* by Strabo AD 20

The men are taller than the Gauls, with hair less yellow, and are slighter in their persons. As an instance of their height, I myself saw at Rome some youths who were taller by as much as half a foot than the tallest there; but they were badly shaped in their lower limbs, and in other respects not symmetrical in their conformation. Their lifestyle is in part like that of the Gauls, though in part more simple; insomuch that some of them, though possessing plenty of milk, have not the skill enough to make cheese, and are totally unacquainted with horticulture and other matters of husbandry. In their wars they are more barbarous, making use of chariots for the most part, as do some of the Gauls. Forests, surprisingly, are their cities: for having enclosed an ample space with felled trees, here they make themselves huts and lodge their cattle, though not in any permanent way. Their atmosphere is more subject to rain than to snow; even in their clear days the mist continues a considerable time.

Source B *Why did the Romans fail to conquer Scotland?* by David J Breeze (1989)

The two serious attempts to complete the conquest of Britain, under Agricola and Severus, failed, not because of a defeat of the Roman army on the island, but because problems elsewhere led to a failure to follow up Roman victories as the political backwardness of the north rendered local government difficult. The invasion of the early AD 140s does not appear to have been an attempt to complete the conquest of the island, but the above discussion, which has highlighted the possibility of a political reason for the invasion, has helped to emphasize the fact that the location of the British frontier was determined at least as much by external factors as by local conditions making the supply of the army a problem. The combative nature of the northern tribes slowed the northern progress of the Roman army. The next expedition against the northern tribes of Britain was when Constantius Chlorus campaigned against the Picts shortly before his death in AD 306.

Source C from *Warlords and Holy Men, Scotland AD 80–1000* by Alfred P Smyth (1984)

Kenneth MacAlpin's conquest or annexation of southern Pictland in the years between AD 840 and his death in AD 858 is no longer viewed as a revolutionary development in medieval Scottish history. He was not the first king of Dál Riata origin to rule both Picts and Scots. No less than three of his predecessors had ruled both peoples even if it is not certain that they held both kingships at the same time. What then was so unique about Kenneth MacAlpin? The answer seems to lie in the fact that he founded a new dynasty at a most critical period in the evolution of the Scottish nation, whose sustained success over many centuries gave added posthumous [after his death] glory to Kenneth. He most probably fought his way to power at the expense of both the Picts and the House of Fergus, son of Eochaid of Dál Riata, and like many Dark Age warlords, his own origins were quite obscure.

Source D *Picts, Gaels and Scots* by Sally Foster (1996)

Kenneth was from obscure origins but was undoubtedly after the agricultural wealth of Pictland which was an enormous temptation to power-hungry warlords. This may have led him to a strategic and concerted effort to assume control of the area. He may also have been impelled to move east due to the pressure of Viking attack on Argyll, which also blocked him from moving north and cut the Dál Riata off from their Irish homeland. Nonetheless, despite the apparent power vacuum, there was obviously local resistance to his leadership (four Pictish kings are named in contemporary records during the early years of his supposed leadership). He was, however, helped by the fact that many of the Pictish nobles had already been wiped out by the Vikings in AD 839; though the long-held tradition that he was personally responsible for the treacherous death of the Pictish nobility at a feast in Scone is likely to be fictitious.

Attempt ALL of the following questions.

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| 6. Evaluate the usefulness of Source A as evidence of the nature of the organisation of pre-Roman Iron Age society in Northern Britain. | 12 |
| 7. How fully does Source B explain the reasons why the Romans failed to conquer Northern Britain? | 12 |
| 8. How much do Sources C and D reveal about differing interpretations of the contribution of Kenneth MacAlpin to the formation of Alba by AD 900? | 16 |

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SECTION 2 — Scotland: independence and kingship, 1249–1334Attempt **BOTH** Parts**PART A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks**Attempt **TWO** questions.

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| 9. | ‘The Guardians were unable to provide Scotland with stability or peace.’
How valid is this view of the actions of the Guardians between 1286 and 1290? | 25 |
| 10. | To what extent was the humiliation of King John in 1296 the most important reason for the collapse of the English administration by the summer of 1297? | 25 |
| 11. | How far was the increasing threat of a Comyn succession the most important reason for Robert Bruce usurping the throne in March 1306? | 25 |
| 12. | To what extent were Robert Bruce’s military strategies the most important reason for the failure of the Scots to defeat the English between 1310 and 1323? | 25 |
| 13. | How successful was King Robert in establishing effective government in Scotland between 1309 and 1320? | 25 |

[Turn over

SECTION 2 — Scotland: independence and kingship, 1249–1334

PART B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the following three questions.

Source A from *The Wars of Scotland 1214–1371* by Michael Brown (2004)

The confidence and success with which Alexander maintained the rights of the Scottish Crown regarding his own subjects and other realms should emphasise, rather than disguise, the personal element in the Scottish monarchy. The government of the realm, which included the defence of its status as subject to God alone, depended on the king. The minority had provided a recent lesson of the effects that the absence of an adult and universally-accepted king could have. The future of the dynasty was key to maintaining the security of the realm. In retrospect, the decline of the royal house of Scotland began in 1275 with Queen Margaret's death. However, it was the deaths of her children — David (1280), Margaret (1283) and Alexander (1284) — that dealt the king a series of personal blows. The situation was by no means hopeless. Aged forty-two, King Alexander was younger than either his father or grandfather had been at the birth of their heirs.

