National Qualifications 2025

X837/77/11 History

FRIDAY, 9 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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MARKS

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

Attempt **BOTH** Parts

Part A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks

Attempt **TWO** questions.

1. 'Extremely warlike and bloodthirsty.'
How valid is this view of the nature of society in Northern Britain during the Iron Age? **25**

2. 'Scotland remained almost entirely untouched by Roman rule.'
How valid is this view of Rome's impact on Northern Britain? **25**

3. To what extent has St Columba's importance in the Christian conversion of Northern Britain been exaggerated? **25**

4. How justified is the view that the origins of the Scots of Dál Riata lay across the Irish Sea? **25**

5. How far can it be argued that Scotland was a united nation by 1034? **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 the *Historia Augusta, Life of Hadrian* by Aelius Spartianus late 4th or early 5th century AD

> On taking possession of the imperial power Hadrian at once resumed the policy of the early emperors, devoting his attention to maintaining peace by taking actions to secure the frontiers throughout his empire. For the nations which Trajan had conquered began to revolt; the Moors, moreover, began to make attacks, the Sarmatians to wage war, the rebellious Britons could not be kept under Roman sway, Egypt was thrown into disorder by riots, and finally Libya and Palestine showed the spirit of rebellion. In response he relinquished all the conquests east of the Euphrates and the Tigris. Hadrian assigned Parthamasiris as ruler to the neighbouring tribes because he saw that the man was held in little esteem by the Parthians. And so, having reformed the army quite in the manner of a monarch, he set out for Britain, and there he corrected many abuses and was the first to construct a wall, eighty miles in length, which was to separate the barbarians from the Romans. Hadrian used labour from across the empire to construct the wall.

Source B from *Scandinavian Scotland* by Barbara Crawford (1987)

> The relationship between the Norse settlers and natives is complex and has led to a great deal of historical debate. A study of the *staðir* names in Shetland has concluded that they bear no relationship to broch sites near which the existing population was probably living, and that therefore the Norse do not appear to have taken over the best land, but to have settled alongside the native Picts who remained in possession. Nonetheless, the whole body of place-name evidence from Orkney and Shetland tells us that any native survivors did not exercise enough influence to pass on their names for settlements or the features of the surrounding countryside which showed that they were not the dominant linguistic group. It is not possible to reach such a conclusion about the situation in the Western Isles, where the literary and historical evidence gives us some positive indications that there was a mingling process with native Gaelic speakers.

Source C from *Alba: The Gaelic Kingdom of Scotland AD 800–1124* by Stephen Driscoll (2002)

> It is not entirely clear how Gaelic came to extinguish Pictish language and culture in the east; the vision of a union of equals has proved a popular myth. The Gaelic-speaking Scots were the minority, therefore their territorial conquest over the Picts must have involved some violence. The most interesting point is the degree to which Pictish institutions persisted, even as the Pictish language disappeared. While *pit* is undoubtedly Pictish for 'piece or parcel', in placenames it is almost always coupled with a Gaelic second element, most commonly a personal name. The apparent lesson here is that certain attractive Pictish estates offering personal advancement were taken over lock, stock and barrel by Gaelic speakers, or, at least, by people with Gaelic names thus creating a Gaelic aristocratic ascendancy. But there was also a cultural aspect to this. The spread of Christianity was encouraged by the Gaelic-speaking clergy associated with St Columba and this helped develop the Gaelic cultural ascendancy.

Source D from *Birth of a Nation* by Alex Woolf in Gordon Menzies (ed.), *In Search of Scotland* (2001)

> Early Viking raids were confined to attacks on monasteries, but then in AD 839 something unheard of happened. A vast force of Scandinavians landed in Fortriu and fought a major battle against the combined forces of Pictland and Dál Riata, undermining both existing kingdoms. The Norse won the day, killing both Uuen, King of Fortriu, and Aed, King of Dál Riata, along with a great number of the Pictish aristocracy and the Picts never fully recovered. It is not clear whether any attempt was made to take control of any territory at this point, but the royal family had been wiped out. Rather than fight the Vikings, what was left of the Pictish nobility engaged in a bloody civil war for ten years and at the end of this time a nobleman from Dál Riata, Cinead son of Alpín (d. AD 858), known to posterity as Kenneth MacAlpin, emerged as King of the Picts laying the foundations of the dynasty.

Attempt ALL of the following questions.

6. Evaluate the usefulness of **Source A** as evidence of the reasons for the construction of Hadrian's Wall. **12**

7. How fully does **Source B** explain the relationship between Norse settlers and the native population in the Northern and Western Isles? **12**

8. How much do **Sources C** and **D** reveal about differing interpretations of the reasons for the creation of Alba, up to AD 900? **16**

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MARKS

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

Attempt **BOTH** Parts

Part A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks

Attempt **TWO** questions.

9. 'William Wallace was vital to Scottish resistance from 1297 to his defeat at Falkirk in July 1298.'

How valid is this view? **25**

10. To what extent was the Scottish struggle for independence effective against Edward I between autumn 1298 and 1302? **25**

11. How justified is the view that support from the Scottish Church was the key reason for Robert Bruce usurping the Scottish throne in March 1306? **25**

12. 'Robert I was able to govern successfully over his Scottish kingdom between 1309 and 1320.'

