



National  
Qualifications  
2016

**X737/77/11**

**History**

FRIDAY, 20 MAY

9:00 AM – 12:00 NOON

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**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. To what extent was military glory the main motive for the Roman incursions into Northern Britain from the 1st to the 3rd century AD? | 25 |
| 2. “Pictish origins are shrouded in uncertainty”.<br>How valid is this view of the origins of the Picts?                                | 25 |
| 3. How far can it be argued that the Vikings’ impact on Northern Britain was confined to the Northern and Western Isles?                | 25 |
| 4. How valid is the view that Kenneth MacAlpin was responsible for the formation of the Kingdom of Alba by 849?                         | 25 |
| 5. To what extent had Scotland’s divided kingdoms become united 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 questions which follow.

Source A from *Epitome of Book 77* by Cassius Dio (c.229)

There are among the Britons two very large tribes, the Caledonians and the Maeatae. The names of the others have been merged as it were into these. The Maeatae for their part live near the wall which divides the island into two, and the Caledonians beyond them. Both tribes inhabit wild and waterless mountains and desolate marshy plains, and possess neither walls nor cities nor farms. Instead they live on their flocks, on game and certain fruits, and though there are vast and limitless stocks of fish they do not eat them. They live communal lives and share their womenfolk and rear all their offspring in common. They have a great liking for plunder and for this reason they choose their boldest men to be their leaders.

Source B images of the Hunterston brooch (c.700)



**Source C** from *Conversion and the Church in the Hebrides in the Viking Age* by Lesley Abrams (2007)

There was no territorial kingship and no permanent aristocratic presence linked to kings elsewhere. There was a powerful class of chieftain, or an even less stratified society of farmers, fighters, and fisherman. Thanks to its strategic location a sequence of external heavy hitters passed through the region, all with ambitions to dominate or with something to offer or both. Under the circumstances a [Viking] conversion powered by a single dominant secular power seems unlikely, and it is possible that Christianity was disseminated by men and women of local importance. Their decisions would have been influenced by a range of factors: marriages, fosterings, hostage-taking, military alliances, trading contacts, and lordship and patronage networks—all the ways that people came into contact—not to mention the impact of charismatic Christian professionals.

Conversion was probably characterised by a multiplicity of reactions to Christianity, involving the dynamics between men and women, immigrant and native, overlords and chieftains, fishing and farming households and the outside world. At one end of the spectrum we can envisage slow and steady neighbour interaction; at the other, the heated intensity of war and cut-throat competition for power.

**Source D** from *The Makers of Scotland, Picts, Romans, Gaels and Vikings* by Tim Clarkson (2013)

Acts of destruction at holy sites remained a hallmark of Viking raids until Norway, Denmark and the overseas Scandinavian colonies adopted the Christian faith. The slow process of conversion began in the ninth century and continued to the end of the tenth, not attaining its final goal until Iceland adopted Christianity around the year 1000. Among the settlements in northern Britain, those on Orkney were converted after the baptism of Earl Sigurd in 995 on the orders of the Norwegian king Olaf Trygvasson. Olaf subsequently encouraged the people of Shetland and the Faeroe Islands to abandon paganism, thereby bringing the outer Scandinavian colonies into the Christian fold. By then Viking lordships in the western seaways were already moving along the same path under the guidance of Irish and Scottish missionaries. The age of the heathen marauder was almost over.

Attempt all of the following questions.

- |   |    |
|---|----|
| 6. Evaluate the usefulness of <b>Source A</b> as evidence of Iron Age social organisation.  | 12 |
| 7. How fully does <b>Source B</b> reveal the cultural and religious influences shaping the kingdom of Dalriada?                             | 12 |
| 8. How much do <b>Sources C</b> and <b>D</b> reveal about differing interpretations of the nature of the Viking conversion to Christianity? | 16 |

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## SECTION 2 — Scotland: Independence and Kingship, 1249–1334

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

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| <p>9. “King John failed as he lacked sufficient strength of character to stand up to Edward I.”</p> <p>How valid is this view of King John’s reign?</p>                        | 25 |
| <p>10. To what extent did the origins of Scottish resistance in 1297 lie in the failings of Edward I’s administration in Scotland?</p>   | 25 |
| <p>11. To what extent was Robert Bruce’s victory in the Scottish Civil War (1306–1309) due to the weaknesses of his opponents?</p>   | 25 |
| <p>12. “The stubbornness of Edward II was the most important obstacle to lasting peace between Scotland and England between 1314 and 1323.”</p> <p>How valid is this view?</p> | 25 |
| <p>13. How valid is the view that the Treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton was fatally flawed in its attempts to ensure a lasting peace between Scotland and England by 1334?</p>   | 25 |

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## SECTION 2 — Scotland: Independence and Kingship, 1249–1334

## Part B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the questions which follow.

Source A from “A Kingdom in Crisis: Scotland and the Maid of Norway” by G W S Barrow in *The Scottish Historical Review* (1990)

Although the conditions insisted on in the Treaty of Birgham hardly amount to a comprehensive Scottish constitution, nevertheless they might have formed the basis of a closer union between the two kingdoms . . . but even before the Maid’s death it appears that Edward I had set his mind against a voluntary, gradual progress towards union and was contemplating following his own personal interests. Only six months after her death he was fully committed to imposing his authority upon the Scots through more forceful means.

The opportunity of union was lost with Lady Margaret’s death at Kirkwall at the end of September. The opportunity of a renewal of the reasonable friendship which had existed between England and Scotland in the days of King Alexander was decisively thrown away, not to return for many centuries. For four and a half years the threat of crisis had hung over Scotland. A strange calm settled upon the two realms during the winter of 1290, but with the spring of 1291 the crisis for Scotland had arrived.

Source B from the *Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough*, written c.1305

The Scots invaded and raided Northumberland from 18 October 1297 to Martinmas (11 November). After Martinmas they came to Carlisle and sent in a priest demanding in the name of Wallace that the city surrender. The citizens challenged him to “conquer” it and made preparations which scared the Scots off. The Scots plundered the northern counties and came to Hexham Priory. They threatened the canons, demanding the priory’s treasures but Wallace rescued them. He asked one canon to say Mass, then Wallace went out to take off his arms and armour. The Scots round the altar then stole all the altar furnishings including the chalice. Wallace came back, saw what had happened and ordered the sacrilegious men to be sought out and beheaded. But they were not found but rather searched for half-heartedly. He said to the canons, “Stay with me to be saved. For these people are wicked and cannot be brought to justice nor chastised”. He stayed there for two days, while his men plundered around, and granted to the same canons letters of protection.



