



National
Qualifications
2026

X837/77/11

History

THURSDAY, 14 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.

You must leave your answer booklet on your desk; if you do not, you could lose all the marks for this paper.



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SECTION 1 — Northern Britain: from the Iron Age to 1034Attempt **BOTH** Parts**Part A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks**Attempt **TWO** questions.

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| 1. 'Roman invasions of Northern Britain were motivated largely by economic gain.'
How valid is this view? | 25 |
| 2. To what extent did the coming of Christianity transform the lives of the peoples of Northern Britain by AD 900? | 25 |
| 3. To what extent can it still be argued that there is a 'Problem of the Picts'? | 25 |
| 4. How far can it be argued that the Britons of southern Scotland made a significant contribution to the development of the Scottish nation by 1034? | 25 |
| 5. How important a role did Kenneth MacAlpin play in the creation of Alba to AD 858? | 25 |

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

Part B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the following three questions.

Source A from *Scottish Prehistory* by Richard Oram (1997)

All the sources indicate that the basis of Celtic society by the end of the first millennium BC was tribal. We know about the territories of Iron Age Scotland from information drawn from the map of Britain drawn by Ptolemy. However, it is impossible to say how meaningful membership of a tribe was to people in the mid-1st millennium BC. Tribal territories may have depended on the success or otherwise in battle of ruling elites from particular centres, with expansion of the tribe being achieved through conquest of neighbouring territories and the absorption of the indigenous population into the ranks of the victors. Rule over the tribe lay in the hands of a king, or chieftain, whose role seems to have been as much symbolic as functional, with his principal duty being as war leader. In a society as turbulent and warlike as that of the early Celts, the importance of that role should not be understated.

Source B from *Celtic Scotland* by Ian Armit (2005)

It has been suggested that souterrains served some ritual purpose, although this seems to be based largely on the lack of other convincing explanations, rather than on anything positive. However, nothing in the Iron Age seems to have been entirely without a ritual dimension. The interpretation with the widest applicability is that souterrains were used for storage of agricultural products: the cool, dry conditions and easily controlled access would have made them secure cellars for grain, milk and cheese. However, this explanation cannot be universally applied, proved by the Tungadale souterrain in Skye which sits uselessly collecting water at the base of a hillslope. The earliest known souterrains in mainland Scotland are timber-walled examples from Dalladies in Grampian. There is a dense concentration of these monuments in Angus and Perthshire, and it is possible that they were used by communities supplying grain and other products to the Roman military based at various times on the Gask Ridge frontier and the Antonine Wall.

Source C from *Septimius Severus in Scotland: The Northern Campaigns of the First Hammer of the Scots* by Simon Elliott (2018)

As to whether the Severan campaigns successfully countered the Maeatae and Caledonians, there is no doubt in my mind that in this he was absolutely successful. With the destruction of the regional economy, the ability of the Maeatae and Caledonians to cause trouble south of the border was significantly depleted. We have other hard evidence to back up the view that lowland Scotland was significantly depopulated after the campaigns of AD 209 and AD 210 (and particularly the latter). Archaeological research between 1996 and 2005 by the Ben Lawers Historic Landscape Project may actually show the physical evidence of this depopulation. Roman troops perhaps crossed the Highland Boundary Fault into the Highlands in AD 209 or AD 210 to raid the settlements there, although there is no evidence of this. Those comparatively few Maeatae and Caledonians left after peace was settled, faced the prospect of enforced conscription and removal to the Rhine or Danube frontiers.

Source D from *Orkneyinga Saga* (c. 1200)

Olaf Tryggvason spent four years looting in the British Isles. Olaf sailed east with five ships and didn't break his journey until he reached Orkney. At Osmundswall he ran into Earl Sigurd, who had three ships and was setting out on a viking expedition. Olaf sent a messenger to him, asking Sigurd to come over to his ship as he wanted a word with him. 'I want you and all your subjects to be baptised,' he said when they met. 'If you refuse, I'll have you killed on the spot, and I swear that I'll ravage every island with fire and steel.' The Earl could see what kind of situation he was in and surrendered himself into Olaf's hands. He was baptised and Olaf took his son, called Hvelp or Hundi, as a hostage and had him baptised too under the name of Hlodvir. After that, all Orkney embraced the faith. Olaf sailed east to Norway taking Hlodvir with him, but Hlodvir didn't live long and after his death Sigurd refused to pay homage to King Olaf.

