



National
Qualifications
2022

X837/77/11

History

FRIDAY, 20 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 were the personal ambitions of the emperors the main motive for the Roman invasions into Northern Britain from the 1st to the 3rd century AD? 25

2. ‘Scotland was never Romanised.’
How valid is this view of Roman influences on Northern British society by the 4th century AD? 25

3. How far can it be argued that a distinctive Pictish identity had developed by the 8th century AD? 25

4. To what extent did religion play a central role in the life of the Britons of Southern Scotland? 25

5. How far had the social and cultural distinctions between the peoples of Northern Britain disappeared by 1034 AD? 25

[Turn over

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

PART B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the following three questions.

Source A from *Society in Scotland from 700 BC to 200 AD* by Richard Hingley (1992)

The recent detailed discussion of these broch settlements has not been matched by attention to the other forts of the north and west. There has been little consideration of the promontory forts of these areas of Scotland or the so-called blockhouses of Shetland. One aspect of fortification which is clear on both broch and non-broch sites, however, is that the enclosures formed by the ramparts are rarely rational as defensive circuits. The promontory fort which pre-dated the broch at Crosskirk was defined by a wall which was strengthened near the gateway but which was of low elevation at either end. These enclosures appear to project an outward image of defensibility without being defensible. It is possible that much of the warfare within these societies was ritualised, involving challenges between champions of conflicting communities. This may suggest that any defensive function was symbolic rather than practical with the blockhouses representing platforms for ritualised warfare or display.

Source B from *Before Scotland* by Alistair Moffat (2005)

The composition of Celtic armies is difficult to discover. Late in the 1st century BC classical commentators such as Diodorus Siculus and Julius Caesar characterised Celtic society as broadly tripartite. The King and a warrior aristocracy sat at the apex of the pyramid while just below them lay a stratum of professionals: priests, smiths and other specialists. Near the base were the farmers and stockmen. Right at the bottom were the slaves attached to the land or to the wealthy households. The small group of professional warriors gathered around the king or a ruling family certainly made up the core fighting force, but it is impossible to say much more beyond that. At Mons Graupius, Tacitus mentioned a much larger host than could be mustered from the aristocratic elite alone, so there must have been a large contingent of farmers on the battlefield that day, armed with whatever they could turn to offensive purpose.

Source C from *The Chronicle of the Kings of Alba c 850 AD – c 975 AD* as recorded in the 14th century Poppleton Manuscript

Kenneth son of Alpin, ruled this Pictland for 16 years [from 842–843 AD to 858 AD]. Pictland was named after the Picts, whom Kenneth destroyed; for God deigned to make them alien from, and void of, their heritage, by reason of their wickedness because they spurned the Lord's mass and teaching. Over time Kenneth offered many masses. His military prowess was clear to everyone. In his efforts to secure his kingdom he seized and burned Dunbar and Melrose and boldly invaded England six times. In unifying this realm, he was helped in other ways. Fortune favoured him because he was also able to take advantage of the attacks on his enemies when the Britons burned Dunblane, and the Danes laid waste to Pictland as far as Clunie and Dunkeld. In the end, he died of a tumour on 13 February, the third day of the week, in the palace of Forteviot. Duuenaldus, his brother, held the kingdom for 4 years [858 AD–862 AD]. In his time the Gaels with their king at Forteviot made the laws of the kingdom.

Source D from *The Northern Earldoms: Orkney and Caithness from 870 AD to 1470* by Barbara Crawford (2013)

The position of the Orkney Islands, lying to the north of mainland Scotland, was strategically important for giving access to both western and eastern sides of the British Isles and this made them essential for mobile power-seekers who appeared on the stage of the Viking world with ambitions in Northern Britain in the mid-tenth century. Erik Blood-axe, eldest son of Harald 'Finehair', is said to have been forced out of Norway by his half-brother, Haakon 'the good', moving west to Orkney around 947 AD which he dominated for seven years. In such circumstances the earls were caught up in the campaigns of aggression led by their Norwegian overlords. The earls at the time were Arnkell and Erlend, sons of Torf-Einar, and they accompanied Erik on his raiding expeditions to the Hebrides, Ireland and Strathclyde. Erik ventured further south and had two brief periods of power in York before falling in battle at Stainmore in 954 AD.

Attempt ALL of the following questions.

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| 6. How much do Sources A and B reveal about differing interpretations of the role of warfare in Iron Age society? | 16 |
| 7. Evaluate the usefulness of Source C as evidence of the role of Kenneth MacAlpin in the formation of the Kingdom of Alba. | 12 |
| 8. How fully does Source D explain the reasons why the Vikings came to 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.

9. ‘Alexander III failed to deal successfully with the key problems of his reign.’
How valid is this view? 25
10. To what extent was King John’s betrayal by his political community the main reason for Balliol’s failure as king of the Scots? 25
11. How successfully had Edward I established his English occupation of Scotland by the summer of 1297? 25
12. To what extent did Scottish resistance against Edward I successfully maintain the interests of the Scots between 1298 and 1305? 25
13. ‘The Truce of Bishopthorpe (1323) shows that King Robert had failed to win the war against England between 1310 and 1323.’
How valid is this view? 25

[Turn over

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

PART B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the following three questions.