Source C from *David II, 1329–71* by Michael Penman (2005)

In November 1318, Robert held a parliament at Scone which issued a number of laws for the order and defence of the kingdom, proof that the Bruce regime had rebuilt and expanded an able royal bureaucracy. But at the same assembly the production of a second parliamentary act of succession which recognized the two-year-old Robert Stewart as heir to Scotland, failing any direct issue of Robert the Bruce's body, clearly failed to convince many Scots. In the same parliament, Robert also felt it necessary to issue reactionary laws against the spreading of sedition and rumour against the king and his government: the succession act itself was to be upheld on pain of charges of *lèse majesté* [high treason]. Robert's fears were to be well-founded. In the same month Edward Balliol, son of King John and now in his late-thirties, crossed the Channel from his family's lands in Picardy to England and entered into the pay of Edward II in whose household he had spent much of his youth.

Source D from *Cowing the Community? Coercion and Falsification in Robert Bruce's Parliaments, 1309–1318* by Roland J Tanner (2004)

We know that Bruce used parliament very successfully, perhaps more successfully than any Scottish monarch before the sixteenth century. There were a number of crucial declarations of support by the "community of the realm". There was important reforming legislation which placed Robert with David I as one of the founding fathers of Scots law in the minds of later Scots. There were successful forfeitures and an act of disinheritance which caused a fundamental resettlement of Scottish landholding after Bannockburn. Most impressively of all, the granting of a perpetual tax in the final years of the reign places Bruce in a unique late-medieval position — that of a successful tax-raiser with direct funding for life. Together these seem to be powerful evidence of king and community working in tandem for the patriotic cause and the common good.

Attempt all of the following questions.

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|---|----|
| 14. How fully does <b>Source A</b> explain the approach taken by Edward I to increase his influence over Scotland between 1286 and 1292?  | 12 |
| 15. Evaluate the usefulness of <b>Source B</b> as evidence of the effectiveness of William Wallace's leadership.                          | 12 |
| 16. How much do <b>Sources C</b> and <b>D</b> reveal about differing interpretations of the means by which King Robert governed Scotland? | 16 |

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**SECTION 3 — Italy: The Renaissance in the 15th and Early 16th Centuries**Attempt **BOTH** Parts**Part A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks**Attempt **TWO** questions.

17. “There was intense competition between the Florentine guilds.”  
How important was competition between the guilds in promoting the arts in Florence in the early 15th century? 25
18. How far did religious influence in art decline in fifteenth and early sixteenth century Italy? 25
19. To what extent can the distinctiveness of the art and architecture of Venice during the Italian Renaissance be explained by the unique setting of the city? 25
20. How valid is the view that war had a far-reaching impact on the Italian city states during the period 1400–1530? 25
21. To what extent do the popes of the High Renaissance deserve a reputation for worldliness? 25

[Turn over

**SECTION 3 — Italy: The Renaissance in the 15th and Early 16th Centuries****Part B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks**

Study the sources below and attempt the questions which follow.

**Source A** from a letter to Lorenzo de' Medici by Marsilio Ficino, written in 1464

I urge you to try to be like that aged man on whom our senate bestowed the title Father of His Country. I mean the great Cosimo, your grandfather and my lord. A man prudent above all men, pious towards God, just and most charitable towards men, temperate in living, diligent in his care for his family, and still more so for the affairs of the Republic; a most honourable man who lived not only for himself, but for the good of his country and his God; whose soul was as humble as any man's, and yet great and exalted. For more than twelve years I gave myself up to philosophy with him. He was as acute in reasoning as he was prudent and strong in governing. As God fashioned Cosimo according to the idea of the world, do you continue as you have begun to fashion yourself according to the idea of Cosimo.

**Source B** from *The Italian Renaissance* by J R Hale (1981)

From 1434, when he was recalled from exile, Cosimo's influence in the governing of Florence was so dominant as to create a feeling that without a member of his family to give the lead, Florence would lapse into a damaging free-for-all. He thus became the founder of a dynasty that, fairly covertly in the fifteenth century, directed the fortunes of Florence. To achieve this in a city where wealth was granted more authority than breeding required a fortune. This Cosimo inherited from his banker father Giovanni, and inheriting a flair for business, he increased it. He was shrewd in his choice of partners and managers, methodical as a book-keeper and imaginative as an investor. Given the city scale of most Italian statecraft, it is not without reason that he has been compared to a Mafia godfather. As a politician he had a vision that looked beyond Florentine Tuscany. Cosimo also had respect for, and indeed dependence on, the qualities of pure intellect possessed by others. Patronage involved status if the right horses were backed.

**Source C** from *A History of Italy* by Claudia Baldoli (2009)

The dominant social groups in the city-states produced one of the liveliest intellectual movements of the time: humanism. It appeared initially in Florence and spread to the rest of the country, mobilizing an intellectual elite in central Italy and northern Italian cities and in Naples. Humanists were part of (and addressed) the urban ruling classes—noblemen, rich businessmen, princes, church leaders, professionals. They were concerned with the study of classical Roman and (to a lesser extent) Greek culture, embracing all fields of knowledge, but with a particular interest in the humanities and the study of society. They taught public men the art of rhetoric, intended as the art of persuasion in both speaking and writing. They began to use the word “Renaissance”, creating an imagery of renewal, of re-emergence into the light after what they were the first to call the “dark ages”. By studying ancient urban history, they identified “civilization” with urbanism and classicism. Believing that their cities were the renewal of classical cities, humanists praised their own times too—and their own ruling classes.

**Source D** from a letter to the architect Luciano Laurana, by Federico da Montefeltro, Count of Urbino, written in 1468

We judge worthy of honour and praise those men who are endowed with certain skills, and particularly in those arts which were always prized by the Ancients. One such skill is architecture, which is founded upon the liberal arts of arithmetic and geometry. Architecture furthermore requires great knowledge and intellect and we appreciate and esteem it most highly. We have searched everywhere, without finding anyone with real understanding and experience of this art. Recently having heard by report how much Master Luciano is gifted and learned in this art, and having decided to make in our city of Urbino a beautiful palace worthy of the rank of our ancestors and our own stature, we have chosen the said Master Luciano to be engineer and overseer of all the master workmen employed on the said work. We order the masters and workmen, and each of our officials and subjects who have anything to do with the project, to obey Master Luciano in all things and perform whatever they are ordered to do by him, as though by our own person.

