



National
Qualifications
2019

X737/77/11

History

MONDAY, 13 MAY
9:00 AM – 12:00 NOON

Total marks — 90

Attempt ONE section only.

Write your answers clearly in the answer booklet provided. In the answer booklet you must clearly identify the question number you are attempting.

Use **blue** or **black** ink.

Before leaving the examination room you must give your answer booklet to the Invigilator; if you do not, you may lose all the marks for this paper.



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SECTION 1 – Northern Britain: From the Iron Age to 1034

Attempt **BOTH** parts

Part A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks

Attempt **TWO** questions.

1. ‘The Romans had very little impact on Iron Age society in Northern Britain.’
How valid is this view? 25

2. To what extent was St Columba the key figure in the Christian conversion of Northern Britain? 25

3. ‘The Angles never had more than a minor influence on the development of Scotland.’
How valid is this view? 25

4. How far can it be argued that the Vikings’ impact on Northern Britain extended well beyond the Northern and Western Isles? 25

5. ‘Kenneth MacAlpin created Alba on the battlefield.’
How valid is this interpretation of the formation of the Kingdom of Alba by the end of the 9th century? 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 questions which follow.

Source A from *The Last Frontier* by Antony Kamm (2009)

The Romans referred to them as barbarians – a word which comes from the supposedly unintelligible languages spoken by early Anatolians and which were heard by the Greeks as ‘bar, bar’ – simply because to them anyone was a barbarian who lived outside the frontiers of the Roman Empire. Societies of these Celtic speaking barbarians were widely dispersed throughout Britain and Ireland as indeed they were throughout Western Europe. The Celtic economy was based on agriculture with farmers tilling the land and tending to their animals. The woad-painted warriors defended their lands against any attempts to encroach on their territory (for the most part these were other Celtic tribes, a significant point to remember as the complex relations between Celts is a much-neglected field). Their highly skilled artists and craftsmen produced quality goods for the aristocracy and for export, in return for wine and luxury items. Celtic coins began to be produced in Britain at the end of the 2nd century BC but the tribes in Scotland did not use money, relying instead on barter.

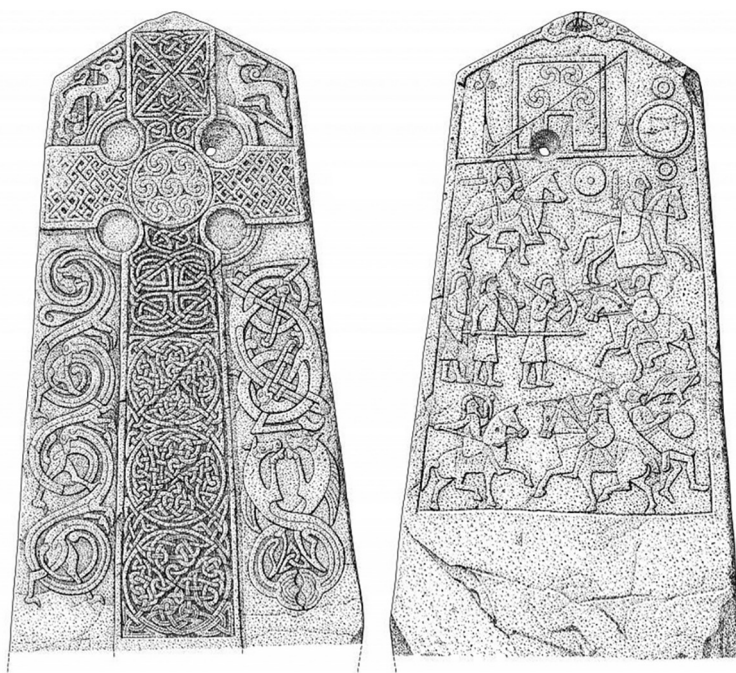
Source B from *Celtic Scotland* by Ian Armit (2000)

Roman writers had every reason to have judgements about the Celts. After all the classic monument of the Iron Age is surely the hillfort. There is evidence for about 1,000 Iron Age hillforts in Scotland, most located below the Clyde-Forth line. These were stoutly defended by ramparts and ditch. But more recent studies have shown that defensive capabilities of such sites were of secondary importance. As with the monumental roundhouses of the time, prestige, status or even ritual and religion could all play a part. The classical author Tacitus wrote that the Celts were ‘prone to fight’. Despite Roman testimony to the ferocity of Celtic society, the evidence suggests that in the pre-invasion period, the indigenous populations of Scotland were enjoying their most peaceful and prosperous period for several centuries. Landscapes formerly crowded with hillforts and enclosures appear to have been replaced by more open settlements and signs of increasingly stable conditions.

Source C from *Hadrian's Wall* by David Breeze (2006)

Hadrian's Wall is a recognition of the Romans' abandonment of their intention to conquer Britain. The Romans became more interested in controlling the movement of people and goods into and out of their empire, and their once mobile army became fossilised on the frontiers. Hadrian's biographer in the *Historia Augusta* said: 'And so, having reformed the army quite in the manner of a monarch, Hadrian set out for Britain, and there he corrected many abuses and the first to construct a wall, eighty miles in length.' This was the ultimate contemporary method of frontier control. Frontier defence was another matter and was the responsibility of the regiments based in the frontier zone. Ultimately, Roman frontiers were unsuccessful almost everywhere in the empire. They were useful for frontier control, but the empire still needed to be defended by its army. When that was no longer possible, the frontier defences ceased to have any value. This was seen in Britain, it was seen in Germany, it was seen on the Danube.

Source D the front and rear faces of a cross slab (Pictish class 2 symbol stone), circa AD 800, located in Aberlemno churchyard in Angus.



Attempt all of the following questions.

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| 6. How much do Sources A and B reveal about differing interpretations of the nature of society in Iron Age Northern Britain? | 16 |
| 7. How fully does Source C explain the importance of Hadrian's Wall as part of the northern frontier of the Roman Empire? | 12 |
| 8. Evaluate the usefulness of Source D as evidence of an understanding of Pictish society. | 12 |

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

Attempt **BOTH** parts

Part A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks

Attempt **TWO** questions.

9. 'The Scottish political community acted collectively to maintain Scotland's peace and prosperity between 1286 and 1290.'
How valid is this view? 25
10. How far can it be claimed that King John was never more than a figurehead in the Scottish government? 25
11. To what extent were the Scottish nobles acting in their own dynastic interests in resisting Edward I between 1298 and 1305? 25
12. 'Bannockburn did little to help Bruce settle the war against England.'
How valid is this view? 25
13. How important was the Declaration of Arbroath in helping King Robert to establish his government between 1309 and 1320? 25

[Turn over

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

Part B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the questions which follow.