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 Iron Age society in Northern Britain? | 16 |
| 7. How fully does Source C explain the impact of the Severan campaigns in Northern Britain? | 12 |
| 8. Evaluate the usefulness of Source D as evidence of the Viking conversion to Christianity after c. AD 900. | 12 |

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SECTION 2 — Scotland: independence and kingship, 1249–1334Attempt **BOTH** Parts**Part A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks**Attempt **TWO** questions.

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| 9. | How important was Alexander III's inability to secure his succession in undermining the success of his adult reign between 1260 and 1286? | 25 |
| 10. | 'Political rivalries prevented the Guardians from ruling Scotland effectively between 1286 and 1290.'
How valid is this view? | 25 |
| 11. | To what extent has William Wallace's role in Scottish resistance between 1297 and 1305 been exaggerated? | 25 |
| 12. | 'His campaign in Ireland meant Robert I was unable to win his war against England between 1310 and 1323.'
How valid is this view? | 25 |
| 13. | How important was English weakness in Robert I's ability to regain Scottish independence in 1328? | 25 |

[Turn over

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

Part B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the following three questions.

Source A from the *Award of Norham* written by clerics on behalf of the competitors for the Scottish Crown, 5 June 1291

Florence count of Holland, Robert de Brus lord of Annandale, John Balliol lord of Galloway, John de Hastings lord of Abergavenny, John Comyn lord of Badenoch, Patrick Dunbar earl of March, John de Vesci for his father, Nicholas de Soules, and William de Ros, greetings in the name of the Lord to all who shall see or hear this letter. The noble prince, lord Edward by the grace of God, king of England, has shown us, by good and sufficient reasons, that the sovereign lordship of the kingdom of Scotland and the authority to hear and determine who should be our next monarch belongs to him. As such, we, by our own free will, without any kind of constraint or compulsion, grant that we should receive justice before King Edward, as our sovereign lord of Scotland. We agree moreover and we promise that we shall uphold and support his decision without dispute, and whoever justice awards the kingdom to in his presence shall have it. In witness to this we have affixed our seals to this document.

Source B from *The Wars of the Bruces: Scotland, England and Ireland 1306–1328* by Colm McNamee (2006)

How King Robert I secured his throne has an obvious importance in Scottish historical terms. In the service of Edward I, Robert Bruce had played an active though never a brilliant or conspicuous role. Now head of his own family (since Robert's father's death in 1304), as Earl of Carrick, possessor of estates in England and Scotland, he had never been more powerful, and he might have been biding his time until this point. Coupled with this, a number of petty discontents with the English king (difficulty in reclaiming expenses, arguments over rights claimed in Annandale) may have rankled, leaving him feeling entitled to richer rewards than had been bestowed. As the fateful year 1306 opened, one fact must have been weighing heavily with the magnates: that Edward I, now 67 years old and known to be very ill, was not expected to last much longer. In an effort to guarantee some security Bruce began to exchange promises of solidarity with others.

Source C from *Independence and Nationhood: Scotland 1306–1469* by Alexander Grant (1991)

More than military success was required for the maintenance of the Bruce regime and the cause of Scottish independence. Robert I created a strong vested interest in the success of the Bruce regime. A dozen leading enemy magnates suffered forfeiture and disinheritance. Robert combined their lands with his personal and crown estates, for redistribution, most of which went to about twenty close followers. His chief lieutenants, Randolph and Douglas, had the lions' shares. Beyond this Bruce family circle, rewards went to the survivors of Robert's companions of 1306 and others who had joined him later and had risen in royal service. The post-1314 forfeitures had left a partial vacuum within the Scottish nobility, however Robert I's patronage ensured that the higher nobility was radically changed. In 1306, only three earls had sided with Robert I, but in 1328 all thirteen appeared strongly committed to the Bruce regime. Thus, the most powerful section of late-medieval Scottish society was transformed.