**Attempt all of the following questions.**

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|-----|--|----|
| 22. | How much do <b>Sources A</b> and <b>B</b> reveal about differing interpretations of the influence of Cosimo il Vecchio on the governing of Florence? | 16 |
| 23. | How fully does <b>Source C</b> explain the interests of fifteenth-century Italian humanists?   | 12 |
| 24. | Evaluate the usefulness of <b>Source D</b> as evidence of the priorities of the Italian princes in their princely courts.                            | 12 |

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**SECTION 4 — Scotland: From the Treaty of Union to the Enlightenment, 1707–1815**Attempt **BOTH** Parts**Part A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks**Attempt **TWO** questions.

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|------------|--|-----------|
| <b>25.</b> | How important was the geographical position of Glasgow in explaining the rise of the Scottish tobacco trade during the eighteenth century? | <b>25</b> |
| <b>26.</b> | How far can it be argued that internal divisions were responsible for the defeat of the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745–46?                     | <b>25</b> |
| <b>27.</b> | To what extent has the impact of the Improvers upon Scottish agriculture been exaggerated?   | <b>25</b> |
| <b>28.</b> | How far was popular unrest in Scotland in the 1790s the result of discontent arising from social and economic factors within Scotland?     | <b>25</b> |
| <b>29.</b> | How justified is the view that the Kirk's authority over Scottish society weakened between 1707 and 1815?                                  | <b>25</b> |

[Turn over

**SECTION 4 — Scotland: From the Treaty of Union to the Enlightenment, 1707–1815****Part B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks**

Study the sources below and answer the questions which follow.

**Source A** from a letter from the Earl of Mar to his tacksman, Jock Forbes, September 1715

Jock,

You were very wise not to accompany the hundred men you sent to me tonight. You knew I would expect at least four times that number. All the Highland clans of Scotland are rising to fight for their rightful King and country, as personally promised to me. Meanwhile, many of the lowland lords have also joined and await our arrival. Yet men from my own lands are reluctant to fight.

Is this not what they have wished for these twenty-six long years? And now when the time has come and the King's cause is at stake they sit still. I have used gentle words too long. It will not be in my power to save them from being treated as enemies. Let my own tenants in Kildrummy know that if they fail to fight, I will send a party immediately to burn them out of their houses. No excuse will be accepted.

You will be answerable not only to me, but also to King and country.

Your assured friend and servant.

Mar

**Source B** from the Act of Proscription, 1746

It is enacted that from the 1st of August 1747 no man or boy within Scotland, other than those employed as officers and soldiers in the King's army, shall under any circumstances wear the clothes known commonly as highland dress. Specifically, the plaided kilt, the little kilt, tartan trousers, shoulder belts or any other item which may be described as highland dress. No tartan pattern of any kind shall be used to create great coats or jackets.

Any person wearing these items of clothing after the 1st of August 1747 who is convicted of this offence by the evidence of one or more witnesses before any court of law, any Justice of the Peace or any ordinary judge will be immediately imprisoned for six months. No bail will be granted. Any person convicted of this offence for a second time will be transported to the Americas for a minimum of seven years.

Any person convicted of carrying or hiding arms shall also be committing an offence against this act. This more serious crime will be treated as if it were a second offence. Therefore the offender will be transported to the King's plantations for seven years at the first offence.



Source C from *Culloden* by John Prebble (1962)

The Earl of Albermarle succeeded Cumberland as Commander in Chief of the King's army in Scotland. However, the kingdom needed a soldier and an administrator, not a hangman. Albermarle was harsh . . . his views on what should be done to suppress the rebellious Scots matched his general disapproval of the country.

In the three years following Culloden, Parliament revised some of the laws that had been passed after the 1715 Rebellion, and enacted new ones that were to destroy forever the clan system and the feudal power of its chiefs. Harshness not mercy succeeded. By brutality the Highlands were subdued, . . . the clans destroyed and the Hanoverian dynasty made secure. There had been much legislation during and immediately after the rebellion to determine the nature of treason and the punishment it deserved. There were Acts to settle the place and procedure of the trials. There was an Act to compel suspected persons of property to lodge substantial bail to guarantee their loyal and peaceable behaviour.

Source D from *The Scottish Nation 1700–2000* by T M Devine (2006)

Evidence from the late seventeenth century suggests considerable progress had been made in several Lowland areas to achieve the ideal of a school in every parish. Advances were especially apparent in the Lothians and in the counties of the north-east. By the time of the Statistical Account in the 1790s the network of parish schools in the Lowlands seems to have been virtually complete.

The Highlands and Northern Isles were not the educational deserts they were once thought to be. Eighty four percent of parishes in Gaeldom and in Orkney and Shetland had schools in the later eighteenth century, though not necessarily all of those were “parish schools” as strictly defined.

The position in the urban areas was significantly different from that of the country. The ideal of the single school in every parish required by law was not suited to the needs of densely populated urban areas. As growth developed in the later eighteenth century more and more migrants were moving to larger towns. One estimate suggests as many as one third of the inhabitants of Edinburgh were illiterate in the mid-eighteenth century.

## Attempt all of the following questions.

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|--|----|
| 30. Evaluate the usefulness of <b>Source A</b> as evidence of the extent of support for the 1715 Rebellion.  | 12 |
| 31. How much do <b>Sources B</b> and <b>C</b> reveal about differing interpretations of the impact of legislation following the 1745–1746 Rebellion? | 16 |
| 32. How fully does <b>Source D</b> explain the impact of eighteenth century educational reforms in Scotland?   | 12 |

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## SECTION 5 — USA: “A House Divided”, 1850–1865

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

33. “The treatment of slaves in the ante-bellum South was an absolute evil.”  
How valid is this view? 25
34. How valid is the view that the North held the most significant advantages at the outbreak of war in 1861? 25
35. To what extent was European neutrality during the Civil War due to the effectiveness of Northern diplomacy? 25
36. To what extent did Jefferson Davis prove himself as an effective leader of the Confederacy during the course of the Civil War? 25
37. “The military campaigns of 1864 were critical to Lincoln’s victory in that year’s presidential election.”  
How valid is this view? 25

[Turn over

## SECTION 5 — USA: “A House Divided”, 1850–1865

## Part B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the questions which follow.

Source A from *Resolutions from the 2nd Nashville Convention*, November 1850

We, the delegates assembled of the states of the confederacy, make this exposition of the causes which have brought us together, and of the rights which the states we represent are entitled to in the Union. The black race have been slaves from the earliest settlement of our country, and our relations of master and slave have grown up from that time. A change in those relations must end in conflict, and the entire ruin of one or of both races.

