

# X259/13/01

NATIONAL  
QUALIFICATIONS  
2014

WEDNESDAY, 7 MAY  
1.00 PM – 4.00 PM

HISTORY  
ADVANCED HIGHER

Candidates should answer **two** questions from **Part 1** and **all** the questions in **Part 2** of their chosen field of study.

### *Field of Study*

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**(1) Northern Britain from the Romans to AD 1000**

**Part 1**

**Answer TWO questions.**

**Each question is worth 25 marks.**

1. How far do you agree with the view that the Roman frontiers in North Britain were nothing more than symbols of power?
2. To what extent had a distinctive Pictish identity developed by the 8th century?
3. To what extent were geographical factors the main obstacle to the conversion of the natives to Christianity in Northern Britain?
4. “Their impact on native society was immense.” How valid is this view of the impact of the Vikings on the natives of Northern Britain between the 8th and 10th centuries?
5. How far can it be argued that Scotland was a united nation by 1000 AD?

**(2) Scottish Independence (1286–1329)**

**Part 1**

**Answer TWO questions.**

**Each question is worth 25 marks.**

1. “By the time of King Alexander III’s death, royal authority in Scotland was secure and relations with England were good.” How accurate is this view?
2. How valid is the view that the Guardians mishandled the succession crisis between 1286 and 1292?
3. How important was Scottish resistance in undermining King Edward I’s control of Scotland between 1297 and 1298?
4. To what extent were divisions amongst the Scots the main reason for the collapse of all Scottish resistance by 1305?
5. To what extent were the successes of the Scots in war between 1314 and 1328 due to King Robert’s “military genius”?

**(3) The Renaissance in Italy in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries**

**Part 1**

**Answer TWO questions.**

**Each question is worth 25 marks.**

1. How valid is the view that the use of perspective was the most important artistic innovation of the Italian Renaissance?
2. How far can it be argued that the achievements of Lorenzo de' Medici rivalled those of his grandfather Cosimo?
3. To what extent did Venice owe its cultural and artistic achievements to its geographical position?
4. How far did the invasion of Italy in 1494 by Charles VIII of France achieve its aims?
5. "The most convincing explanation of the artistic dominance of Rome during the High Renaissance lies in the exceptional wealth of the papacy." How justified is this comment?

**(4) Georgians and Jacobites: Scotland (1715–1800)**

**Part 1**

**Answer TWO questions.**

**Each question is worth 25 marks.**

1. “The 1715 rebellion in Scotland was the result of a private decision taken by the Earl of Mar because of his personal circumstances.” How valid is this explanation of the reasons for the 1715 Jacobite rebellion?
2. How important was the Treaty of Union to the growth of Scotland’s economy during the eighteenth century?
3. How far can it be argued that standards of living improved in Scotland in the eighteenth century?
4. How valid is it to describe Scotland’s political status in the first half of the eighteenth century as “semi-independent”?
5. “In truth, it was as much Edinburgh, as Scotland, that changed the world.” How valid is this view of the achievements of the Scottish Enlightenment?

**(5) “The House Divided”: The USA (1850–1865)**

**Part 1**

**Answer TWO questions.**

**Each question is worth 25 marks.**

1. To what extent were the actions of politicians the most significant reason for the tensions created by territorial expansion in the period between 1850 and 1858?
2. “Lincoln misread the South in 1860 and early 1861.” To what extent was Lincoln responsible for the failure to avoid secession and the outbreak of civil war following his election as President?
3. How far can it be argued that popular patriotism was the most significant reason why men from the North and the South signed up to fight during the Civil War?
4. How justified is the view that the Civil War had a greater impact on women in the South than in the North?
5. To what extent has the importance of Northern industrial strength been exaggerated as an explanation for Union victory?

**(6) Japan: From Medieval to Modern State (1850s–1920)**

**Part 1**

**Answer TWO questions.**

**Each question is worth 25 marks.**

1. How valid is the view that Shintoism was the most important religion in Tokugawa society before 1860?
2. How far can it be argued that pressures from America were mainly responsible for the collapse of Tokugawa rule in 1868?
3. To what extent was the contribution of foreigners crucial to the transformation of Japan's educational system after 1868?
4. "The Korean peninsula was the main focus of Japan's initial expansionist impulse." How valid is this view as a reason for the war between Japan and China in 1894–5?
5. How justified is the view that Japan benefited from the First World War?

**(7) Germany: Versailles to the Outbreak of the Second World War**

**Part 1**

**Answer TWO questions.**

**Each question is worth 25 marks.**

1. How effectively did Ebert deal with threats from the Left and Right between 1918 and 1923?
2. How far can it be argued that in the period 1924–29 Germany became ‘a republic without republicans’?
3. To what extent has the role of propaganda been exaggerated in the Nazis’ rise to power between 1928 and January 1933?
4. How successful were Nazi economic policies between 1933 and 1939?
5. “By 1939 the Nazis had succeeded in creating a racial state.” How valid is this view of the Nazis’ attempt to create a *Volksgemeinschaft* (‘People’s community’) between 1933 and 1939?

**(8) South Africa (1910–1984)**

**Part 1**

**Answer TWO questions.**

**Each question is worth 25 marks.**

1. To what extent has the “common ground” demonstrated by Smuts and Hertzog in the creation of the United Party in 1934 been exaggerated?
2. How far was South Africa’s involvement in the Second World War the main reason for the United Party’s electoral defeat in 1948?
3. How valid is the view that apartheid originated in order to sustain white political supremacy?
4. How important a part did the Defiance Campaign play in the development of African resistance in the 1950s?
5. How important was the media in prompting white opposition to apartheid?

**(9) Soviet Russia (1917–1953)**

**Part 1**

**Answer TWO questions.**

**Each question is worth 25 marks.**

1. To what extent was social unrest the main cause of the February Revolution?
2. “The revolution was truly popular and profoundly democratic.” How valid is this view of the October Revolution?
3. “Bolshevik foreign policy failed.” How valid is this view of Bolshevik foreign policy between 1917 and 1924?
4. To what extent was Stalin’s policy of industrialisation driven by ideology?
5. How far can it be argued that Stalin was “the architect of Soviet victory” in the Great Patriotic War?