How valid is this view? **25**

13. To what extent was the Treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton (1328) the result of the strengthening position of King Robert I from 1326? **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 *Alexander III, 1249–1286: First Among Equals* by Norman Reid (2019)

> It would be wrong to consider that at this stage there was already a dynastic crisis. Alexander III was in his forties, apparently healthy and had a granddaughter, the possibility of whose inheritance of the throne had already been contemplated without obvious opposition. On 20 April 1284, three months after the death of Prince Alexander, King Alexander III wrote a personal letter to Edward I. In it he thanked Edward for the solace he had offered following the prince's death. It has been suggested that Alexander's reference to the 'good' that might come through the infant Maid of Norway was an early statement of intent towards a marriage alliance between Margaret and an English husband. Although the relations between England and Scotland remained apparently cordial, tensions on the border and possible suspicion of English royal ambition regarding Scotland would seem to make it unlikely that a marriage proposal between the Maid and Prince Edward of England would have come from Alexander.

Source B from *The Hammer of the Scots: Edward I and the Scottish Wars of Independence* by David Santiuste (2015)

> In September 1289, the Guardian, Duncan Earl of Fife, was murdered near Brechin. Earl Duncan had made numerous enemies as a guardian, yet even so this was a shocking event. The perpetrator, Hugh Abernethy, was quickly arrested and imprisoned, notwithstanding his own considerable status and ties to the Comyns. Earl Duncan was not replaced as a Guardian and indeed, the failure to replace any of the Guardians who died in office may provide evidence of political disagreements and increasing factionalism. The Maid of Norway could potentially provide a focus for unity, given that all of the main political community in Scotland had offered her their loyalty. The Guardians suggested that Margaret should marry Edward I's heir, Edward of Caernarfon, on the assumption that until he reached his majority his father would be happy to protect Margaret's interests as Edward of Caernarfon was then very young. In time, Margaret's husband would serve as her protector and provide a guiding hand.

Source C from *Medieval Scotland: Kingship and Nation* by Alan MacQuarrie (2004)

> The sudden death of Alexander III deepened the succession crisis, but did not plunge the kingdom into immediate chaos. A parliament met at Scone in early April 1286. Alexander III's queen, Yolande, claimed to be pregnant, so there existed the possibility of a posthumous heir. In order to keep the peace Parliament imposed a carefully vague oath on all parties, and six Guardians administered it in the name of the community of the realm; this group included sympathisers with both the Bruce and Balliol/Comyn parties. By autumn 1286 it had become clear that the queen's pregnancy had come to nothing, so the oaths of 1284 to acknowledge the 'Maid of Norway' as heir-designate came back into prominence. But the Bruce faction had prepared by agreeing the Turnberry Bond on 20 September and they seized the royal castles of Dumfries and Wigtown and attacked the Balliol estates in Galloway and while the Guardians quickly brought the situation under control, tension remained.

Source D from the Record of the Parliament held at Scone, written by Scottish clerics for King John, 9 February 1293.

> MacDuff has been arrested and is now made to answer to the king why he violently took the lands in Fife — Rires and Creich, whose farms and profits were the possession of the king following the death of Duncan Earl of Fife in 1288, which has been to the disinheritance and harm of the king. It is considered that MacDuff should be committed to prison, saving his right of appeal (to King Edward I) to seek the said lands according to the laws and customs of the kingdom against Duncan, son of Duncan Earl of Fife and his heirs, when that child shall come of age. John de Soules, knight, who is heir to Margaret, wife of Hugh de Perisby, for part of the barony of Ardrossan, comes before the king, and offers his homage, because de Soules inherited during the vacancy in the kingship, at which time it was not possible for him to come before any king of Scotland, he is now prepared to satisfy the king for his entry into the said lands, begging the king's grace.

Attempt ALL of the following questions.

14. How fully does **Source A** explain the success of Alexander III in establishing royal authority during his adult reign between 1260 and 1286? **12**

15. How much do **Sources B** and **C** reveal about differing interpretations of how well the Guardians were able to deal with the crises which affected the Scottish kingdom between 1286 and 1292? **16**

16. Evaluate the usefulness of **Source D** as evidence of King John's ability to exercise his royal authority to govern Scotland. **12**

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MARKS

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

Attempt **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 tobacco lords' legal business methods? **25**

18. How far can it be argued that the defeat of the Jacobite rising of 1745 was due to internal divisions? **25**

19. 'Government intervention after the Jacobite risings was responsible for change in the Highlands up to 1815.'

How valid is this view? **25**

20. To what extent was industrialisation responsible for creating a range of social issues in lowland Scotland between 1707 and 1815? **25**

21. How far can it be argued that the influence of the Kirk was the reason for the development of Scottish education between 1707 and 1815? **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 *Sheriffmuir 1715* by Stuart Reid (2014)

> On 13 November 1715, the Jacobite and Hanoverian forces met at Stone Hill, near Dunblane. The perception is that Sheriffmuir was a drawn battle. Yet Mar's losses were in fact high, they crippled the Jacobite army, which was in no condition to continue fighting and in this sense, there was no doubting it was Argyle's victory. Although the light of the short November day was fading fast, there was time enough for Mar to take a view on his army's situation. Although his force still outnumbered Argyle's, the Jacobite force was effectively shattered, partly as, during their hurried retreat, Highlanders had abandoned irreplaceable muskets and ammunition. Later in the day the Jacobite army met at Braco. There, Mar found himself facing another problem. By the time they reached Perth the Jacobite commanders found that there had been wide-scale desertions which were now commonplace and therefore key to a further weakening of the Jacobites' overall position.