Source A from the *Treaty of Salisbury*, 6 November 1289, confirmed by the Scottish Parliament

The English came to treat with the messengers of the king of Norway, his daughter and the Guardians of Scotland, who, after much discussion and great debate, agreed that the king of England has promised in good faith that if the lady [Margaret] comes to England totally free of all contract of marriage, then he is required to send her on to the kingdom of Scotland also totally free of all contract of marriage, just as he received her. All of this is on the understanding that the people of Scotland have given sufficient guarantee to the king of England that they will not marry her without his desire, advice and permission, and with the consent of the king of Norway, her father. And if by any chance any one or more of the guardians of the kingdom of Scotland shall be considered untrustworthy, then they should be removed, and others of Scotland be put in their place. This will be done by the agreement of the good men of Scotland and Norway, and those that the king of England sends there.

Source B from *A Kingdom Cleared of Castles: the role of the castle in the campaigns of Robert Bruce* by David Cornell (2001)

Bruce's campaign in the civil war was dictated by the need to destroy the power centres of his Scottish opponents — the Comyns. Castles were subjected to ruthless destruction in the north of Scotland, many on the coast of the Moray Firth, including Inverness castle which surrendered due to a lack of water and was 'destroyed to its foundations', being 'levelled to the ground'. In the same way Bruce dealt with other castles, leaving them indefensible and uninhabitable. The expedition Bruce led into Argyll during the summer of 1308 does, however, provide a striking example of Bruce actively making use of a castle rather than destroying it. Following his victory over the forces of John of Lorn, the castle of Dunstaffnage was taken by Bruce. A castellan [castle governor] was appointed and the castle supplied with men and food. In this singular case Bruce clearly intended that Dunstaffnage would control the surrounding countryside and seaways.

Source C from *The Movements of Robert Bruce Between September 1307 and May 1308* by PM Barnes and GWS Barrow (1970)

Hearing that Bruce and his army were near, John Comyn earl of Buchan, with many English and Scots nobles, approached to give battle but held back to consider their options. They returned on Christmas Day 1307 and obtained a truce, after which Bruce stayed for eight days, falling so seriously ill that he had to be carried everywhere on a pallet or camp-bed. John Comyn and Philip de Moubray, together with many Scots and English, gathered for a second time at Inverurie. In May 1308 when King Robert heard this, he rose from his bed, to which his illness had confined him. Though he could not sit upright without two men supporting him, he hastened to do battle with his enemies. As soon as Comyn and Moubray saw him, they turned and fled. After his foes had put to flight, Bruce burned the earldom of Buchan, laying waste to the complete area.

Source D from *Robert Bruce King of Scots* by Michael Penman (2014)

The few surviving charters from this parliament also arguably reflect an attempt to balance reform and reconciliation. Acts survive demonstrating Robert's even-handed lordship to members of the other estates including confirming the constabulary town of Haddington in all its burghal [town's] privileges. It is likely that a number of Robert's now undated acts also came from this parliament, including the issue of several brieves [royal letters]. However, the predominant atmosphere of this parliament remained its heightened sense of insecurity and potential division, which is underlined by the enactment of a statute which forbade conspiracies and rumours which could cause discord between the king and his people. Such an act may have sought to dampen general criticism of the Bruce regime and its policies. But, inevitably, its timing suggests that Robert I and his close advisors were already aware of collusion against his rule by former Scottish opponents who had entered the Bruce peace between 1312 and 1315.

Attempt ALL of the following questions.

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| 14. Evaluate the usefulness of Source A as evidence of the Scots' attempts to secure the kingdom during the succession crisis, 1286 – 1292. | 12 |
| 15. How much do Sources B and C reveal about differing interpretations of the methods used by King Robert to secure his kingship during the Civil War, 1306 – 1309? | 16 |
| 16. How fully does Source D explain the effectiveness of King Robert's government in safeguarding his kingship? | 12 |

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

17. To what extent was the success of the tobacco trade based on the lawful business methods employed by the tobacco lords? 25
18. ‘Above all it was the lack of domestic support which ensured the failure of the Jacobite rising, 1745 – 1746.’
How valid is this view? 25
19. To what extent was Scotland an urbanised nation by 1815? 25
20. To what extent does Henry Home, Lord Kames, deserve to be considered as the most significant contributor to Scotland’s agricultural revolution? 25
21. ‘Scottish universities could claim to be modernised institutions of excellence by 1815.’
How valid is this view? 25

[Turn over

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

PART B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the following three questions.

Source A from *Jacobitism* by Edward Gregg (1988)

During the summer of 1715 men who had never before displayed Jacobite sympathies began supporting them due to the seeming unrelenting hostility of the Hanoverian regime. Any hope for success, however, depended on French support. This was rendered impossible by the death of Louis XIV on 1 September 1715, as France's ability to intervene was weakened by the minority succession of a young King Louis XV which followed his great grandfather's death. Militarily, George I's administration made short shrift of the English Jacobites who formed part of the 1715 rising. On 13 November the government entirely defeated the English rebels at Preston in Lancashire. Meanwhile, for his part, the rising's leader, James Francis Stuart, did nothing for two months, hoping for news that never came that a further rebellion had broken out in southern England. His hesitation was critical; when he finally landed in Scotland on 22 December all further hope had been lost.

Source B from *British History in Perspective — Jacobitism* by Murray Pittock (1998)

The new Hanoverian British state was barely established when it faced military threat under the leadership of the Earl of Mar in 1715. By mid-autumn Mar had marched south from Braemar passing through Glenshee before reaching the village of Kirkmichael. He had accumulated a vast host, almost the maximum size of army which could be recruited from the nation's population, yet his tendency to over-officer the Jacobite force was noticeable, resulting in disorganisation in the field of battle. Though outnumbering effective opposition by five to one, Mar delayed attempting to advance further from the Jacobite heartlands into Southern Scotland, waiting and waiting. He waited for French help, he waited for the Duke of Berwick, he waited for the King and he waited for yet more recruits. When at last Mar did commit to battle at Sheriffmuir it was with little effectiveness since he issued no orders and his cavalry became confused and separated.