Source A from *Haakon's Saga: the life and reign of King Haakon Haakonarson of Norway* by Icelandic historian Sturla Þórðarson (1264–1265)

Letters from the Hebrides to King Haakon presented information about the destruction of peace there by the Earl of Ross and other Scots who, acting under King Alexander's orders, went to Skye and burned a town and some churches. They also said the Scottish king intended to place the Hebrides under his authority. King Haakon proclaimed he intended to go with this army to Scotland to avenge the attacks. King Haakon sailed south along Kintyre to Gigha. There John Comyn, Lord of Badenoch, came to him, going on board Bishop Thorgil's ship. The king asked John to accompany him as he was bound to do but John refused saying that he had sworn an oath to the Scottish king and held larger dominions of him than of the king of Norway.

On Monday night, a great storm developed and Norwegian long-ships were driven on to shore. When the Scots saw this they gathered together and went down and let loose their arrows at the Norwegians. Alexander's Scottish army attacked constantly from a distance; few men fell but many were wounded.

Source B from *The Three Edwards: War and State in England 1272–1377* by Michael Prestwich (1996)

Eventually the verdict went in favour of Balliol. How impartial had Edward I been during the Great Cause? He had placed the Scots under considerable pressure during the hearings: an English fleet off Holy Island prevented supplies reaching Scottish ports. Troops were summoned from the north of England, mustering after the initial adjournment. There was no reason, however, to suppose that the eventual verdict was the result of a cynical manipulation of the law – Edward went to great trouble to obtain advice, summoning university representatives to Norham and consulting lawyers overseas. Balliol's case was the strongest, even if it has to be admitted that it suited Edward to have as king of Scotland a man who was a substantial landowner in the north of England, and who seemed likely to prove more subservient than Bruce. The Great Cause, as the hearings were known, was a considerable triumph for Edward. Its importance was demonstrated by the magnificent record of the proceedings made by a public notary.

Source C from *William Wallace's Invasion of Northern England in 1297* by Colm McNamee (1990)

Wallace's intentions in raiding northern England are difficult to understand. He displays interest in the strategic targets of Berwick, Newcastle and Carlisle; yet he declined to assault any of them. His failure to take on Warenne or the men of Newcastle outside poorly-defended towns looks like lost opportunities. Attention should be drawn to the behaviour of the men before Newcastle, where instead of assaulting the town, plunder was shared.

It may indeed be questioned how far Wallace was in control. Wallace was apparently led to invade England by the spontaneous reaction of the Scottish people. His belated appearance in England gives an impression that Wallace entered England in order to supervise the raiding, or to ensure that it did not get out of hand. The near-contemporary chronicles indicate that the invasion force was predominantly composed of infantry, and that it was swollen by a mass of country-folk, with perhaps some cavalry provided by Scottish nobles.

Source D from *Robert the Bruce* by Caroline Bingham (1999)

The successes of Wallace brought the argumentative magnates of Scotland together. In March 1298 the earls, barons and churchmen who supported the patriotic cause met in the Forest of Selkirk. The great southern forest was not unbroken woodland; it contained open areas where Wallace's soldiers could encamp and large forest clearings where gatherings could be held, concealed by the surrounding woods. At the so-called 'Forest Parliament', William Wallace was elected Guardian of Scotland. Unlike the earlier Guardians, he held office alone: the appointment demonstrated confidence in his military prowess and political capability, but may also imply that disagreement among the magnates prevented them from entrusting the office to one of themselves. One of the earls knighted Wallace, thus giving him the status that would enable him to deal with the greater nobility and foreign powers in the theoretical equality of the chivalric order. Legend has it that Sir William Wallace was knighted by Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, symbolically linking the legendary heroes, but there is no evidence as to which of the earls performed the ceremony.

Attempt all of the following questions.

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| 14. Evaluate the usefulness of Source A as evidence of King Alexander III's attempts to extend his royal authority over his kingdom. | 12 |
| 15. How fully does Source B explain how successfully King Edward I increased his influence over the Scots between 1291 and 1292? | 12 |
| 16. How much do Sources C and D reveal about differing interpretations of the importance of William Wallace to Scottish resistance between 1297 and 1305? | 16 |

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SECTION 3 — Italy: The Renaissance in the 15th and Early 16th CenturiesAttempt **BOTH** parts

Part A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks

Attempt **TWO** questions.

17. 'They were economic power houses.'
How valid is this as an explanation for the prosperity of Florence and Venice during the Renaissance? 25
18. 'Images and buildings of the early Renaissance were still predominantly medieval in style.'
How valid is this view of Italian art and architecture by the middle of the 15th century? 25
19. 'The geographical location of the city of Venice was of the utmost importance to the development of Venetian art.'
How valid is this view? 25
20. How far can it be argued that women in Renaissance Italy were equal in status to men? 25
21. To what extent were the popes of the High Renaissance mainly concerned with worldly status? 25

[Turn over

SECTION 3 — Italy: The Renaissance in the 15th and Early 16th Centuries

Part B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the questions which follow.

Source A from *On Liberal Studies* by Pier Paolo Vergerio the Elder (1404)

How many are the gaps which the ignorance of past ages has wilfully caused in the long and noble roll of writers! Books, in part or in their entirety, have been allowed to perish. When we come to the consideration of the various subjects which may rightly be included under the name of 'Liberal Studies', among these I accord the first place to history, on grounds both of its attractiveness and of its utility. It was the great orator and writer Marcus Tullius Cicero who wrote: 'To be ignorant of what occurred before you were born is to remain always a child. For what is the worth of human life, unless it is woven into the life of our ancestors by the records of history?' Respecting the general place of liberal studies, we remember that Aristotle would not have them absorb the entire interests of life: for he kept steadily in view the nature of man as a citizen, an active member of the state.

Source B from *The Florentine government's obituary for the death of Lorenzo de' Medici* (1492)

On the motion of the chief magistrate it has seemed good to the Senate and people of Florence to establish a public testimonial of gratitude to the memory of the lately deceased Lorenzo de' Medici, a man without equal, in order that virtue might not be unhonoured among Florentines, and that, other citizens may be incited to serve the commonwealth with might and wisdom. Whereas he, the foremost man of all this city did, during his whole life, neglect no opportunity of increasing, adorning and raising this city. Much like the well-known saying of Augustus, recorded by Suetonius, that he found a city of bricks, but left it of marble, so Lorenzo adorned Florence; and devoted to that object all his thoughts and powers. He secured public order by excellent laws. His presence brought a dangerous war to its end which regained the places lost in battle. In addition, he took other territories belonging to the enemy.