Source B from *Norwegian Sunset — Scottish Dawn: Hakon IV and Alexander III* by Edward J Cowan (2001)

Alexander took steps to defend his kingdom. The castle at New Ayr was refortified and weapons were deposited there. Although Alexander evidently anticipated an attack on the Stewart lordship he could not be certain of where Hakon would land and thus took the precaution of also fortifying Wigtown, Inverness and Stirling as well as Inverurie. Garrisons were established and maintained for six months with compensation also being paid to those whose cattle were taken to feed the individuals who were required to defend these different areas of the realm. Clearly a lengthy campaign was considered possible. Two days sailing brought Hakon's mighty fleet to Shetland where he lay in Bressay Sound for two weeks before moving on to Orkney. It was not until August before the fleet reached Skye. There is an account of Alexander III ordering the building of two galleys and the manufacture of oars. Payments were made to those who guarded the ships for 23 weeks.

Source C from *The Chronicle of Lanercost*, written between 1272 and 1346

There was a parliament held at Stirling on the holy day of Saint Peter and Saint Paul. The magnates, prelates and other nobles of the kingdom of Scotland assembled and there, by common assent, it was formally and solemnly decreed that their king could do no act by himself, and that he should have twelve peers, after the manner of the French, and these, they then and there elected and constituted. They forfeited Robert de Brus the younger's land and titles after he had fled to England. The parliament also insultingly refused an audience to my lord the Earl of Warenne, father-in-law of the King of Scotland, not allowing so great a man, Warenne albeit a kinsman of their own king, to enter the castle. Also, the parliament then decided upon an active rebellion by revoking homage to King Edward I of England by entering into a treaty with the King of France so that they should harass England between them, the French with their fleet by sea, and the Scots attacking by land, and thus, they believed, should overcome England.

Source D from *Bannockburn: The Triumph of Robert Bruce* by David Cornell (2009)

Glen Trool and Loudoun were by no means clear-cut military victories for King Robert. They were little more than intense skirmishes fought between two relatively insubstantial forces, neither side being entirely defeated. Militarily they were far from conclusive. Yet, on both occasions Robert had met an English force in the field and emerged undefeated. Politically for Bruce successes in battle were priceless as if he was going to succeed in the Scottish power struggle, then Bruce realised he needed to win the hearts and minds of the Scots. To have survived these encounters at Glen Trool and Loudoun helped break the stigma of defeat that had clung to him since Methven, which was now gradually being replaced with successes and this prompted increasing support. At last the Scots were beginning to have some belief, some hope, in him. Douglas certainly felt hopeful enough to take heart and fight at Loudoun, leading him to become a key commander in Bruce's army.

Attempt ALL of the following questions.

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| 14. How much do Sources A and B reveal about differing interpretations of the extent to which Alexander III consolidated royal authority over Scotland? | 16 |
| 15. Evaluate the usefulness of Source C as evidence of the problems King John Balliol faced during his reign (1292–1296). | 12 |
| 16. How fully does Source D explain why King Robert was able to win the Civil War (1307–1309)? | 12 |

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SECTION 3 — Scotland: from the Treaty of Union to the Enlightenment, 1707–1815Attempt **BOTH** Parts**PART A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks**Attempt **TWO** questions.

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| 17. ‘The Treaty of Union caused sustained economic development.’
How valid is this view of Scotland by the end of the eighteenth century? | 25 |
| 18. To what extent was the defeat of the 1715 Jacobite rising due to a failure of leadership? | 25 |
| 19. To what extent had the Highlands experienced significant change between 1707 and 1745? | 25 |
| 20. How far can it be argued that urban living conditions in Scotland improved between 1707 and 1815? | 25 |
| 21. ‘During the Age of Islay the real power to govern remained within Scotland.’
How valid is this view? | 25 |

[Turn over

**SECTION 3 — Scotland: from the Treaty of Union to the Enlightenment,
1707–1815**

PART B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the following three questions.

Source A from *A Memoir of the Forty-Five* by Chevalier de Johnstone, written around 1770

Prince Charles acquired a strong enthusiasm for battle as a result of the events at Prestonpans, but his wish to fight became a blindness and he repeatedly criticised Lord George Murray for his unwillingness to risk battle, even when all his officers could see there was little point in doing so. The day after the battle, the Prince returned to Edinburgh where he was received with the loudest celebrations by the people. However the Prince's over-confidence extended to his faith in the recruitment of his English subjects. Alas, his enthusiasm was not shared by these disloyal people; in truth, there was no reason for supposing fifty thousand men would leave London to join our army, as we had found the English hostile to our cause. Nevertheless, our march south continued with our army divided into three columns, each of which took a separate road. The effect of false messages communicated to our Prince, such as the claimed arrival of ten thousand French soldiers, were also immensely damaging as every soldier in our army believed a French invasion was imminent. When it did not come mistrust and ill-discipline followed.

Source B from *Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* by David Allan (2002)

Post-Union agriculture throws up many names rightly respected in the history of Scottish enterprise: innovating landowners like John Cockburn of Ormiston, Thomas Hamilton, 6th Earl of Haddington; authors of agricultural technique such as Dempster the MP, Kames the judge, William Barron and many dozens of landowners who combined sincere patriotism with profitable self-interest, and by 1740, the transformation of the Lowlands in particular was perceptibly quickening. Continued crop innovation was central, encouraged not least by rising consumer demand in England and yields accordingly improved, even more dramatically from mid-century onwards. Some ambitious and enlightened landowners even erected model villages for their newly prosperous commercial tenantry and estate workers — Newcastleton in Roxburghshire was constructed in 1793 by the 3rd Duke of Buccleuch. Enclosure of 'commonities' [customary common land] also accelerated greatly after mid-century which provided new field divisions more suited to the occupancy patterns and cropping practices of a more commercial agricultural regime.