Source D from *The Scottish Civil War: The Bruces and the Balliols and the War for Control of Scotland* by Michael Penman (2002)

For his part, King Robert I was painfully aware of the danger unleashed by the death of his brother, Edward Bruce, in battle in Ireland. Thus, at a parliament in Scone in December 1318, King Robert attempted to shore up his authority. Another Act of Succession was passed for unquestioned sealing [agreement] by his subjects, this time recognising King Robert's grandson, Robert Stewart (born in early 1316), as a stop-gap royal heir presumptive [probable] until King Robert had sons of his own. But such was the threat sensed, that Robert's regime also issued statutes [laws] ordering skills in weaponry to be practised. Robert also outlawed sedition [encouraging rebellion] and rumour-mongering against the Crown. The English king and the rightful claimant to the Scottish throne sensed Robert Bruce's vulnerability. Accordingly, they contacted former Balliol supporting Scots in Robert's peace. Together with the disinherited Scots, this large group was proof that the civil war was not over yet.

Attempt ALL of the following questions.

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| 14. Evaluate the usefulness of Source A as evidence of the way in which a new king was chosen to rule Scotland between 1291 and 1292. | 12 |
| 15. How fully does Source B explain the reasons why Robert Bruce decided to usurp the Scottish throne in March 1306? | 12 |
| 16. How much do Sources C and D reveal about differing interpretations of the ways in which King Robert was able to secure his kingship between 1309 and 1320? | 16 |

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

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| 17. | To what extent was the Treaty of Union successful in generating economic growth in Scotland between 1707 and 1815? | 25 |
| 18. | To what extent was the defeat of the Jacobite rising of 1715 due to the Hanoverian response? | 25 |
| 19. | ‘Scottish agriculture underwent a revolution during the 18 th century.’
How valid is this view? | 25 |
| 20. | To what extent was the Patronage Act the main challenge to the Kirk’s authority between 1707 and 1815? | 25 |
| 21. | ‘It was Edinburgh’s rather than Scotland’s Enlightenment.’
How valid is this view? | 25 |

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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 a letter signed by Lord George Murray and other Highland chiefs to Charles Edward Stuart, 29 January 1746

We think it our duty at this critical time to express our opinions with utmost respect. We are now certain that a vast number of soldiers from your Royal Highness's army are gone home since the Battle of Falkirk, and that despite all the efforts of your commanders we are sure this evil of desertion is continuing. Thus, we find ourselves obliged to declare these sentiments in this difficult situation. In comparison with the enemy, your army lacks their experience, and if they should march upon us now, we can only see the utter destruction of your men. We are humbly of the opinion that there is no other way to free your Royal Highness of this most imminent danger, but by retreating immediately to the Highlands. This move north is all the more pressing as we now have little artillery — as your Royal Highness knows — we had no option but to throw much of it into the river Forth, including our heavy cannon. With great concern and reluctance, we write as your loyal supporters.

Source B from *Scotland: A New History* by Michael Lynch (1997)

Henry Dundas was the son of a minor landowner. A successful Edinburgh lawyer, he became a member of the Faculty of Advocates in 1763. His political success was partly based upon his ability to reassure the aristocracy against any loss of influence due to electoral reform by declaring 'it would be easier to reform hell'. It was during this time he began earning his nickname of 'Harry the Ninth, uncrowned King of Scotland'. In Scotland, Dundas was the patronage broker for jobs in the universities and in this way, he gained further power, as providing jobs was the essential lubricant of the political system. This was the political world in which Dundas operated for thirty years after 1775, with greater success than any 'manager' before or after him. As Treasurer of the Navy from 1782 and President of the Board of Control after 1793, he became the main provider of employment for the sons of the landed classes in the British Empire.

Source C from *Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* by David Allan (2002)

Since the Reformation, a vision of the Scots as a literate people has become widely accepted. Scotland's parish schools were established by an Act of Parliament in 1696 which meant children paid a small fee to attend and directed the Kirk to support the very poor to ensure they attended, a mechanism which made certain that most rural Scots received some elementary education. Other forms of schooling developed elsewhere. Overseen by town councils and the parish clergy, many burghs established 'grammar schools', some of which had medieval origins, and delivered not only an elementary but a more advanced Latin-based education to boys in preparation for university and the traditional professions. These developments were augmented by additional types of schools unique to the character of Scotland's largest cities. Edinburgh was distinct in that it had endowed institutions such as Watson's, Heriot's and the Merchant Maiden Hospitals and these schools provided schooling for the children of poor burgesses.

