



National
Qualifications
2018

X737/77/11

History

WEDNESDAY, 16 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. To what extent does the archaeological evidence suggest that the organisation of Iron Age society in Northern Britain was primarily agricultural? | 25 |
| 2. ‘Simply a symbol of Roman imperial power.’
How valid is this description of the Antonine Wall? | 25 |
| 3. To what extent were existing religious beliefs the main obstacle to the conversion of Northern Britain to Christianity before AD700? | 25 |
| 4. To what extent were Pictish symbol stones essentially political statements? | 25 |
| 5. ‘A gradual domination.’
How valid is this explanation of the formation of the kingdom of Alba? | 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 *Why did the Romans fail to conquer Scotland?* by David Breeze (1988)

The two serious attempts to complete the conquest of Britain, under Agricola and Severus, failed, not because of a defeat of the Roman army in the island, but because problems elsewhere led to a failure to follow up Roman victories. In the 80s, troops were required on the Danube; in 211 the emperor died and was not able to enforce his will on his son from beyond the grave. The invasion of the early 140s does not appear to have been an attempt to complete the conquest of the island, but the possibility of a political reason for the invasion, has helped to emphasise the fact that the location of the British frontier was determined at least as much by external factors as by local conditions. The combative nature of the northern tribes slowed the northern progress of the Roman army and the lack of economic riches in the north offered no temptation to the Romans to stay.

Source B from *The Scottish campaigns of Septimius Severus* by Nicholas Reed (1975)

Agricola succeeded in bringing the natives to battle at Mons Graupius, and the resultant massacre must have crippled them for years. Severus presumably intended a similar result. What he did not anticipate was the natives' unwillingness to provide him with a second Mons Graupius. By this time they had learned the lesson taken to heart by modern guerrillas: that guerrilla tactics are the only, but highly effective, defence of primitive peoples against forces vastly superior in equipment and organisation. As Dio says, 'Severus fought no battle and beheld no enemy in battle array'; he also makes it clear that Roman army losses were alarmingly high. Nevertheless when Severus finally returned from the north, 'he had forced the Britons to come to terms, on condition that they abandon a large part of their territory'. Whatever the details of this settlement, it must have been invalidated by later events, since it was also in 210 that the Maeatae, followed by the Caledonians, revolted.

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

The Dal Riata were Gaels who originally came from the Antrim tribe of the Dal Riata. Tradition has it that c500 one of their number (Fergus Mór mac Eirc) established a new kingdom in Argyll in response to dynastic pressure in Ireland. There is no archaeological evidence for such a migration over the short sea-crossing of the North Channel between Antrim and Kintyre. However, the distribution of prehistoric artefacts and similarities in certain monument types attest to a long tradition of contact between north east Ireland and west Scotland from Neolithic times. At around 500 there is evidence for Irish settlements being founded in south west Scotland, north Wales, Cornwall and Devon. Fergus Mór mac Eirc may simply have been the first member of the Dal Riata royal family to rule from Scotland rather than Ireland, the member of the new dynasty or simply the first Christian king and the foundation legend may have been created in response to this.

Source D The Hostage Stone, engraved slate, 9th–10th century, from the island monastery of Inchmarnock, off the Isle of Bute



Attempt all of the following questions.

6. How much do **Sources A** and **B** reveal about differing interpretations of the reasons for the Roman failure to conquer Northern Britain? 16
7. How fully does **Source C** explain the difficulties involved in accounting for the presence of the Dal Riata in the west of Scotland? 12
8. Evaluate the usefulness of **Source D** as evidence of the impact of the Vikings on Northern Britain. 12

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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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|-----|---|----|
| 9. | How far can it be argued that Alexander III deserves his golden reputation? | 25 |
| 10. | ‘But for England’s war against France, John could have been a successful king.’
How valid is this view of King John’s reign? | 25 |
| 11. | How valid is the view that between Falkirk and 1305, Edward’s military campaigns were the most important factor in helping him to overcome Scottish resistance? | 25 |
| 12. | To what extent was Edward I’s treatment of Robert Bruce in 1305 the most important reason for Bruce’s usurpation of the throne in 1306? | 25 |
| 13. | How important was the Irish campaign in King Robert’s attempts to maintain pressure on England after 1314? | 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 *Freedom's Sword* by Peter Traquair (1998)

Nothing could be discussed until Yolande's pregnancy ran its course; [for any Scottish nobles] to move for the throne now would prove treasonable if she gave birth to a boy. Without a king, Scotland's government became the collective responsibility of the leading freemen, who styled themselves 'the community of the realm of Scotland'. This was a new idea beginning to establish itself in Europe, the community being formed by the people rather than a closed aristocratic elite. It would form the backbone of those who negotiated to keep Scotland independent. It elected Guardians who ruled in its name for the following six years. The six new Guardians neatly reflected Scotland's political, social and geographic divisions. It should be stressed that this was not a fragile coalition waiting to burst apart; on the everyday matters of government that affected the realm the men could and did work together. In the short term, Alexander's death had not turned out to be such a catastrophe.

Source B from *Robert the Bruce's Rivals: The Comyns, 1212–1314* by Alan Young (1997)

The treaty [of Birgham], described as 'the high-water mark of the common endeavour by Guardians and community', is a testament to the achievement of the Comyns as leaders of the political community in thirteenth-century Scotland and protectors of the liberties of the kingdom. The treaty and its safeguards for Scotland's independence had grown out of the experience of Alexander III's minority and the long and successful alliance between Alexander III and the aristocratic elite in Scotland.

Political circumstances were different in 1290, however. The Guardians' denial of Edward I's request for custody over Scottish castles, and their arrest of the sheriff of Northumberland for interference in Scottish affairs, were practical expressions of the ideas contained in the Treaty of Birgham. It is impossible to conjecture how successful the Guardians would have been in denying Edward I and Anthony Bek extensive rights of oversight in Scottish affairs on behalf of Edward's son and his wife.