**(10) The Spanish Civil War: Causes, Conflict and Consequences (1923–1945)**

**Part 1**

**Answer TWO questions.**

**Each question is worth 25 marks.**

1. “It was the personal unpopularity of the King himself which brought down the monarchy.” How valid is this explanation of Alfonso XIII’s downfall in 1931?
2. How far can it be argued that Azaña’s reforms 1931–1933 were “revolutionary”?
3. To what extent was Britain’s policy of non-intervention motivated by a desire to avoid anything which might “bolster up communism in Spain”?
4. To what extent has the contribution of the International Brigades to the Republican war effort been exaggerated?
5. How far was Franco’s control of the Right during the Spanish Civil War due to his political abilities?

**(11) Britain at War and Peace (1939–1951)**

**Part 1**

**Answer TWO questions.**

**Each question is worth 25 marks.**

1. How well prepared were the British Government and its people when war broke out in 1939?
2. “He was indispensable and completely irreplaceable.” How valid is this view of Churchill’s wartime leadership?
3. How important were technological developments in Britain’s eventual victory in the Battle of the Atlantic?
4. How significant was the impact of the Second World War on Britain’s industrial labour force?
5. “Bevin was tragically miscast as Labour’s Foreign Secretary.” How valid is this view of Bevin as Foreign Secretary in the post-war Labour Government?

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## (1) Northern Britain from the Romans to AD 1000

### Part 2

**Study the sources below and answer the three questions which follow.**

**SOURCE A** from *Origins, Scotland to 1100 AD* by Katherine Forsyth in *Scotland, A History* edited by J Wormald (2005)

In the early centuries of the first millennium, native society was undergoing profound political and social change. We see in the heightened development of social inequality and hierarchy the emergence of a “chiefdom society”. The appearance of souterrains in the eastern mainland is but one reflection of on-going attempts to maximise the extraction of wealth from the land and concentrate it in the hands of the few. All over Scotland, small scale power structures founded on face-to-face relations were being superseded by far-reaching systems of control, distant authority delegated to local leaders in return for a share of the tribute. Hierarchies within a settlement were replaced by new hierarchies between settlements, major centres controlling dependent sites. Political units however, remained comparatively small. Identity was vested at the level of the tribe whose members might have numbered only a few thousand. The great tribal confederacies, glimpsed in the classical sources, were loose and ephemeral, a response to the intervention of the Roman Army and lasting only as long as the military threat.

**SOURCE B** from *Beyond the Brochs: Changing Perspectives on the Atlantic Scottish Iron Age* by Ian Armit (1991)

From the mid first millennium we see increasing adoption of elaborate personal ornament, often displaying contact with widespread areas of influence including Ireland and Northumbria. The increasing emphasis on the elaboration of personal ornament, coming after the demise of monumental architecture, may indicate power relationships were negotiated more often on a face to face basis. Material culture plays an important symbolic function . . . with power being held by a few centres over wide areas. It may be that personal ornament, denoting relationships with central authorities, would be used to communicate authority through intermediaries in the administration of power . . . Unlike monumental structures such as broch towers, which would demonstrate autonomy and local strength, personal ornament would be a symbol of authority without any suggestion of independent power. Personal ornament could communicate, far more easily than domestic architecture, the subtleties of power, legitimacy and dependency in the emerging kingdoms of the later first millennium.

**SOURCE C** from Calgacus' "*Speech to the Troops*" in *The Agricola* by Publius Cornelius Tacitus (written c.98 AD)

Now . . . the furthest limits of Britain are thrown open, and the unknown always passes for the marvellous. But there are no tribes beyond us, nothing indeed but waves and rocks, and the yet more terrible Romans, from whose oppression escape is vainly sought by obedience and submission. Robbers of the world, having by their universal plunder exhausted the land, they rifle the deep. If the enemy be rich, they are rapacious; if he be poor, they lust for dominion; neither the east nor the west has been able to satisfy them. Alone among men they covet with equal eagerness poverty and riches. To robbery, slaughter, plunder, they give the lying name of empire; they make a solitude and call it peace . . . Nature has willed that every man's children and kindred should be his dearest objects. Yet these are torn from us by conscriptions to be slaves elsewhere. Our wives and our sisters, even though they may escape violation from the enemy, are dishonoured under the names of friendship and hospitality.

**SOURCE D** from *Scotland, From Prehistory to the Present* by Fiona Watson (2003)

The Scots in this period are more generally thought of as Irish, for the simple reason that the traditional story has them arriving from Ireland to settle in and around Argyll around 300 AD in order to join the Picts in their struggle against the Romans. This story relates that Fergus Mor mac Eirc, an Antrim prince, established his new kingdom in Argyll itself, Knapdale, Kintyre and Cowal. His descendants founded various families, or clans, the main ones being the Cenel nGabrain, the Cenel nOengusa and the Cenel Loairn. According to a remarkable document the *Senchus Fer nAlban*, these clans could muster at least 1500 men. Given the importance of sea power, the fighting unit was not a soldier for land battalions, but an oarsman for boats . . . The people of the Scottish kingdom of Dal Riata had very close relations with their nearest neighbours across the water, both politically and culturally.

*Marks*

1. How much do **Sources A** and **B** reveal about differing views of the ways in which social status was demonstrated in the Late Iron Age? **16**
  2. How useful is **Source C** as evidence of Rome's aims in Northern Britain during the Flavian period? **12**
  3. How fully does **Source D** explain the origins of the Scots? **12**
- (40)**

## (2) Scottish Independence (1286–1329)

### Part 2

**Study the sources below and answer the three questions which follow.**

**SOURCE A** from *Kingship and Unity* by GWS Barrow (1981)

Towards the end of 1292 the court, after many and lengthy adjournments, declared that Scotland, as a true kingdom, was not to be divided. John Balliol would be awarded the throne. Edward I lost no time in making it clear that relations between the new king and the English crown would be radically different from what had been the case in King Alexander III's time. It was precisely as if the court of claims had in fact divided Scotland and awarded Balliol no more than the courtesy title of 'king'. Not only did John have to do homage and swear fealty and record these ceremonies several times over, but he was also made to repudiate the Treaty of Birgham . . . Most ominously, King John was compelled to appear in person at the English parliament to answer for his own court's decisions, against which appeals were now to be allowed to go from Scotland to England.