Source C from *Power and Imagination* by Lauro Martines (1978)

The 15th century was an age of enormous self-assurance for the governing elites. The interest in flattering self-images, at once direct and devious, became one of the leading pleasures of the day, nowhere more than at the courts where the wealth of painted and sculpted portraits was only the most obvious sign of this interest. Never before had Italian ruling groups placed so much faith in their ability to control their presentation of the surrounding world. Painters at court spent much time executing portraits of princes, of the favourites of princes, and of their favourite pets mainly dogs and falcons, more rarely horses. The striking of commemorative medallions – those sharply incised profile portraits of princes and lesser worthies – began in the courts of the Este, Visconti, Gonzaga and others. In imitation of Roman models, the profiles were occasionally crowned with laurel leaves. Next there were the flattering images to be found in the objects scattered around the court in tapestries, playing cards, decorated earthenware, embroidered silks, wedding chests and even a variety of sugar confection for special banquets.

Source D from *Italian Renaissance Courts: Art, Pleasure and Power* by Alison Cole (2016)

There were real advantages for the artist to working at court, though enthusiasm for permanent positions had to be balanced against severe restrictions of freedom because the artist was expected to serve the Prince in whatever capacity was required of him. Artists were usually accommodated in the palace, although the most celebrated or long serving were given the gift of a house or the funds to buy one. Mantegna built his own palazzo in Mantua. There was, of course, a guaranteed salary – in theory, though not always in practice – which was offered in return for the painter's services. This salary covered the living quarters and expenses of the painter and his family, and travel expenses. On top of that were also clothing allowances so that the artist could dress in the manner befitting of a courtier.

Attempt all of the following questions.

22. How fully does **Source A** explain the values of Italian humanists? 12
23. Evaluate the usefulness of **Source B** as evidence of the extent of the influence of Lorenzo de' Medici on the status of Florence. 12
24. How much do **Sources C** and **D** reveal about differing interpretations of the contribution of the princely courts to the development of the arts in the Italian Renaissance? 16

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SECTION 4 — Scotland: From the Treaty of Union to the Enlightenment, 1707–1815

Attempt **BOTH** parts

Part A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks

Attempt **TWO** questions.

25. How far can it be argued that the Treaty of Union was mainly responsible for Scotland's economic growth during the 18th century? 25
26. To what extent was the defeat of the Jacobite rising of 1745–1746 due to the effectiveness of the Hanoverian response? 25
27. To what extent was the challenge to the Kirk's authority in the 18th century due to the Patronage Act? 25
28. To what extent does David Hume deserve to be considered Scotland's most significant contributor to the Enlightenment? 25
29. 'Schools achieved their aim of delivering education which benefited the overwhelming majority of the population.'
How valid is this view of the effectiveness of Scottish schools during the 18th century? 25

[Turn over

SECTION 4 — Scotland: From the Treaty of Union to the Enlightenment, 1707–1815

Part B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the questions which follow.

Source A from a proclamation of the *Privy Council*, 13th July 1714

Catholics, Episcopalians and other non-jurors have for too long wrongly complained of alleged injustices. In truth, they are disloyal. Their secret plotting to enlist soldiers to the Pretender's cause is their one objective to secure his unjust claim to the British throne.

Queen Anne, and her loyal subjects have thus far been forced into an act in self-defence. Magistrates will be empowered to remove weapons from Catholics, Episcopalians and other non-jurors suspected of treachery and to place them under arrest. Moreover, Her Majesty's government will actively collect exact records of their activities and actions. Should any of these persons refuse to swear allegiance to our rightful Queen as demanded by the Act for Taking the Oath of Allegiance they will be denied the right to own weapons other than a walking stick. Moreover, they will be declared a popish criminal and a convict. The Act for the Security of Her Majesty's Person and Government will ensure the Treaty of Union remains entire and complete.

Source B from *The Improvers and the Scottish Environment* by T C Smout (1999)

The term Improver is to be understood as landowners of the period between 1720–1820, assisted by their land stewards and large tenants, who in their own districts broke with agricultural traditions of the past. In popularising clover and greatly extending liming the Improvers provided things qualitatively new and critical. Those who got to grips with bogs were heroes and patriots, like Lord Kames. There is no doubt that reclamation of bogs large and small ultimately provided many hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions of acres for agriculture.

In other ways the Improvers' attitudes were much more conservative – much of their efforts went into tasks of manufacturing soil with muck and turf. They were often drawing experimental blanks or trying to breathe new life into ancient, desperate remedies. They could never have improved Scotland unless price movements had rewarded their efforts after 1760, and particularly after 1790, so the demand side was critical.

Source C from *A History of Scotland* by Rosalind Mitchison (2002)

This was the great age of improvement, a term which embraced the reorganisation of the whole farming system of the country. Though there had been examples of 'improving' landlords earlier in the century it is in the 1760s and 1770s that all over Scotland land owners set out to persuade their tenants to adopt more intensive land use.

The introduction of leases was a means of exercising pressure for improvement and encouraging good practices. Only with a longer interest in the soil could the peasant be prevented from abusing it. If he would allow the land to recover between crops he could send his grain yield up.

Improved farming included a new structure of farms which were larger. Eventually the freeing of peasantry from services ensured that no longer would the tenantry of Lasswade be made available to carry coal at their landowner's wish. The farmers of south-east Scotland responded particularly well to this new independence.

Source D from *The Union of 1707 to the Franchise Reform of 1832* by Bruce Lenman (2002)

Conditions were ripe for the re-emergence of a powerful Scottish manager, in the shape of Pitt's right hand man, Henry Dundas of Arniston. Gradually he built up a fantastic complex of patronage, as well as becoming the first Viscount Melville. Always intensely interested in India with which he had extensive family connections, he became the first President of the Board of Control of the East India Company. Dundas' position in the East India Company allowed him to secure positions of employment for many Scots on an unprecedented scale.

He was also treasurer of the navy, and after the outbreak of war with revolutionary France he came to be the dominant figure in the British military effort against both the republican regime and the successor imperialism of Napoleon Bonaparte. When to East India Company naval and military patronage is added general government patronage appropriate to the second most senior minister, his relentlessly expanding grip on the Scottish constituencies becomes wholly comprehensible.