Source C from *New information on the Guardians' appointment in 1286 and on Wallace's rising in 1297* by Dauvit Broun (2011)

The Schøyen chronicle gives us access to the pool of Scottish chronicle-material that was originally generated during the first War of Independence. Now that we know that William Wallace was not sole leader of the band that killed the sheriff of Lanark on 3 May 1297, a pattern in his early career comes into view. Although Wallace led his own band in the three occasions where representatives of English rule — sheriff, justiciar, and then lieutenant — were attacked, he shared the leadership with a knight or lord. [Wallace] must have been commander of a particularly effective force if other leaders, who were of higher status, were happy to cooperate with him. Other leaders could have called on at least some retainers [soldiers] but Wallace would have had no natural following at all. Although William Wallace was the common denominator in the attacks at Lanark and Scone and the battle of Stirling Bridge, it is unlikely that he was seen, or would have seen himself, as the main leader of Scottish resistance to Edward I.

Source D from *The Declaration of the Clergy* presented to a parliament held at St Andrews on 16 March 1309

The faithful people always held that Lord Robert, the grandfather, was the true heir after the death of King Alexander [III] and his granddaughter. Yet the matter was turned in the opposite direction. Therefore, seeing that John [Balliol] had been captured and incarcerated by the king of England, and the kingdom of Scotland had been betrayed and reduced to slavery, they agreed on the said Lord Robert, the present king, because he has repaired such a damaged and forsaken kingdom by repelling injury with the sword, just as many previous princes and kings of Scots repaired, gained and held the kingdom, formerly often forsaken, by the sword in former times.

Therefore we, the bishops, abbots, priors and other clergy, knowing the firm truth and heartily approving it, have made due fealties to the said Lord Robert, our illustrious king of Scotland. Not compelled by force nor induced by deceit, but by a pure, perpetual and spontaneous wish, we caused our seals to be appended to this writing.

Given in the parliament at St Andrews.

Attempt all of the following questions.

14. How much do **Sources A** and **B** reveal about differing interpretations of how effectively the Guardians maintained Scotland's independence between 1286 and 1292? 16
15. How fully does **Source C** explain the role William Wallace played in the Scottish resistance movement? 12
16. Evaluate the usefulness of **Source D** as evidence of King Robert's attempts to justify his kingship. 12

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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. 'It was chiefly a consequence of economic prosperity.'
How valid is this as an explanation of artistic and architectural innovation in Florence between 1400 and 1450? 25
18. To what extent can the cultural achievements of Renaissance Venice be explained by its historic links to Byzantium? 25
19. 'Mainly concerned with the display of Princely magnificence.'
How accurate is this view of the development of court culture in Mantua, Urbino and Milan? 25
20. 'The Renaissance was an age of new opportunities for women.'
How valid is this view? 25
21. How far can it be argued that the French invasion of 1494 marked a turning point for the Italian peninsula? 25

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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 *Humanism and Scholasticism in the Italian Renaissance* by Paul Oskar Kristeller (1979)

The humanists were classical scholars and contributed to the rise of classical studies. In the field of Latin studies, they rediscovered a number of important texts that had hardly been read during the Middle Ages. Also in the case of Latin authors commonly known in the Middle Ages, the humanists made them better known, through their numerous manuscript copies, through their grammatical and antiquarian studies, through their commentaries and through the development of historical criticism.

Even more striking was the impulse given by the humanists to the study of Greek. The study of Greek classical literature began to spread to the West through Byzantine scholars who went to Western Europe and through Italian scholars who went to Constantinople bringing back a large number of Greek manuscripts to Western libraries where humanist scholars could study them. No less important were the numerous Latin translations from the Greek due to the humanists of the Renaissance.

Source B from *A History of Florence 1200–1575* by John Najemy (2006)

The conspirators decided to assassinate Lorenzo and Giuliano at the family palace on Sunday 26 April 1478 but at the last moment, realising that Giuliano would not be present, the assault was relocated to the cathedral. Giuliano was killed but Lorenzo, slightly wounded, fled back to the family palace to rally supporters.

Jacopo Pazzi, realising that a popular uprising was the only hope of saving the day, rode into the main public square to rally the crowd with cries of ‘the people and liberty!’ but the ground had not been prepared for such an appeal and when the city learned that Lorenzo was alive no one dared side with the failed conspirators, who were already being hunted down. Medici armed guards and pro-Medici mobs seized the plotters and began executing them; many were hanged from the windows of the Palazzo della Signoria. Altogether more than eighty people were executed, many innocent of any involvement, some only because they were members of a family damned in perpetuity.

Source C from *A History of Florence* by Francesco de Guicciardini (1509)

This conspiracy was very dangerous for Lorenzo, since it almost cost him both his position in Florence and his life, but it gave him such a reputation and such advantages that one could say it was a most happy day for him. His brother Giuliano, with whom he would have had to share his wealth and compete for power in the regime, was dead. The people took up arms on his behalf, and on that day they finally recognised him as the *padrone* (master) of the city. Out of respect, they gave him, at public expense, the privilege of going about with as many armed guards as he wished for his personal security. And in effect, he so thoroughly took control of the regime that he thereafter emerged, freely and completely, as decision-maker and almost lord of the city, so that his position was much more secure than it had been previously.

Source D from *Lives of the Artists* by Giorgio Vasari (1550)

Michelangelo's fame was grown so great that in the year 1503, when he was 29 years of age, Julius II sent for him to come and build his tomb. So Michelangelo set to work and went to Carrara with two of his apprentices to obtain marble, and spent in those mountains eight months. Having chosen a quantity of marble, he sent it by sea to Rome. Of this work Michelangelo finished four statues and began eight more. These included sculptures of two slaves and the figure of Moses, which no other modern work will ever equal in beauty. Michelangelo was also employed to make a bronze statue of Pope Julius, for the city of Bologna. The attitude is most beautiful, having great dignity, and in the drapery there is richness and magnificence, and in the countenance vivacity and force and terrible majesty.

When Michelangelo had finished this statue Bramante persuaded Julius that he should set Michelangelo to paint the ceiling of the chapel in the palace, in memory of Sixtus, his uncle.

Attempt all of the following questions.