Source C from *A Tour in Scotland* by Thomas Pennant published in 1771

The Highlanders are transformed into a hospitable people, full of generosity, and have a natural politeness to any weary traveller. This may partly be due to the positive impact of the Disarming Act, as a result of which the Highlanders' use of weapons and the clan chiefs' ability to assemble clans for war, which were both witnessed during the 1745 rebellion, have now ended. Indeed, in many parts of the Highlands the traditional way of life is beginning to change. As Highlanders have become less attached to their chiefs they migrate from their traditional lands to parts of the country where employment in new industries gives them much better protection than their chief now can. In addition, the trend of raising rents has now reached the Highlands. It is excessive. The clan chiefs squeeze the poor tenants. In much of the Highlands these actions are now showing a clear effect causing depopulation as large numbers of families have been obliged to give up the strong attachment the Highlanders have for their country and to exchange it for America.

Source D from *Enlightenment and Change, Scotland 1746 – 1832* by Bruce Lenman (2009)

The world of the Scottish nobility was one which Dundas knew and understood. He was able to influence the greatest in the land through tactical alliances, thus expanding his control of elections. For example, the indebted Lord Napier secured an increased pension from the state in exchange for loyalty to Dundas during elections. Dundas was also a man who respected strength. Faced with opposition from an MP he thought he could crush, his normal technique was to deprive the MP of the most minimal patronage, without which the unfortunate man lost income and standing in his constituency. In 1793 the office of President of the Board of Control was created for Dundas. He might just as well have been called Secretary of State for India. His enormous influence enabled him to export his countrymen in large numbers to India in exchange for their allegiance. Indian patronage was very important indeed in binding together Dundas's political empire.

Attempt ALL of the following questions.

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| 22. | How much do Sources A and B reveal about differing interpretations of the reasons for the failure of the 1715 rising? | 16 |
| 23. | Evaluate the usefulness of Source C as evidence of the reasons for change in Highland society during the second half of the 18 th century. | 12 |
| 24. | How fully does Source D explain the methods used by Henry Dundas to manage Scottish politics? | 12 |

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

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

25. How far can it be argued that the abolitionists were successful in the antebellum period? 25
26. ‘Compromise was impossible following Lincoln’s election as President in 1860.’
How valid is this view? 25
27. ‘It was not surprising that the Southern wartime economy found itself facing almost insurmountable obstacles.’
How valid is this view? 25
28. To what extent has General Robert E Lee’s reputation as a great military commander been exaggerated? 25
29. How far was Northern superiority in resources the most significant reason for Union victory in the American Civil War? 25

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

PART B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the following three questions.

Source A from *American Slavery* by Peter Kolchin (1993)

The most common punishment was whipping, and it was a rare slave who totally escaped the lash. A whipping could be a formal occasion — a public, ritualised display in which the sentence was carried out in front of an assembled throng — or a casual affair in which an ‘unruly’ slave was impulsively chastised. Despite the widespread expressions of repugnance for arbitrary and excessive punishment, the despotic power of master over slave inherent in slavery, which was a result of the close contact between master and slave, meant it was simply too easy for whites to react to the innumerable annoyances that slave relations produced by striking out at those in their power. The ultimate and most dreaded form of interference in slave life, however, was the forced separation of family members. There were numerous occasions, by no means all involving sale, in which slaves were forcibly removed, either temporarily or permanently, from their loved ones.

Source B from *Slavery* by Peter J Parish (1979)

One of the great problems in the debate over slavery has been to try and balance the recognition of the severity of slavery with the view that a distinctive slave culture not merely survived but prospered. Music, dance, song and story offer rich evidence of the separate, independent life which slaves lived alongside their other existence of dependence upon their owners which fostered a sense of community amongst the slaves: in their songs and spirituals it was possible to uphold cherished values. Christianity, spiced with elements of the African religious legacy, developed into a distinctive African-American religion, so that both spiritual leaders from within the slave community and Christian preachers were able to wield their influence. Emotional fervour and active participation were features of slave prayer meetings which were often held away from the eyes and ears of the whites, and which were quite separate from the ‘official’ religious services provided by the master. This all contributed to the survival of a distinct slave culture.

Source C from *Origins of the American Civil War* by Brian Holden Reid (1996)

In May 1854, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, drafted by Stephen Douglas, was passed into law by President Franklin Pierce. The passage of this Act enraged opinion leading many northerners to believe that it showed that the South always got what it wanted whatever obstacles were put in its way. There was an irony in this situation because the South did not want popular sovereignty. Northern men rallied to defend the system of free labour and the results of the 1854 mid-term elections revealed the true extent of Northern feeling as the Democratic Party suffered severely, losing control of the House of Representatives. The number of Democratic congressmen went down from 158 to 83 which was a massive defeat. Those who in the past had voted for the Whig Party, galvanised by their complete opposition to the Democrats, now had the option to give their vote to the various other political movements that emerged in 1854.

Source D from an article written by Frederick Douglass published in *Douglass' Monthly* in September 1861

What on earth is the matter with the American Government and people? Washington, the seat of Government, after ten thousand assurances to the contrary, is now positively in danger of falling before the rebel army. Our President, Governors, Generals and Secretaries are calling, with vehemence, for men. 'Men! Men! Send us men!' they scream. So why does the Government reject the Negro? Is he not a man? Can he not wield a sword, fire a gun, march and counter march, and obey orders like any other? We want to tell the President that this is no time to fight with one hand, when both are needed; that this is no time to fight only with your white hand and allow your black hand to remain tied. I believe that such soldiers, if allowed to take up arms in defence of the Government and made to feel that they are hereafter to be recognised as persons having rights, would set the highest example of order and general good behaviour to their fellow soldiers.