**SOURCE B** from *The Knights of the Scottish Wars of Independence* by Chris Brown (2008)

Defeat at the Battle of Dunbar in 1296 was not the only factor to weaken the position of King John. From the outbreak of the war, he had not enjoyed the support of all the important sources of leadership and manpower in his kingdom. A number of important figures in the political community of Scotland chose to serve in Edward I's army. The Lord of Annandale chose to support Edward, possibly in the hope of being chosen as the successor to King John. The Annandale and Carrick tenants who held property from the Bruce family must surely have been influenced by this decision, thus reducing the number of men-at-arms available to turn out in the Balliol cause. When John Balliol was acknowledged as King of Scots the opinion of freeholders and burgesses of local political communities would not have been a matter of great concern to the temporal and spiritual magnates who formed what we might term the political community. In 1296, there was not only a lack of resistance in the field, but Edinburgh, a major castle, surrendered after a brief siege.

**SOURCE C** from the *Chronicle of John of Fordun* (late fourteenth century)

In 1308, John Comyn and Philip Mowbray with a great many Scots and English were again gathered together at Inverurie. But when King Robert heard of this, though he had not yet got rid of his sickness, he arose from his bed and commanded his men to arm him and set him on horseback. When the opposing army saw him they were all afraid and fled.

So when the rout was over and the enemy was overthrown and scattered, King Robert ravaged the earldom of Buchan with fire; and of the people, he killed whom he would, and to those whom he would have live, he granted life and peace. Moreover, even as he had been most unlucky in the outcome of earlier battles, so afterwards there could not have been found a man more fortunate in his fights. And from that day the king gained ground, while the opposition was daily losing confidence.

**SOURCE D** from *Independence and Nationhood, 1306–1469* by Alexander Grant (1984)

King Robert could not ignore the Papal Bulls excommunicating him and placing an interdict prohibiting almost all religious activity in Scotland. In May 1320, three letters were sent to the pope, the most important of which was the “Declaration of Arbroath”. It was designed to prove the Scots were fighting a just war against unjust English aggression, “not for glory, nor riches, nor honours, but for freedom alone, which no good man gives up except with his life”; also to justify Robert I’s kingship which was supported by the whole united community, but only while he upheld the cause of independence; and to request the pope to urge Edward II to leave the Scots in peace. The Declaration was a piece of political rhetoric intended to defuse a particular diplomatic crisis. It is, nevertheless, a brilliant, inspiring and justly famous assertion of Scottish independence. However, it impressed the pope in 1320 less than it does most modern Scots.

- |  | <i>Marks</i> |
|--|--------------|
| 1. How much do <b>Sources A</b> and <b>B</b> reveal about differing views on the degree of influence that King Edward I had in Scottish affairs during the reign of King John? | <b>16</b>    |
| 2. How useful is <b>Source C</b> as evidence of the reasons for the victory of King Robert in the Scottish civil war 1306–1309?  | <b>12</b>    |
| 3. How fully does <b>Source D</b> explain the political and diplomatic ways in which King Robert attempted to consolidate his authority in Scotland by 1320?                   | <b>12</b>    |
|  | <b>(40)</b>  |

### (3) The Renaissance in Italy in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries

#### Part 2

Study the sources below and answer the three questions which follow.

**SOURCE A** from *In Praise of the City of Florence* by Leonardo Bruni (c. 1403–4)

Florence is of such a nature that a more distinguished or more splendid city cannot be found on the entire earth. Your founder is the Roman people, conqueror and lord of all the world. What nation in the entire world was ever more distinguished, more powerful, more outstanding in every sort of excellence than the Roman people? So by right of inheritance the lordship of the whole world belongs to you too, Florentines. It follows that all the wars waged by the Florentine people are just wars. This most splendid Roman colony was founded at the very height of the rule of the Roman people . . . Men like Caesar, Antony, Tiberius, Nero, the plague and ruin of the republic, had not yet destroyed liberty. I believe that this is why it has been and is true that of all the peoples, the Florentines appreciate liberty most and are the greatest enemies of tyrants. Great care is taken so that justice is held most sacred in the city. There is provision for freedom, without which this great people would not even consider that life was worth living.

**SOURCE B** from the notebooks of Leonardo da Vinci (early sixteenth century)

You [poets] have set painting among the mechanical arts! Truly were painters as ready as you are to praise their own works in writing, I doubt whether it would endure the stigma of so base a name. If you call it mechanical because it is by manual work that the hands represent what the imagination creates, your writers set down with the pen by manual work what originates in the mind. And if you call it mechanical because it is done for money, who falls into this error—if error it can be called—more than you yourselves? If you lecture for the Schools, do you not go to whoever pays you the most? Do you do any work without some pay? Yet I do not say this in blame of such views, for every labour looks for its reward. And if a poet should say I will write a story which signifies great things, the painter can do likewise, for even so Apelles painted the Calumny.

**SOURCE C** from *The Italian Renaissance: Culture and Society in Italy* by Peter Burke (1972)

As in the case of training, so in status the creative elite formed two cultures, with literature and humanism enjoying more respect than the visual arts and music. Renaissance artists were an example of what sociologists call “status dissonance”. Some of them achieved high status, others did not. Artists were respected by some of the noble and powerful, but they were despised by others. The status insecurity which naturally resulted may explain the touchiness of certain individuals, such as Michelangelo. The status of artists and writers was higher in Florence than in other parts of Italy; and higher in the sixteenth century than in the fifteenth. By the middle of the sixteenth century it was no longer extraordinary for artists to have some knowledge of the humanities; the distinction between the two cultures was breaking down. The social mobility of painters and sculptors is symbolized if not confirmed by the appearance of the term “artist” in more or less its modern meaning.

**SOURCE D** from *Representations of Power* by Edward Muir (2004)

Rulers in Renaissance Italy recognized that power must catch the eye. The evocative representation of power in works of art and public ceremonies has long been recognized as a hallmark of Italian Renaissance culture. Jacob Burckhardt’s famous phrase, “the state as a work of art”, epitomized his view that the naked exercise of power required the legitimisation supplied by patronage of the arts and sponsorship of festivals . . . Renaissance courts bore the distinguishing marks of the prince’s personality. Privately courts were as restricted by rules of behaviour as the papacy, but they were not as wedded to a strict regime of ritual performances. Princes guaranteed their lasting fame through the ability to perpetuate themselves through dynastic succession and marriage to other noble courts. The source of power of the princely court consisted of aristocratic blood, which set the prince’s family and court apart from common subjects. Courts were places where the talented might find patronage and even social promotion no matter how common their social background.