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| 22. How fully does Source A explain the contribution made by humanist scholars to the revival of interest in the classical past? | 12 |
| 23. How much do Sources B and C reveal about differing interpretations of the consequences of the Pazzi conspiracy for the authority of the Medici family in Florence? | 16 |
| 24. Evaluate the usefulness of Source D as evidence of the importance of popes as patrons of the arts during the High Renaissance. | 12 |

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

25. 'Any rational assessment of the chances of a successful outcome should have persuaded the Jacobites to abandon the 1715 Rebellion.'
How valid is this view? 25
26. To what extent did Scotland remain primarily a rural society by 1815? 25
27. 'During the Age of Islay the real power to govern remained within Scotland.'
How valid is this view? 25
28. To what extent did the Moderate Party represent the dominant mood of the Kirk between 1750 and 1815? 25
29. 'Simply a continuation of earlier trends.'
How valid is this view of the Scottish Enlightenment? 25

[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 attempt the questions which follow.

Source A from Chevalier de Johnstone's *Memoirs*, circa 1790

Lord George Murray, who was solely responsible for the successes of our army, was a genius of military operations. If he had been formally educated in the study of tactics he would have become a truly great general. He inspired the Highlanders with his battle cry 'I will never ask my lads to go before me, but only to follow', a shout that unfortunately never came from the mouth of the Prince. Lord George Murray was the only man capable of leading our army. By his nature he was a great warrior, he did not need the accidental advantage of a royal birth.

Alas, there were few others who were able to lead the army. The Highland Chiefs possessed the most heroic courage, but they knew only one tactic, the Highland charge. As soon as they saw the enemy they ignored discipline and orders, rushing upon them sword in hand. The Irish officers were even less knowledgeable of modern warfare. With the exception of Mr Sullivan they possessed no military skills at all, other than how to march and form a guard.

Source B from *A History of the Scottish People 1560–1830* by T C Smout (1970)

Those who had new ideas were more easily able to carry them out. It was now practicable to sit down to plan how to develop a cattle ranch in the hills because the rustlers, who in the past had plundered the drovers, were suppressed with complete success within a dozen years of 1745.

Cattle was the traditional export to the Lowlands, and oatmeal was the traditional import. The price of cattle rose 300% between the 1740s and the 1790s, while the price of oats less than doubled. Therefore, the effective terms of trade between the Highlands and the Lowlands moved sharply in the former's favour.

The peasants and the lairds who produced cattle therefore began to enjoy the prospect of a much greater money income, though how it was to be shared between profits and rents remained to be resolved. In material terms the peasants did not seem to be any worse off than they had been. Instead of a peasant society disappearing, it simply became a different kind of peasant society.

Source C from *Schooling, Literacy and Society* by Donald Withrington (2004)

Kirk Sessions usually insisted on maintaining, at a very low level, the fees demanded for teaching the basic curriculum — reading, writing, arithmetic and Latin. Inflation had actually reduced the real value of these fees, but they were kept low in order to make schooling in these subjects as widely available as possible. It was the able poor for whom the opportunity to learn Latin could be crucial, if they hoped to go to university and thus make their way in the world through one of the learned professions. Latin had become much less important for the middle and upper classes whose careers did not generally depend on their attending the full degree course at university. If they went to university they could elect to take only classes which they and their parents thought were properly useful.

It was at the middle and upper classes that the new school subjects and the modern courses at the new academies were mainly aimed; it was for the benefit of the able poor that Latin was often preserved in the later eighteenth-century parish schools.

Source D from *Scotland, A History of a Nation* by David Ross (2013)

The universities began to reform their teaching. The first Scottish university to change its approach to the traditional subjects was Edinburgh. Until now the system of regents had meant that one teacher taught a whole range of subjects to a group of pupils, often dealing with matters far beyond his own knowledge or competence. The importance of specialisation was now accepted, although change took place in a gradual manner. The influence of the clergy remained pervasive. It prevented David Hume, Scotland's greatest philosopher, from occupying a professorial chair because he was an atheist, although it could not prevent him from publishing his work. As Hume himself remarked, his *Treatise of Human Nature* 'fell deadborn from the press' in 1739, but in the end its influence was to change the course of European philosophy.

The University of Glasgow established a reputation for pioneering work. It was the university that provided a haven for the young and gifted James Watt who was appointed its official instrument maker when the Hammermen of Glasgow refused him admission to their guild.

Attempt all of the following questions.

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| 30. Evaluate the usefulness of Source A as evidence of the reasons why the Jacobite army was ultimately defeated in 1746. | 12 |
| 31. How fully does Source B explain the extent of the economic development of the Highlands in the second half of the eighteenth century? | 12 |
| 32. How much do Sources C and D reveal about differing interpretations of the impact of educational developments in Scotland during the eighteenth century? | 16 |

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SECTION 5 — USA: 'A House Divided', 1850–1865

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

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| 33. To what extent can the differences between the North and the South in 1850 be explained as a clash of cultures? | 25 |
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| 34. 'The role of women was critical to sustaining the war effort of both sides during the Civil War.'
How valid is this view of the contribution of women during the Civil War? | 25 |
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| 35. How justified is the view that Abraham Lincoln demonstrated highly effective political leadership during the Civil War? | 25 |
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| 36. To what extent did the failings of the Democratic Party during the 1864 Presidential Election campaign ensure Lincoln's victory in that year's presidential election? | 25 |
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| 37. How important was the issue of States' Rights in the defeat of the Confederacy? | 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 *A House Divided: Sectionalism and Civil War 1848–1865* by Richard H Sewell (1988)

Free Soilers rejoiced at the growing popularity of their principles with many hoping that the disgruntled former Whig and Democrat members, who had resigned from their parties in 1854, might rally under the Free Soil banner to battle the newly aggressive Slave Power. Most agreed that the crisis of 1854 required the formation of a powerful new anti-slavery coalition. On 28th February 1854, antislavery Whigs, Democrats and Free Soilers gathered in Ripon, Wisconsin and vowed to form a new 'Republican' party dedicated to slavery restriction. The speed at which this new party was formed surprised many and it was far from inevitable that they would be able to agree on the most effective way forward. The intensity of antislavery conviction within this 'Republican' coalition varied from state to state but all condemned slavery as 'a great moral, social, and political evil'. They were united in their antislavery demands: for its abolition in the nation's capital, its exclusion from the federal territories, the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Act and an end to the admission of any more slave states.