Source D from *A New History of Scotland* by Murray G. H. Pittock (2005)

Perhaps it was inevitable that education featured large in Scottish society at this time, as Scots attempted to combine reason, knowledge and material improvement. Curricular innovation continued during the 18th century as lowland burgh schools began teaching subjects in new ways, including teaching French as a foreign language. Another notable aspect of education during the Enlightenment period was the strength with which the emerging middle classes continued to vigorously support their local burgh, grammar schools and universities, largely as an appreciable number directly benefited from the parochial school and university system. This was a Scotland which influenced great events, as confirmed by Francis Hutcheson addressing himself to the question of American independence. Separately, the development of the discipline today known as English took shape in Scotland's universities, notably at St Andrews and Edinburgh, where Hugh Blair, Regius Professor of Rhetoric and Letters from 1762 was arguably the first chair in the subject of English anywhere in the world.

Attempt ALL of the following questions.

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| 22. Evaluate the usefulness of Source A as evidence of the reasons for the failure of the 1745 Jacobite rising. | 12 |
| 23. How fully does Source B explain the methods used by Henry Dundas to manage Scotland on behalf of the government? | 12 |
| 24. How much do Sources C and D reveal about differing interpretations of the nature of Scottish education in the 18 th century? | 16 |

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SECTION 4 — USA: ‘a house divided’, 1850–1865Attempt **BOTH** Parts**Part A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks**Attempt **TWO** questions.

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| 25. To what extent was the USA divided into an ‘agricultural’ South and an ‘industrial’ North in the 1850s? | 25 |
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| 26. ‘Lincoln was slow to grasp the depth of the crisis after his election as President in 1860.’
How valid is this view? | 25 |
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| 27. ‘Military operations in the Western Theatre were crucial in determining the course of the American Civil War.’
How valid is this view? | 25 |
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| 28. To what extent did political pressure within the Republican Party force Lincoln into issuing the Emancipation Proclamation? | 25 |
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| 29. To what extent were the failings of the Democrats during the Presidential Election critical to Lincoln’s success in 1864? | 25 |

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

Part B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the following three questions.

Source A from *My Bondage and My Freedom* by Frederick Douglass, published in 1855

My first master was not considered a rich slaveowner. Old master's immediate family consisted of Andrew, Richard, and Lucretia. At the end of each month my grandparents received a monthly allowance of food which consisted of either eight pounds of pickled pork, which was often tainted, or an equivalent amount of very poor-quality fish, and less than a bushel of cornmeal. Grandmother and grandfather were the greatest people in the world to me. Their yearly allowance of clothing consisted of two linen shirts, one pair of trousers, one pair of stockings, and one pair of shoes, all of which were made of cheap coarse material and could not have cost more than the lowly sum of 8 dollars per year; this would not have been a big outlay for plantation owners. The sleeping apartments had little regard to comfort or decency because old and young, male and female, married and single, drop down upon the common clay floor, each covering up with his or her blanket, the only protection they have from cold or exposure.

Source B from *Secession* by James A. Rawley (1990)

The Kansas-Nebraska Act shattered party loyalties in the North with the old Whig Party suffering a mortal blow, because never again would it put forward a presidential candidate. This abrupt party shift also impacted the Democrats as many Northern Democrats abandoned the old party, dividing the party along Northern and Southern sectional lines. The old order changed but it did not immediately yield to the third-party system. A strange interlude occurred, profoundly important in shaping party loyalties. The collapse of the Whigs left an opening for the emergence of one of two new political movements to oppose the Democrats, one of which was the Republican Party. Its origins were in the grass roots of the Upper North West, without a single, great leader, and without common agreement on specific policy. It first appeared in small town rural America, in a manner that was virtually spontaneous, and brought together people of many persuasions, often for diverse reasons.