	<i>Marks</i>
1. How useful is <b>Source A</b> as evidence of Florentine values during the Italian Renaissance?	<b>12</b>
2. How much do <b>Sources B</b> and <b>C</b> reveal about differing views of the status of the artist during the Italian Renaissance?	<b>16</b>
3. How fully does <b>Source D</b> explain the exercise of power in the princely courts of the Italian Renaissance?	<b>12</b>
	<b>(40)</b>

#### (4) Georgians and Jacobites: Scotland (1715–1800)

##### Part 2

Study the sources below and answer the three questions which follow.

**SOURCE A** from Lord Elcho's contemporary journal, *A Short Account of the Affairs of Scotland in the Years 1744, 45 and 46*.

The Prince formed a council which met regularly every morning. The Prince in this council used always first to declare what he was for, and then he asked everybody's opinion in their turn. One third of the council believed that the Prince could not think wrong, always confirming whatever he said. The other two thirds of the council who thought that the Prince was capable of making mistakes disagreed when they believed they must. This was often. If not for the council, his blundering would have caused great harm to the cause.

The Prince could not bear to listen to anyone who disagreed with him, and held a dislike against anyone who did so. He commanded his army as if they were mercenaries, letting them know only what he pleased, and they were to obey without enquiring further about the matter, yet demanding total loyalty. This may have been acceptable if his favoured advisors were Scots, but they were Irish with nothing at stake. The Scots that have everything at stake, wanted to give the best advice they were capable of, and thought they were entitled to be consulted in what was good for the Cause, but the Prince, when he found his views were not always approved of, would have abolished the council long before he did so.

**SOURCE B** from *Literacy and Learned Culture* by Alexander Murdoch and Richard B Sher (2004)

This was the age of the obvious decline of Gaelic. In the lowlands Gaelic became a sign of backwardness if not barbarism. To be a Gaelic speaker marked one out as outside and below in terms of culture and class. Yet the eighteenth century is considered the great age of Scottish Gaelic poetry, when lovely poems of romance, faith, joy, sadness and celebration of the land were produced by a variety of poets.

If educated Lowlanders were deaf to these achievements the reasons must be sought not only in their ignorance of Gaelic—which virtually none of them understood—but in their general preconceptions about Gaelic culture. It was not that Gaelic culture was considered inherently inferior; it was that its poetic genius was thought to be limited to the expression of primitive thoughts and emotions.

**SOURCE C** from *The Gentleman Farmer* by Henry Home, Lord Kames (1774)

There certainly never was in Scotland a period when good lessons in husbandry were more seasonable than at present. How could a landholder be employed more profitably for his country than by encouraging his tenants to copy him? My purpose is to outline the imperfect state of Scotch farming. Custom and tradition prevail. We stop a little to consider the disadvantages of small and ill-fed horses, common in Scotland. Our soil and climate are capable of producing fine horses which are good workers and singularly hardy. Yet the breed is neglected and they are commonly miserable creatures without strength. Shallow ploughing is universal, without regard to the depth of soil. Though the soil can be ten or twelve inches deep, Scotch farmers are satisfied with but half that! There is a continual struggle for superiority between corn and weeds. Farmers do not see that it is pointless to fertilise land overrun with weeds. Do they not see that the fertiliser they spread encourages weeds as much as corn? Tour throughout Scotland and you will see stubborn weeds in every corner scattering their seed and fouling the ground.

**SOURCE D** from *Scottish Society 1707–1830* by Christopher Whatley (2000)

“Improvers”, landowners such as John Cockburn of Ormiston and progressive lairds who included urban merchants and lawyers, were common enough and in 1723 the Society for Improving the Knowledge of Agriculture was formed. With rising prices in the 1760s there was a marked acceleration in the pace of change in Scottish agriculture in both this and the subsequent decade, which in turn, produced substantial social dislocation. Enclosure was widespread, altering the appearance of the landscape by the creation of neat fields and compact single farms separated by hedge, ditch and dyke. By the time the Statistical Accounts were compiled in the 1790s, significant advances had been made in the Lowland counties in central Scotland. Improving leases which were lengthy, detailed and prescriptive, were used in increasing numbers. Tenants were considerably more likely to be evicted for rent arrears after 1760 than they were at the turn of the century.

*Marks*

1. How useful is **Source A** as evidence for investigating reasons for the failure of the 1745 rebellion? **12**
2. How fully does **Source B** explain the attitudes amongst Lowland Scots towards Highland culture? **12**
3. How much do **Sources C** and **D** reveal about differing views on the state of Scottish agriculture in the eighteenth century? **16**

**(40)**

(5) “The House Divided”: The USA (1850–1865)

Part 2

Study the sources below and answer the three questions which follow.

**SOURCE A** from *The Blessings of Slavery* by George Fitzhugh, a Virginian lawyer (1857)

The negro slaves of the South are the happiest and freest people in the world. The free laborer must work or starve. He is more of a slave than the negro, because he works longer and harder for less allowance than the slave, and has no holiday, because the cares of life with him begin when his labors end. He has no liberty and not a single right. The negro men and stout boys work, on the average, in good weather, no more than nine hours a day and they have their Sabbaths and holidays. The negro children, the aged and infirm work not at all, and yet have all the comforts and necessaries of life provided for them. They enjoy liberty, because they are oppressed neither by care or labor. Our negroes are confessedly better off than any free laboring population in the world.

**SOURCE B** from *Some thoughts for the President's Consideration*, a Memorandum from Secretary Seward, April 1, 1861

We are at the end of a month's administration, and yet without a policy either domestic or foreign. This has been unavoidable given the need to address the applications for patronage [political appointments]. But further delay to adopt and prosecute our policies for both domestic and foreign affairs would not only bring scandal on the administration, but danger upon the country. To do this we must dismiss the applicants for office. I suggest that we make the local appointments forthwith, leaving foreign or general ones for occasional action.

I am aware that my views are singular, (but) the domestic policy should be a ruling one, namely, that we must change the question before the public from one upon slavery, or about slavery, for a question upon union or disunion: in other words, from what would be regarded as a party question, to one of patriotism or union.

For foreign nations, I would demand explanations from Spain, France and Britain, and send agents to rouse a vigorous continental spirit of independence on this continent against European intervention.