Attempt all of the following questions.

30. Evaluate the usefulness of **Source A** as evidence of the reasons why some Scots supported the 1715 rebellion. 12
31. How much do **Sources B** and **C** reveal about differing interpretations of the impact of the Improvers upon Lowland agriculture during the 18th century? 16
32. How fully does **Source D** explain the methods used by Henry Dundas to maintain his control of government in Scotland during the last three decades of the 18th century? 12

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

Attempt **BOTH** parts

Part A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks

Attempt **TWO** questions.

33. To what extent were disputes over slavery between North and South the main reason for the outbreak of Civil War in 1861? 25
34. How justified is the view that the North held an overwhelming advantage over the South at the outbreak of Civil War in 1861? 25
35. How far can it be argued that the Battle of Antietam was a turning point in the Civil War? 25
36. 'European powers hoped to influence the course of the Civil War but were deterred by the skill of Northern diplomats.'
How valid is this view? 25
37. How far can it be argued that Lincoln's re-election as President in 1864 was unsurprising in the circumstances? 25

[Turn over

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

Part B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the questions which follow.

Source A from an editorial in the *Richmond Enquirer Newspaper* referring to the Dred Scott Decision, 13th March 1857

Abolitionism has always clamoured loudly for liberty, equality and justice among men. The Supreme Court, the interpreter of the Constitution and arbiter of disagreement between the States, has now made a decision which destroys the foundations upon which the abolitionists' warfare against the institutions of the South is based. The abolitionists are completely taken aback and bewildered; they are at a loss to understand this decision. They have been defeated in the field of their own choice; foiled in an effort they have been making for years.

The decision in the Dred Scott case must be a finality, so far as the federal legislation on the institution of slavery is concerned. Abolitionism, from its earliest inception and in all its efforts, has been based upon assumptions of an authority more important than the Constitution. It has supported this with arguments teeming with treason and enforced by means regardless of recognized rights and the laws of the land. Yet the abolitionists will rally again with renewed determination. Reckless of wrong or right, regardless of the law of this nation, they will rush to end the extension of slavery or destroy the Constitution or the Union.

Source B from *The American Civil War; The War in the West 1863–1865* by Joseph T Glatthaar (2002)

In February 1862, Grant transported his 15,000 soldiers down the Tennessee River to secure Fort Henry. By the time he arrived there, rain and flooding had swamped Fort Henry forcing the Confederate forces to firmer ground at Fort Donelson. Unlike so many Union officers, Grant grasped the value of initiative in warfare and immediately shifted focus. Resisting an initial Union assault, the Confederates launched a surprise attack but quickly withdrew the attack following significant casualties. Grant was always aggressive in warfare and in seizing the opportunity to counterattack sealed the Union breakthrough of the Confederate lines. Confederate commander Brigadier-General Buckner requested terms of surrender. Grant's reply, wholly in character with his approach to warfare, captured the imagination of the northern public: 'No terms except an unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted'. His heroic status in February 1862 would be short-lived however as his forces clashed with the Confederates at the Battle of Shiloh in early April 1862. The Northern public were appalled by the 13,000 Union casualties. Cries for Grant's removal were heard from all around the country.

Source C from a letter written by General Robert E Lee to Confederate Secretary of War James Seddon on 10th January 1863

The spirit of our soldiers is unabated despite the strength of our enemy, but our ranks have been greatly thinned by casualties of battle and disease in the camp. Losses in battle are rendered much heavier by reason of our being compelled to encounter the enemy with inferior numbers; the great increase of the enemy's forces will augment the disparity of numbers to such a degree that victory, if attained, can only be achieved by a terrible expenditure of the most precious blood of the country. My anxiety arises further from the present immobility of the army, owing to the condition of the horses and the scarcity of the forage and provisions. Our enemy is significantly better resourced for battle than we are at present. If we are to be placed in a condition to make a vigorous advance, I think the Valley could be swept of Milroy and the army opposite me be thrown north of the Potomac.

Source D from *God and the Strongest Battalions* by Richard Current (1960)

At the highest level of leadership in the North and the South where strategy was determined, the Union was clearly superior when considering the rival Presidents. Lincoln was an abler and a stronger man than Davis consistently demonstrating his superior mind and strength of character. The North developed at an early date an overall plan of strategy to make enemy armies their main objective and to move all of the Federal forces against the enemy line simultaneously. Lincoln pressed upon his generals almost from the beginning of the war that this was the most direct means of defeating the South and eventually established a unified Northern command system which would put this strategy into effect. In contrast, the South was unable to establish either a unified central command or an effective strategy to defeat the North. As a consequence, the narrow, defensive approach to the war was the worst strategy for the South.

Attempt all of the following questions.

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|---|----|
| 38. Evaluate the usefulness of Source A as evidence of the responses to the Dred Scott Decision, 1857. | 12 |
| 39. How fully does Source B explain the effectiveness of the military leadership of General Grant during the Civil War? | 12 |
| 40. How much do Sources C and D reveal about differing interpretations of the reasons for Northern victory by 1865? | 16 |

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

Attempt **BOTH** parts

Part A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks

Attempt **TWO** questions.

41. To what extent did the Tokugawa Shogunate depend upon the Daimyo to maintain control? 25
42. How justified is the view that 1868 marked a political turning point in Japan? 25
43. How far did the changes in the Japanese educational system after 1868 sever links with her cultural past? 25
44. 'From 1868 the Zaibatsu played a prominent part in Japanese economic development.'
How valid is this assessment of the reasons for Japan's industrial reforms? 25
45. How far can it be argued that their victory over China altered Japan's position as a global power by 1900? 25

[Turn over

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

Part B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the questions which follow.

Source A from *Manifesto* by Oshio Heihachiro, a samurai and scholar, written around 1840

During the past 240 to 250 years of peace, those officials who are entrusted with important political affairs have recently openly given and received bribes. They levy an excessive amount of rice from common people and farmers in their own domains and the resulting excessive rise in the price of rice today does not deter the commissioner in Osaka and his officials from engaging in their arbitrary handling of policies. They are responsible for the transportation of rice around the country. The merchants in Osaka have over the years made profitable loans to the Daimyo and seized a large sum of gold, silver and stipend rice in interest and are now treated and appointed to positions comparable to elders in the households of the Daimyo. They see poor and beggars starve to death, but do not lift a finger to help them. These are my observations of our great nation, descended from the Sun Goddess.