Attempt ALL of the following questions.

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| 30. | How much do Sources A and B reveal about differing interpretations of the nature of slavery in the antebellum South? | 16 |
| 31. | How fully does Source C explain the impact of the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854? | 12 |
| 32. | Evaluate the usefulness of Source D as evidence of the reasons for the decision to enact the Emancipation Proclamation in January 1863. | 12 |

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

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

33. To what extent was pressure from the arrival of Perry the most important external force for change in late Tokugawa Japan? 25
34. ‘A symbol of national identity rather than the possessor of real power.’
How valid is this assessment of the role of the Emperor, 1868 – 1920? 25
35. How significant was the abolition of the caste system in the modernisation of the social structure of Japan by 1914? 25
36. ‘Korea was a dagger pointed at Japan’s heart.’
How valid is the view that concern over Korea was the main cause of the war between Japan and China, 1894 – 1895? 25
37. How far can it be argued that Japan benefited from its involvement in World War I? 25

[Turn over

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

PART B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the following three questions.

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

The Bakufu depended upon the peasantry for its revenue and looked to its samurai for protection. However, as the Daimyo's need for money increased, he made heavier demands on his peasants. Let us glance at some of the burdens on peasants in late Tokugawa society. The taxes ate up to 50% to 70% of produce, and there were countless other taxes — such as a tax on doors. Small scale agriculture was the economic basis of the Tokugawa Shogunate as well as the Daimyo. The efforts of these rulers were bent toward encouraging increased agricultural production. In addition, with the penetration of the money economy into the countryside, the peasant could no longer obtain everything he needed purely by bartering. The peasants had to buy manure and fertiliser as well as agricultural implements. As the agrarian crisis became more chronic, revolts occurred with greater frequency and violence, often embracing the peasantry of several districts and contributing to a weakening of the Tokugawa regime.

Source B from *A History of Japan: From Stone Age to Superpower* by Kenneth Henshall (2004)

The warlord Tokugawa Ieyasu and his immediate successors were able to consolidate the unification process started during the latter half of the 16th century. They were able to revitalise the shogunate, which was then occupied by the Tokugawa family for two and a half centuries. However, over time significant internal changes took place, in particular, changes to the actual social order brought about by socio-economic developments which saw the general weakening of the now redundant samurai, who became bureaucrats in practice but also ironically became idealised. The main thrust of early Tokugawa policy had been to keep Japan as far as possible in a stable state of controlled orthodoxy. However, there was the emergence of a powerful merchant class, with a new, vibrant, bourgeois culture centred on this group. Furthermore, the promotion of Shintoism, intended to support orthodoxy and order, also ironically improved educational levels and critical thinking and through its emphasis on the emperor as supreme ruler it also raised questions as to the legitimacy of the shogunate.

Source C from *The Military Conscription Ordinance* issued by Yamagata Aritomo on 28 November 1872

Feudal conditions in Japan's past spread throughout the country, and there appeared among the people a distinction between farmer and soldier. Still later, the distinction between ruler and ruled collapsed, giving rise to the great Restoration of the Government. There followed a review of all systems. The Western countries established their military systems after several hundred years of study and experience. Thus, their regulations are exact and detailed. However, the difference in geography rules out their wholesale adoption here, at this time. It is essential that we should now select only what is good in Western ideas and use them to supplement our traditional military system. It is also vital that we establish a national army and a navy, thus the soldier is not the soldier of former days. The people are not the people of former days. We will order all males who attain the age of twenty — irrespective of class — to register for military service, and have them in readiness for all emergencies. Heads of communities and chiefs of villages should keep this aim in mind.

Source D from *The Rise of Modern Japan* by WG Beasley (2010)

Both sides had by then good reasons to end the struggle. Russia was facing revolution at home. Japan was unable any longer to sustain casualties and expenditure at existing levels. Accordingly, when America offered mediation, a truce was agreed, then a peace conference at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, held in August 1905. Japan's representative was Komura. His overriding aim was to secure for his country a position from which she could defend her mainland interests without outside help. Spelling this out, he had written in July 1904 that Korea 'must be brought effectively within the sphere of our sovereignty'. Japan gained Russian recognition of her freedom of action in Korea. This was despite Japan's relative weakness at the end of the war. She also secured the cession from Russia of the southern half of Sakhalin and took over the Russian lease of Liaotung. Komura had good cause to be pleased with the Treaty of Portsmouth, which he signed on 5 September 1905.

Attempt ALL of the following questions.

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| 38. | How much do Sources A and B reveal about differing interpretations of the nature of internal forces for change in late Tokugawa society? | 16 |
| 39. | Evaluate the usefulness of Source C as evidence of the nature of military changes that occurred during the Meiji period. | 12 |
| 40. | How fully does Source D explain the impact of the terms of the Treaty of Portsmouth on Japan following its defeat of Russia in 1905? | 12 |

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SECTION 6 — Germany: from democracy to dictatorship, 1918–1939Attempt **BOTH** parts**PART A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks**Attempt **TWO** questions.