Source C from *The Character of American History* by W. R. Brock (1965)

Nothing in Stephen A. Douglas' calculations could have indicated the clamour which was aroused by his proposal; the persuasive argument for popular sovereignty was drowned by the conviction that this was a great betrayal, fuelling Northern claims of a 'slave power conspiracy'. It was never quite clear when Douglas intended popular sovereignty to operate but the first settlers on the ground were 'pro-slavery' men who had crossed over the border from Missouri and seized the opportunity to establish a 'pro-slavery' territorial government in Kansas. Pierce and then Buchanan held that the action of the territorial legislature in permitting 'slavery' must bind the territory despite a growing number of 'anti-slavery' settlers. Civil war broke out in Kansas between 'pro-slave' and free, with the free settlers setting up their own illegal government, but when the 'pro-slavery' men presented a 'pro-slave' constitution for admission as a state Buchanan attempted to force it upon Congress. The whole episode had been an entirely tragic farce.

Source D from *A History of the Southern Confederacy* by Clement Eaton (1965)

By a curious coincidence both Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis were born in Kentucky, within a hundred miles of each other. The Davis family had migrated down the river to Mississippi and became cotton planters. Jefferson Davis was sent to Transylvania University and to West Point. He looked every inch the Southern aristocrat. In contrast to Lincoln, Davis was sensitive to criticism and lacked the safety valve of a keen and relaxing sense of humour. His first task as Confederate President was to form a cabinet that would win the confidence of the Southern people, and he chose a cabinet that consisted of six departmental heads. But he rarely was able to boost the morale of his people, for he did not have the power of his rival to write great speeches. His quarrels with some of his leading generals, such as Joseph E. Johnston and Pierre G. T. Beauregard, produced discord and harmed the course of the war for the Confederacy.

Attempt ALL of the following questions.

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| 30. Evaluate the usefulness of Source A as evidence of the conditions experienced by enslaved people in the 1850s. | 12 |
| 31. How much do Sources B and C reveal about differing interpretations of the impact of the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854? | 16 |
| 32. How fully does Source D explain the effectiveness of the leadership of Jefferson Davis during the American Civil War? | 12 |

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SECTION 5 — Japan: the modernisation of a nation, 1840–1920Attempt **BOTH** Parts**Part A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks**Attempt **TWO** questions.

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| 33. To what extent was the growth of nationalism the key domestic reason for the collapse of the Tokugawa Bakufu? | 25 |
| 34. How far can it be argued that the political structure of Japan remained largely unchanged after 1868? | 25 |
| 35. How accurate is it to say that the primary aim of Meiji educational reform was to create a nation of patriots? | 25 |
| 36. To what extent was concern over Korean sovereignty the main cause of the Sino-Japanese War in 1894? | 25 |
| 37. ‘Her involvement in World War I confirmed Japan as a Great Power.’
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 *Modern Japan* by Elise K. Tipton (2008)

Neo-Confucianism arrived in Japan from China, via Korea, in the 13th century. It was the first significant belief system to have been imported since Buddhism had crossed the Sea of Japan some 700 years previously. Rather than a religion, Neo-Confucianism constituted an ethical code, linking proper behaviour in social life to proper conduct of government because it asserted that a good government is ruled by ethical, cultured men and a benevolent paternalistic ruler. In Tokugawa times, it was clear that this ruler would be embodied by the Shogun, rather than the Emperor, who remained a hostage in his guarded palace in Kyoto. Neo-Confucianism could also be used to help transform the samurai class into a civilian bureaucratic class in a time of peace. In its assumption of a natural hierarchical order in society, it underpinned the status system that ranked the four main status groups — samurai, peasants, artisans and merchants — in order of their presumed usefulness to society.

Source B from *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present* by Andrew Gordon (2013)

These new manufacturing concerns needed a far larger workforce in order to scale up the demands of a modernising economy. The women who were recruited to the factories were typically required to live in company-owned dormitories that were locked at night and when fires occasionally broke out, these literally became death traps. In order to remain competitive, especially in the early years of modernisation, when the tariffs imposed by export markets were so punitive, companies endeavoured to maximise profits by keeping costs to a minimum. This meant that women worked 12 to 14 hours a day or more, compared to about 12 hours per day on average for males in industries such as machine manufacturing. It wasn't just hours that were exploitative. Women's wages were 50% to 70% of those paid to men in the same industry. Despite the low levels of pay, many girls still sent the bulk of their wages back to their unsuspecting families in the countryside.