Source C from *Scottish Education since the Reformation* by RD Anderson (1997)

Between the Reformation and the nineteenth century, in general, education in Europe was a matter for church rather than state. To set up effective parish schools took many decades, as the achievement inevitably lagged, but it is now widely accepted that, in the lowlands, nearly all parishes had a functioning school by the early 1700s unaffected by the Treaty of Union of 1707. The parish schools became deeply embedded in their rural communities, giving rural education a status lacking in most European countries as it was delivered by teachers who were full time professionals. Moreover, although education was not compulsory, Kirk sessions usually paid the fees for poorer children, and sending children to school became part of community expectations. By the end of the eighteenth century the parish school was an ancient enough institution to attract idealisation, and even nostalgia for a supposed golden era in the past.

Source D from *Going to School* by Donald J Withrington (1997)

During the latter part of the eighteenth century Scottish education faced familiar challenges concerning the nature and quality of schooling across the full extent of the country. Since the 1780s, parochial schoolmasters had been pressing for some improvements in salaries, having been badly affected by inflation. The 1803 Education Act sought to improve the quality of public schooling by attracting better teachers through improved salaries and accommodation. In addition, it also granted parishes the right to raise by local taxation the significant sum of £35 a year as a public fund from which localities could pay for additional school building, as were required by each parish. Though the 1803 Act mainly amended and extended the existing Act of 1696, it also quietly transferred important powers such as matters of curriculum, problems over the condition and repair of school buildings and even the disciplining of teachers from the Church to the state. A quiet but important revolution had begun.

Attempt ALL of the following questions.

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| 22. Evaluate the usefulness of Source A as evidence of the reasons for the defeat of the 1745 Jacobite rising. | 12 |
| 23. How fully does Source B explain the changes made by the 'Improvers' upon Scottish lowland agriculture during the eighteenth century? | 12 |
| 24. How much do Sources C and D reveal about differing interpretations of developments in schooling in Scotland between 1707 and 1815? | 16 |

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SECTION 4 — USA: ‘a house divided’, 1850–1865Attempt **BOTH** Parts**PART A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks**Attempt **TWO** questions.

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| 25. To what extent can it be claimed that there was a significant economic gulf between the North and the South in the 1850s? | 25 |
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| 26. ‘Divisions within the abolitionist movement were the main reason for their limited success in the 1850s.’
How valid is this view? | 25 |
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| 27. ‘Disputes over western territories had the most damaging impact on national politics between 1854 and 1860.’
How valid is this view? | 25 |
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| 28. How far was Northern diplomatic skill critical in ensuring European neutrality? | 25 |
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| 29. To what extent did General Grant demonstrate his abilities as a great military commander during the course of the Civil War? | 25 |

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SECTION 4 — USA: 'a house divided', 1850–1865

PART B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the following three questions.

Source A from a speech by Senator John C Calhoun of South Carolina on 4 March 1850

I have, Senators, believed from the first that the agitation of the subject of slavery would, if not prevented by some timely and effective measure, end in disunion. The agitation has been permitted to proceed, with almost no attempt to resist it, until it has reached a point when it can no longer be disguised or denied that the Union is in danger. You have thus had forced upon you the greatest and gravest question that can ever come under your consideration: How can the Union be preserved? To this question there can be but one answer — the immediate cause is almost universal discontent, which pervades all the States composing the Southern section of the Union and the North has the absolute control over the Government. It is manifest [obvious], that on all the questions between it and the South, where there is a diversity of interests, the interests of the latter will be sacrificed to the former. I have now, Senators, done my duty in expressing my opinions fully, freely, and candidly on this solemn occasion . . .

Source B from *Civil War: Fort Sumter to Appomattox* by G Gallagher, S Engle, R Krick, J McPherson and J T Glatthaar (2014)

Although abolitionist Frederick Douglass promised that black men would make excellent soldiers, it was essential for these first regiments to fight well, despite only having had a few days military training. In a vicious assault by overwhelming Confederate numbers at Milliken's Bend, Louisiana in June 1863, the white soldiers fled but the black troops stood fast demonstrating their bravery and commitment to the Union cause. Military service was a thrilling event in their lives, especially for former slaves. 'I felt like a man' recalled one soldier, 'with a uniform on and a gun in my hand.' It gave all serving soldiers a sense of belonging to the United States. By the end of the war, almost 179,000 black men had served in the Union army and another 20,000 had enlisted in the navy. This was critical to Union victory. Lincoln recognised their contribution with high praise when he declared that their service was indispensable to Union victory.

Source C from *Why the North Won the Civil War* by David Herbert Donald (1960)

The democratic tendencies of the Confederacy were all too plainly reflected in its army. The people of the South were accustomed to regarding themselves as the equals of any men in the world, the Southern soldiers reserved their democratic right to interpret orders broadly or simply disobey orders that they deemed to be unreasonable. Although they may have been willing to obey orders on the battlefield, they saw no reason why their officers should give themselves special airs in camp. Privates both resented and envied the privileges that their officers enjoyed. The common soldier had 'the hardships to undergo,' a hungry Alabaman soldier complained, while the officers had 'bacon to eat, sugar to put in their coffee and all luxuries of this kind.' Often the Confederate soldiers were in a position to put their officers in their place, by petitioning for the resignation of unpopular commanders, which only acted to further demoralize Confederate discipline.

Source D from *Why the South Lost the Civil War* by Richard Beringer (1986)

The Union possessed more than twice the population of the Confederacy, and the North therefore overwhelmed the South with their greater numbers and resources. Although numbers were important, many Confederates disagreed. General Beauregard claimed that 'no people ever warred for independence with more relative advantages than the Confederates; and if, as a military question, they must have failed, then no country must aim at freedom by means of war. The South would be open to discredit if its failure could not be explained otherwise than by mere material conquest'. To General Beauregard, the Confederates did not owe their defeat to numbers but to faulty strategy and the poor leadership of Jefferson Davis, who attempted to defend all Confederate territory, thus dispersing Confederate strength and forbidding adequate concentration. The growth of power of the central government compromised the power of the state governments and the states' rights that they seceded to secure. It is without doubt that this hindered the Confederacy.