Source B from *The Making of Modern Japan* by Marius Jansen (2002)

At the time the Meiji leaders took over, every country in the west with the possible exception of the United States, which had just demobilised after the Civil War, was rebuilding and rethinking its military system on the basis of the lessons of the Franco-Prussian War. In Japan in immediate post-Restoration days many men continued to look to French officers and tactics for guidance. Despite the French defeat at the hands of Prussia, the Meiji government regarded French theory and structure of the military as pre-eminent. Moreover, substantial moves in the direction of French guidance had begun in late Tokugawa, and it was logical for the regime to order, as it did in 1870, all domains to follow the French model for their land forces. Land forces turned to the German models in the 1880s. This was largely under the leadership of Yamagata's principal disciple Katsura Tarō who was also responsible for the invitation of the German military theorist Klemens Wilhelmina Jakob Meckel to come to Japan. For the navy the model had always been British, and it continued to be so.

Source C from *The Making of Modern Japan* by Kenneth Pyle (1996)

What is striking about this period after 1905 is that Japan seemed to have joined the ranks of the great powers and had acquired impressive overseas possessions. In spite of this fact, Japan was nonetheless beset by a keen sense of insecurity and vulnerability, a sense of fragility of its position. The fearful demands that imperialism was placing on Japanese society created a pervasive sense of uneasiness. The Meiji novelist Natsume Sōseki, despairing of the pace at which his country was driving itself, prophesied ‘nervous collapse’ and admonished his countrymen not to be deluded into thinking of Japan as capable of competition on an equal footing with the great powers. The famous poem, ‘Do Not Offer Your Life’, which Yolanda Akko addressed to her brother who was drafted in 1904 at the height of the conflict, spoke of a longing for a return to the private concerns of the family and home. This view favoured a shift to a less assertive international position, a ‘little Japanism’, that would abstain from continental expansion and would lay stress instead on improving living standards at home by developing trade and industry.

Source D from *A History of Japan* by Kenneth Henshall (1999)

In late May 1905, when the Russian fleet attempted to make the final leg of its marathon dash into Vladivostok, it was intercepted and destroyed in the Straits of Tsushima by the Japanese Combined Fleet. This decisive victory put Japan in a position of strength when it secretly asked President Theodore Roosevelt of the United States to mediate. Roosevelt did mediate, successfully. It was an effective victory for Japan. The ensuing Portsmouth Treaty of September 1905 restored China’s sovereignty in Manchuria (though in practice this was largely nominal). Territorially, Japan’s interests in Korea were also recognised when she was given the Russian lease on the Liaotung Peninsula and much of the Russian-built South Manchurian Railway. Japan had incurred huge expenses in the war, having to borrow heavily from Britain and the United States and wanted compensation from Russia. Tactics and leadership, however, had been crucial in their victory.

Attempt all of the following questions.

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| 46. Evaluate the usefulness of Source A as evidence of the range of internal factors causing a desire for change in the late Tokugawa period. | 12 |
| 47. How fully does Source B explain the nature of Japanese military and naval reforms after 1868? | 12 |
| 48. How much do Sources C and D reveal about differing interpretations of the impact of Japan’s defeat of Russia in 1905? | 16 |

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

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

49. How far can it be argued that the revolutionary events of 1918–1919 in Germany were simply the result of military defeat? **25**
50. How valid is the view that Stresemann's policy of fulfilment (*Erfüllungspolitik*) between 1924 and 1929 failed to disguise his true aims as a German nationalist? **25**
51. 'The intrigues of the political elite around Hindenburg played the key role in the appointment of Hitler as Chancellor.'
How valid is this view of political developments in Germany between 1929 and 1933? **25**
52. 'An economic miracle.'
How justified is the view that Nazi economic policy steered Germany towards economic recovery between 1933 and 1939? **25**
53. How far can it be argued that there was no effective opposition to Nazism in Germany between 1933 and 1939? **25**

[Turn over

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

Part B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the questions which follow.

Source A from a private letter written by President Ebert in September 1920 to the prime minister of Sweden

As enormous as our task seems to be, it would be only half as difficult if the working class were united. It is, naturally, quite out of the question to think of reconciliation with the communist groups. The Independents (USPD) are in a ghastly muddle, oscillating between Soviet dictatorship and democracy. Thus, we have to defend the democratic republic for which we have been battling for decades, against attack from the Right but also from the Left. We are fighting against military putsches and against communist putsches for the safety of the Republic. In any event, we are holding firm to the line of democracy and we will succeed.

The peace conditions have forced us to accept a troop of mercenaries — dangerous for any state. The thing to do would be, first of all, to remove from this body all the reactionary officers. The same kind of cleaning up would also be good for the administration.

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

The panic reaction of the Nazi leadership to the Reichstag Fire, and the rapidity with which the harsh measures against the Communists were improvised, derived directly from their fears. The Nazi leaders were all convinced that the [Reichstag] fire was a signal for a Communist uprising. Fears that the Communists would not remain passive, that they would undertake some major show of force before the [5th March] election, had been rife among the Nazi leadership — and among non-Nazi members of the national government.

The emergency decree, 'For the Protection of People and State', was the last item dealt with by the Cabinet on 28th February. With one brief paragraph, the personal liberties enshrined in the Weimar Constitution were suspended indefinitely. With another brief paragraph, the autonomy of the Länder [German states] was overridden by the right of the Reich government to intervene to restore order. The hastily constructed emergency decree amounted to the charter of the Third Reich.

Source C from *Nazi Germany* by Tim Kirk (2007)

Matters came to a head in the early summer of 1934. Hitler felt under increasing pressure to curb Röhm's ambitions and the activity of the stormtroopers, especially in view of the weakness of the economy and Germany's international position.

Conservative criticism of the stormtroopers was increasingly outspoken and the SS, finding its own ambitions thwarted, encouraged the antagonism and spread rumours of an SA conspiracy to stage a coup. Although the killings of 30 June were clearly illegal on any reading of the law, approval of Hitler's actions was almost universal. The army expressed its support for the purge through the Defence Minister Werner von Blomberg. In a speech of 13 July Hitler characterised his actions as those of Germany's supreme judge taking decisive measures in the national interest, an argument echoed by Carl Schmitt (the leading German professor of law), who argued that Hitler *protected* the law from the gravest abuse by acting in times of danger and, as Führer, making law directly.