Source B from the Republican National Platform, 18th June 1856

While the Constitution of the United States was ordained and established by the people, in order to protect the life, liberty, and property of every citizen, we recognise that the dearest Constitutional rights of the people of Kansas have been fraudulently and violently taken from them. Their Territory has been invaded by an armed force; we recognise that this has been sustained by the military power of the present government, tyrannical and unconstitutional laws have been enacted and enforced.

All these things have been done with the knowledge, sanction, and procurement of the present National Administration; and that for this high crime against the Constitution, the Union, and humanity, we accuse the Administration, the President, his advisers, agents, supporters, apologists, and accessories, either *before* or *after* the fact, before the country and before the world; and it is our fixed purpose to bring the actual perpetrators of these atrocious outrages and their accomplices to a sure punishment thereafter.

Source C from a special message to the Confederate Congress by Jefferson Davis, 29th April 1861

The declaration of war made against this Confederacy by Abraham Lincoln in his proclamation rendered it necessary that you should convene at the earliest moment to devise the measures necessary for the defence of the country.

There has been a long continued and deep seated resentment felt by the Southern States at the persistent abuse of the powers they had delegated to the Congress, for the purpose of enriching the manufacturing and shipping classes of the North at the expense of the South. Furthermore, a continuous series of measures was devised and prosecuted for the purpose of rendering insecure the tenure of property in slaves. Emboldened by success, the theatre of agitation and aggression against the clearly expressed constitutional rights of the Southern States was transferred to the Congress. Finally a great party was organised for the purpose of obtaining the administration of the Government, with the avowed object of using its power for the total exclusion of the slave States from all participation. This party succeeded in winning control of the Presidency of the United States last November.

Source D from *Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation: The End of Slavery in America* by Allen C Guelzo (2004)

Nothing better proves the point of the proclamation's 'military necessity' than the point spelled out in the proclamation itself in Lincoln's promise 'to recruit freed slaves into the armed service of the United States'. In July, the Second Confiscation Act had provided Lincoln with the authority to set aside federal and state black recruitment. As a result, by the time the proclamation was read on New Year's Day at Port Royal, the first regiment of these volunteers was on hand and ready to receive the regiment's colors. The first day of January was celebrated as a 'day of Jubilee'. Black soldiers from the First Regiment of South Carolina Volunteers threw open their camp to 'thousands of the colored people' and the ceremonies were climaxed by a reading of the Proclamation and the presentation of regimental flags. In May, the War Department established a bureau to muster directly into federal service the 138 infantry regiments of what would become known as the United States Colored Troops.

Attempt all of the following questions.

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| 38. How much do Sources A and B reveal about differing interpretations of the reasons for the emergence of the Republican Party? | 16 |
| 39. Evaluate the usefulness of Source C as evidence of the reasons for Southern secession in 1860. | 12 |
| 40. How fully does Source D explain the consequences of the Emancipation Proclamation? | 12 |

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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. To what extent were the actions of the USA responsible for the downfall of the Tokugawa? | 25 |
| 42. 'A strong feeling of national identity was the driving force behind government education reforms.'
How valid is this view of the education reforms in the 1880s? | 25 |
| 43. How justified is the view that Japan had planned the Sino-Japanese War 1894–1895? | 25 |
| 44. To what extent was territorial acquisition the most significant consequence of Japan's defeat of Russia in 1905? | 25 |
| 45. 'World War One provided extraordinary opportunities to advance Japanese industry.'
To what extent was this the most significant impact of Japan's involvement in World War One? | 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 *The Rise of Modern Japan* by W G Beasley (2000)

Much of traditional Japanese culture derived from China; a good deal of art was specifically Chinese in style, as were the more elegant pursuits of the upper classes. Buddhism first reached Japan in Chinese form. Buddhism had once been Japan's most powerful religion, but over the course of the Tokugawa period the emerging Daimyo, in the course of imposing their own authority within their domains, had deprived it of many lands and almost all its independence. At the popular level Shinto rituals, especially those which concerned crops and marriage, continued to be observed alongside Buddhist ones in every village and household, forming part of a belief system which explained Shinto deities as manifestations of the Buddha and located Shinto Shrines in Buddhist temple grounds. Meiji times saw a re-emphasis upon Shintoism. Confucian ideas, which had entered Japan from China along with Buddhist ones, provided as their contribution a simplified code of behaviour, applying to this world.

Source B from *Commentaries on Constitutional Provisions Relating to the Emperor's Position* by Ito Hirobumi in 1889

The sovereign power of reigning over and of governing the State, is inherited by the Emperor from his Ancestors, and by him bequeathed to his successors. The Sacred Throne was established at the time when the heavens and the earth became separated. All the different legislative as well as executive powers of the State, by means of which he reigns over the country and governs the people, are united in this Most Exalted Personage. He holds in his hands, as it were, all the threads of the political life of the country, just as the brain, in the human body, is the main source of all mental activity manifested through the four limbs and the different parts of the body. For unity is just as necessary in the government of a State, as double-mindedness would be ruinous in an individual. His Imperial Majesty has himself determined a Constitution, and has made it a fundamental law to be observed both by the Sovereign and by the people.

Source C from *Reasons for Becoming a Businessman in 1873*, from the autobiography of Shibuzawa Eiichi dictated in 1937

The business world around 1873, when I resigned my post at the Ministry of Finance, was one filled with inertia. That condition is hard to imagine from the standards we hold today. As to the question of development of industry, I felt that to engage in an individually managed shop would be going against the time, and it was necessary for small business firms to join together. In other words, they have to incorporate, and I decided to devote my energy to this. As to the laws governing incorporation, I thought about them while studying in France. After returning from France, I organised a chamber of commerce in Shizuoka to serve as a model for incorporation. In the early years of the Meiji, the government also encouraged incorporation of companies and organised commercial firms and development companies. The government actively participated in these companies' affairs and saw to it that their various needs were met. However, most of these companies failed because their management was poor. To state it simply, the government failed to have the right men as managers.