Attempt ALL of the following questions.

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| 30. | Evaluate the usefulness of Source A as evidence of the reasons for tensions between the North and the South in the period up to 1853. | 12 |
| 31. | How fully does Source B explain the African American contribution to the Civil War? | 12 |
| 32. | How much do Sources C and D reveal about differing interpretations of the reasons for Southern defeat by 1865? | 16 |

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SECTION 5 — Japan: the modernisation of a nation, 1840–1920

Attempt **BOTH** Parts**PART A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks**Attempt **TWO** questions.

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| 33. ‘The revival of Shintoism was the most significant internal force for change in late Tokugawa society.’
How valid is this view? | 25 |
| 34. How successful were the Meiji social reforms in achieving their aims? | 25 |
| 35. How significant was foreign expertise in shaping the military reforms in Japan after 1868? | 25 |
| 36. To what extent did the Formosa Incident contribute to the eventual defeat of China by Japan in 1895? | 25 |
| 37. To what extent did the Taisho years (1912–1920) mark Japan’s emergence as a world power? | 25 |

[Turn over

SECTION 5 — Japan: the modernisation of a nation, 1840–1920

PART B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the following three questions.

Source A from *A Modern Japan* by Ian Buruma (2003)

February 11, 1889, was the date chosen for the constitution to be handed down by the Emperor to his subjects, as though it were a gift from the gods. The ceremonies surrounding this illustrious event were splendid and typical of Meiji Japan's peculiar cultural schizophrenia. In the early morning, the Meiji Emperor dressed up in ancient court dress and withdrew into the inner sanctum of the Shinto shrine at his Tokyo palace. The Meiji Emperor hastened to reassure his divine forebearers that the constitution would naturally preserve the imperial sovereignty that had been bequeathed to him, in fact, more than preserve the point of the Meiji Restoration was that it 'restored' the ancient form of Japanese imperial rule. The Emperor's subjects were ignorant of the contents of the constitution. They would have remained in the dark even if they had attended the ceremony, conducted later in the day, in the European style devised by the Emperor's German adviser.

Source B from *The Japanese: A History in Twenty Lives* by Christopher Harding (2020)

Prime land to the east of the palace was sold in 1890, to Iwasaki Yanosuke, who planned to build the headquarters there for the up-and-coming company that he had recently inherited: Mitsubishi. Here was a second model for business and industrialisation in Japan. While Shibusawa championed what he hoped would be open and democratic joint-stock companies, governed by an elected board of directors, Mitsubishi was one of the four most powerful Zaibatsu, as they became known: family run, heavily hierarchical conglomerates comprising firms spanning a wide range of industries and services. By coordinating their goals, capital, and expertise, and developing close links with Japan's political elite, they were able to take leading roles in industries like shipbuilding, chemicals, machinery and mining. The other three major Zaibatsu were Yasuda — like Mitsubishi a relatively new concern — alongside two Tokugawa-era merchant houses already doing very well in the new Japan: Sumitomo of Osaka and Mitsui of Edo (Tokyo).

Source C from *The Economic Development of Japan* by WJ Macpherson (1995)

Despite the abundance of statistics and interpretations, explanations of how Japan 'did it' remain elusive. Growth was a function of a large number of peculiar interacting factors, all of which were necessary conditions but none alone sufficient. Two fundamental conditions for modern economic growth were the 'Tokugawa legacy' and the role of the government. The contributions of the former in the socio-cultural fields, in attitudes to thrift, diligence and loyalty, has long been recognised, but it is only in recent years that the extent of economic development before 1868 is becoming fully appreciated. The role of the government was crucial, not so much in terms of pioneering industries and taxes and subsidies, but in its moulding of society to conform to its military and therefore economic objectives. This process of economic growth was not painless. Much of the literature stresses the cost of giving primacy to economic advance in terms of the real wages, the standard of living and welfare.

Source D from a Report of the Battle of Tsushima by Admiral Togo (1905)

When the enemy's fleet first appeared, our squadrons adopted the strategy of awaiting him and striking him in home waters. As the Russian fleet advanced, the main squadron headed south-west, and made as though it would cross the enemy's course at right angles; but at five minutes past two o'clock the squadron suddenly turned east and bore down the head of the enemy's column in a diagonal direction, the armoured cruiser squadron followed in the rear of the main squadron, and in accordance with the previously arranged plan of action, steered south to attack the rear of the enemy's column. At the end of the battle casualties throughout the whole fleet were 116 killed and 538 wounded. There was no great difference in the strengths of the opposing forces in this action. If, nevertheless, our combined squadrons won the victory, it was because of the virtues of His Majesty the Emperor, not owing to any human prowess. It cannot but be believed that the small number of our casualties was due to the protection of the spirits of the Imperial ancestors.

Attempt ALL of the following questions.

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| 38. | How fully does Source A explain the nature of the Meiji constitution of 1889? | 12 |
| 39. | How much do Sources B and C reveal about differing interpretations of the reasons for industrialisation that occurred after 1868? | 16 |
| 40. | Evaluate the usefulness of Source D as evidence of the reasons for Japan's defeat of Russia in 1904–1905. | 12 |

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SECTION 6 — Germany: from democracy to dictatorship, 1918–1939

Attempt BOTH Parts

PART A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks

Attempt TWO questions.