Source B from *The Jacobite Wars* by John Roberts (2002)

> Mar camped at Perth for several weeks, waiting for the western clans to join his force. Unfortunately for his credibility, it had only been a year since he had persuaded many of them to pledge loyalty to George I. As a result, they were slow to respond, and by September only the MacDonalds of Glengarry had answered — the western clans had mostly failed to appear. Nonetheless, four days before the Battle of Sheriffmuir, Mar called a council of war. It was agreed that the Jacobite army must gain the advantage of surprise by crossing the river Forth upstream of Stirling whilst diversionary attacks were also launched. However, the element of surprise was lost when this plan was aborted, since Hanoverian spies learned of them. Meanwhile, the Hanoverians were also preparing for battle. Argyll amassed over 3000 troops to fight at Sheriffmuir who were battle-hardened officers and men who, along with Argyll's cavalry, were more experienced than their Jacobite counterparts.

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Source C from *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, completed in 1791, edited by Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster.

> In this far northern parish of Monymusk agricultural improvements of every kind and of a very advanced standard was the aim of the late Sir Archibald Grant, formerly Member of Parliament for Aberdeen between 1722 and 1733. He could find no person in the county of Aberdeenshire qualified to organise these improvements. Therefore, he brought in new and knowledgeable men who were employed as managers and were given whatever available accommodation. As a result of their practice much farming land was brought into good order which increased its value due to the advantages of draining, enclosing and fertilising and as these improvements were introduced, the nature of farming became utterly changed. However, long-established prejudices cannot be immediately eradicated, and reluctance to adopt these new methods has lingered among some to the detriment of advancement. Nonetheless, through their advice, it became necessary to enforce new leases to tenant farmers which demanded, annually, the building of stone dykes, liming to fertilise land and the planting of turnips and potatoes. This had the desired effect, resulting in change.

Source D from *The Scottish Nation* by Tom Devine (1999)

> By the 1780s the first public stirrings of criticism were becoming apparent. From 1782, freeholders interested in reforming the county franchise held a national gathering in Edinburgh in which most of the Scottish shires were represented, motivated by one grievance, the abolition of fictitious votes. More significant was a separate movement, which also began in the early 1780s. It was triggered by a series of letters to the press by a rich Edinburgh merchant, Thomas McGrugar, who wrote under the name ZENO whose attacks were focused on the closed corporations of the towns, because they gave no voice to the intelligent and propertied middle classes, the 'men in middle ranks of life'. It seemed, once again, that a political movement feeding a latent middle-class discontent was gradually running out of steam. However, the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789 changed everything and set the scene for an unprecedented challenge to the existing regime.

Attempt ALL of the following questions.

22. How much do **Sources A** and **B** reveal about differing interpretations of the reasons for the failure of 1715 Jacobite rising? **16**

23. Evaluate the usefulness of **Source C** as evidence of the impact of the Improvers upon Scottish agriculture. **12**

24. How fully does **Source D** explain the reasons for political radicalism in Scotland in the late 18th century? **12**

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MARKS

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

Attempt **BOTH** Parts

Part A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks

Attempt **TWO** questions.

25. 'The South had the same level of economic development as the North.'
How valid is this view of America in the 1850s? **25**

26. To what extent did Frederick Douglass play the most significant role in the development of the abolitionist movement in the 1850s? **25**

27. 'Compromise was still possible following Lincoln's election in 1860.'
How valid is this view? **25**

28. How important was popular patriotism as a reason why men from the North and the South signed up to fight during the Civil War? **25**

29. 'The contribution of women in the South was more significant than that of women in the North in sustaining the war effort.'
How valid is this view? **25**

[Turn over

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 *The Political Crisis of the 1850s* by Michael F. Holt (1983)

> Just two days after James Buchanan's inauguration as President of the United States in March 1857 following his success in the election of November 1856, the Supreme Court handed down its notorious Dred Scott decision. This re-ignited the sectional divide as Republicans argued that the decision was part of the Slave Power conspiracy between the executive and the judiciary. This intensified the sectional divisions in the territories as Kansans remained divided in their loyalties to the Topeka and Lecompton governments. Realising that these squabbles over enslaved labour in Kansas Territory were increasing support for the Republicans, Buchanan quickly determined to admit Kansas as a state. Here was a Democratic president ignoring the party's commitment to popular sovereignty, bowing to Southern pressure and attempting to ram enslaved labour down the throats of Kansans, which was completely at odds with the wishes of the people of Kansas and the Democrat supporters and simply added to support for the Republicans.

Source B from an open letter published in the *New York Tribune* from Horace Greeley to President Lincoln, 20 August, 1862

> Dear Sir
>
> I write only to set before you what we require, what we think we have a right to expect, and of what we complain. You must already know that a great proportion of those who welcomed your election and who desire the complete suppression of the Rebellion which is now destroying our country are extremely disappointed and deeply pained by the policy you seem to be pursuing with regard to those enslaved by the Rebels. We think you are deeply mistaken in the manner in which you are carrying out your official duties as President with regard to the emancipating provisions of the recently passed Confiscation Act, which were designed to fight slavery with liberty by giving freedom to those enslaved by the Rebels who join Union forces. We now complain that this Confiscation Act which you approved is habitually disregarded by your generals and that no word of rebuke about this from you has yet reached the public ear. Recently a considerable body of enslaved men made their way through miles of Confederate territory seeking protection.

Source C from *The American Civil War: This Mighty Scourge of War* by Gary Gallagher et al (2003)

> Many scholars believe that the Union won the Civil War because of overwhelming numbers and there is truth to the North's preponderance of strength since the Federal Government in the North employed over two million soldiers, while the Confederacy mustered close to 900,000. But as experiences in other conflicts have demonstrated, most notably the USA's victory over Britain in the American War of Independence, overwhelming superiority in equipment, population, and even technology, do not always assure victory. What became crucial as the Civil War evolved was that the Union did in fact successfully harness those resources, transforming them into military might and focusing that power on the critically weaker aspects of the Confederacy defences. By the late stages of the war, and particularly following Lincoln's appointment of Grant as Union General-in-Chief in March 1864, the Union had begun to adopt the raiding strategy which would prove the decisive tactic and overwhelmed the stubborn Confederate resistance for much of the war.