This relation of master and slave was expressly recognised and guarded in the Constitution. It was a great and vital interest, involving our very existence as a separate people. If the non-slaveholding states disregard this guarantee and endanger our peace and existence by united and deliberate action, we have a right to secede.

To abolish slavery or the slave trade in the District of Columbia and to exclude slaveholders with their property from the territories, we hold to be all parts of the same system of measures, which is openly avowed to be the total overthrow of the institution.

We make no aggressive move. We stand upon the defensive. We invoke the spirit of the Constitution and claim its guarantees.

Source B from *The Fiery Trial: Abraham Lincoln and American Slavery* by Eric Foner (2010)

In 1862, dissension over dealing with slavery flared within the army. General Benjamin F. Butler abandoned his earlier contraband policy and barred most fugitive slaves from serving in the Union army. Brigadier General John W. Phelps, a strong opponent of slavery, refused to carry out Butler's policy and welcomed escaped slaves in to the Union ranks. After considerable back and forth between the two officers, Butler in June 1862 referred the whole matter to Washington.

But a general rule on slavery was becoming more and more necessary. Radicals and abolitionists kept up demands for general emancipation. Some denounced Lincoln as “irresolute” and a “coward” but radicals close to Lincoln defended him by insisting that the President was on the same path as the abolitionists.

More surprising than the continuing campaign by long-time advocates of emancipation was that moderate Republicans now expressed increasing impatience with the administration. Even those who professed “unbounded confidence” in Lincoln's integrity wished he would strike with a little more force.

**Source C** from the diary of Confederate Soldier, Private Louis Leon of the First North Carolina Regiment, April 1865

Our cause is lost; our comrades who have given their lives for the independence of the South have died in vain; that is, the cause for which they gave their lives is lost, but they positively did not give their lives in vain. They gave it for a most righteous cause, even though the Cause was lost from the beginning.

We have suffered hunger, been without sufficient clothing, barefooted, and have suffered more than anyone can believe. The smallpox is frightful. There is not a day that at least twenty men are not taken out dead. When I commenced this diary of my life as a Confederate soldier I was full of hope for our independence. The four years that I have given to my country I do not regret, nor am I sorry for one day that I have given. I do not think for one moment that we lost it by any other way than by being outnumbered at least five if not ten to one.

**Source D** 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. 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 unreasonable. Although they may have been willing to obey orders on the battlefield, they saw no reason why officers should give themselves special airs in camp. Privates both resented and envied the privileges that officers enjoyed. The common soldier had “the hardships to undergo,” a hungry Alabaman 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 places by petitioning for the resignation of unpopular commanders. Chiefly however, the Confederate privates relied on their democratic right to elect their own officers. The result of the elective system was further to demoralize Confederate discipline.

**Attempt all of the following questions.**

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| 38. Evaluate the usefulness of <b>Source A</b> as evidence of the reasons for the tensions between North and South during the period 1850 to 1854. | 12 |
| 39. How fully does <b>Source B</b> explain the reasons why Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation?   | 12 |
| 40. How much do <b>Sources C</b> and <b>D</b> reveal about differing interpretations of the reasons for Southern defeat by 1865?                   | 16 |

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## SECTION 6 — Japan: The Modernisation of a Nation, 1840–1920

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

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|--|----|
| 41. How important was the caste structure as a control mechanism for the Tokugawa Government?  | 25 |
| 42. How important was the role of the government in influencing the economic development of Japan after 1868?  | 25 |
| 43. “The Meiji military and naval reforms had a significant impact on Japanese society.”<br>How valid is this view?  | 25 |
| 44. To what extent was the deterioration of relations with Russia the most significant impact of Japan’s defeat of China?  | 25 |
| 45. “The social changes in Japan were heavily copied from the West”.<br>How valid is this view of the social changes that took place within Japan between 1868 and 1912? | 25 |

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## SECTION 6 — Japan: The Modernisation of a Nation, 1840–1920

## Part B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the questions which follow.

Source A from *Japan's Emergence as a Modern State* by E H Norman (1948)

The Bakufu, which depended upon the peasantry for its revenue and looked to its samurai for protection, affected a great contempt for the merchant class, placing them last in the social scale. Despite the social restraints put upon the Japanese merchant class, they had increasing economic power. Although officially placed at the bottom of the social ladder, the merchant class was assuming a more important position in a feudal society where a money economy was gradually supplanting a rice economy. This process was made inevitable by the increased productivity of agriculture and manufacture which in turn stimulated the growth of trade centres and cities where the circulation medium was money. One of the most important results of this rise of a merchant class was the growing dependence upon it of the daimyo and samurai classes, and numerous contemporaries recorded how wealthier merchants were adopted into samurai families.

Source B from *A Short History of Japan* by M Hane (2000)

As learning was encouraged by the ruling authorities numerous schools of thought began to emerge. The Bakufu could not, however, eradicate unacceptable schools of thought. One school of thought that began to sharpen criticism of the Bakufu was that of National Learning. It began to emphasize respect for the imperial family but initially did not link this to anti-Bakufu sentiments. As long as pro-imperial advocates adhered to this line of thought the Bakufu tolerated them. An influential proponent of National Learning was Hirata Atsutane. He was an ardent believer in Shinto and renounced Confucian and Buddhist influence on Japan. Like other proponents of Shinto nationalism he contended that Japan was founded by the gods and that Japanese people, being descendants of gods, were superior to other people.

Source C from a memo sent by Iwakura Tomomi to Sanjo Sanetomi, a leading government statesman, 1869

When the Tokugawa opened relations with foreign countries, it was not addressed whether this was good for the country or bad; after all, three of four Great Senior Councillors concluded the treaties based on their fear of the foreign threat. They gained a day's peace, but among their numerous failings were deceiving the Imperial Court and lying to the people. However, the treaties themselves are based on natural law, and thus the good and bad of the treaties must be decided on by reason. We must defend our imperial country's independence by revising the unfair trade treaties we recently concluded with Great Britain, France, Holland, America, and other countries. Currently foreign troops have landed in our ports and they show no sign of leaving and these treaties are a mere cover for the use of imperialist force. It can be said that this is our country's greatest shame.