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| 41. | How successfully did the Weimar Republic deal with the crises it faced between 1919 and 1923? | 25 |
| 42. | To what extent did Germany have a ‘Golden Age’ of internal stability between 1924 and 1929? | 25 |
| 43. | ‘The Nazis claimed that they were the only genuine <i>volkspartei</i> [people’s party], drawing support from all social classes.’
How valid is this view of the reasons for the growth of the Nazi Party between 1929 and 30 January 1933? | 25 |
| 44. | How important was the ‘Hitler myth’ in maintaining Nazi rule in Germany between 1933 and 1939? | 25 |
| 45. | ‘Resistance existed but has been exaggerated.’
How valid is this view of the extent of opposition to Nazism in Germany between 1933 and 1939? | 25 |

[Turn over

SECTION 6 — Germany: from democracy to dictatorship, 1918–1939

PART B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the following three questions.

Source A from *Vorwärts* ('Forwards'), the newspaper of the SPD, published 24 December 1918

The Russian people have been forced to live under the yoke of militarism. Bolshevik militarism is violent. It is a dictatorship of the idlers and those unwilling to work. Let the Russian example be a warning to every German. We want no more bloodshed and no Bolshevik militarism, because we simply want to achieve peace through work, and we want peace in order not to degenerate into a militarism dictated by the unemployed, as in Russia. Bolshevik terrorists call the armed masses into the streets, and armed masses, bent on violence, are militarism personified. But we do not want militarism of the right or of the left. So, do not follow Spartacists, the German Bolsheviks, unless you want to ruin our nation by destroying our industry and trade. Bolshevism is just vandalism and terror by a small group who wish power. The collapse of German industry and of our trade would mean the downfall of the German people. So, say no to terror, say no to militaristic rule by loafers and deserters. We do not desire militarism, but freedom!

Source B from *Nazism 1919-1945 (Vol. 1)* by J Noakes and G Pridham (1998)

In March 1933, Hitler returned to his initial objective — the destruction of the Reichstag as an effective institution. The proposed Enabling Act would allow Hitler's government to introduce legislative measures independent of the Reichstag which included fundamental alterations to the Constitution meaning that government decrees had the force of law, but without the need for prior approval from the Reichstag, or the Reich President. An Enabling Act was not a new concept in German politics — Enabling Laws had previously been introduced in 1923. Since the Enabling Act involved a change in the Weimar Constitution, a two-thirds majority in the Reichstag was necessary and the SPD and Centre Party still possessed over one-third of the seats in early 1933. At the Cabinet meeting on 7 March 1933, the Nazis, convinced of the opposition of the SPD to their plans, concentrated on trying to win over the Centre Party. Then in April, the German states were centralised and Hitler appointed Reich governors.

The Hitler Youth emerged from the highly polarised pattern of youth groups that operated in the Weimar Republic and its origins date back to 1926. Unlike family, church and school, the Hitler Youth was not weighed down by tradition and the consequent growth of the Hitler Youth was impressive, reaching over 100,000 by 1933, 2 million by the end of 1933 and 5.4 million by December 1936. For many young people who joined the Hitler Youth, it provided exciting opportunities, making them feel respected and responsible. German young people could attend meetings after school and at weekends. At Hitler Youth summer events, camping and hiking proved to be popular activities and were practised more rigorously than in the Boy Scouts in Britain. Local camping events often took place in tents with compulsory overnight stays and with many flag ceremonies. The Hitler Youth conjured up an important sense of belonging which emphasised the importance of one small individual as an important part of a larger community, the *Volksgemeinschaft*.

Source D from *Nazi Women* by Cate Haste (2001)

After 1933, Nazi policies targeted women as part of the drive to cut down male unemployment and as a consequence, women were removed from many jobs and careers, reversing much of the progress they had made in the 1920s in the workplace. This was not an uncommon reaction in other European countries during the Depression, but the Nazis were more direct and thorough. The Nazis mounted a campaign against 'double earners' — families in which both partners worked — which condemned married women workers on the grounds that they were failing in their womanly duty and depriving men of jobs. As Goebbels said, 'The state would establish the proper and natural division of labour which assigned clearly distinct domains to men and women: they will be equally respected but in their separate domains'. By their zealous demand that individuals sacrifice their lives for the state, the Nazis invaded the family as a place of safety and refuge from the outside world and they infiltrated women's private lives.

Attempt ALL of the following questions.

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| 46. Evaluate the usefulness of Source A as evidence of the nature of the German Revolution of 1918 to 1919. | 12 |
| 47. How fully does Source B explain the ways in which Hitler and the Nazis consolidated their hold on power between 1933 and 1934? | 12 |
| 48. How much do Sources C and D reveal about differing interpretations of the impact of the policies of <i>Volksgemeinschaft</i> in Germany between 1933 and 1939? | 16 |

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SECTION 7 — South Africa: race and power, 1902–1984Attempt **BOTH** Parts**PART A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks**Attempt **TWO** questions.

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| 49. | To what extent was the policy of the South Africa Party between 1910 and 1924 driven by beliefs about race? | 25 |
| 50. | ‘The ineffectiveness of resistance to segregation before 1939 was a result of poor leadership within resistance organisations.’
How valid is this view? | 25 |
| 51. | To what extent was the introduction of Separate Development after 1959 due to an increasing sense of confidence in white South Africa? | 25 |
| 52. | How far was the resurgence of the resistance movement in the 1970s due to the development of the Black Consciousness Movement? | 25 |
| 53. | How significant was pressure from the United Nations in influencing South African government policy between 1960 and 1984? | 25 |

[Turn over

SECTION 7 — South Africa: race and power, 1902–1984

PART B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the following three questions.