Source D from *Battle Cry of Freedom* by James McPherson (1988)

> The Confederacy enjoyed military commanders that were much more able on the battlefield during the first two years of the war, while Jefferson Davis was better qualified by training and experience than Abraham Lincoln to lead a nation at war. However, by 1863, Lincoln's remarkable abilities gave him the edge over Davis as a war leader, while in Grant and Sherman the North acquired military commanders with a concept of total war and the necessary determination to make it succeed. Lincoln maintained two-party politics throughout the duration of the war which encouraged opposition and political debate. This was critical to decisive decision-making in the Union, as the opposition provided by the Democrats compelled the Republicans to close ranks and unify in support of war policies. General Grant's leadership on the battlefield and Lincoln's political abilities came together at the most critical point after August 1864 transforming Northern will from defeatism to a determination to fight to the last.

Attempt ALL of the following questions.

30. How fully does **Source A** explain the challenges James Buchanan faced during his Presidency between 1856 and 1860? **12**

31. Evaluate the usefulness of **Source B** as evidence of criticisms of Lincoln's approach to the issue of emancipation. **12**

32. How much do **Sources C** and **D** reveal about differing interpretations of why the North won the Civil War? **16**

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MARKS

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

Attempt **BOTH** Parts

Part A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks

Attempt **TWO** questions.

33. 'The extent to which Japan was truly isolated before 1854 has been exaggerated.'
How valid is this view? **25**

34. How far can it be argued that foreign intervention was the crucial factor in bringing down the Tokugawa regime in the 1860s? **25**

35. To what extent were government policies the main cause of Japanese economic success during the Meiji Era between 1868 and 1912? **25**

36. How justified is the view that war with China was a deliberate aim of Japanese foreign policy after 1868? **25**

37. 'By 1920 Japan was still not regarded as a full equal by Western nations.'
How valid is this view? **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 *The Journal of Japanese Studies* by John W. Hall (1974)

> The ideas of Confucianism which emerged in Asia were over two thousand years old when they were adopted by the Tokugawa rulers. By adopting the social theories of Confucianism, the Tokugawa gave support to a rigid social structure as a result of which they had created a hierarchy of four social classes — the warrior administrator, the peasant, the artisan, and the merchant and this late feudalism represents one of the most conscious attempts in history to freeze society. At the same time this social order imposed upon those in authority the expectation that they exercise their authority impartially and humanely which offered the protection of a particular status to each individual. Every social class, and every subdivision within it, had its own regulations covering all the minutiae of clothing, ceremony, and behaviour which had to be strictly observed on pain of punishment. This unnatural stratification of social classes was reactionary even in 17th century Japan.

Source B from *Kyoto University Economic Review* by Eijiro Honjo (1928)

> By 1850 there arose trade and industry existing side by side with farming (which had been regarded as the only means of production). Money came to be extensively used, cities developed and commerce expanded. While the merchant class increased its real power with the progress of time and unmistakably became a powerful social class, this caused widespread dismay amongst the samurai noblemen. The samurai were placed in economic distress and had to bow before the commoners, whose financial assistance enabled them to meet their economic needs and the great majority of them had to borrow money in various ways in order to meet their financial obligations for the time being. The wealth and prosperity created in the new urban centres became more conspicuous, yet many a samurai could not employ domestic servants because of poverty, and had to do the household work, and sometimes engaged in some side work at home.

Source C from *Hitotsubashi Journal of Social Studies* by Hiroshi Tanaka (1994)

> While the actual power of the Meiji Government was controlled by ex-samurai of the Satsuma, Choshu, Tosa and Saga clans, the political authority of the new regime was symbolised and articulated by the emperor. By this combination of political power (samurai) and political authority (Emperor), the basis of the Meiji political regime was established. The objective was to create a new system of governance to reflect the change of regime. While the government was not a supporter of liberal democracy, it was keen to introduce Western ideas and institutions. Two opposing concepts of politics were presented: on the one hand, a British-type parliamentary government; and on the other, a German-type authoritarian regime. At the time, there emerged both scholarly discussions and also actual political conflicts between the two camps. The conclusion to this dispute is clear. When Japan introduced its first modern constitution in 1889, it followed a German-type authoritarian regime which created a unitary and centralised government.

Source D from a Report to the Meiji government by Yamagata Aritomo, written in 1872

> This is the time to establish a firm national policy, and to adopt as our purpose the defence of our country against foreign threats; for this purpose, two categories of soldiers are required, a standing army and those on the reserve list. Those of us who govern must first of all discern the conditions prevailing in the world. In our opinion, Russia has been acting very arrogantly by previously placing her warships in the Black Sea so it is worryingly inevitable that she will move eastward sooner or later by sending troops to Hokkaido, and then move to the warmer areas. At a time like this, it is very clear where the priority of this country must lie. In order to decisively advance our own Japanese imperial ambitions, we must rigorously modernise our defences. We must build warships and construct batteries. We must train officers and soldiers. We must manufacture and store weapons and ammunition. The nation may consider that it cannot bear the expenses. However, even if we wish to ignore it, this important matter cannot disappear from us.

Attempt ALL of the following questions.