**SOURCE C** from *Team of Rivals; The Political Genius of Abraham Lincoln* by Doris Kearns Goodwin (2009)

Even as the dust began to settle on Lincoln’s victory in 1860, the President-elect never lost sight of the intricate task he faced in building a cabinet that would preserve the integrity of the Republican Party in the North, while providing the fairest possible representation for the South. Lincoln made clear his determination to create a “compact body” by drawing his former rivals into “his official household.” Lincoln corresponded with a wide range of politicians and listened carefully to their suggestions for his cabinet. In the end he alone would solve the “intensified crossword puzzle in which party loyalty and service, personal fitness, geographical location and a dozen other factors have to be taken into account and made to harmonize.” Lincoln determined to give Seward the premier post of Secretary of State. Seward however harboured more elaborate ambitions. While Lincoln desired a cabinet that stitched together the various factions of the Republican Party, Seward believed the cabinet should be dominated by former Whigs like himself. The Whig Party had provided nearly two thirds of Lincoln’s total vote.

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

Three colored regiments, originally known as the Louisiana Native Guards, led six furious assaults on the Confederate entrenchments at Port Hudson on May 27, 1863. Little more than a week later, four under-strength black regiments held a federal fort at Milliken’s Bend, Louisiana, with such stubbornness that even the commander of the Confederate attackers had to acknowledge the incredible black contribution to the Union forces on the battlefield, admitting that “our charge was resisted by the negro portion of the enemy’s force with considerable obstinacy.”

“There is a fiery energy about them beyond anything of which I have ever seen or read,” Thomas Wentworth Higginson testified about his regiment of black men on the battlefield.

In time, white soldiers in the ranks joined in the compliments. “I have often heard men say that they would not fight beside a negro soldier” wrote a private in the Eighty-ninth Illinois after the battle of Nashville in December 1864, “but . . . the whites and blacks charged together and they fell just as well as we did.”

*Marks*

1. How useful is **Source A** as evidence of the debate over slave conditions in ante-bellum Southern society? **12**
  2. How much do **Sources B** and **C** reveal about the differing interpretations of the challenges facing Lincoln between 1861 and 1863? **16**
  3. How fully does **Source D** explain the black contribution to both sides during the American Civil War? **12**
- (40)**

## (6) Japan: From Medieval to Modern State (1850s–1920)

### Part 2

**Study the sources below and answer the three questions which follow.**

**SOURCE A** from *The Emergence of Modern Japan* by Janet Hunter (1999)

The early 1880s witnessed the founding of political parties that could look forward to constitutional politics and the possibility of real influence. Two major parties were formed within a short space of time in the hope of influencing the content of the promised constitution. The first was the Jiyuto founded by Itagaki in October 1881. Itagaki remained the leading light of the popular rights movement throughout the 1880s. The Jiyuto's ideology was strongly influenced by the thoughts of Rousseau and other French thinkers. It called for the extension of liberty, equality and happiness, but beyond that remained distinctly vague. Itagaki hoped to pressurize the government into making the new constitution as liberal as possible, provided by a legislature with wide powers and responsibilities, elected by a majority of people. Okuma soon followed Itagaki. Early in 1882 he and his followers founded a second party, the Kaishinto. The core membership comprised discontented intellectuals, ex-bureaucrats and personal followers of Okuma. The party retained throughout an urban basis. The Kaishinto's ideals emphasized "moderation" by comparison with the Jiyuto.

**SOURCE B** from *The Peace Preservation Ordinance and the first Meiji Diet, 1890–1892* by R.H.P. Mason (1998)

The Peace Preservation Ordinance consisted of seven articles. According to this Ordinance, secret societies and secret meetings were banned. In addition, the police were given full powers to halt meetings at their own discretion. The authorities were given permission to take action against any publication of books or pictures that were designed to disturb the peace and, within Tokyo, ultimately empowered to order known or alleged trouble-makers to remove themselves from the centre of Tokyo at short notice.

The Peace Preservation Ordinance enforced in 1887 was pre-eminently a practical, non-ideological measure. Its immediate goal and impact were to relieve the Government of the day of some of the direct pressure currently being applied by its political opponents in the form of inflammatory newspaper articles, speeches and meetings, petitions and demonstrations, and personal harassment of ministers of state and other high officials.

There is no doubt that the Peace Preservation Ordinance was strikingly successful in its immediate goal of checking the activities of the opposition, particularly in Tokyo. Five hundred and seventy opposition politicians, mainly Liberals, were forced to leave the central metropolitan district. Some argued that the Ordinance had some positive virtues; that it was responsible for the current state of tranquil domestic public order and the good name Japan thereby enjoyed overseas.

**SOURCE C** from *Modern Japan: A Historical Survey* by Mikiso Hane (1972)

Industrialisation created new jobs for people but it also imposed new hardships. In traditional Japan the relationship between the employer and the employee was assumed to be one of benevolence and kindness from above and loyalty and obedience from below. The new industrialism that came into existence in Meiji Japan changed this relationship into a strictly business transaction. Some wily employers might have rationalized their exploitation of the workers in terms of traditional values of benevolence and loyalty, but as factories grew in size, it became clear that personal contacts between the employer and employee could not be maintained. As a result, what frequently came to prevail was unrestrained exploitation. In the textile factories and the mines, conditions were particularly bad, and there was extensive exploitation of female labour. Nine out of ten workers in weaving sheds and silk filatures were women, and in the cotton spinning mills at the turn of the century 80 percent of the operatives were women. In 1897, 49 percent of the workers in these factories were girls less than 20 years of age.

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

When the enemy's fleet first appeared our squadrons adopted the strategy of awaiting him and striking at him in our home waters. As the Russian fleet advanced, the main squadron headed south-west, and made as though it would cross the enemy's course at right angles; but at five minutes past two o'clock the squadron suddenly turned east, and bore down on the head of the enemy's column in a diagonal direction. The armoured cruiser squadron followed in the rear of the main squadron, and in accordance with the previously arranged plan of action, steered south to attack the rear of the enemy's column.

At the end of the battle, casualties throughout the whole fleet were 116 killed and 538 wounded. There was no great difference in the strengths of the opposing forces in this action. If, nevertheless, our combined squadrons won the victory, it was because of the virtues of His Majesty the Emperor, not owing to any human prowess. It cannot but be believed that the small number of our casualties was due to the protection of the spirits of the Imperial ancestors.

*Marks*

1. How much do **Sources A** and **B** reveal about differing views on the development of democracy after 1868? **16**
  2. How fully does **Source C** explain the impact of Meiji modernisation on living and working conditions? **12**
  3. How useful is **Source D** as explanation of the reasons for Japan's defeat of Russia in 1904–1905? **12**
- (40)**

## **(7) Germany: Versailles to the Outbreak of the Second World War**

### **Part 2**

**Study the sources below and answer the three questions which follow.**

**SOURCE A** from the Weimar Constitution drawn up in 1919 by Hugo Preuss of the German Democratic Party (DDP)

*Article 1:* The German Reich is a republic. Political authority comes from the people.