## Source D from The Treaty of Portsmouth, 1905

The Emperor of Japan on the one part, and the Emperor of all the Russias, on the other part, have resolved to conclude a treaty, and have for this purpose named their plenipotentiaries who, after having exchanged their full powers, which were found to be in good and due form, have concluded the following articles:

Russia acknowledges that Japan possesses in Korea paramount political, military and economical interests and engages not to obstruct or interfere with any measures of guidance, protection, and control which Japan finds necessary to take in Korea.

Japan and Russia mutually engage to evacuate completely and simultaneously Manchuria except the territory affected by the lease of the Liaotung Peninsula and to restore entirely and completely to the exclusive administration of China all portions of Manchuria occupied by Japanese or Russian troops. Russia pledges to transfer the Russian leases of Port Arthur to Japan. They also agreed to transfer to Japan the portion of the railway south of Changchun and all its branches there to Japan.

In witness whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed and affixed seals to the present treaty.

Attempt all of the following questions.

- |   |    |
|---|----|
| 46. How much do <b>Sources A</b> and <b>B</b> reveal about differing interpretations regarding the internal forces for change in late Tokugawa society? | 16 |
| 47. How fully does <b>Source C</b> explain the developing relationship between Japan and the outside world in the 1850s?                                | 12 |
| 48. Evaluate the usefulness of <b>Source D</b> as evidence of the consequences of the Russo-Japanese war 1904–5.  | 12 |

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## SECTION 7 — Germany: From Democracy to Dictatorship, 1918–1939

Attempt **BOTH** Parts

## Part A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks

Attempt **TWO** questions.

- |      |   |    |
|------|---|----|
| 49.  | To what extent was it military defeat that brought about the German Revolution in 1918–1919?  | 25 |
| <br> |   |    |
| 50.  | “German hatred of Versailles was misguided.”<br>How valid is this view of the German reaction to the terms of the Treaty of Versailles?                           | 25 |
| <br> |   |    |
| 51.  | How far was the Weimar Republic between 1924 and 1929 strengthened as a result of Stresemann’s foreign policy?  | 25 |
| <br> |   |    |
| 52.  | To what extent did the status of women change as a result of Nazi policies between 1933 and 1939?   | 25 |
| <br> |   |    |
| 53.  | “Through a new set of policies the Nazis secured Germany’s economic recovery.”<br>How valid is this view of Germany’s economic development between 1933 and 1939? | 25 |

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## SECTION 7 — Germany: From Democracy to Dictatorship, 1918–1939

## Part B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and answer the questions which follow.

Source A from a speech by Adolf Hitler made in Munich on 21st August 1923

When you offer the farmer your million scraps of paper with which he can cover the walls of his closet on his dung-heap, can you wonder that he says “Keep your millions and I will keep my corn and my butter”? And when the people in their horror sees that one can starve even though one may have billions of marks, then they will perforce make up their mind and say: “We will bow down no longer before an institution which is founded on the delusory majority principle. We want a dictatorship.” A Reichstag which for four and a half years has failed us, such a Reichstag has no longer the confidence of the German people . . . (Today) the last decisive struggle rests between the Swastika and the star of (Communist) Russia. Between them Parliament is collapsing: it must and will be crushed.

Source B from *The Storm is Coming* a campaign speech delivered by Joseph Goebbels in Berlin on 9th July 1932

I am speaking as the representative of the greatest movement of millions ever seen on German soil. We have lived in want and sometimes wept. And now we see the worst results of these 14 years: the German economy is in ruins and the streets of our big cities are filled with an army of millions of unemployed. To our shame and disgrace, large areas of German territory have been lost; our territory is divided by the bleeding wound of the Polish corridor.

A new Germany has arisen. You, men, women and comrades, are the bearers, witnesses, builders and finishers of this unique people’s uprising. That is our good fortune. Here and everywhere else in the land, the red shining Swastika flag flies over people of all classes and religious confessions. Our opponents laughed at us in the past, but they laugh no longer. We think no longer in terms of class. We are not workers or middle class. We are not first of all Protestants or Catholics. Together we share the words of the poet: “People, rise up, and storm, break loose!”

**Source C** from an SPD report from South-West Germany in 1937

The number of those who consciously criticise the political objectives of the regime is very small, quite apart from the fact that they cannot give expression to this criticism. The remarks of a low ranking official of the administration concerning the Jewish question are a good example of this. In response to an attempt to explain to him the falsehoods of the anti-Semitic propaganda he replied: "You don't imagine that I am a National Socialist! Not at all. I have many doubts about what is happening. But I must say one thing: it is quite right that nowadays it is no longer the interests of the individual but that of the community that matter . . ." It becomes increasingly evident that the majority of people have two faces; one which they show to their good and reliable acquaintances; and the other for the authorities.

**Source D** from *Backing Hitler* by Robert Gellately (2001)

Hitler wanted to create a dictatorship, but he also wanted the support of the people. In the short term Hitler conveyed a sense of the strong leader who was in charge after the years of upheaval that marked the Weimar Republic . . . Hitler won acclaim for tearing up the Treaty of Versailles and for restoring Germany to what many Germans felt was their rightful place as the dominant power in Europe. The majority of people became devoted to Hitler and supported him to the bitter end. The new regime made no bones about using terror against its enemies. But coercion and terror did not rain down universally on the heads of the German people . . . By and large terror was not needed to force the majority into line . . . Germans went along with Hitler because they convinced themselves of Hitler's advantages and of the "positive" sides of the new dictatorship. Hitler himself and his propaganda minister Josef Goebbels, were perfectly aware of this characteristic of the Nazi dictatorship.