38. How much do **Sources A** and **B** reveal about differing interpretations of the structure of society in Japan by 1850? **16**

39. How fully does **Source C** explain political developments in Meiji Japan? **12**

40. Evaluate the usefulness of **Source D** as evidence of the reasons for the military and naval reforms in Meiji Japan. **12**

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MARKS

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

Attempt **BOTH** Parts

Part A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks

Attempt **TWO** questions.

41. How justified is the view that there was a period of domestic recovery for the Weimar Republic between 1924 and 1929? **25**

42. 'The impact of the worldwide economic depression from 1929 was the key reason Hitler was appointed Chancellor on 30 January 1933.'

How valid is this view? **25**

43. 'Propaganda was the cement that kept the Nazi regime in power between 1933 and 1939.'

How valid is this view? **25**

44. To what extent did the Nazis create a racially pure Volksgemeinschaft between 1933 and 1939? **25**

45. How far was Hitler's foreign policy driven by economic factors 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 a speech by Rosa Luxemburg on 31 December 1918

> Comrades! Our task today is to discuss and agree our aims. We have founded a new political party, and that new party must now create a programme for governing Germany. The leadership of the 9 November Revolution sadly fell into the hands of politicians who saw it as their chief duty to issue warnings against a real revolution and who attempted to make this real revolution impossible. As Marxists we must again march under our flag and begin undermining the Ebert-Scheidemann government by destroying its very foundations through a revolutionary mass struggle led by workers. Comrades! In doing so we will connect ourselves to the aims of Marx and Engels. The masses must learn to use their power — there is no other way as Ebert and Scheidemann have created the illusion that with the aid of soldiers from the front and other armed groups, they will be able to keep the workers completely under control. We are faced with a position similar to Marx and Engels when they wrote the 'Communist Manifesto' seventy years ago.

Source B from *Weimar and the Rise of Hitler* by A.J. Nicholls (2000)

> In March 1920, the Weimar Republic was rocked by the first serious attempt at counter-revolution since November 1918. Many army units which had been recruited to uphold internal order were due to be disbanded and the feeling among their officers was fiercely hostile to the republic. The commander of the Berlin district was General Lüttwitz and he opened discussions with a number of discontented individuals such as Wolfgang Kapp. The main force behind the Kapp Putsch was, however, some influential wealthy landowners — the *Junkers* — who resented government efforts to improve the poor pay and conditions of labourers on their estates. President Ebert and Chancellor Bauer fled Berlin and took refuge in Stuttgart, leaving behind the Vice-Chancellor to watch events in the city. However, it was trade unions and organised labour who gave the most effective demonstration of hostility to the putsch when they called a general strike. In the end, Kapp and Lüttwitz found themselves in control of a dead city.

Source C from *The Good Germans: Resisting the Nazis, 1933–1945* by Catrine Clay (2020)

> In the 1920s the Army High Command had supported efforts to secretly rearm with Russian help. They had viewed Hitler's appointment positively. By August 1934, some members of the German Army High Command became concerned that they and all officers and soldiers had to swear an oath of obedience to Hitler, thus removing their traditional loyalty to the nation state. General Beck and General Fritsch had been among the early enthusiastic supporters of the Nazis due to the humiliation of Versailles and chaos of the Weimar years that followed. As the Nazis became increasingly powerful with the creation of their own parallel military system under the control of the SS, this further threatened the independence of the Army and both Fritsch and Beck became opponents of the regime. Beck secretly began to build up his own intelligence network and made active contact with other resisters, coming to the conclusion by 1938 that Hitler could only be removed from power by army revolt.

Source D from *The Nazi Dictatorship* by Ian Kershaw (2000)

> In 1933 Hitler had made an agreement which set out the relationship between Church and State. However, the Christian Churches, never fully 'coordinated' by the Nazi regime, had a large amount of support for opposing any attempts to undermine Christian practices, institutions and beliefs. Applause for Church leaders whenever they appeared in public, swollen attendance at events such as Corpus Christi Day processions and packed church services were outward signs that both Protestant and Catholic Churches were popular with Germans. Ultimately, both these Churches remained popular with churchgoers, with millions attending each Sunday. As institutions, however, the Churches offered only very limited resistance to Nazism, and in the defence of humanitarian rights and civil liberties, the response of both Churches was muted. The fight to protect youth organisations was eventually lost, but in some cases, such as the struggle to retain the Crucifix in school classrooms, Nazi rulers were forced to give way in the face of widespread protests.

Attempt ALL of the following questions.

46. Evaluate the usefulness of **Source A** as evidence of the nature of the German Revolution of 1918 to 1919. **12**

47. How fully does **Source B** explain the political challenges which faced the Weimar Republic between 1920 and 1923? **12**

48. How much do **Sources C** and **D** reveal about differing interpretations of the extent of opposition to Nazism between 1933 and 1939? **16**

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MARKS

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

Attempt **BOTH** Parts

Part A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks

Attempt **TWO** questions.

49. To what extent was Hertzog's appeal to the white working class the main reason for the Pact Government's victory in the 1924 election? **25**

50. 'The ineffectiveness of resistance to segregation before 1939 was a result of the failure of organisations to co-operate.'

How valid is this view? **25**

51. To what extent did attitudes to race shape apartheid policies before 1959? **25**

52. To what extent did a fear of growing African nationalism explain the development of apartheid during the 1960s? **25**

53. 'The resurgence of the resistance movement in the 1970s was a result of the growth of trade unionism.'