Source D from *The Economic Development of Japan 1868–1941* by W J Macpherson (1995)

The murder by samurai of Ie Naosuke in 1860, a leading official and arguably the one man capable of ensuring Bakufu survival, paved the way for further anti-government upheavals and eventually the coup d'état led by Choshu and Satsuma troops. In January 1868, power and administration was formally handed over to Emperor Meiji. From 1868, governments played a prominent part in Japanese economic development. For the pre-World War One period, some historians place great emphasis on the positive impact of the state and others find that the spontaneous forces of growth in society that arise from ordinary men and women built the Japanese economy. Many of the Meiji's nation-building activities were dictated by short-term survival and pragmatism, for example, they wanted to find employment for ex-samurai. They wanted to encourage import substitution and to build military railways. *Fukoku kyohei*, inspired by xenophobic nationalism, dictated rapid industrialisation, with little priority for welfare and the living and working conditions of Japanese workers.

Attempt all of the following questions.

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| 46. How fully does Source A explain the nature of religion within late Tokugawa society? | 12 |
| 47. Evaluate the usefulness of Source B as evidence of the authority of the Emperor in Meiji Japan. | 12 |
| 48. How much do Sources C and D reveal about differing interpretations of the causes of Japan's economic development between 1868 and 1912? | 16 |

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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. 'The founders of the Weimar Constitution believed they had created the perfect democratic state.'
How justified is this view? 25
50. To what extent was the German response to the terms of the Treaty of Versailles between 1919 and 1923 an over-reaction? 25
51. 'Hitler's dictatorship rested on nothing more than a set of personal rivalries among members of the Nazi elite.'
How valid is this view of Hitler's control of Germany between 1933 and 1939? 25
52. How successful was the policy of Volksgemeinschaft between 1933 and 1939? 25
53. 'The history of Germany's churches between 1933 and 1939 was one of failure to oppose Nazi policies.'
How valid is this view of religious opposition to Nazism? 25

[Turn over

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

Part B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the questions which follow.

Source A from the *Spartacist Manifesto*, delivered by Rosa Luxemburg in Berlin on 31st December 1918

We declare that the immediate task of the proletariat is to make socialism a living reality and to destroy capitalism root and branch. We take our stand upon the ground occupied by Marx and Engels in 1848; it is not for Marxists to engage in counter-revolutionary activities side by side with such as Ebert and Scheidemann.

What has the war left of bourgeois society beyond a gigantic rubbish heap? But, of course, all the means of production and most of the instruments of power are still in the hands of the dominant classes. On November 9, the first cry of the revolution was for workers' and soldiers' councils — and it is through the councils alone that we can hope to realise socialism. [But] what could be more characteristic of the weakness of that revolution of November 9 than the fact that at the very outset, the leadership passed into the hands of people who regarded it as their chief duty to attempt to make revolution impossible — people like Ebert, Scheidemann and Haase.

Source B from *Weimar and the Rise of Hitler* by A J Nicholls (1989)

Cuno inaugurated a policy of passive resistance in the Ruhr. Businessmen, officials and workers were told not to cooperate with the occupying powers and the Reich government met the financial losses involved. This naturally represented an enormous financial burden on the central government in Berlin. The Allied reparations ultimatum of May 1921 brought home just how precarious Germany's financial position was.

There remained a deficit which could only be met by printing more money; this encouraged the devaluation of the currency on the world markets. In the initial stages this inflation had its advantages. Cheap money meant that industrial production could be reorganised quickly on a peacetime footing — for example, new plant cost the industrialist little and wages were lower. Landowners could also pay off mortgages more easily since their payments were in a devalued currency. For many individual Germans the results were much more damaging — workers in the factories and on the farms found life very difficult in an inflationary situation where prices always raced ahead of wages.

Source C from *Aspects of European History 1789 to 1980* by Stephen Lee (1982)

Between the two world wars Germany regressed from the constitutional democracy of the Weimar Republic to the ruthless dictatorship of the Third Reich. This change, which occurred with Hitler's rise to power and the implementation of his own ideas, is generally described as 'revolutionary'. The Great Depression caused a sudden economic crisis. The government could not agree on how to resolve the situation and collapsed, destroying the previous pattern of coalition cabinets and rule by consensus. Increased reliance was therefore placed on Hindenburg, who was known to favour a paternalist approach to government. This swing to the Right provided a favourable atmosphere for the suddenly strengthened Nazi Party and made Hitler's emergence as a national leader seem less outrageous. And yet Hitler actually achieved power in an unexpected manner. He became Chancellor after a series of backdoor manoeuvres with and between right-wing Chancellors with the connivance of President Hindenburg himself.

Source D from *The Nazi Voter: the Social Foundations of Fascism in Germany 1919–33* by T Childers (1985)

The emergence of the NSDAP in German politics in the elections of the later 1920s brought about concerns for the future of the German Republic. The nucleus of the NSDAP's following was formed by the small farmers, shopkeepers and independent artisans of the old middle class. It was among these groups that the fear of social and economic displacement, associated with the emergence of modern industrial society, was most pronounced.

By 1932 the party had won considerable support among the upper-middle class student bodies of the universities, among civil servants. Even the middle and upper grades in the affluent electoral districts of Berlin, Hamburg and other cities had frustrated career ambitions and a resentment of the erosion of social prestige and security. These groups cannot be described as uneducated, economically devastated or marginalised. They belonged, in fact, to the established elites in Germany. Election results in November 1932 reflect this continued trend in opinion against the Weimar Republic. The SA assembled outside the Reichstag in support for their leader.

Attempt all of the following questions.