**Attempt all of the following questions.**

- |     |  |    |
|-----|--|----|
| 54. | How fully does <b>Source A</b> explain the reasons for the political crisis of 1923?   | 12 |
| 55. | Evaluate the usefulness of <b>Source B</b> in explaining the increasing support for the Nazi Party between 1928 and 1932.                      | 12 |
| 56. | How much do <b>Sources C</b> and <b>D</b> reveal about differing interpretations of the limited extent of resistance in Nazi Germany, 1933–39? | 16 |

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## SECTION 8 — South Africa: Race and Power, 1902–1984

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

- |  |    |
|--|----|
| 57. How valid is the view that the formation of the state of South Africa in 1910 was driven by economic interests?  | 25 |
| 58. To what extent did the South Africa Party lose the 1924 election due to their alienation of poor whites?   | 25 |
| 59. “By the 1930s the ANC leadership was bitterly divided and split into warring cliques.”<br>How valid is this explanation of the ineffectiveness of resistance to segregation before 1939? | 25 |
| 60. To what extent was social control the most significant impact of early apartheid legislation before 1959?  | 25 |
| 61. How important was the Cold War in influencing South African government policy between 1960 and 1984?   | 25 |

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## SECTION 8 — South Africa: Race and Power, 1902–1984

## Part B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the questions which follow.

Source A from a speech by Jan Smuts to a United Party meeting on 3rd November 1939

General Hertzog talks about small incidents such as flags, anthems and oaths. Everything I did was designed to keep the United Party together. I smoothed those incidents over. General Hertzog said I objected to the singing of “Die Stem”. That is false.

His memory must have failed him, for if he remembers correctly he will acknowledge that I gave him whole-hearted support in his suggestion to have “Die Stem” and “God Save the King” played at the opening of Parliament.

All these miscalculations came to nothing, and the worst of all is that General Hertzog has given over his faithful followers into the hands of the Malanites, in the same way that he is now giving himself over to Dr. Malan . . . I am sorry that I have to talk like this of General Hertzog. I respect him, even though I ask for nothing in return. General Hertzog has rendered great service to this country. It grieves me to see that in his old age he is busy destroying the great work which he did in the past six years.

Source B from *Conversations with Myself* by Nelson Mandela (2010)

There are stages when one in a position of authority has to go public to commit the organisation. If you want to take an action and you are convinced that this is a correct action, you do so and confront that situation. You have to *carefully* choose the opportunity and make sure that history would be on your side. . . We discussed it (the decision to form MK) because when Comrade Walter was going overseas, in 1953, I then said to him, “When you reach the People’s Republic of China, you must tell them, ask them, that we want to start an armed struggle and get arms”.

I made a speech in Sophiatown. I was pulled up for this but I remained convinced that this was the correct strategy for us. And then when I was underground I discussed the matter with Comrade Walter and we decided to raise it at a meeting of the Working Committee. We raised the matter but I was dismissed very cheaply, because the secretary of the Party argued that the time had not come for that.



Source C from *Apartheid 1948–1994* by Saul Dubow (2014)

The ANC Conference held at Morogoro, Tanzania in 1969, proved to be a cathartic moment for the ANC. Yet the view of those, including Oliver Tambo, who thought that Morogoro was a turning point in the fortunes of the ANC, overstates the fact: the reality was that the fortunes of the liberation movement remained at a low ebb—and were about to weaken further. One sign of this weakening position was the Lusaka Manifesto which called for the full liberation of southern Africa from apartheid, and proclaimed equal rights and human dignity for all. It also endorsed negotiations with South Africa in preference to armed struggle. This message ran directly against the wishes of the ANC. With no frontline state willing to act as host, MK fighters were relocated to the Soviet Union. The effect was to make the fighting capacity of the ANC more dependent than ever on the support of the Soviet Union. Without their support at this juncture, MK might have disintegrated.

Source D from *Black Power in South Africa: The Evolution of an Ideology* by Gail Gerhart (1979)

It was evident that SASO in a remarkably short period of time had become the most politically significant black organisation in the country. Like the ideologies of orthodox African nationalism from Lembede onward, Biko and the architects of SASO began from the premise that oppression was most immediately a psychological problem. Seen from this perspective, the liberal approach could never provide a solution because it failed to take into account the spiritual dimension of the African's plight, most importantly his need to cast off his complexes of dependence and deference toward whites.

According to SASO's analysis, the greatest check on self-assertion was the African's inferiority complex, instilled over centuries through all the mechanisms of European cultural imperialism. If this check was to be removed, Africans had to create for themselves a convincing new identity and a new pride which could liberate them from their subservient attitudes . . . to re-evaluate and reject white interpretations of the African past which tended to belittle traditional African values, customs, religion and heroes.

Attempt all of the following questions.

- |   |    |
|---|----|
| 62. Evaluate the usefulness of <b>Source A</b> as evidence of the extent of the differences between Smuts and Hertzog before 1939.                            | 12 |
| 63. How fully does <b>Source B</b> explain the challenges faced by the ANC in the 1950s?  | 12 |
| 64. How much do <b>Sources C</b> and <b>D</b> reveal about differing interpretations of the changing nature of resistance to apartheid between 1969 and 1984? | 16 |

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**SECTION 9 — Russia: From Tsarism to Stalinism, 1914–1945**Attempt **BOTH** Parts**Part A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks**Attempt **TWO** questions.

- |            |   |           |
|------------|---|-----------|
| <b>65.</b> | To what extent was the February Revolution caused by military problems?                   | <b>25</b> |
| <b>66.</b> | How significant was the role of leadership in determining the outcome of the Civil War?   | <b>25</b> |
| <b>67.</b> | How far can it be argued that Stalin's policy of collectivisation was driven by ideology? | <b>25</b> |
| <b>68.</b> | To what extent can the Purges be explained by Stalin's desire for "absolute power"?       | <b>25</b> |
| <b>69.</b> | How valid is the view that women achieved equality in the Stalinist state?                | <b>25</b> |

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## SECTION 9 — Russia: From Tsarism to Stalinism, 1914–1945

## Part B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the questions which follow.

Source A from the minutes of a meeting of the Central Committee of the Constitutional Democrats (Kadets), 20th August 1917

In trying to treat all the ills of the state the authorities have so far tried only therapeutic methods, and when they have proved ineffectual, tried nothing else. And so, as a result, the country seems to be collapsing as the authorities have not responded to its questions and demands. The army is collapsing, and servile and mutinous instincts are appearing. It is the same everywhere . . .

What might the results of the authorities' inaction, of such a historic crime, be? Even those who would like to help the authorities are late in appearing. Soon nobody will even be capable of doing so and power will pass to those who are not afraid of being harsh and cruel. And the speaker himself has begun to feel that our intelligentsia are incapable of governing. The old generals in the field knew this and perhaps now only they could sort out the breakdown. The government must now return to restoring elementary discipline at the front, in spite of possible mutinies; it could still keep and follow its revolutionary programme on the Home Front. Only in this way could it justify its existence. Otherwise we wait until dictatorship comes.