How valid is this view? **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 a speech by Alfred Milner at his farewell banquet, Johannesburg, March 1905

> Perhaps I may say without offence that my work here has been constantly directed to a great and distant end in the country. Our vision and efforts of late to develop mutual understanding, sympathy and a common ideal between both the British and the Dutch, we hope will grow in the coming years. That is the safest meeting-ground. Politics, pure and simple, may, for a long time to come, tend to maintain rather than obliterate the differences between our two peoples. But our investment in the extension of the railways and in works of public improvement will continue to improve so many bonds of communication and union. And there is so much still to be done to make this country, favoured as it is in many respects by nature, a fitting home for civilised men, to make it yield them anything like what it is capable of providing, either in wealth or in attractiveness and comfort. That has been the object of all of my efforts in past years. It is my object still.

Source B from *Verwoerd: Architect of Apartheid* by Henry Kenney (2016)

> In fact, there was a society which existed where disaffected Afrikaners were brought together. This was the Afrikaner Broederbond, which was founded in 1918, with the aim of promoting the achievement of a republic. The Broederbond has acquired such a sinister reputation as a body of plotters, aiming at securing and maintaining Afrikaner domination in all spheres and at all costs, that objectively is hardly possible. But some facts about the Broederbond are generally agreed upon. In its heyday during the 1930s and 1940s, it consisted of a small number of Afrikaners. There were about 2,500 of them, mostly professional men. They aimed at infiltrating vital educational institutions such as schools and universities in order to better promote the triumph of Afrikaner nationalist ideals. Much later, after the 1948 election, the Afrikaner Broederbond were seen to be infiltrating and gaining control of the few organisations which had political power and were opposed to a further escalation of apartheid policies.

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

> In effect the government was declaring that the African National Congress, its affiliates and allies, were irrelevant to the country's political future. Beginning on Freedom Day, 1952, selected ANC activists were enjoined to pledge to serve their country and its people by conspicuously defying apartheid laws. They chanted 'Afrika!' and 'Mayibuye' as they ignored restrictions. Khaki uniforms, white shirts, and lapels in the ANC colours were frequently worn. Confrontation was mostly avoided by advertising plans in advance and limiting numbers involved in any one action. Care was taken by the ANC leadership to manage the campaign of civil disobedience and to avoid provocation so as to avert the potential for outbreaks of violence. But the Defiance Campaign proved a vent for deep popular frustrations that were sometimes expressed in powerfully radicalised terms and when rioting broke out in Port Elizabeth, Kimberley, and East London, the ANC called off the national campaign, fearing that popular anger was getting out of hand.

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

> The Pan Africanist Congress is a political party who maintained a presence in the South African political landscape that spanned over half a century. The PAC's evident reluctance to include Josias Madzunya in their leadership prompted a rift between the Alexandria Africanists and the new organisation that would detach from it a significant number of potential supporters. Aside from their own attempts to build a membership-based organisation, the PAC also sought to extend their influence less directly through seeking trade union affiliation. Among the personalities who were elected to its first executive was an experienced trade unionist, Jacob Nyaose, the secretary of the African Bakers' and Confectioners' Union. Sobukwe envisaged that a succession of consumer boycotts that targeted enterprises whose staff habitually treated African customers abruptly or rudely would attract publicity and increase popular political confidence, while at the same time such a venture would not represent the kind of threat to public order that would attract official repression.

Attempt ALL of the following questions.

54. Evaluate the usefulness of **Source A** as evidence of the aims of British policies in South Africa before 1910. **12**

55. How fully does **Source B** explain the reasons for the growth of Afrikaner Nationalism before 1939? **12**

56. How much do **Sources C** and **D** reveal about differing interpretations of the nature of African Nationalism in the 1950s, before Sharpeville? **16**

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MARKS

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 was the First World War the main reason why the Tsarist state was destabilised between 1914 and January 1917? **25**

58. 'The October Revolution was nothing more than a coup d'état.'
How valid is this view? **25**

59. To what extent was protection from capitalist invasion the main aim of Stalin's economic policies between 1928 and 1941? **25**

60. 'Developments in the Arts in 1930s Russia were nothing more than propaganda.'
How valid is this view? **25**

61. To what extent was the Red Army the main reason for Russia's victory in the Great Patriotic War between 1941 and 1945? **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 *The Red Army and Mass Mobilisation during the Russian Civil War, 1918–1920* by Orlando Figes (1990)

> Denikin's forces had overstretched themselves in their drive towards Moscow in 1919 because in the rear the Whites had left themselves without enough troops to defend their bases against Makhno's partisans and Ukrainian nationalists, so much so that at the height of the Moscow offensive they were forced to withdraw troops to deal with them. Without regular supplies, the White troops broke down into looting peasant farms to which the Cossacks were especially prone as they sought to despoil non-Cossack settlements. The Civil War in Russia witnessed massacres of civilians by both sides as random extreme violence was becoming an all too common occurrence. The real problem of the Whites was their inability to mobilise enough peasant troops in Ukraine and south Russia because the peasants were afraid that a White victory would lead to the reversal of their revolution on the land and therefore when the Whites advanced towards Moscow the peasants rallied against them.

Source B from *Russia in War and Revolution 1914–1921* by Daniel Orlovsky (1997)

> The Civil War was fought from Archangel to the Caspian Sea and from the Caspian Sea to Kiev. The Red Army emerged as the single most effective fighting force and became the cornerstone of the new regime, primarily because Trotsky was its central figure as he was ruthless, colourful, a disciplinarian and skilled propagandist. The Civil War developed into a number of different conflicts which involved many different nationalities across 19 countries. Throughout the conflict the Red Army needed soldiers. Military service was introduced after the revolt of the Czech Legion in May 1918, conscription for men aged 21 to 25 was introduced for Siberia, the Urals and the Volga regions and continued to expand until by 1920 when the Red Army numbered 5 million men. Former 'bourgeois' tsarist officers were conscripted into the Red Army to provide experienced leadership and professionalism and by 1920 over 50,000 had served the cause of the international proletarian revolution.