41. How effectively did Ebert respond to challenges from the Left and the Right in Germany between 1919 and 1923? **25**
42. To what extent was Germany's position as a 'distrusted outcast' transformed by Stresemann's foreign policy between 1924 and 1929? **25**
43. 'The masterful exploitation of propaganda between 1929 and January 1933 was key to the achievement of power.'
How accurate is this view as an explanation of the appointment of Hitler as Chancellor in January 1933? **25**
44. To what extent is it an exaggeration to claim that Hitler was a strong dictator? **25**
45. 'The churches were the only major obstacle to the Nazi Party's attempt to control German society.'
How valid is this view of resistance to the regime between 1933 and 1939? **25**

[Turn over

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

PART B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the following three questions.

Source A from *The Weimar Republic* by Stephen J Lee (1998)

The politicians moved from Berlin to Weimar to escape the ongoing political tension on the streets of the capital. The Constitution of the new republic was drawn up in January 1919 and, following extensive debate, it became law on 11 August 1919. The framework of the Weimar Constitution was impeccably democratic. Article 54 stated that the Chancellor and Reich Ministers required the confidence of the Reichstag, with administrative continuity maintained by the civil service. The electoral system was as advanced as anywhere in Europe. It was based on the principles of universal suffrage. Weimar Germany had all the necessary components for democracy. There was even a device in Article 48 which could be used to safeguard democracy through the use of emergency presidential powers, should these be necessary. However, the all-important balance written into the Weimar Constitution was potentially flawed, in ways which could not have been apparent to those who framed the original document.

Source B from *The Death of Democracy* by Benjamin Carter-Hett (2018)

It was the Reichstag Fire of 27 February 1933 that changed the situation beyond recognition. Hitler's government claimed that the fire in the chamber of Germany's parliament, six days before the country was due to vote in yet another general election, was an act of terrorist arson, the opening act of a Communist uprising, which necessitated swift action. Van der Lubbe claimed that he and he alone had set all the fires in the Reichstag, including the devastating blaze in the main chamber. The following morning, seizing the emergency, the Cabinet passed, and Hindenburg signed, an executive order known formally as the Decree of the Reich President for the Protection of People and State, and informally as the Reichstag Fire Decree, giving the government the power to crack down on opponents and arrest thousands of people across the country. The Reichstag Fire Decree became the legal foundation for Hitler's twelve-year dictatorship, which some have called the constitution of Hitler's Reich.

Source C from *The Coming of the Third Reich* by Richard J Evans (2004)

In the Kroll Opera House, Hitler, now dressed like the other Nazi deputies in a brownshirt uniform, spoke to the Reichstag. Standing beneath a huge swastika banner, Hitler introduced the long-planned measure that would enable the Reich Chancellor to prepare laws that deviated from the Constitution without the approval of the Reichstag and without reference to the President. This 'Enabling Act' would have to be renewed after four years, and the existence of the Reichstag itself and the position of the Reich President was not to be affected. With the Enabling Act now in force, the Reichstag could effectively be dispensed with. From this point on, Hitler and his cabinet ruled by decree, either using President Hindenburg as a rubber-stamp, or bypassing him entirely as the Enabling Act allowed them to. As with the Reichstag Fire Decree, the Enabling Act was only meant to be a temporary piece of emergency legislation.

Source D from a speech by Robert Ley on 2 May 1933

Today we are opening the second chapter of the National Socialist revolution. You may say, 'You have absolute power, what more do you want?' True. We have power, but we do not yet have the whole nation, we do not yet have you workers 100 per cent, and it is you whom we need to help Germany recover. We will not leave you alone until you give us your entire and genuine support. You too shall be freed from the last Marxist chains, so that you may find your way. Mass assemblies are to be arranged for all trade union members and at these, it will be explained to you that the rights of the workers and employees are wholly guaranteed. Workers, I swear to you that we shall preserve everything which currently exists. For we know that without the German worker, there is no German nation . . . As soon as possible, we shall build up even further the protection of the worker's rights, so that he can proudly enter the new National Socialist state as a completely worthwhile and respected member of the national community.

Attempt ALL of the following questions.

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| 46. | How fully does Source A explain the democratic nature of the Weimar Constitution in 1919? | 12 |
| 47. | How much do Sources B and C reveal about differing interpretations of the nature of the Nazi Party's consolidation of power between 1933 and 1934? | 16 |
| 48. | Evaluate the usefulness of Source D as evidence of Nazi policies towards the workforce in Germany between 1933 and 1939. | 12 |

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

Attempt **BOTH** parts

PART A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks

Attempt **TWO** questions.

49. How important was the impact of the Boer War in driving British policy in South Africa between 1902 and 1910? 25
50. How far can it be argued that the South Africa Party's alienation of the white working class cost Smuts the 1924 election? 25
51. 'The whole South African economy depended on a permanent supply of Native labour.'
How valid is this view as an explanation of why apartheid policies were introduced between 1948 and 1955? 25
52. To what extent was the entrenchment of apartheid in the 1960s due to more radical African resistance to the state? 25
53. How important was the Cold War in shaping South African foreign relations between 1960 and 1984? 25

[Turn over

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

PART B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the following three questions.

Source A from the *Resolution against the Natives Land Act* issued by the South African Native National Congress in 1916

For a number of reasons, the Report of the Commission as it is presented for consideration by Parliament cannot be accepted as either a basis for the alleged intended territorial separation of the races or accepted as a fair application of the alleged principles of the Act. As a result, the Executive Committee is instructed to immediately launch a campaign for the collection of funds to finance this resolution against the Natives Land Act. A further measure that should be taken is that this resolution must respectfully be sent to the Governor-General, the Missionary Societies and other interested bodies, and to the Anti-Slavery Aborigines Protection Society. Also it is vital that the Chief Executive appoint a deputation of three to place this resolution before the Union Government at the earliest opportunity and also to lay the same before the Union Parliament next session. In spite of our previous promises not to take part in any agitation in connection with the recent Natives Land Act of 1913 we recognise that the Act is still in operation and has many detrimental effects on our people.