*Article 3:* The Reich colours are black, red, golden. The merchant flag is black, white, red with the Reich colours in the upper, inner corner.

*Article 22:* The delegates [members of the Reichstag] are elected by universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage [vote] by all men and women over twenty years of age.

*Article 41:* The National President is chosen by the whole German people.

*Article 48:* In the event that public order and security are seriously disturbed or endangered, the Reich president may take the measures necessary for their restoration, intervening if necessary, with the aid of the armed forces . . . The Reich president must without delay inform the Reichstag of all the measures taken.

**SOURCE B** from *Gustav Stresemann: Weimar's Greatest Statesman* by Jonathan Wright (2002)

The crisis caused by occupation of the Ruhr convinced Stresemann of the urgency of good relations with the West. Loans and security against a repeat of the Ruhr occupation would not come without winning the confidence of the Western powers. And by his policies over the Dawes Plan, Locarno and the League of Nations Stresemann took the lead in creating that confidence. Foreign policy became for Stresemann the instrument to create the domestic consensus on which he believed power could be based. The consensus was symbolised by Germany's delegations to the League of Nations, which included representatives from the SPD to the DVP . . . Stresemann's foreign policy steered Germany to a remarkable period of recovery. The confidence he established among the Western powers made possible a more rapid dismantling of the sanctions of the Versailles treaty than had seemed likely in 1919 or 1923.

**SOURCE C** from Hitler’s speech to the Reichstag before the passing of the Enabling Act, 23 March 1933.

In order to place itself in a position to fulfil its tasks, the government has had the two major parties, the National Socialists and the German Nationalists, introduce the Enabling Act in the Reichstag. The performance of these tasks is necessary. It would fail to meet the intended goal if the government had to negotiate with and request the approval of the Reichstag for its measures in each given case . . . The government will make use of this Act only to the extent required to carry out vitally necessary measures. . . . Neither the existence of the Reichstag nor that of the Reichsrat is menaced . . . The rights of the churches will not be diminished and their relationship to the State will not be modified. The number of cases in which the necessity exists for having need of such a law is limited. All the more, however, the government insist upon the passing of the law. The Government’s concern will be for the sincere cooperation of Church and State.

**SOURCE D** from *The Third Reich* by D G Williamson (2002).

The debate on the Enabling Act in the Kroll Opera House took place in the atmosphere of a *coup d’etat*. Although Hitler went out of his way to stress that an Enabling Act would not impair the Reichstag or the Presidency, he also made it absolutely clear that if the Reichstag did not give him the necessary majority he was prepared to go ahead in the face of that refusal and the hostilities which would result from it . . . A combination of false promises and terror won Hitler the two-thirds majority he needed for the Enabling Act to become law . . . The Enabling Act was of immense propaganda value. Although its constitutional validity is debatable . . . it maintained the façade of legality and removed any doubts the Civil Service or the Judiciary had as to the legality of the Nazi takeover. It was this apparent legality that inhibited and indeed confused all but the most clear-sighted opponents of the Nazi regime. Hitler now rapidly completed the process of “Coordination”, which had started even before the Enabling Act was passed.

- |  | <i>Marks</i> |
|--|--------------|
| 1. How useful is <b>Source A</b> as evidence of the democratic strengths and weaknesses of the Weimar Constitution?                                      | 12           |
| 2. How fully does <b>Source B</b> explain the reasons for Stresemann’s policy of <i>erfullungspolitik</i> (fulfilment)?                                  | 12           |
| 3. How much do <b>Sources C</b> and <b>D</b> reveal about differing views on the role of the Enabling Act in the Nazi consolidation of power, 1933–1934? | 16           |
|  | <b>(40)</b>  |

## (8) South Africa (1910–1984)

### Part 2

**Study the sources below and answer the three questions which follow.**

**SOURCE A** from *Twentieth Century South Africa* by William Beinart (2001)

White workers did succeed in achieving some of their industrial aims, including Union recognition, in the 1911 Mines and Works Act. The principle of a job colour bar was not seriously in dispute. Though white workers cost on average about twelve times more than black, mine-owners found advantages in maintaining racial divisions and using established lines of domination. It was the exact proportion of whites in the labour force that remained contested. In the period of high inflation after the First World War, companies feared that their lower-grade ore would become uneconomic to mine. Although their wages were under pressure, white miners did not come out on strike during the peak years of industrial action, locally and internationally, between 1918 and 1920. They did not support the black miners' strike of 1920. But, after a concerted effort was made to reduce white mine employment, they struck again in 1922.

**SOURCE B** from *South Africa: The Union Years, 1910–1948* by Bill Freund (2011)

At one level, the promotion of Afrikaner nationalism meant sharpening the definition of Afrikaner identity through the adoption of national symbols, notably the increasing legal use of the Afrikaans language. Under the Union, the Afrikaans language acquired an official and defining status. During the Pact period, the South African flag was also deliberately modified following a long controversy so as to incorporate symbolically the two trekker republics. The white electorate, with its gradually increasing Afrikaner majority, was the field of battle that had to be won. Afrikaner nationalists were extremely concerned with keeping or acquiring a hold on the support of poor Afrikaners and in urban areas such as Johannesburg's Fordsburg. In the 1930s, for instance, a very public effort was made, associated especially with the activities of Hertzog's son, Albert, a genuine critic of capitalism, to create trade unions loyal to the Nationalist tradition.

**SOURCE C** from *Rethinking the Rise and Fall of Apartheid* by Adrian Guelke (2005)

Beyond the confines of parliamentary politics, more fundamental change was taking place in the country's white politics. Urbanisation and the concern over the poor white problem were creating the basis of a mass political movement among Afrikaners. By 1936 half of the Afrikaner population lived in towns and cities. The scale of the poor white problem was underlined by the five-volume report of the Carnegie Commission in 1932. It estimated the number of poor whites at seventeen per cent of the white population. In response to these trends there was a mushrooming of extra-parliamentary organisations during the 1920s and 1930s. What they had in common was a strongly nationalist orientation and their commitment to enhancing the position of Afrikaners within South African society. The most important of these was the Afrikaner Broederbond, which was formed in 1918, originally under the name, Jong Suid-Afrika. From small beginnings the Broederbond developed into a major force within the Afrikaner community.