Source B from *Stalin's Russia* by Chris Ward (2011)

The party which, within a few short years, mutated from little more than a debating society, comprising a handful of pugnacious [argumentative] intellectuals scattered across a half dozen European cities, into a rambling organisation responsible for the governance of one-sixth of the globe's surface. In consequence, administration began to displace politics. The politburo might make decisions but it was the Orgburo and Secretariat, dominated by Stalin, which managed things on a daily basis. The staff of this latter body increased from 30 in 1919 to 602 in 1921 and rose again to 767 in 1926, spawning specialist sections along the way and placing the General Secretary at the heart of the "nomenklatura system", a bureaucratic colossus which assigned swarms of officials to a vast array of jobs and kept the party-state in being.

**Source C** from a speech by Trotsky at a meeting of the Central Party Control Commission in 1927

You all of course know perfectly well that since 1924 a faction of seven has existed, consisting of all members of the politburo, except me. My place has been taken by your former chairman, Kuybyshev, whose job is supposed to be chief custodian of the Party rules and party morals, but who in fact has been the first to break the rules and pervert them. This “group of seven” is an illegal and anti-party body that has been deciding the Party’s life behind its back . . . Its meetings have been used to devise ways of attacking me. In particular, it set a rule that politburo members should not polemicize [argue] amongst themselves, but that they should all polemicize against Trotsky. The Party did not know about this, and nor did I. It has been going on for a long time.

**Source D** from *The Dictators* by Richard Overy (2005)

The Soviet war effort focused above all on the prosecution of war at the expense of everything else . . . Anyone who failed to work, or was guilty of neglect or incompetence, lost rations or could be sent to a camp, whose inmates laboured all over the Soviet area as forced workers. Yet it would be wrong to assume that coercion was the only means to commit the Soviet home front to total war. Work meant survival, not only for the individual, who might otherwise face slow debilitation through hunger, but for the Soviet Union or Mother Russia . . . The call to arms for the whole society exposed thousands of irregular forces to the savage reprisals of the advancing German armies. Militia units hastily raised in Moscow and Leningrad were thrown into frontline battles, where they took devastating casualties . . . A real enemy at last, in the shape of Germany, galvanised Soviet society into efforts that would have seemed all but impossible when the Soviet industrial economy and food supply were pulled in half by the invader in 1941.

**Attempt all of the following questions.**

- |   |    |
|---|----|
| 70. Evaluate the usefulness of <b>Source A</b> as evidence of the problems facing the Provisional Government between February and October 1917.                                   | 12 |
| 71. How much do <b>Sources B</b> and <b>C</b> reveal about differing interpretations of the reasons why Stalin rather than Trotsky emerged victorious in the leadership struggle? | 16 |
| 72. How fully does <b>Source D</b> explain the reasons for Soviet victory in the Great Patriotic War?   | 12 |

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**SECTION 10 — Spain: The Civil War — Causes, Conflict and Consequences, 1923–1945**Attempt **BOTH** Parts**Part A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks**Attempt **TWO** questions.

- |   |           |
|---|-----------|
| <b>73.</b> To what extent did the Constitution of the new Republic in 1931 address the problems in Spain at the time?   | <b>25</b> |
| <br>  |           |
| <b>74.</b> “The victory of the Right in the elections of November 1933 was due to the disunity of the left.”<br>How valid is this view of the 1933 election in Spain?     | <b>25</b> |
| <br>  |           |
| <b>75.</b> To what extent were the policies of the Bienio Negro an attempt to return Spain to pre-Republican times?   | <b>25</b> |
| <br>  |           |
| <b>76.</b> How far should the army be held responsible for the outbreak of the Civil War in 1936?   | <b>25</b> |
| <br>  |           |
| <b>77.</b> “Franco’s victory was ultimately due to the superior forces at his disposal.”<br>How valid is this view of the Nationalists’ triumph in the Spanish Civil War? | <b>25</b> |

[Turn over

## SECTION 10 — Spain: The Civil War — Causes, Conflict and Consequences, 1923–1945

## Part B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and answer the questions that follow.

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

Berenguer allowed nearly a whole year to pass before summoning the Cortes which only exasperated people more as the country was governed by decree and censorship remained in place. Even former monarchist politicians, such as Niceto Alcalá Zamora and Miguel Maura, publicly came out in favour of a republic. Indalecio Prieto, at first on his own account, then later with the support of the executive committees of the socialist PSOE and UGT union, joined the conspiracy.

The republican alliance officially came into being in the Basque coastal resort of San Sebastian on 27 August 1930. Catalan republicans joined the San Sebastian pact, as it became known, on condition that Catalonia received a statute of autonomy. This republican movement strengthened with the support of military officers such as Gonzalo Queipo de Llano, one of General Franco's chief rivals after the military rising of 1936, Ramón Franco, the aviator brother of the nationalist leader and Ignacio Hidalgo de Cisneros, later the communist commander of the republican air force in the civil war.

Source B from *Franco's Friends* by Peter Day (2011)

When the British Cabinet met again on 29 July it was told that British Airways was trying to sell four aircraft to Franco. It was decided not to interfere in a civil, commercial transaction. It would not prevent Spanish Government arms purchases from Britain either but all current production was probably required for Britain's own use. That same morning, the Cabinet's Committee of Imperial Defence met to consider a quite alarming assessment of Britain's military capability in the Mediterranean, written by the Navy's director of planning, and concluded that as a result of Italy's growing naval and air power Britain could not be certain to fulfil its defence commitments in Egypt or the Eastern Mediterranean. Nor was Malta adequately defended against air attack. The Committee concluded that no new defence commitments should be entered into in the area since it would take years to regain supremacy, and in the meantime nothing should be done to alienate Italy.