Source B from *The Super-Afrikaners: Inside the Afrikaner Broederbond* by Ivor Wilkins and Hans Strydom (2012)

It is difficult to find another event which stirred Afrikaner emotions more between the Anglo-Boer War and the Second World War than the symbolic oxwagon trek of 1938. The Afrikaner Broederbond, who had planned and organised it, had already established many organisations to foster Afrikaner culture and socio-economic improvement. They did not have the faintest idea the Trek would be such an overwhelming success. It served to reunite Afrikaners in one nationalism. A year after the Trek, war divided the Afrikaners and the Ossewabrandwag created a split in the National Party, but it was all temporary. Deep down the Afrikaners wanted unity, feeling increasingly oppressed by non-Afrikaners, and the symbolic trek emphasised this. When the war was over after 1945 the deep divisions healed and a political unity was found which led to victory through the ballot box. Looking back, it is impossible to see how this could have been achieved without the emotional binding force of the symbolic trek.

Source C from *Sharpeville: An Apartheid Massacre and its Consequences* by Tom Lodge (2011)

By the early 1970s, though, in the wider public domain created by literacy and town living, there was room for a different kind of politics in which ideology and comradeship would to an extent replace obedient respect for tribal leaders. It is in this setting that Black Consciousness (BC) remained weak with very restricted formal membership. A Black People's Convention established in 1972 could muster a modest forty-two branches a couple of years later. SASO's newsletter circulated among 4,000 subscribers. To become a social movement, though, Black Consciousness did not need legions of disciplined activists. Teachers, priests, and journalists spread its messages. These were the graduates from the universities, colleges and seminaries in which the movement began to grow. Seminaries were especially important, and the twenty local branches of the University Christian Movement with 3,000 members, mainly black by 1968, were probably the most influential agency of Black Consciousness during the early 1970s.

Source D from *The Making of Modern South Africa* by Nigel Worden (2012)

The relative calm of the end of the 1960s was underpinned by some economic improvement in the position of Africans, albeit on a limited scale. However, between 1973 and 1976 this process was brought to a halt. A drop in the gold price and heightened inflation mainly caused by an increase in the oil price introduced a period of recession which led to black protest and renewed labour conflict. Numerous strikes took place, involving over two hundred thousand black workers, particularly in Durban and the rest of Natal, but also in East London and parts of the Rand. Some national trade union organisation took place, but most of the strikes broke out at factory level in response to specific grievances. In Natal the high incidence of strike action, which was supported by Buthelezi, was explained by the ease of communication between workers in various different factories who commuted from the nearby KwaZulu Natal.

Attempt ALL of the following questions.

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| 54. | Evaluate the usefulness of Source A as evidence of the nature of resistance to segregation before 1939. | 12 |
| 55. | How fully does Source B explain the reasons for the growth of Afrikaner nationalism in the 1930s? | 12 |
| 56. | How much do Sources C and D reveal about differing interpretations of the reasons for the revival of resistance in the 1970s? | 16 |

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

Attempt **BOTH** parts

PART A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks

Attempt **TWO** questions.

57. To what extent were economic problems the main reason for the decline of the Tsarist state from 1914 to January 1917? 25
58. ‘The Whites proved incapable of winning mass support.’
How valid is this view of the reasons for White defeat in the Civil War? 25
59. How successful were the Five Year Plans in meeting their aims between 1928 and 1941? 25
60. How far can it be argued that Stalinist policies between 1928 and 1939 improved the status of women? 25
61. ‘Soviet victory in the Great Patriotic War was due to Stalin’s leadership.’
How valid is this view? 25

[Turn over

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

PART B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the following three questions.

Source A from an article by Alexander Kerensky, published in a London academic journal in 1932

Usually the cause of the February Revolution is seen as a continually growing collapse at the Front and continually increasing anarchy in the country. In actual fact, the history of this Revolution represents a curve of slow rise and later, sharp fall. Once the Provisional Government was established it was determined to avoid the danger of civil war breaking out in Russia, an ever-present danger due to the tensions unleashed by this Revolution which overthrew the Monarchy. The Workers and Peasants wanted their demands to be met immediately despite the trying conditions we found ourselves in due to the war with Germany. This was the cause of the huge strain our nation was under. After the February Revolution we were looking for a better way. Our Allies in the war were fighting for democracy and we were determined to be a democratic state. The Army of ten million men was dangerously divided between the peasant-soldiers who drifted leftwards and Officers who were mostly of bourgeois origin and as a result the Army was becoming increasingly fragmented.

Source B from *On Stalin's Team: The Years of Living Dangerously in Soviet Politics* by Sheila Fitzpatrick (2015)

Lenin died on 21 January 1924. At his funeral on 27 January all of the Politburo members were pallbearers. After this, jockeying for succession was well underway. It was an odd kind of contest. Trotsky was the obvious threat. His successful command of the Red Army during the Civil War made him easy to cast as a potential threat to taking power by using the military to launch a coup which the Bolsheviks took seriously from the example of Napoleon who became the despot following the French Revolution. Trotsky was not a natural organiser of political factions, being impatient, sarcastic and contemptuous of those he considered less intelligent and cultured than himself. He considered himself the Party's best Marxist theoretician, orator and visionary. His colleagues in the Politburo thought he was aiming for the leadership role and this made it easy for rivals such as Kamenev and Stalin to jointly work against him despite their own leadership ambitions.