- | | |
|--|----|
| 54. Evaluate the usefulness of Source A as evidence of the nature of the German Revolution of 1918–1919. | 12 |
| 55. How fully does Source B explain the impact of the Great Inflation of 1922–23 on the German people? | 12 |
| 56. How much do Sources C and D reveal about differing interpretations of the reasons for the rise to power of Hitler and the Nazis between 1929 and 1933? | 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.

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| 57. To what extent does South African defeat in the Boer War account for the growth of opposition to British rule in South Africa between 1902 and 1910? | 25 |
| 58. How far can it be argued that the demand for cheap labour in the mines was the main reason for the introduction of segregationist policies by South African governments before 1929? | 25 |
| 59. To what extent was the introduction of apartheid due to the growth in African resistance in the 1940s? | 25 |
| 60. How significant was the role of the ANC Youth League in the radicalisation of resistance between 1955 and 1964? | 25 |
| 61. How important was the collapse of Portugal's African Empire in influencing the foreign policy of the South African government between 1965 and 1984? | 25 |

[Turn over

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 *Black Political Awakening, 1875–1949* by Jackie Grobler (2014)

In the years between the two world wars the SANNC was in the doldrums and led a precarious existence. The organisation sometimes objected to what it saw as oppressive legislation, but this did not deter the white authority or put it off its stride. At the SANNC's annual congress in 1923, a resolution was accepted alleging that the Union Parliament was planning to permanently enslave black South Africans and that a polite request should be made to the governor general not to sign the Natives Urban Areas Act of 1923 which made provision for residential segregation in the cities on the basis of race. At the same congress it was decided that the SANNC would henceforth be known as the African National Congress (ANC). Makgatho was replaced as president general of the ANC by Rev Z R Mahabane. Like his predecessor, Mahabane was a moderate and set himself the task of asking no more than the recognition of black rights in the existing social order.

Source B from *South Africa: A Modern History* by Rodney Davenport & Christopher Saunders (2000)

Although at this time the numerous African movements adopted a variety of defensive tactics, they failed to act together. The ICU grew into a mass movement. It was formed by Clements Kadalie, who had emigrated from Nyasaland. It enlarged its organisation by developing and adopting a new constitution in 1925. In the same year it scored minor strike successes in East London and Johannesburg. A membership of over 50,000 was claimed — not unreasonably — in January 1927, rising to perhaps 250,000. However, Kadalie's bid to secure international recognition of his union was defeated by the South African Department of Labour. The ICU proper held its last congress in 1929 and thereafter led no more than a twilight existence until its final disappearance in 1933. The first mass movement in the history of black South Africa, it died essentially of its own weakness in the face of steady but not overbearing pressure from outside.

Source C from *A History of South Africa* edited by Fransjohan Pretorius (2014)

In 1933 Hertzog and Smuts decided to form a coalition, ruling together until December 1934, when the NP and SAP fused to form the United Party (UP). Hertzog continued as prime minister and Smuts became his deputy. In reaction to this fusion, the more radical NP members under DF Malan's leadership broke away to form the new Gesuiwerde (Purified) National Party. This repositioning of the main political parties pushed the question of disenfranchising coloureds into the background until the 1950s, when Malan's NP was in undisputed power and the matter could easily be pushed through. Fusion provided Hertzog with a fresh opportunity to attempt to solve the 'native question' by taking black people off the common voters' roll in the Cape. It was mainly the SAP which supported the black franchise but at the beginning of the 1930s even Smuts admitted that the franchise for black people in the Cape was a lost cause. After the fusion of the NP and SAP, Hertzog softened his previous hard-line stance on British imperial links, hoping to win over the English-speaking Natal SAP hotheads.

Source D from *The Definition of Black Consciousness: a student leadership training paper* by Steve Biko, December 1971

Black Consciousness is in essence the realisation by the black man of the need to rally together with his brothers around the cause of their oppression — the blackness of their skin — and to operate as a group in order to rid themselves of the shackles that bind them to perpetual servitude. It seeks to demonstrate the lie that black is an aberration from the 'normal' which is white. It is a manifestation of a new realisation that by seeking to run away from themselves and to emulate the white man, blacks are insulting the intelligence of whoever created them black. Black Consciousness, therefore takes cognisance of the deliberateness of God's plan in creating black people black. The importance of black solidarity to the various segments of the black community must not be understated. There have previously been a lot of suggestions that there can be no viable unity amongst blacks because they hold each other in contempt. What we should at all times look at is the fact that we are all oppressed by the same system.

Attempt all of the following questions.

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| 62. How much do Sources A and B reveal about differing interpretations of the ineffectiveness of resistance movements before 1939? | 16 |
| 63. How fully does Source C explain the reasons for Fusion and the formation of the United Party? | 12 |
| 64. Evaluate the usefulness of Source D as evidence of the contribution of Black Consciousness to resistance in the 1970s. | 12 |

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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.

- 65.** ‘Nicholas II is not fit to run a village post office.’
How far can it be argued that the collapse of Russian autocracy could be attributed to the inability of the Tsar and his regime to govern effectively? **25**
- 66.** How far had the ideals of the October Revolution been betrayed by the time of Lenin’s death in 1924? **25**
- 67.** To what extent could it be argued that Trotsky was responsible for his own failure to win the leadership struggle? **25**
- 68.** ‘Much more than just an economic disaster.’
How valid is this view of the impact of Collectivisation on the Soviet Union? **25**
- 69.** How valid is the view that Stalin implemented the Purges out of a desire to control the Communist Party? **25**

[Turn over

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 *Reminiscences of Lenin* by Nadya Krupskaya, written in 1933

The seizure of power in October had been carefully thought out and prepared by the Party of the proletariat — the Bolshevik Party. Ilyich, who was hiding in Finland, wrote a letter to the Central Committee in which he said: ‘Having obtained a majority in the Soviets of Workers’ and Soldiers’ Deputies in both capitals, the Bolsheviks can and must take power into their hands’. He then proceeded to show why the power had to be seized precisely at that of all times. ‘Our three main forces — the navy, the workers and the army units — must be so combined as to occupy without fail and to hold at the cost of any sacrifice the telephone exchange, the telegraph office, the railway stations and, above all, the bridges. The most determined elements — our shock forces and young workers, as well as the best of the sailors — must be formed into small detachments to occupy all the more important points and to take part everywhere in all important operations.’