Source C from *Stalin 1878–1939* by Simon Seebag Montefiore (2004)

> When Lenin's Testament was unveiled in January 1924, Kamenev proposed to let Stalin remain as General Secretary. Stalin had already used the massive power of the Secretariat to promote figures such as Voroshilov, Molotov and Ordzhonikidze who would offer him their unqualified support in the future as they formed a loyal bloc who never voted against their leader. Stalin offered an encouraging and realistic policy alternative promoting 'Socialism in one Country' as a patriotic and pragmatic contrast to Trotsky's insistence on seeking to sponsor further European revolution as the future of the exhausted and war-weary Soviet Union in developing Socialism. Failed revolutions had already taken place in Germany and in Hungary, and Mussolini had taken control of Italy in 1922 outlawing the Italian Communist Party. Other members of the Politburo such as Zinoviev and Kamenev were terrified of Trotsky as they were afraid of the 'man on the horse' taking power as Napoleon had done in the French Revolution.

Source D from a speech to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union by Joseph Stalin, May 1937.

> Comrades! What are the facts which our Party comrades have forgotten about or which they simply have not noticed? At the trial in 1936, if you remember, Kamenev and Zinoviev flatly denied that they had any kind of political platform because they were afraid to demonstrate their real political platform of restoring Capitalism in the USSR. To be frank, we need to be clear who is seeking our doom? Who is seeking to sell our Party and Motherland? The influence of the contemporary wreckers, the Trotskyists, lies in the Party card which gives them power because their strength lies in the fact that their Party membership card gains for them political confidence and gives them access to all our institutions and organisations. These are the facts which have emerged from our reports and discussions. We need true Bolshevik vigilance. The Party must be on guard to unmask these traitors who seek to destroy us: the capitalist powers, the fascists, are in league with these wreckers and double dealers who are seeking to undermine our Socialist country from within.

Attempt ALL of the following questions.

62. How much do **Sources A** and **B** reveal about differing interpretations of the reasons for the outcome of the Russian Civil War between 1917 and 1921? **16**

63. How fully does **Source C** explain the reasons for Stalin's success in the leadership struggle? **12**

64. Evaluate the usefulness of **Source D** as evidence of the motives for the Purges in 1930s Russia. **12**

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MARKS

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. How important was the agrarian problem in causing tension in Spain in the 1920s? **25**

66. To what extent did the revolt in Asturias in 1934 substantially increase the likelihood of civil war in Spain? **25**

67. To what extent was the Spanish army responsible for the rising of 1936? **25**

68. 'The Nationalists held most of the significant advantages at the start of the Spanish Civil War.'

How valid is this view? **25**

69. To what extent can the victory of the Nationalists be attributed to aid from Germany and Italy? **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 Battle for Spain* by Antony Beevor (2006)

> Alfonso XIII began to fear for his throne. Over the previous five years, a political opposition had developed in left-liberal and intellectual circles, the most important of which became known as the Alianza Republicana whose aim was not just to do away with the dictatorship but with the monarchy. Largo Caballero was forced to realise his mistake in agreeing to work with the regime. When, in 1930, the Socialists opposed the monarchy and the dictatorship, UGT membership began to rise rapidly. From 211,000 members in 1923 it increased to 277,000 in 1930 and was to reach over half a million two years later. University students and workers openly campaigned for an overthrow of the monarchy. A rising which had been planned for the 12 December 1930 had to be delayed for three days. Unfortunately, nobody warned Captains Galán and Garcia Hernández of the garrison of Jaca. They rose in revolt, but finding themselves alone, they had to surrender.

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

> Azaña's reforms abolished religious education. Every public manifestation of religion — including Holy Week, Epiphany and even carnival processions — would have to be officially approved, which even Liberal newspapers denounced. Yet Azaña thundered in the Cortes: 'Do not tell me this is contrary to freedom. It is a matter of public health.' Unfortunately, Spanish liberalism had come to look on the church as a scapegoat for all Spain's ills, but no such simple explanation was, in fact, honest. The difficulty was that Spanish Catholics were forced into having to oppose the constitution if they wished to criticise its educational policy. The debates in the Cortes on these clerical clauses brought the first of many governmental crises in the Second Republic. Alcalá Zamora, the Prime Minister, and Miguel Maura, the Minister for the Interior, resigned in October. The Speaker of the Cortes, Besteiro, assumed the temporary rank of President of Spain and called on Azaña to form another government.

Source C from *The Spanish Holocaust* by Paul Preston (2012)

> On 13 October 1931, the parliamentary leader of *Acción Popular*, José Maria Gil Robles, declared to the Republican-Socialist majority in the parliament, 'Today, in opposition to the constitution, Catholic Spain takes its stand. You will bear the responsibility for the spiritual war that is going to be unleashed in Spain.' Gil Robles' rhetoric during the Republic reflected the feelings and the fears of his most powerful backers, the big landowners or *latifundistas*, which highlighted their outrage at the sheer affrontery of the landless labourers reflected their sense of social, cultural and indeed near racist superiority over those who worked their estates. The Republican-Socialist coalition declared its intention to improve the daily lot of the wretched day-labourers by providing a minimum wage, maximum hours and social security provisions. The monarchist daily newspaper, the ABC, portrayed the landless labourers of Extremadura as no better than those the army had been fighting against in Morocco, calling them, 'bloodthirsty brutes and Marxist hordes.'