**SOURCE D** from a diary kept by an Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) guerrilla commander (1979)

“No”, we answered, we’ll better die here than leaving them in the lurch. Really people are expecting much from us. It is up to us to prove our worth. To enhance the confidence people already have, to erase the doubts in their minds about the invincibility of the white man and the South African Defence Force and support fully the course to overthrow oppression of the Boers as spearheaded by the ANC. But is MK capable? Their full participation will be determined by our first 50 operations. We will better die here rather than retreat for the sake of the people we are working with now—it is up to us to demonstrate our capability to fight more than the Boers and win the war. We must not leave whatever the enemy offensive might be. People want a practical man. If need be they must see our dead bodies.

- |   | <i>Marks</i> |
|---|--------------|
| 1. How fully does <b>Source A</b> illustrate the impact of government policy on the white labour force before 1924?           | <b>12</b>    |
| 2. How much do <b>Sources B</b> and <b>C</b> reveal about differing views of the extent of Afrikaner nationalism before 1939? | <b>16</b>    |
| 3. How useful is <b>Source D</b> in explaining the methods of African opposition to white rule after 1970?                    | <b>12</b>    |
|   | <b>(40)</b>  |

## (9) Soviet Russia (1917–1953)

### Part 2

**Study the sources below and answer the three questions which follow.**

**SOURCE A** from a report by Trotsky in February 1919

The work that has been accomplished by the Red Army is colossal. In August 1918 our military situation was most difficult—it was the time of the fall of Kazan. After that, in the course of seven months, the Red Army cleared an immense territory, about 28 provinces. According to the information supplied by the All-Russia General Staff, on which I rely, the towns in the provinces recovered were 166 in number, while the non-urban inhabited localities exceeded 164,000. On the Eastern front we have occupied a number of factories of great military importance, such as the Izhevsk and Votkinsk works in the Samara area. Comrades! We cannot conclude from all this that our task has been completed. Today the Soviet power is putting forth every effort to secure peace as soon as possible, even at the price of burdensome concessions, for nothing can be more burdensome for our worn out and starving people than this dreadful war that has been forced upon us.

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

But the Bolsheviks won the civil war because their understanding of the needs of the moment helped them. Bolshevik organisational skills and principles were best shown in the creation and building of the Red Army, which was Trotsky's greatest achievement. Both Trotsky and Lenin quickly realised that contrary to utopian notions they themselves had entertained, the services of experts were required for running a modern state. In the case of the military, this meant that the young Soviet state needed the expertise of officers of the ex-Imperial army. These men had to be forced or cajoled into the service of an ideology that they, in almost all instances, found distasteful. Treason was a constant danger. Yet Trotsky was correct: only a disciplined force, led by professional men, could defeat the enemy. By the end of the civil war the Bolsheviks, using extensive propaganda in addition to conscription, had built an army of five million—incomparably larger than the combined forces of their enemies.

**SOURCE C** from Stalin, writing in *Pravda* in March 1930

Everybody is now talking about the successes of Soviet power in the field of the collective farm movement and these successes are great indeed. It is a fact that by 20 February of this year 50 per cent of peasant households in the USSR have been collectivised. This means that we over-fulfilled the five-year plan by 20 February 1930 by double . . . What does this mean? It means that the fundamental turn of the countryside towards socialism can be considered achieved. But successes have their dark side, especially when they are achieved relatively “easily”, as it were, “unexpectedly”. These successes sometimes lead to a spirit of self-importance and conceit: ‘We can do anything!’, ‘Nothing can stop us!’. These successes sometimes make people drunk, people’s heads become dizzy with success, the sense of measure is lost, the ability to understand reality is lost, the tendency to overestimate one’s abilities appears and with it the underestimation of the strength of the opponent.

**SOURCE D** from *The Russian Revolution 1917–1932* by Sheila Fitzpatrick (1994)

The old style liberated woman, assertively independent and ideologically committed on issues like abortion, was no longer in favour. The new message was that the family came first, despite the growing numbers of women who were receiving education and entering professional careers. No achievement could be greater than that of the successful wife and mother. In a campaign inconceivable in the 1920s, wives of members of the new Soviet elite were directed into voluntary community activities that bore a strong resemblance to the upper-class charitable work that socialist and even liberal feminists had always despised. At a “national meeting for wives” in 1936, the wives of industrial managers and engineers described their successes in cleaning up factory kitchens, hanging curtains in the workers’ hostels, advising the working girls on personal hygiene and how to keep out of trouble.

- |  | <i>Marks</i> |
|--|--------------|
| 1. How much do <b>Sources A</b> and <b>B</b> reveal about differing views on the reasons for Red Victory in the Civil War?                 | 16           |
| 2. How useful is <b>Source C</b> as evidence of the impact of collectivisation in the 1930s?   | 12           |
| 3. How fully does <b>Source D</b> explain the social and cultural changes that Russian society was undergoing during the Stalinist period? | 12           |
|  | <b>(40)</b>  |

## (10) The Spanish Civil War: Causes, Conflict and Consequences (1923–1945)

### Part 2

**Study the sources below and answer the three questions which follow.**

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

The government proceeded to summon the Cortes and draft a constitution for the Second Republic. Catalan autonomy was high on the list of matters to be addressed. It was a question which greatly concerned old-fashioned Castilian centralists who saw any concessions to the regions as a threat to the unity of Spain. The April elections had proved a victory for the party of the Catalan left, the Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya, an essentially middle-class organisation led by Francesc Macia and Lluís Companys. The two of them had proclaimed on 14 April that a Catalan republic would be established within a federal state. This was not exactly what had been negotiated in the pact of San Sebastian, so three days later three ministers left Madrid for Barcelona to discuss with Macia and Companys the best way forward to enable the Cortes to approve a statute of autonomy. On 21 April Macia was named as President of the Generalitat of Catalonia, the name of the mediaeval Catalan Commonwealth.

**SOURCE B** from *A Concise History of Spain* by Phillips, Jr. and Phillips (2010)

The rebellion began in Morocco at 5pm on Friday, July 17. Mola proclaimed the overthrow of the Popular Front in Spain the next day. Similar proclamations in the past had succeeded almost immediately when the governments had caved in. Casares Quiroga was not willing to do that. Instead he resigned. Diego Martínez Barrio took over as Prime Minister and tried unsuccessfully to negotiate with the rebels. He could not trust the armed forces to defend the Government, but he was not willing to arm the citizenry to fight the rebellion. He resigned as well. Jose Giral, a university professor of chemistry, became Prime Minister on July 19 and ordered state arsenals to hand out arms to the various militias associated with workers' unions and political parties. What began as a military rebellion thus became civil war and all over Spain militants and ordinary citizens alike took sides. The rebels immediately captured around one-third of the country, the Republican government held Madrid and nearly all of central Spain, from Extremadura to the Mediterranean coast.