Source B from *The Russian Civil War* by Evan Mawdsley (2005)

The greatest White failure was their alienation of the peasant majority. More important, Denikin’s movement was identified with the *sharaban*, the landlord returning in his carriage in the trail of the White armies to take back the land he had lost to the peasants in 1917–1918. Denikin’s formal central government was the ‘Special Council’ (Osoboe Soveshchenie) a dozen officials led by General Lukomsky. The Special Council was not modified until the very end of 1919. Only in January 1920 did Denikin advance the slogan ‘Land to the peasants and the labouring Cossacks’ and by then his armies had been driven back into the Kuban. In mid-1920, Wrangel would show what could be done with more dynamic leadership. One of the major White weaknesses was a failure to match the scale and quality of Bolshevik propaganda.

Source C from a speech by Stalin on the 3rd July 1941

In consequence of this war which has been forced upon us, our country has come to death grips with its bitterest and most cunning enemy — German fascism. Our troops are fighting heroically against an enemy armed to the teeth with tanks and aircraft. The soldiers of the Red Army are displaying unexampled valour. Our resistance to the enemy is growing in strength and power. Side by side with the Red Army, the entire Soviet people is rising in defence of our native land. The enemy is cruel and implacable. He is out to seize our lands watered by the sweat of our brows, to seize our grain and oil secured by the labour of our hands. Thus the issue is one of life and death for the Soviet State, of life and death for the peoples of the USSR; the issue is whether the peoples of the Soviet Union shall be free or fall into slavery; our people must know no fear in the fight and must selflessly join our patriotic war of liberation against the fascist enslavers.

Source D from *A History of the Soviet Union from the Beginning to the End* by Peter Kenez (1999)

Soviet victory was made possible by the fact that the Soviet side could match the military hardware of the enemy. Although at the outbreak of the war there was no great numerical disproportion between the armaments of the two sides, the quality of the Soviet equipment was inferior. The mass production of the modern weaponry began under extraordinarily difficult circumstances. In light of the difficulties, Soviet economic accomplishments were nothing short of miraculous. It turned out that the command economy, with all its faults, suited wartime conditions. The evacuation to central Asia, the Ural Mountains, and western Siberia of hundreds of small and large enterprises from occupied areas was a most impressive achievement. Ultimately, ten million workers were moved eastward; this move was accomplished quickly so that in the re-established factories the production of war materials could recommence.

Attempt all of the following questions.

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| 70. Evaluate the usefulness of Source A as evidence of the reasons for Bolshevik success in the October Revolution. | 12 |
| 71. How fully does Source B explain the reasons for the outcome of the Russian Civil War? | 12 |
| 72. How much do Sources C and D reveal about differing interpretations of the extent of the difficulties faced by the Soviet Union in the Great Patriotic War? | 16 |

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

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|------------|---|-----------|
| 73. | To what extent was Alfonso XIII responsible for his own downfall in 1931? | 25 |
| 74. | ‘The new Republic was politically divided from the start.’
How valid is this view of the Spanish Republic in 1931? | 25 |
| 75. | How valid is it to regard the uprising in the Asturias in 1934 as ‘the first battle of the Spanish Civil War’? | 25 |
| 76. | To what extent was Franco’s rise to leadership of the Nationalists due to the absence of effective rivals? | 25 |
| 77. | To what extent were internal weaknesses the main reason for the defeat of the Republic by 1939? | 25 |

[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 attempt the questions which follow.

Source A from *Modern Spain, 1875–1980* by Raymond Carr (1980)

The Socialists were concerned with the pool of agrarian unemployment, the plight of the small tenant farmer and an achievement of a machinery for wage settlements that would strengthen their union. Largo Caballero, as Minister of Labour, issued decrees which forbade landowners to employ labour from outside the municipality as they had done to lower wages and break strikes; agricultural labourers were granted access to the Mixed Committees to settle labour disputes. These decrees, which were the first modest attempt of any government to do something to alleviate the lot of the most depressed class in Spain, were resisted — and sabotaged — by conservatives as indefensible attacks on private property and economically counter-productive. A spate of decrees applied to all workers: an eight hour day, sickness benefits, holidays with pay. However the bourgeois Republic proved incapable of taking the first step on the Marxist road to socialism: the destruction of ‘feudalism’.

Source B from a radio broadcast by Queipo de Llano, reported in *La Unión* newspaper 26th July 1936

An example has been made of Morón de la Frontera that I imagine will serve as a lesson to those towns who still foolishly maintain their faith in Marxism and the hope of being able to resist us. Just as in Arahal, in Morón there was a group of heedless men who had committed unequalled acts of savagery, attacking right-wing individuals who had not provoked them. And I have heard in various towns that the Marxists have right-wing prisoners against whom they plan to commit similar barbarities. I remind them all that, for every honourable person that dies, I will shoot at least ten; and there are already towns where we have gone beyond that figure. And the leaders should not hold out hope of saving themselves by flight, since I will drag them out of the ground if necessary to implement the law. Our brave Legionarios and Regulares have shown the Red cowards what it means to be a man. And incidentally the wives of the Reds too.

Source C from *Stalin: The Court of the Red Tsar* by Simon Sebag Montefiore (2008)

On 15 October, Soviet tanks, planes and advisors started arriving in Spain to support the Republican Government against General Francisco Franco, backed by Hitler and Mussolini. Stalin treated this less as a rehearsal for World War Two and more as a replay of his Civil War. The intra-party struggles with the Trotskyites on his own side and the Fascists on the other, created a war fever in Moscow, stoking up the Terror. Stalin's real interest was to keep the war going as long as possible, embroiling Hitler without offending the Western powers, rather than helping the Republicans win. Furthermore, like an accomplished 'barrow-boy', Stalin systematically swindled the Spanish of several million dollars by rescuing their gold reserves and then tricking them into paying inflated prices for their arms. Gradually he presided over the effective NKVD [Soviet Secret Police] takeover of the Republic itself, where he found himself in a genuine struggle with the Trotskyites.