Source A from *Louis Botha: A Man Apart* by Richard Steyn (2018)

Milner had established a customs union to stimulate an expansion of markets. There remained many obstacles in the way of closer union, however. To most political leaders in South Africa's four colonies, unification made good sense because four governments, four parliaments and four railways, customs and legal systems were a recipe for waste and conflict. The richest colony, the Transvaal, was reluctant to bear the financial burden of the others though. The Afrikaners in the Free State were fearful that a unified country would be dominated by English interests, while Natal feared the opposite — that any union would be run by Afrikaners. Union appealed to two of the colonies, the Transvaal and the Free State, as they had no outlet to the sea and were in the hands of the Cape and Natal when it came to customs and freight charges. Liberals in the Cape were concerned that their colony's limited non-racial franchise would still be unacceptable to the former republics.

Source B from *The Oxford History of South Africa* by Monica Wilson and Leonard Thompson (1971)

Events in Natal were another factor that led many white South Africans to believe that some form of political union was urgently necessary. In spite of the fact that the South African War took place so soon after the last African chiefdoms had been incorporated in the Afrikaner republics and the British Empire, Africans made no major attempt to regain their independence during the war. Although all the chiefdoms were formally subject to white overrule, most of them were very lightly controlled. The white administrators were few and far between and had to rely on influence rather than force to exert authority which the white communities believed a union might resolve. In the Transvaal, Pedi and Tswana tribesmen attacked Afrikaners from time to time, but these were sporadic, uncoordinated actions. Nevertheless, in the eastern half of South Africa the white communities still felt insecure and looked to the formation of a closer union.

Source C from his *Blood River* speech at the centennial celebrations by D F Malan, December 1938

Here at Blood River you stand on holy ground. Here was made the great decision about the future of South Africa, about Christian civilisation in our land, and therefore about the continued existence and responsible power of the White race. You stand here upon the boundary of two centuries. Behind you, you rest your eyes on the year 1838. Before you, upon the yet untrodden path of South Africa, lies the year 2038. Behind you lie the traces of the Voortrekker wagons. Your Blood River lies in the city. The new Trek is not away from the centres of civilisation, but a trek back — back from the country to the city. Today Black and White jostle together in the same labour market. Their [the Voortrekkers] freedom was, above all, the freedom to preserve themselves as a White race. At this moment, as you must surely realise, it is your sacred duty to safeguard South Africa as a White man's land and this is now ten times more important than ever before.

Source D from *Twentieth Century South Africa* by William Beinart (2001)

The maintenance of the migrant labour system was a centrepiece of apartheid. Migrant labour, they claimed, was cheap for the mining industry because employers did not have to pay a wage that would support a whole urban family. After 1948, mine owners were clearly committed in their policy documents to maintaining the role of South African reserves as labour reservoirs. Now, with the introduction of apartheid, the government hoped to extend the benefits of migrancy to manufacturing industry through tight influx controls which would inhibit the development of a black urban working class since only a limited number of black Africans would be given the right to live in towns. Section 10 of the 1952 Urban Areas Act specified who was permitted to live and work freely in urban areas. At the same time, this would take pressure off the labour-hungry commercial farmers who would benefit as workers would be bottled up in rural areas.

Attempt ALL of the following questions.

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| 54. | How much do Sources A and B reveal about differing interpretations of the reasons for the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910? | 16 |
| 55. | Evaluate the usefulness of Source C as evidence of the reasons for the growth of Afrikaner nationalism by 1939. | 12 |
| 56. | How fully does Source D explain the reasons for the introduction of early apartheid policies before 1959? | 12 |

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SECTION 8 — Russia: from Tsarism to Stalinism, 1914–1945Attempt **BOTH** Parts**PART A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks**Attempt **TWO** questions.

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| 57. To what extent did a lack of effective leadership cause the breakdown of the Tsarist regime by the end of January 1917? | 25 |
| 58. To what extent were the weaknesses of the Whites responsible for their defeat in the Civil War? | 25 |
| 59. ‘Stalin won the leadership struggle because he was underestimated by his opponents.’
How valid is this view? | 25 |
| 60. How successful was the policy of collectivisation in meeting its aims between 1928 and 1941? | 25 |
| 61. How significant was the contribution of Allied aid to Soviet victory in the Great Patriotic War? | 25 |

[Turn over

SECTION 8 — Russia: from Tsarism to Stalinism, 1914–1945

PART B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the following three questions.

Source A from *A Peoples Tragedy; The Russian Revolution 1891–1924* by Orlando Figes (1997)

For several weeks the bakeries in Petrograd had been running out, especially in the workers' districts, and long bread queues began to appear. The problem was not shortage of supplies; according to the city's governor there was enough flour in the warehouses to feed the population for at least a week. February 23rd was International Women's Day; an important date in the socialist calendar and towards noon, huge crowds of women began to march towards the city centre in protest for equal rights. Photographs show the women were in good humour as they marched along the Nevsky Prospekt. But in the afternoon the mood changed. Women textile workers from the Vyborg district had come out on strike that morning in protest against the bread shortages and they were joined by their menfolk from the neighbouring metal works. By the end of the afternoon some 100,000 workers had come out on strike.

Source B from *Russia under the Bolshevik Regime* by Richard Pipes (1995)

The most that one can say is that a revolution in Russia was more likely than not. Lenin and Trotsky did their best to conceal their bid to install a one-party dictatorship with slogans calling for the transfer of power to the soviets and the Constituent Assembly. Only a handful of leading Bolsheviks knew the truth behind these promises and slogans: few realised that the so-called October Revolution was a classic coup. They formalised their actions through a fraudulently convened Congress of Soviets where the coup was given an appearance of legitimacy as a consequence of the walk out of Mensheviks and SRs who had protested at this illegal act and were 'sent into the dustbin of history'. The preparations for the coup were so secret that, when Kamenev disclosed in a newspaper interview a week before the event took place that the party intended to seize power, Lenin declared him a traitor and demanded his expulsion.