Source D from a speech by Franco to the Third Falangist Council, December 1942

> For three years of war and for three years of what we wrongly called peace we have had to struggle on in concerted endeavour. We march toward the fulfilment of our movement. On this depends the destiny of Spain which must include the preservation of her eternal traditional values, with our Catholic soul, our history and our greatness. The foundations of our policy were laid in the beginnings of our movement, when our youth prepared itself to fight and merged the traditional values with the social yearnings of our times. During the last war Russian demobilisation led to a situation in which Communists seized power and established a barbarian dictatorship of the proletariat and indeed we have battled to defeat this movement in Spain. What the masses of the people in England think is not different from what the German masses think. Liberal propaganda may distort these facts but in the end truth will prevail. The peoples of England and Germany can again live in peace in the future, alongside the people of Spain.

Attempt ALL of the following questions.

70. How fully does **Source A** explain the reasons for the fall of the monarchy in 1931? **12**

71. How much do **Sources B** and **C** reveal about differing interpretations of the nature of opposition to Azaña's reforms between 1931 and 1933? **16**

72. Evaluate the usefulness of **Source D** as evidence of the reasons why some people fought for the Nationalists in the Spanish Civil War. **12**

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MARKS

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 Attlee revived the fortunes of the Labour Party by 1939? **25**

74. 'The Royal Navy made the greatest military contribution to the prevention of a German invasion of Britain in 1940.'

How valid is this view? **25**

75. How effective were Britain's civil defence measures in protecting the country during the Second World War? **25**

76. 'The decline of Britain's imperial influence can be directly attributed to the Second World War.'

How valid is this view? **25**

77. To what extent were the party reforms carried out by Butler and Woolton the main reason for the Conservative election victory of 1951? **25**

[Turn over

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

Part B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the following three questions.

Source A from *1930s Britain* by Robert Pearce (2010)

> The inter-war years were not completely a sterile, wasted period. After the Great War, new employment opportunities were needed, and they were created in the 1930s. Most 'new industries' were located in the South and Midlands where there was remarkable expansion in the aircraft industry, at Bristol and Coventry, and in the production of cars at Longbridge in Birmingham and Dagenham in Essex. The introduction of the assembly line may have lessened job satisfaction, but it brought a range of other benefits. Work in the light-engineering factories was cleaner and easier and better paid than in the old staple industries. The factories themselves did not look like factories at all with their sleek lines and their gleaming surfaces. Furthermore, the economic growth led to better roads, new branches of banks and insurance offices, entertainment and the prospect of better education and social services. Thus, it was a decade that can be characterised as one of significant change.

Source B from *We Danced All Night: A Social History of Britain Between the Wars* by Martin Pugh (2008)

> Modern interpretations of the period between the First and Second World Wars take far greater account of the fact that it was not one of continuous depression. Yet, by the late 1930s, after a period of growth, there were indications that Britain was heading back into a slump as unemployment rose from 10.8% to 12.9% in 1937, causing fresh social tensions in the process. The results were obvious to shoppers in London's Oxford Street, five days before Christmas 1938, who were shocked to see a hundred unemployed men carrying large yellow placards and shouting 'Work or bread' and 'We want extra winter allowances.' Stunts like these won publicity for the unemployed, but whether they made much political impact is unclear. Unemployment was still stubbornly high at 11% when the war broke out in 1939 and although last-minute rearmament was helping to reduce it, it would take the Second World War to finally push unemployment below the 10% mark at last.

MARKS

Source C from an entry in the war diary of Field Marshal Lord Alanbrooke dated 30 August, 1943

> Went up to War Office at usual time. Soon I shall be back at the usual grinding work but feel badly in want of a let up as the Quebec conference has left me exhausted. Winston made matters almost impossible. Like a spoilt child, he has an unfortunate trick of setting his heart on some isolated operation without ever really looking into it and brushing everything else aside. It is an untold relief to be away from him for a bit. Perhaps the most remarkable failing of his is that he can never see a whole strategical problem at once, so it is difficult to make him realise the influence of one theatre on another. I wonder whether any historian of the future will be able to paint Winston in his true colours. It is a wonderful character — the most marvellous qualities of superhuman genius mixed with an impulsiveness, and although he is quite the most difficult man to work with, I should not have missed the chance to work with him for anything on earth!

Source D from *Britain: Domestic Politics, 1939–64* by Paul Adelman (1994)

> The Labour Government of 1945–1951 was one of the most powerful and creative administrations of the 20th century. The National Insurance Act (1946), in the words of James Griffiths, the minister responsible for the legislation, 'represented the culmination of half a century's development of our British Social Services' through consolidating and enlarging existing provisions. Closely allied with its social security programme were Labour's plans for health, the responsibility of Aneurin Bevan. At the age of 47, Bevan was the youngest cabinet member and had spent the war years in the Commons sniping at Churchill's leadership. Although Bevan's Health Bill was initially opposed by the British Medical Association, the doctors in the end gave way with more and more doctors prepared to join the new National Health Service after it was inaugurated in July 1948. By November, Bevan was able to inform the House of Commons that 93.1% of the population were enrolled, marking a significant personal triumph.

Attempt ALL of the following questions.

78. How much do **Sources A** and **B** reveal about differing interpretations of the socio-economic conditions in Britain by 1939? **16**

79. Evaluate the usefulness of **Source C** as evidence of Churchill's effectiveness as a wartime leader. **12**

80. How fully does **Source D** explain the effectiveness of Labour ministers in creating the welfare state between 1945 and 1951? **12**

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