Source C from *Revolutionary Russia, 1891 – 1991* by Orlando Figes (2014)

Stalin's power grew from his total control of the Party apparatus in the provinces of the Soviet Union. As chairman of the Secretariat, and the only Politburo member in the Orgburo, he could promote supporters in the provincial leadership of the Soviet Union and obstruct the careers of opponents. During 1922 alone more than 10,000 officials were appointed by the Orgburo and Secretariat to leadership roles. They were to be Stalin's main supporters in the struggle for the leadership against Trotsky, Zinoviev and Bukharin. Most, like Stalin, were from humble origins from the factory floor or peasant village. Mistrustful of intellectuals like Trotsky and Bukharin, they preferred to place their trust in Stalin's practical wisdom, with his simple calls for party unity and discipline. This social divide within the Communist Party would be crucial in the fight over power. Trotsky by promoting 'Permanent Revolution' was not able to gather support due to fears of war with the capitalist world.

Source D from *Stalin: Waiting for Hitler, 1928 – 1941* by Stephen Kotkin (2017)

Stalin was supreme leader by virtue of his position as head of the Party, but voting Politburo members had the right to nominate someone else as the top secretary of the party. His faction in the Politburo had stood by him through thick and thin, but would 'the voting nine' continue to be loyal? Even so, these considerations of personal power alone do not explain the terror. At times, Stalin could not be sure what would enhance his power but for him, terror constituted a form of rule, a matter of statecraft. Stalin was a liar, a chameleon who talked out of both sides of his mouth; he often said what his questioners wished to hear. But, more than any other dictator, except perhaps Hitler, he repeatedly explained himself. Stalin stated that he was building socialism against all manner of class enemies and that the class struggle sharpened as the country got closer to the full victory of socialism.

Attempt ALL of the following questions.

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| 62. | Evaluate the usefulness of Source A as evidence of the problems faced by the Provisional Government between February and October 1917. | 12 |
| 63. | How much do Sources B and C reveal about differing interpretations of the reasons why Trotsky lost the leadership struggle after the death of Lenin? | 16 |
| 64. | How fully does Source D explain the reasons for the Purges of the 1930s? | 12 |

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

Attempt BOTH parts

PART A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks

Attempt TWO questions.

65. To what extent was Spain ‘a country in crisis’ by the time of the resignation of Primo de Rivera in January 1930? 25
66. ‘Azaña’s reforms between 1931–1933 were revolutionary’.
How valid is this view? 25
67. How far was the creation of the Popular Front a reaction to the reversal of reforms during the Bienio Negro? 25
68. How important were Franco’s links to Germany and Italy in his rise to the leadership of the Nationalists? 25
69. How effective was Franco’s political system after his victory in 1939? 25

[Turn over

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

PART B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the following three questions.

Source A from *The Spanish Civil War* by Hugh Thomas (1961)

Mola's plans were soon made clear. Two branches of the plot, one civilian and one military, were to be set up in the main cities of Spain, the Balearic and Canary Isles and Spanish Morocco. Unlike some, Mola realised that the age of the old-style pronunciamiento was past: civilian support was necessary. The aim of the movement, declared Mola, was to establish 'order, peace and justice'. But it was obvious that the subsequent government he envisaged would be tougher, and more lasting, than Primo's directorate had ever been. In his pronunciamiento Mola envisaged no mere 'brief interruption' in the constitutional life of Spain as Primo had done. Mola stated 'All could take part in the rising except those who receive inspiration from abroad, socialists, freemasons, anarchists, communists, etc.' The provincial representatives were instructed to work out detailed plans for seizing public buildings in their localities, particularly lines of communication, and to prepare a declaration announcing a state of war.

Source B from *The Civil War in Spain* by Raymond Carr (1986)

If Malaga was a disaster for the Republic, the battle of Guadalajara in March 1937 appeared as its first spectacular victory. Intended to drive through to Madrid from the North East, the offensive was largely an Italian affair. Had it been combined with the Jarama offensive it is hard to see how the Republic could have supplied enough troops to avoid defeat. As it was, the operations were independent. General Roatta, in command of the Italians, believed that the easy conquest of Malaga could be repeated in a motorised Blitzkrieg. Many of the CTV were reluctant soldiers; none had seen combat and they were ill-prepared, some still wearing tropical clothes handed out for an expedition to Ethiopia. For the Left in Europe, Guadalajara was both a massive emotional experience and a political and diplomatic triumph. To the wider international community, Guadalajara now provided irrefutable proof of the extent of fascist intervention, made particularly obvious in the shape of Italian prisoners.

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

The battle of the Ebro followed a similar pattern to previous attempts by the Republicans to change the course of the war. A large army was especially formed following an extension of conscription to include younger and older men. The communist commanders requisitioned the best equipment they had available to launch the attack in the isolated Eastern zone. The largest air battles of the entire war happened on the Ebro front and the battle of the Ebro provided an opportunity for the Nationalists and their allies to destroy the Republican air force once and for all. In the first week, the Republicans had exhausted all their advantages of surprise, speed and audacity. Once again, a great Republican offensive collapsed because of a lack of follow-through due to wasting time on crushing points of enemy resistance instead of pushing on towards the main objective. Apart from the terrible loss of human life, almost all the weapons needed for the defence of Catalonia had been lost on this grotesque gamble.