Source C from *The Bolsheviks Come to Power: The Revolution of 1917 in Petrograd* by Alexander Rabinowitch (2004)

A major source of the Bolsheviks' growing strength, authority and popularity was the magnetic appeal of the party platform as embodied in the slogans 'Peace, Land and Bread' and 'All Power to the Soviets' as embodied in Lenin's 'April Theses', which was viewed as extreme in the spring, but was now becoming popular among those whom the Bolsheviks sought support from by the early autumn. The Bolsheviks also conducted an energetic and resourceful campaign for support of the Petrograd factory workers, soldiers and Kronstadt sailors and among these groups the aim was the creation of a democratic, socialist government representing all parties in the Soviet, committed to immediate peace, meaningful social reform and early voting for the Constituent Assembly was their aim. In the later summer of 1917, a number of factors served to increase support for the goals of the Bolsheviks. Economic conditions deteriorated considerably and showed no signs of stopping which drew further popular support to the Bolshevik cause.

Source D from Operational Order Number 00447, issued by the Peoples' Commissar Moscow, Lubyanka Headquarters, on 30 July 1937

To Comrade Poskrebyshev

I am sending you Operational Order No 00447 concerning the punishment of anti-Soviet elements. In addition, I am sending you the decree. The organs of state security are now ordered to mercilessly crush anti-Soviet gangs throughout every republic, oblast and region as it has been established by investigation that a significant number of former Kulaks who had earlier been subjected to punitive measures and who had evaded them have settled in the countryside. Significant cadres [small groups of activists] of anti-Soviet political groups - SRs, Mensheviks, Whites, religious believers, and so on — have left the countryside for the cities, where they have infiltrated into industry, transport and construction. Other anti-Soviet elements including thieves and criminals, who are now in hiding are the instigators of crimes of sabotage and wrecking in both agriculture and industry. All efforts are to be made to ensure NKVD personnel are ready for action now. Accordingly, I order that from the date of 5th August, 1937, all organs of the NKVD throughout the Soviet Union are to launch a campaign of punitive measures.

Attempt ALL of the following questions.

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| 62. | How fully does Source A explain the nature of the February Revolution? | 12 |
| 63. | How much do Sources B and C reveal about differing interpretations of the Bolshevik seizure of power in October 1917? | 16 |
| 64. | Evaluate the usefulness of Source D as evidence of the reasons for the 'Great Terror'. | 12 |

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SECTION 9 — The Spanish Civil War: causes, conflict and consequences, 1923–1945Attempt **BOTH** Parts**PART A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks**Attempt **TWO** questions.

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| 65. To what extent was the unpopularity of the army the most important problem facing Spain in the 1920s? | 25 |
| 66. How far can it be argued that the Bienio Negro reversed the reforms of the previous two years? | 25 |
| 67. ‘Good fortune allowed Franco to become leader of the Nationalists.’
How valid is this view? | 25 |
| 68. To what extent was the Battle of the Ebro (1938) the most significant turning point in the military conflict? | 25 |
| 69. ‘The Spanish Republic was defeated due to internal divisions.’
How valid is this view? | 25 |

[Turn over

SECTION 9 — The Spanish Civil War: causes, conflict and consequences, 1923–1945

PART B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the following three questions.

Source A from *The Life and Death of the Spanish Republic* by Henry Buckley (1940)

The subsequent trial of the two leading figures, General Sanjurjo and General the Marquess of Cavalcanti, did not throw much light on the organisation of the movement. When the trial of those concerned took place, there was mention of Lerroux. There was little that was concrete but there was indeed much comment and nonetheless as a result of this, Lerroux found himself increasingly popular with the Right. General Sanjurjo reigned for a day in Seville, where he announced that the Republic would be retained but in 'purified form'. It was a cruel revolt by the more thoughtless, and therefore least dangerous, sectors of feudalism. Sanjurjo fled from Seville and was arrested by one of his own carabineers near the Portuguese border. He was sentenced to death and reprieved. Mobs rioted in various parts of Spain by way of answer to the revolt and monasteries and convents went up in flames.

Source B from *With the Peasants of Aragon* by Augustin Souchy Bauer (1940)

The CNT was always in the vanguard of the struggle for freedom. Its history is filled with martyrs who gave their lives fighting oppression. When the army and the fascists rose against the Republic in July 1936, their most vigorous opposition was the labour movement in the big cities, in whose front ranks were the Anarchists and the CNT. They overcame the armed forces and the fascists in the cities. The workers and their unions lost no time taking control of the factories and the farms, the railroads, utilities, municipal services, the schools, hospitals, bakeries and dairies. Everything was collectivised, the workers through their unions and factory councils ran everything. In the country, the peasants along with almost everyone else in the towns and villages — bakers and butchers, construction workers and dressmakers, doctors, teachers and lawyers — met in open assemblies and freely voted to organise collectives and enter into a new way of life.

Source C from *The Battle for Spain* by Antony Beevor (2006)

In Aragon, some collectives were installed forcibly by Anarchist militia, especially the Durruti column. Their impatience to get the harvest in to feed the cities, as well as the fervour of their beliefs, sometimes led to violence since the Aragonese peasants resented being told what to do by over enthusiastic Catalan industrial workers and many of them had fears of Russian-style collectives. Borkenau (an Austrian sociologist who studied the collectives) showed in an example how much more effective other means could be. 'The anarchist nucleus achieved a considerable improvement for the peasants and yet was wise enough not to try to force the conversion of the reluctant part of the village, but to wait until the example of the others should take effect.' Not surprisingly, a collective begun in that way worked best. Overall studies of the collectivisation conclude that the experiment was a success for the poor peasants of Aragon. There were some 600 collectives in Aragon but far from all villages were completely collectivised.