Source D from *The Spanish Civil War: Reaction, Revolution and Revenge* by Paul Preston (2006)

Russian personnel numbered five hundred by 1 November 1936. There were field officers, pilots, tank specialists or flying instructors, with some translators. The head of the air force was Colonel Jacob Smushkevich. Largo Caballero later accused him of operating independently of the Republican ministry of defence and of being disdainful towards those Spaniards who were not communists. Most of these Russians acted as 'advisors' to the Republican commanders in their command posts, others stayed with technical arms, or in the headquarters of the Russian mission. The deliveries of men and materials were not made by Russia as a friendly contribution to the revolutionary cause. They had to be paid for. This was done by the shipment to Russia of most of the gold which hitherto had guaranteed the Spanish currency. Another element of Russian help to the Republic was volunteers raised internationally by foreign communist parties, though they would include non-communists. The formation of the International Brigades then became the work of the Comintern.

Attempt all of the following questions.

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| 78. How fully does Source A explain the impact of Azaña's reforms between 1931 and 1933? | 12 |
| 79. Evaluate the usefulness of Source B as evidence of the military methods used during the Spanish Civil War? | 12 |
| 80. How much do Sources C and D reveal about differing interpretations of the attitudes of international powers towards Spain during the Civil War? | 16 |

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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.

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| 81. To what extent was unemployment the main social and economic issue facing the British government by 1939? | 25 |
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| 82. ‘Aircraft were the great menace for the submarines.’
To what extent was air power the main reason for the Allied victory in the Battle of the Atlantic? | 25 |
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 | |
| 83. ‘Only the Lend-Lease programme prevented the collapse of the British economy.’
How valid is this view of the impact of the war on the British economy? | 25 |
|
 | |
| 84. To what extent did the Second World War produce significant social and economic improvements for women between 1939 and 1951? | 25 |
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 | |
| 85. ‘Britain’s retreat from Empire was poorly executed.’
How valid is this view of the process of British decolonisation between 1945 and 1951? | 25 |

[Turn over

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

Part B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the questions which follow.

Source A from the memoirs of a Liverpool girl who was evacuated to Wales in 1939, published in 1975

When we arrived, we were taken to the Town Hall — where people chose which children they would look after. My sister Pat was very attractive, whereas I was rather plain. An old man noticed Pat and asked a teacher if he could take her. She told him she had a sister, and if he wanted her he must take me too. He went home to ask his wife. She agreed, so he returned to collect us. When he came for us I started to cry and refused to go.

At the second house was a very strict woman. I really liked ginger and one day this woman made ginger cakes. When the woman went to have her afternoon sleep I sneaked into the kitchen and took a cake. When she caught me, she locked me in a dark attic. My mum came to see us while I was still in the attic. When the woman explained, my mum went mad. She took us straight away.

Source B from *Churchill as War Leader* by Richard Lamb (1991)

It was touch and go whether he or Halifax became Prime Minister when Neville Chamberlain resigned. Both wanted the job. The majority of Conservative MPs wanted Halifax, not Churchill. The over-riding factor was that Churchill alone had clean hands over the appeasement of Hitler; all other candidates were contaminated. Only Winston could enlist Labour and Liberal support for the Government in the Commons and unite the nation in the moment of defeat. Churchill could not purge his cabinet of all former appeasers, but his choice of Ernest Bevin was brilliant and showed his acute political awareness and finesse. Those close to him have made abundantly clear in post-war memoirs that the whole atmosphere at 10 Downing Street changed overnight. Instead of the customary shilly-shallying the desks were cleared for action.

The expression 'Britain's finest hour' was coined as his magnificent speeches in the Commons and his broadcasts galvanised the nation to fight in an all-out effort and, although there were only flimsy grounds for confidence, his obvious faith in final victory inspired the nation.

Source C from *Churchill: The End of Glory* by John Charmley (1993)

Churchill had already very successfully been his own biographer in some dozen or so books, and whilst it is handy to have an accumulation of even more material from every available source, that is not the quite the same as a portrait of Churchill or an analysis of his work. That he was a great man cannot be doubted. His flaws too were on the same heroic scale as the rest of the man. Before the war, he had advocated Britain forming a Grand Alliance to prevent Hitler dominating Europe. During the latter stages of the war, even Churchill was beginning to wonder what he had achieved by resting all his eggs in the basket of American help. This attitude was already making Stalin suspicious of British intentions. Churchill had nothing to offer the British people by July 1945, and no one has been prepared seriously to argue that he did. His thinking on foreign and domestic policy was stuck firmly in the past. Even when he grasped new ideas like Europe, it was to do little more than deliver impressive speeches.

Source D from *Clement Attlee: The Inevitable Prime Minister* by Michael Jago (2014)

Things had gone well for the Labour government in 1945 and 1946, arguably with a huge majority in the House of Commons, they had gone too easily. 1947 was in retrospect, a watershed for Attlee and his government. All basic foodstuffs – grains, fats and meat – were in short supply. Bread rationing had been prolonged by shipping strikes in the USA which delayed delivery. There was an additional drain on the country's resources because of the need to feed the population of occupied Germany. The Manchester Guardian was scathing in its criticism of this; criticising the government that, 'the prospects of maintaining our name as efficient and humane rulers are vanishing'.

In early summer 1946 Attlee had been warned that coal reserves were dangerously low and that Shinwell's confidence in being able to meet winter demand was misplaced. We can see why Attlee continued to be concerned about coal supplies; he recognised that it would be 'touch and go' unless Britain enjoyed a mild winter.

Attempt all of the following questions.

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| 86. Evaluate the usefulness of Source A as evidence of issues arising from evacuation during the Second World War. | 12 |
| 87. How much do Sources B and C reveal about differing interpretations of the effectiveness of Churchill's wartime leadership? | 16 |
| 88. How fully does Source D explain the domestic problems facing the Labour Governments between 1945 and 1951? | 12 |

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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