Source D was written in 1938 by Dr Robert Ritter, head of the Establishment for Research in Hereditary Science in Berlin

We must also tackle the problem of the Roma. There is a hereditary disposition towards criminality which is produced by inter-breeding with 'blood' and 'criminal stock'. Primitive man does not change and cannot be changed. Instead of punitive measures, suitable provision should be made for preventing the further emergence of primitive asocials and the offspring of criminal stock by way of segregation of the sexes or sterilisation. As a rule, Roma mixed race are highly unstable, lacking in character, unpredictable, unreliable, as well as slothful or unsettled or hot-tempered: in short, workshy and asocial. The Roma question can be solved only when the majority of asocial and unproductive Roma are placed in large work camps and the further reproduction of this mixed race population is terminated. Other asocials should be dealt with in the same rigorous manner. Only then will future generations of the German people be freed from this burden.

Attempt all of the following questions.

54. Evaluate the usefulness of **Source A** as evidence of the extent of the political challenges faced by the Weimar Republic between 1919 and 1923. 12
55. How much do **Sources B** and **C** reveal about differing interpretations of the reasons for the Nazi Party consolidation of power between 1933 and 1934? 16
56. How fully does **Source D** explain the extent of the implementation of Nazi racial policies between 1933 and 1939? 12

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

Attempt **BOTH** parts

Part A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks

Attempt **TWO** questions.

57. 'Their primary aim was to maintain the strength of the British Empire.'
How valid is this view of the policies of Milner and Selborne in South Africa before 1910? 25
58. How far can it be argued that Smuts' commitment to the Allies during the Second World War cost him the 1948 election? 25
59. To what extent was the growth of African resistance between 1948 and 1959 due to the work of the ANC? 25
60. To what extent were National Party policies of the 1960s driven by economic interests? 25
61. How justified is the view that the greatest international pressure on the apartheid state after 1976 was from the anti-apartheid movement? 25

[Turn over

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

Part B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the questions which follow.

Source A from *White Laager* by W H Vatcher Jr (1965)

After the Boer War, Dutch leaders set up private Afrikaans schools to revive Afrikaner morale and teach the tenets of Calvinism. The Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) took the lead in agitating for the establishment of such 'Christian-National' schools, and DRC preachers were active in school committees. After self-government was granted to the Orange Free State and Transvaal, the Boer schools were dissolved and amalgamated with the government schools. Thereafter, agitation for Christian-National Education schools waned, but it never quite died. The Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches sponsored a number of schools, which attracted many Afrikaner children. Afrikaner leaders became concerned and, when the language issue sharpened, the DRC again began intensive agitation for Christian-National Education. In a sense the struggle for this was a defensive effort. It was a reaction to forces that threatened to drown Calvinist influence. It was another attempt to *laager* (protect themselves).

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

By contrast, the Afrikaner Broederbond was founded in 1918 by a small gathering of police officers, railway clerks from poor Afrikaner families, clergy and teachers in the Transvaal province. The new organisation called *Jong Suid-Africa* (Young South Africa), changed its name the following year in 1919 to the Afrikaner Broederbond. However, its origins were modest. The self-selected body, was established in a house in Kensington, Johannesburg and became a secret organisation in 1924. In 1929, it generated in turn the organisation of a broad cultural organisation, the *Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings* (FAK), which brought it to a much wider public audience, especially among civil servants, Afrikaans teachers, clergy and other professional men composing the Afrikaner elite.

From here, the Afrikaner Broederbond also tended to reorient itself toward constructing economic power (convening the first *Ekonomiese Volkskongres* in 1939). From this focus in the 1930s, there was, toward the end of this period, a growing shift toward the construction of effective, viable business enterprises dominated by Afrikaners.

Source C from *Twentieth Century South Africa* by William Beinart (2001)

For Africans in the countryside new laws such as those governing access to game or forests could criminalise what had been everyday activity. Those who lived on farms faced different impositions from those experienced in the reserves. Isolated and unprotected, their direct action, such as ham-stringing cattle, cutting fences, and going slow at work, tended to be dispersed and individual. Mobility was often the best defensive strategy, though difficult where large communities tried to maintain their social cohesion. For some on the farms the best option seemed to be in playing the segregationist game and seeking restoration of land. The African tenants of Harrismith district in the Free State, whom Gumede helped to represent, were on prime maize territory. They claimed their land had been sold from under their feet by an unscrupulous Afrikaner official. When legal cases and a deputation to Britain failed, they identified themselves as a tribe with a chief to claim reserved land. They were unsuccessful and many ended up moving from one place to another.

Source D from a statement by Nelson Mandela at the opening of the Defence Case in the Rivonia Trial, 20th April 1964

I have already mentioned that I was one of the persons who helped to form Umkonto. We believed that as a result of Government policy, violence by the African people had become inevitable, and that unless responsible leadership was given to control the feelings of our people, there would be outbreaks of terrorism which would produce an intensity of bitterness and hostility between the various races of this country which is not produced even by war. We felt that without violence there would be no way open to the African people to succeed in their struggle against the principle of White supremacy. All lawful modes of expressing opposition to this principle had been closed by legislation, and we were placed in a position in which we had either to accept a permanent state of inferiority, or to defy the Government. We chose to defy the law. We first broke the law in a way which avoided any recourse to violence; when this form was legislated against, and then the Government resorted to a show of force to crush opposition to its policies, only then did we decide to answer violence with violence.

Attempt all of the following questions.

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| 62. | How much do Sources A and B reveal about differing interpretations of the reasons for the growth of Afrikaner nationalism prior to 1939? | 16 |
| 63. | How fully does Source C explain the weaknesses of resistance to segregation before 1948? | 12 |
| 64. | Evaluate the usefulness of Source D as evidence of the nature of resistance in the 1960s after the Sharpeville Massacre. | 12 |

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

Attempt **BOTH** parts

Part A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks

Attempt **TWO** questions.

65. How significant was the role of the military in causing the February Revolution of 1917? 25
66. To what extent was Soviet foreign policy successful in achieving its aims between 1917 and 1924? 25
67. ‘Lenin’s personal role was the driving force in shaping Soviet domestic policy following the Bolshevik seizure of power.’
How valid is this view of the creation of a socialist state in Russia by 1924? 25
68. To what extent was Stalin’s industrialisation policy caused by fear of war with the capitalist world? 25
69. ‘German military mistakes were largely responsible for the Soviet Union’s victory in the Great Patriotic War of 1941–1945.’
How valid is this view? 25

[Turn over

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

Part B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the questions which follow.