Source D from the farewell address by Dolores Ibarruri (La Pasionaria) in November 1938

It is very difficult to say a few words in farewell to the heroes of the International Brigades, because of what they are and what they represent. When the capital of the Spanish Republic was threatened, it was you, gallant comrades of the International Brigades, who helped save the city with your fighting enthusiasm, your heroism and your spirit of sacrifice. And Jarama and Guadalajara, Brunete and Belchite, Levante and the Ebro, in immortal verses sing of the courage, the sacrifice, the daring, the discipline of the men of the International Brigades. Comrades of the International Brigades: political reasons, reasons of state, the welfare of that very cause for which you offered your blood with boundless generosity, are sending you back, some to your own countries and others to forced exile. You can go proudly: you are history: you are legend! We shall not forget you; and, when the olive tree of peace is in flower, entwined with the victory laurels of the Spanish Republic — return! Long live the heroes of the International Bridges!

Attempt ALL of the following questions.

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| 70. | How fully does Source A explain the consequences of the Sanjurjada in 1932? | 12 |
| 71. | How much do Sources B and C reveal about differing interpretations of the nature of the 'revolution' in Republican Spain in 1936? | 16 |
| 72. | Evaluate the usefulness of Source D as evidence of the contribution of the International Brigades in the Spanish Civil War. | 12 |

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SECTION 10 — Britain: at war and peace, 1938–1951

Attempt **BOTH** Parts**PART A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks**Attempt **TWO** questions.

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| 73. ‘By the end of the 1930s vast areas of Britain were still in socio-economic despair.’
How valid is this view of the condition of Britain in 1939? | 25 |
| 74. How successful was Churchill’s wartime leadership? | 25 |
| 75. How far can it be argued that the British Empire and Dominions made a significant contribution to Britain during the Second World War? | 25 |
| 76. ‘The Allied bombing campaign failed in its attempt to destroy the German war effort.’
How valid is this view? | 25 |
| 77. To what extent can it be argued that Britain was no longer a leading world power by 1951? | 25 |

[Turn over

SECTION 10 — Britain: at war and peace, 1938–1951

PART B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the following three questions.

Source A from *1940: Myth and Reality* by Clive Ponting (1990)

Churchill navigated the minefield of parliamentary discontent with skill, aided throughout by the growing unease about the conduct of the war and by an increasing desire for a more determined leadership than that shown by Chamberlain. The Norwegian campaign provided an opportunity for Churchill to advance his ambitions, but it needed to be handled carefully. Many Conservatives were trying to lay the blame on Churchill and he needed to ensure that he was not made the scapegoat. Discontent with Chamberlain's government came to a head in a two-day Commons debate on Norway on 7-8 May and Hugh Dalton told Halifax that Labour would not join a government that included Chamberlain, Hoare and Simon, whom they regarded as the arch-appeasers. At the start of the second day's debate Morrison announced the decision to force a vote of confidence. Chamberlain made the tactical mistake of saying that he 'still had friends in this House', thereby turning it into a personal vote of confidence.

Source B from *Half the Battle* by Robert McKay (2002)

After the eight months of relative inactivity there came a period of momentous events: the evacuation of the BEF at Dunkirk, the collapse of France and the Battle of Britain. The attempt to provide any would-be raider any guide to his target entailed a more or less total absence of lighting in public places and the concealment from outside view of all interior lights. Traffic lights were reduced to small coloured crosses, vehicle lights to pinpoints, with considerable adverse effects on road safety including fatalities. In the continued absence of bombing the whole blackout system seemed increasingly pointless. Every householder was caught up in the nightly routine of ensuring that his house was fully 'blacked out'; failure to do so was more than likely to draw on him the anger of the air raid warden and the neighbours. The blackout made people feel vulnerable to attack by thieves taking advantage of the improved cover.

Source C from *Put That Light Out!: Britain's Civil Defence Services at War 1939–1945*
by Mike Brown (1999)

In the interwar years, aviation development continued with ever larger aircraft able to fly faster, further and with larger payloads. As soon as it was clear that war was inevitable, preparations went into overdrive. In 1940 siren warnings of enemy aircraft increased rapidly usually with no ensuing raid. For the hard-pressed war factories each false alarm was as bad as a real raid as workers filed into their shelters and vital production was lost. On reaching bombed buildings all members of rescue parties were taught to cut off supplies of gas, water and electricity from damaged buildings. It was not uncommon for rescue teams to spend hours digging out survivors trapped in a cellar, only to find that the victim had drowned. In order to convey bombing casualties from the incident to first aid posts or hospitals, a huge expansion of the normal ambulance service was required.

Source D from *Power and Influence, a memoir* by Sir William Beveridge (1953)

The General Election took place on 5 July 1945 but the results were not all counted until 26 July due to the need to collect votes. At the end of the First World War we thought of going back to the good old times. During the Second World War society realised that we must go forward and not back, because the times between the wars were not good which the Labour Party manifesto recognised. The Beveridge Report gave shape to the longing of many people for getting something quite different after the war and Attlee suggested that it was possible to do so. The ending of the Second World War was long drawn out. There was no real excitement comparable to that of the unexpected victory of 11 November 1918. The voters acted on the advice which I gave in the first of my speeches in favour of change at Manchester. They have shown that they wanted Churchill for war, but most emphatically did not want him, or any of his friends, for peace.

Attempt ALL of the following questions.

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| 78. | How fully does Source A explain the reasons for Neville Chamberlain's resignation as Prime Minister in May 1940? | 12 |
| 79. | How much do Sources B and C reveal about differing interpretations of the impact of civil defence on the daily lives of the British population during the Second World War? | 16 |
| 80. | Evaluate the usefulness of Source D as evidence of the reasons for the Labour Party's victory at the 1945 General Election. | 12 |

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