Source D from Tommy Nicholson, a worker from Govan in Glasgow who volunteered for the International Brigades in 1937, recorded in the 1970s

Some of the young comrades want to know why men like me joined the International Brigades and went to fight in Spain. I worked in the Govan Wireworks and you couldn't but be active in the class struggle. Glasgow had a strong worker's movement and we all fervently believed in the emancipation of the working class across the world, to fight for a society where the workers rule their own lives and where production is undertaken to meet the needs of all. So, from the first rising of the Spanish workers, our hearts and minds were in Spain. We fought alongside them, even though we weren't there. I was anxious to get to Spain. Like many others, I believed that the whole future of humanity was being fought out there and either socialism or fascism would win through. That's why we felt we had to go. Spain became your lifeblood. I was not a member of the Communist Party, having disagreements with them, so I wasn't allowed to go. But, come 1937, when volunteers were badly needed, they relented.

Attempt ALL of the following questions.

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| 70. | How fully does Source A explain the involvement of different groups in the plans for a rising in 1936? | 12 |
| 71. | How much do Sources B and C reveal about differing interpretations of the importance of major battles during the Spanish Civil War? | 16 |
| 72. | Evaluate the usefulness of Source D as evidence of the reasons why people joined the International Brigades. | 12 |

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

Attempt **BOTH** parts

PART A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks

Attempt **TWO** questions.

73. To what extent had the Labour Party recovered from its political difficulties of the 1930s by the outbreak of the Second World War? **25**
74. ‘Britain prepared for war as well as any democracy could have been expected to.’
How justified is this view of Britain’s preparations for war by September 1939? **25**
75. ‘The contribution of the British Empire and its dominions was of utmost significance to the Allied war effort during the Second World War.’
How valid is this view? **25**
76. To what extent were advances in technology the decisive factor in the Allied victory in the Battle of the Atlantic? **25**
77. How successfully did the Labour Governments of 1945 to 1951 manage the economy? **25**

[Turn over

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

PART B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the following three questions.

Source A from *A Short History of the Labour Party* by Henry Pelling (1993)

The Coalition Government worked far more smoothly than that of the First World War. Churchill's ability to invigorate public opinion through BBC broadcasts gave him a popular support which Lloyd George a quarter of a century earlier could only obtain by the grace of the press barons. Churchill accepted the need for effective compromise between the political parties in the working out of domestic policies: a subject which really did not interest him very much while the war continued. As the Prime Minister's deputy, Attlee presided over Cabinets when Churchill was abroad; and as the need for high-level consultations with Allied leaders led Churchill to travel more frequently, Attlee's chairmanship became more and more practised and this heightened his stature with his own colleagues, especially with Bevin, who had little contact with him before 1940. The Labour ministers were also able to secure the passage of a limited amount of social legislation in the later part of the war.

Source B from *Their Darkest Hour, The Hidden History of the Home Front 1939 – 1945* by Stuart Hylton (2001)

During the Great War the Germans made 103 air raids on Britain killing over 1,400 people and injuring almost 4,000. These losses had a huge impact on the general public. The government set up the Anderson Committee to draw up evacuation plans in May 1938 but they were not approved until the end of October 1938. By then, there had already been an unofficial mini-evacuation in September 1938. The evacuation plans were developed very much in secret. Very little account was taken of the views of those whose cooperation would be vital to their success — the authorities in both the evacuating and the receiving areas, and the evacuee families themselves. The Anderson Committee failed to anticipate the hostility of working-class parents to the idea of sending their children to live with strangers. Across Britain the response to the policy met with mixed reactions from families, with only about a third of the expected number initially taking up the offer of evacuation.

Source C from *Half the Battle, Civilian Morale in Britain during the Second World War* by Robert MacKay (2002)

Although air raid sirens sounded in London within minutes of the expiry of Britain's ultimatum to Germany, it proved a false alarm. The Phoney War was a big anti-climax, an absolute confounding of everyone's expectations. The nation was at 'action stations', but the action refused to start. While the guns stayed silent an avalanche of official regulations descended on the nation. A strong case can be made for arguing that it was stressful for the people who found themselves being required to accommodate the escaping thousands in their homes. Hosts who were expecting to act as parent substitutes to one or two children aged between five and ten might be shocked to find themselves landed with a pair of strapping, streetwise teenagers. Sometimes there were difficulties arising out of differences in social attitudes and the social mismatching that occurred was mainly caused by poor city children being allocated to affluent rural hosts.

Source D from *As it Happened*, the memoirs of Clement Attlee, published in 1954

In the Second World War there had been far more equality of sacrifice than in the First World War. Profiteering had been repressed, rationing had been better managed and very heavy taxation had been imposed. However, during these post-war years a peaceful revolution has taken place. Broadly speaking, there has been a welcome levelling up of conditions with the great mass of abject poverty disappearing as a result of the development of the social services. This was a principal factor in this change, but there are many others; our policy of universal healthcare was an essential part of post-war reconstruction. Inevitably, there has been a worsening for some people. The big country house with its retinue of servants is disappearing. There is also, today, a far wider range of opportunity. There is a far better chance for capable persons of getting a full education and of developing their faculties. Here the foundations were laid by the Education Act of the wartime Government, but it fell to the Labour Government to see that it was implemented.

Attempt ALL of the following questions.

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| 78. | How fully does Source A explain the impact of Labour ministers in the wartime Coalition Government? | 12 |
| 79. | How much do Sources B and C reveal about differing interpretations of the impact of evacuation on British society during the Second World War? | 16 |
| 80. | Evaluate the usefulness of Source D as evidence of the achievements of the post-war Labour Governments' social policy by 1951. | 12 |

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