**SOURCE C** from *The Civil War in Spain* by Raymond Carr (1986)

The strength of the Nationalist army was to lie in the fact that it captured the allegiance of the majority of young officers—a cadre which the Republic could not improvise—and enough experienced senior officers to command them. The Army as a unit did not desert the government. If roughly half of the military resources of Spain in terms of troops and somewhat less than half in terms of officers remained with the Government, more than half of the equipment, artillery and arms factories and almost all of the air force did so. In the navy the sailors mutinied and often murdered their officers in a class war and set up ratings' committees to run the ships. Three cruisers and a battleship went over to the insurgents but the rest of the fleet, the modern destroyer and submarine flotilla, remained loyal. The government thus had the means to command the Mediterranean. However inefficient the revolutionized Republican navy may have been, apart from a risky convoy on 5 August, Franco could not send the Army of Africa by sea.

**SOURCE D** from an interview with Buenaventura Durruti in 1936

We know what we want. To us it means nothing that there is a Soviet Union somewhere in the world, for the sake of whose peace and tranquility the workers of Germany and China were sacrificed to Fascist barbarians by Stalin. We want revolution here in Spain, right now, not maybe after the next European war. We are giving Hitler and Mussolini far more worry with our revolution than the whole Red Army of Russia. We are setting an example to the German and Italian working class on how to deal with Fascism. We have always lived in slums and holes in the wall. We will know how to accommodate ourselves for a while. For you must not forget that we can also build. It is we who built these palaces and cities, here in Spain and America and everywhere. We, the workers. We can build others to take their place. And better ones. We are not in the least afraid of ruins. We are going to inherit the earth; there is not the slightest doubt about that.

	<i>Marks</i>
1. How fully does <b>Source A</b> explain the importance of regional identities in creating tensions in Spain between 1931 and 1936?	<b>12</b>
2. How much do <b>Sources B</b> and <b>C</b> reveal about differing views on the reasons for the failure of the attempted coup of 1936?	<b>16</b>
3. How useful is <b>Source D</b> as evidence of the motives of Spaniards who fought against the Nationalists?	<b>12</b>
	<b>(40)</b>

## (11) Britain at War and Peace (1939–1951)

### Part 2

**Study the sources below and answer the three questions which follow.**

**SOURCE A** from *The War Years, Life in Britain During 1939 to 1945* by Janice Anderson (2007)

The evacuation of children, their teachers, pregnant women and mothers with babies from those parts of the country thought to be in most danger of aerial attack turned out to be another government scheme to prevent mass casualties that proved much more worthwhile on paper than in reality. The government had considered evacuating children from at risk areas in September 1938 and therefore had evacuation plans ready. Operation Pied Piper began on 1 September 1939, two days before war was declared. While the evacuation scheme worked pretty efficiently in getting everyone away who wanted to go, because the evacuation scheme was not compulsory, the majority who did not want to move could not be forced to. Although local authorities did not use their legal powers of compulsion, there were many problems about allocating children to the available billets. Often, something of a cattle market atmosphere prevailed, with people choosing children who looked most attractive, or large boys who could work on farms, or taking only one or two from a family of several children.

**SOURCE B** from *Bomber Command* by Sir Arthur Harris (1947)

Seventy German cities were attacked by Bomber Command. Twenty-three of these had more than sixty per cent of their built-up areas destroyed and 46 about half of their built-up areas destroyed. Thirty-one cities had more than five hundred acres destroyed. Scarcely less important was the diversion of more and more guns, all of them dual-purpose weapons, for the defence of German cities, and Speer himself was of the opinion that the German armed forces were “considerably weakened” by this. At the same time our main offensive, by the unprecedented devastation which it caused in the largest German industrial cities, reduced every form of war production and prevented the development of many new war weapons and industries. It caused the enemy to divert a major part of his effort to defence. It is an obvious and most certain conclusion that if we had had the force we used in 1944 a year earlier, and if we had then been allowed to use it together with the whole American bomber force, and without interruption, Germany would have been defeated outright by bombing as Japan was.

**SOURCE C** from *Among the Dead Cities* by A.C.Grayling (2007)

Area bombing of cities did not harm civilian morale in Germany, as it was intended to do: rather, it strengthened it, an effect that many in Britain recognized from their own experience of the Blitz. Thus it was that Joseph Goebbels was cheered in the streets of Berlin in early 1944 after the winter long “Battle of Berlin” waged by seemingly endless fleets of RAF bombers—a battle lost by the RAF on more than just the morale front, at great sacrifice to our own courageous airmen. Those who manned the searchlights and 88 mm anti-aircraft guns in Germany were boys and older men, not front line troops. As for the question of German war production, the plain fact is that German output increased every year of the conflict until the end of 1944.

**SOURCE D** from *An Autobiography* by Herbert Morrison (1960)

When the Tories were defeated in 1945, Rab Butler was set to work in the research department of the Conservative Party, and he can be regarded as the architect of the policies which helped to produce victory in 1951. I was flattered to be told that Butler had carefully examined what I had done for the Labour Party prior to and during the 1945 election and told his staff that he wanted to do for the Conservative Party “what Herbert Morrison had done for Labour”. He had certainly learned the lessons of the 1945 defeat. In 1945 the Tories had fought on a negative line of prophesying ruin under socialism and denouncing all the types of control that war had created. Churchill’s “Gestapo” reference in the 1945 campaign was attacked by his own side after defeat. I can pay Butler the compliment of saying that his policy made Labour’s fight more difficult. His more progressive attitude softened the contrasts of black and white; conflicts of principle diminished. And that was not good for us.

*Marks*

- |  |             |
|--|-------------|
| 1. How fully does <b>Source A</b> explain the impact of evacuation in wartime Britain?   | 12          |
| 2. How much do <b>Sources B</b> and <b>C</b> reveal about differing views on the effectiveness of the Allied bombing campaign against Germany in the Second World War? | 16          |
| 3. How useful is <b>Source D</b> in explaining why the Labour Party lost the 1951 General Election?  | 12          |
|  | <b>(40)</b> |

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