Source A from comments made by Alexander Guchkov in the Spring of 1917

The Provisional Government does not possess any real power and its directives are carried out only to the extent that it is permitted by the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. The Soviet enjoys all the essential elements of real power because the troops, the railways, the post and telegraph are all held by them. Our orders are only obeyed if they are not seen to be in conflict with the Soviet. The sacrifices of our heroic Army and Fatherland in three years of war cannot be allowed to be for nothing. Russia must not fall into chaos.

Production continues to fall in the shipyards and factories in Petrograd. For example, arms factories are only producing at 30 to 60 percent of what they did before the Revolution. Even the Council of Soldiers' and Workers' Deputies is powerless to contend with this. Sooner or later there will be a trial of strength between extremist elements and the Government but we do not have the physical power on which it could depend.

Source B from *Stalin: An Appraisal of the Man and his Influence* by Leon Trotsky (1941)

1917 was a most important stage in the growth of the future dictator. He himself said later that at Tiflis he was a schoolboy, at Baku he became an apprentice, in Petrograd he became a craftsman. Today Stalin appears as the leader of the October Revolution in the cinemas of the world; he has revised the facts of history in the same way, with regard to all the Old Bolsheviks, time and time again. One is forced to pause in sheer amazement before the cold, patient and cruel persistence directed toward one personal goal. The youthful Stalin had persistently undermined the members of the Tiflis Committee who were his superiors; now he tirelessly schemed in order to push aside anyone who eclipsed him or interfered with his ambition. It would be incorrect to think that he started out with a finished plan of action for personal aggrandisement. In one way he remained invariably consistent: regardless of all other considerations, he used each concrete situation to entrench his own position at the expense of his comrades—patiently, without passion, but also without mercy.

Source C from *Stalin: The Court of the Red Tsar* by Simon Sebag Montefiore (2003)

It is neither accurate nor helpful to blame the Terror on one man because systematic murder started soon after Lenin took power in 1917 and continued to Stalin's death; this social system which was based on blood-letting justified murder now with the prospect of happiness later. The Terror was not just a consequence of Stalin's monstrosity but it was certainly formed, expanded and accelerated by his uniquely overpowering character, reflecting his malice and vindictiveness. 'The greatest delight', he told Kamenev, 'is to mark one's enemy, prepare everything, avenge oneself thoroughly, and then go to sleep.' It would not have happened without Stalin, yet it also reflected the village hatreds of the incestuous Bolshevik sect where jealousies had seethed since the years of exile and war. Stalin and his faction regarded the Civil War as their finest hour. The responsibility lies with the hundreds of thousands of officials who ordered, or perpetrated, the murders; Stalin's officials enthusiastically, recklessly, almost joyfully, killed, and they usually killed many more than they were asked to kill.

Source D from *Stalin* by Oleg Khlevniuk (2015)

That Stalin himself was the inspiration behind the Terror has never been disputed by serious scholars, and further evidence of his involvement was found after the opening of the archives, which revealed how closely Moscow directed the operations. From that we learned that the Great Terror was actually a series of operations approved by the Politburo and aimed at different groups. The most far-reaching of these was against anti-Soviet elements. The list of targets suggests that the operation's purpose was the extermination or imprisonment of anyone the Stalinist leadership considered a current or potential threat.

NKVD Order No 00447 [had] quotas for the destruction of human lives, very much like those for the production of grain or metal. This goal was even more clear-cut in the nationalities operations conducted alongside the anti-Soviet elements operation. The two campaigns comprise the Great Terror. A highly centralised effort, it began in the summer of 1937 and concluded in November 1938. Based on the most recent knowledge, approximately 1.6 million people were arrested and 700,000 of them were shot.

Attempt all of the following questions.

- | | | |
|-----|--|----|
| 70. | How fully does Source A explain the extent of the problems faced by the Provisional Government in 1917? | 12 |
| 71. | Evaluate the usefulness of Source B as evidence of the reasons why Stalin was successful in the leadership struggle in the 1920s. | 12 |
| 72. | How much do Sources C and D reveal about differing interpretations of the reasons for the Great Terror of the 1930s? | 16 |

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

Attempt **BOTH** parts

Part A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks

Attempt **TWO** questions.

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|---|----|
| 73. How important was the Pact of San Sebastian in bringing about the fall of the monarchy in 1931? | 25 |
| 74. To what extent did the governments of the Bienio Negro reverse the reforms of the previous two years? | 25 |
| 75. To what extent did internal divisions prevent the Republic from defeating the military rising in 1936? | 25 |
| 76. How valid is the view that Franco became leader of the Nationalists due to his abilities as a military leader? | 25 |
| 77. How valid is the view that Franco was still at war within Spain after the Nationalists' victory in the Spanish Civil War? | 25 |

[Turn over

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

Part B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the questions which follow.

Source A from a speech by Gil Robles prior to the 1933 election

When the social order is threatened Catholics should unite to defend it and safeguard the principles of Christian civilisation. We are faced with a social revolution. In the political panorama of Europe I can see only the formation of Marxist and anti-Marxist groups and it is necessary now to defeat socialism. That is what is happening in Germany and in Spain also. This is the great battle we must fight this year. We must reconquer Spain. We must give Spain a true unity, a new spirit, a totalitarian policy. We must proceed to a new state and this imposes duties and sacrifices. What does it matter if we have to shed blood! We need full power and that is what we demand. To realise this ideal we are not going to waste time with archaic forms. Democracy is not an end but a means to the conquest of the new state; either parliament submits or we will eliminate it.

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

If there was going to be a long fight, the Republic seemed in a strong economic position as they had most of Spain's industry in Catalonia and the Basque country, the seat of Spanish clothing manufacture and iron and steel. The cereal growing areas of Spain were, on the other hand almost equally divided, even if, after some weeks Nationalist advances would give the rebels two-thirds of the wheat growing areas. A rough line might have been drawn between the places where the rising had been successful and where it had not. Behind this dividing line there were a hundred Spains, but two worlds. The Rebels' possession of Morocco, the two archipelagos of the Canaries and the Balearics (except for Minorca), together with most of the territory adjoining friendly Portugal, gave them a strategic advantage. On the other hand, the Republic had the two main entry points for rail and road to France as well as the North coast. Both contestants began to think of decisive help from abroad.