Source C from *I am Spain* by David Boyd Haycock (2012)

The Labour Party would not support it, they were told that the Labour leaders “will think of the Catholic vote and the pacifists. And such a legion would be sure to be labelled Red or communist.” The right-wing press were continuing to present the Spanish situation as a dangerous threat to Western capitalism, another (if smaller) Soviet Union in the making. Winston Churchill’s son Randolph expressed the opinion that in Britain at least, it was only a few “excitable Catholics and ardent Socialists” who thought the war mattered: “for the general public it’s just a lot of bloody dagoes killing each other”. A remark attributed to Stanley Baldwin was only a little more considered, “We English hate Fascism” he allegedly observed, “but we loathe Bolshevism as much. . . So if there is somewhere where Fascists and Bolsheviks can kill each other off, so much the better.” So for the time being, Tom Wintringham (the military correspondent for the *Daily Worker*) kept quiet about his idea of forming a British Legion.

Source D from an *End of Year message* by General Franco on 31st December 1939

The National movement was never an uprising. The Reds were and are the rebels. For three years of war we have had to struggle on in concerted endeavour. No one will be astonished if now, when this phase may be considered overcome, we throw off whatever and whoever would like to deflect us from marching toward fulfilment of our movement. It is necessary to put an end to the hatreds and passions of our recent war, but not in the manner of liberals, with their monstrous and suicidal amnesties, which are more fraud than pardon, but rather with the redemption of services through work, with repentance and penance. Anyone who thinks otherwise is guilty of irresponsibility or treason. Such damage has been done to the Patria and such havoc has been wreaked on families and on morality, so many victims cry out for justice that no honourable Spaniard, no thinking being, could stand aside from the painful duty of punishment.

Attempt all of the following questions.

- |  |    |
|--|----|
| 78. How fully does <b>Source A</b> reveal the extent of support for republicanism in Spain in 1930?                                      | 12 |
| 79. How much do <b>Sources B</b> and <b>C</b> reveal about differing interpretations of British attitudes towards the Spanish Civil War? | 16 |
| 80. Evaluate the usefulness of <b>Source D</b> as evidence of the effects of Franco’s victory on Spanish society.                        | 12 |

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## SECTION 11 — Britain: At War and Peace, 1938–1951

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

81. “Britain was a divided nation but these divisions have been exaggerated.”  
How valid is this view of Britain in 1939? 25
82. “The saviour of his country.”  
How valid is this view of Churchill’s wartime leadership? 25
83. How important was the breaking of the Enigma Code in the eventual Allied victory in the Battle of the Atlantic? 25
84. How effective were Britain’s civil defence measures in protecting the country during the Second World War? 25
85. To what extent was the Labour Party’s defeat in the 1951 General Election due to widespread voter disenchantment with the Labour Governments’ policies of austerity? 25

[Turn over

## SECTION 11 — Britain: At War and Peace, 1938–1951

## Part B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and answer the questions which follow.

Source A from *Old Men Forget*, the autobiography of Duff Cooper (1953)

The end of April and the two months that followed were to witness an accumulation of disasters for the Allied cause; and already there was developing in parliamentary circles in London a feeling, which was shared and strengthened by members of the forces returning on leave, that there was something grievously wrong with the conduct of war. The dismal failure of the Norwegian campaign brought matters to a head, and on the 7th of May there began in the House of Commons the two days' debate.

I think that most people were surprised by the result. I know that I was. But on re-reading the account of the debate in *Hansard* it is still more surprising to find how feeble was the support of the Government except numerically. Fortunately Chamberlain himself recognised that this was so, for in spite of all the damaging speeches that had been made, in spite of over thirty members of his own party voting against him and twice as many abstaining, he still retained the substantial majority of eighty one.

Source B from *Britain in the Second World War* by Mark Donnelly (1999)

A further major criticism of Chamberlain concerned his handling of the wartime economy. A series of measures were taken to mobilise the nation for war: the distribution of manpower between the armed forces and key industries and services was controlled; targets were set for the expansion of war-related industries; new Ministries of Supply and Food were established and taxes were raised to help finance the war effort. But critics focused on the government's failure to exert more wide-ranging state direction of the economy and in particular there was disappointment at Chamberlain's refusal to create a new post in the War Cabinet with overall responsibility for coordinating the war. Aided by some helpful leaks from sympathetic civil servants, Labour made detailed and often effective attacks on inefficient ministries and continued to demand greater drive, planning and vision from the government. Almost a million workers remained unemployed by spring 1940, yet many factories were working well below full capacity.

In February of 1945 I was called upon to attack Dresden. It had a pre-war population of 630,000, and was by far the largest city in Germany which had been left intact; it had never before been bombed.

An attack on the night of February 13th–14th by just over 800 aircraft, bombing in two sections in order to get the night fighters dispersed and grounded before the second attack, was almost as overwhelming in its effect as the Battle of Hamburg, though the area of devastation—1600 acres—was considerably less. The effect on German morale, not only in Dresden but in far distant parts of the country, was extremely serious. The Americans carried out two light attacks in daylight on the next two days.

I know that the destruction of so large and splendid a city at this late stage of the war was considered unnecessary even by a good many people who admit that our earlier attacks were as fully justified as any other operation of war. Here I will only say that the attack on Dresden was at the time considered a military necessity by much more important people than myself.

Source D from *Attlee's Labour Governments 1945–51* by Robert Pearce (1992)

Many socialists believed that, on grounds of principle, the state should control at least the “basic” industries. But Labour’s proposals were justified to the electorate in 1945 simply on grounds of efficiency. A Labour government would aim to create a prosperous economy with full employment, and nationalisation was presented as a means to this end.

The new government lost no time in implementing its pledges. Nationalisation of the Bank of England was first on the agenda. In the past Labour had contemplated nationalising all the banks, but its more hopeful theoreticians now believed that control of the Bank of England would spread government influence throughout the banking system.

Coal nationalisation was scarcely more controversial. Everyone recognised that only thorough changes could possibly revive this ailing industry. Churchill told the Commons that his party accepted the principle of nationalisation, provided that adequate compensation was paid. It was. A tribunal decided that the 850 owners should be compensated with £164 million—a figure they accepted as reasonable, which probably meant that it was generous.

Attempt all of the following questions.

- |     |   |    |
|-----|---|----|
| 86. | How much do <b>Sources A</b> and <b>B</b> reveal about differing interpretations of Chamberlain’s resignation in May 1940?                        | 16 |
| 87. | Evaluate the usefulness of <b>Source C</b> as evidence of the success of the Allied bombing campaign against Germany during the Second World War. | 12 |
| 88. | How fully does <b>Source D</b> explain how successful the post war Labour Governments (1945–1951) were in creating a “New Jerusalem”?             | 12 |

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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