Source C from *Britain and the Spanish Civil War* by Tom Buchanan (1997)

Concern for the safety of capital was undoubtedly a consideration for the government. Of greater significance for the formation of policy was division within the Government especially under the prime ministership of Stanley Baldwin, who took little interest in foreign affairs. In the absence of Baldwin, control over Spanish policy rested with the foreign office and with Anthony Eden, whose policy on Spain evolved considerably during the Civil War. As Eden's suspicion of the two dictators (Hitler and Mussolini) deepened so too did his reluctance to contemplate a Franco victory. The political balance within the cabinet moved against Eden when Neville Chamberlain became Prime Minister in May 1937. Eden now saw a Republican victory as preferable to a Franco one achieved through massive Italian assistance. After prolonged tension, Eden resigned in February 1938. The desire to conciliate Italy, coinciding with the massive Italian intervention in Spain, ensured that for the British Government, the Spanish Civil War would be inextricably bound up with appeasement. This policy clearly counted against the Republicans.

Source D from *Spain at War* by George Esenwein and Adrian Shubert (1995)

France had not found it easy to detach herself from Spain's tragic circumstances. The Popular Front government of Léon Blum was sympathetic to Spain's appeals for aid and quickly made arrangements to assist Republican efforts to put down the rebellion. But the outbreak of hostilities in Spain came at a time when France was facing a domestic crisis. Blum was fearful that French involvement in Spain would serve as a catalyst for the volatile mix of social, economic and political conditions developing in France which threatened at any moment to boil over into civil war. No less important were foreign policy considerations. Blum's initial hopes of developing a policy which would aid the Spanish Republic were all but abandoned when it became apparent that Britain would not support independent French action in Spain. Although he was well aware of the dangers that a right wing victory in Spain posed to both Britain and France, Blum had a greater fear of what would happen if France were to be isolated from the rest of Europe.

Attempt all of the following questions.

78. Evaluate the usefulness of **Source A** as evidence of the reasons why the CEDA had so much popular support in the 1933 election. 12
79. How fully does **Source B** explain the relative significance of the strengths of the two sides at the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War? 12
80. How much do **Sources C** and **D** reveal about differing interpretations of the reasons for the development of British and French policy towards Spain during the Civil War? 16

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

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

81. To what extent was Chamberlain's resignation due to the failure of the Norway Campaign? 25
82. To what extent was the Royal Navy chiefly responsible for Britain's survival in 1940? 25
83. 'As a popular leader his inspirational powers were beyond dispute.'
How effective was Churchill as a wartime Prime Minister? 25
84. How successfully did Britain's agriculture and industry cope with the demands it faced during wartime? 25
85. 'He had his weaknesses, he made mistakes, some serious. But there is no question of Bevin's greatness.'
How valid is this view of Ernest Bevin as Foreign Secretary in the post-war Labour Governments? 25

[Turn over

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

Part B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the questions which follow.

Source A from *And We Will Shock Them* by David Fraser (1999)

On 15th March Germany discarded the pretence of regarding the Munich settlement as permanent satisfaction of her territorial ambitions. On news film, audiences watched the German Army marching into Prague. On 29th March 1939, the Secretary of State for War Hore-Belisha announced that the Territorial Army would be doubled in size — regardless of the fact that no plans had been made for the expansion, while the equipment of even the existing force was totally inadequate. The measures did, however, win a headline. In April, it was announced that conscription would be introduced, despite the Prime Minister's assurances.

Plans were agreed with the French. The Expeditionary Force of four infantry divisions would assemble in France and take position on the left of the French Army, opposite Belgium. On 31st March a guarantee was given to Poland, a guarantee extended on 7th April to Rumania and to Greece. Britain was now committed to war should Germany move in a direction where she had well-advertised claims.

Source B from *Their Finest Hour* by Winston S Churchill (1948)

These were the times when the English and particularly the Londoners were seen at their best. On my way to King's Cross the sirens sounded, the streets began to empty, except for long queues of very tired people waiting for the last bus. Away across the Atlantic, the prolonged bombardment of London, aroused a wave of sympathy in the United States. Passion flamed in American hearts, and in none more than in the heart of President Roosevelt. Under the pressures of the bombardment the shelters and defences grew continually and with six or seven million people living in a great built up area, the smashing of their sewers and water supply seemed to me a very great danger.

I feared that the long nights for millions in the crowded street shelters would perhaps produce epidemics of influenza, diphtheria, the common cold, and what not. In addition, there was a threat of a glass shortage as sometimes whole streets had every window smashed by the blast of a single bomb.

Source C from *Election '45* by Captain Roy Jenkins (1995)

It wasn't a very high poll but a pretty decisive result. The Labour Party got nearer I think than anybody's done since, to winning a majority of those voting. That's a magnificent performance compared with the 38%, 39% and 40% majorities on which parties have been elected since then.

The forces' vote was very strong. That's attributed to a great deal of educational work during the war, but educational work can't do all that much unless a mood is running in a certain direction. I think it was a feeling that the war had been won on a collective basis, and if you win the war on that basis you could organise the peace on that basis. I also think that four or five Labour leaders had become familiar, respected figures which required no great leap of imagination to see them as being leaders of government. Churchill's rather ill-judged attempt to present them as close colleagues during the war who'd suddenly become wild men overnight, obviously backfired very heavily.

Source D from *The Churchill Coalition and Wartime Politics* by Kevin Jeffreys (1991)

The bitterness of the election campaign made it increasingly difficult to discern exactly what was at stake. The Conservatives seeking to exploit Churchill's experience on the world stage compared with Attlee, placed an altogether greater emphasis on overseas policy in their campaign. Nor, on the theme of domestic policy, does a close scrutiny of party policies suggest any genuine meeting of minds. The Labour campaign was both carefully orchestrated and purposefully conducted. Labour's manifesto commitment was to a more far-reaching national insurance scheme based upon reinstating the principle of subsistence level payments. It was along such lines that Attlee's government first introduced the scheme in office, though it was soon overtaken by unforeseen financial pressures. Medical reform provided a clear illustration of how the parties could make similar election commitments while meaning in practice very different things. Labour candidates throughout the campaign emphasised their belief that a free and comprehensive health service was a central component of any new welfare system.

Attempt all of the following questions.

- 86.** How fully does **Source A** explain the extent of Britain's military preparedness at the outbreak of war in September 1939? 12
- 87.** Evaluate the usefulness of **Source B** as evidence of the impact the Blitz had on Britain. 12
- 88.** How much do **Sources C** and **D** reveal about differing interpretations of the reasons why the Labour Party won the 1945 General Election? 16

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