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

Many of the Meiji entrepreneurs emerged from the *gōnō*, the wealthy peasant class in the villages. In the first place, they sprang from a tradition of leadership acquired in the villages and had experience in undertaking rural enterprises, giving them qualities of initiative, self-reliance and risk-taking. They were rendered both ambitious and frustrated by their position in the Tokugawa class structure and were keen to take advantage of the new opportunities afforded by the Emancipation Edict in 1871. They were therefore anxious to rise in the world, to do better than their fathers. An excellent example of this phenomenon is Shibusawa Eiichi, who rose from peasant origins to become the founder of several of Japan's impressive modern companies. He imported the latest technology and in 1880 directed the construction of the Osaka spinning mill, which owing to its up-to-date technology and efficient organisation, proved extremely profitable. It became a model for the development of other successful textile ventures in Japan.

Source D from his Farewell Address to the Officers of the 1st Manchurian Army by General Aleksey Kuropatkin, 18 February 1906

The material defects for the Russian forces are known to all of us — the small number of rifles in the firing line per company, the lack of high explosive shells, of machine guns, and of technical stores of all sorts. Despite the best efforts of our strategists and commanders, we also suffered much from inadequate reconnaissance of Japan's position before a battle, and the resulting vagueness as to how to conduct the action. I would invite the attention of all Russia's commanding officers for the future to search out men of independent character and initiative, encourage them, promote them, and so encourage the growth of the qualities needed. Men of strong individuality have been, unfortunately, often passed over, while others, who possess neither force of character nor convictions, but who are subservient, and always ready to agree with their superiors, are promoted. This is a matter of the highest priority for our leaders in Russia, for without addressing these deficiencies, I fear we are destined to become a secondary power.

Attempt ALL of the following questions.

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| 38. | How fully does Source A explain the influence of belief systems in Tokugawa society? | 12 |
| 39. | How much do Sources B and C reveal about differing interpretations of the impact of the Meiji economic reforms on ordinary Japanese people? | 16 |
| 40. | Evaluate the usefulness of Source D as evidence of the reasons why Japan was victorious in the war with Russia between 1904 and 1905. | 12 |

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

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| 41. To what extent were Germans justified in their view of the Treaty of Versailles as ‘an unfair burden’? | 25 |
| 42. How successfully did the Weimar Republic deal with the threats it faced between 1919 and 1923? | 25 |
| 43. ‘Stresemann’s actions in foreign policy between 1924 and 1929 were primarily those of a German nationalist.’
How valid is this view? | 25 |
| 44. ‘In his control of Germany between 1933 and 1939 Hitler’s decision-making showed him to be a weak leader.’
How valid is this view? | 25 |
| 45. How valid is the claim that Nazi economic policies mainly benefited German industrialists between 1933 and 1939? | 25 |

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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 Hermann Göring's broadcast from the Reich Chancellery, 30 January 1933

Fellow Germans, 30 January 1933 will be recorded in our history as the day when the nation was restored to glory. By voting for the NSDAP, you have swept aside all the anguish and shame of the last fourteen years of the Weimar Republic. There now stands before you the renowned Field Marshall (Hindenburg) and by his side, the new young Führer of Germany, Adolf Hitler. Our new NSDAP government will keep our promise of providing jobs for the unemployed masses. May the German people herald this day as joyfully as it is heralded by the hundreds of thousands now marching in front of these windows outside the Reichstag. Like me, they are inspired by what all of us have fought for in vain for a long time, the crushing of the threat of communism through the actions of our leader, Adolf Hitler. I call on you to celebrate and support our new government on this glorious evening. Germany deserves to look forward to a better future. Long live Hindenburg and long live Hitler!

Source B from *The Coming of the Third Reich* by Richard J. Evans (2003)

On the morning of 27 February 1933, Marinus van der Lubbe spent his last remaining money on matches and firelighters. He waited until nightfall and gained entry to the Reichstag building about nine in the evening. A few hours after the Reichstag fire, police squads began to dig out lists of Communists which had been prepared some months, or even years beforehand, and set off in cars and vans to arrest them. Stormtroopers paraded through Berlin's streets in cars with Nazi banners attached. Presenting the Reichstag Fire Decree to the Cabinet at 11am the following morning, Hitler made plain his intention of proceeding ruthlessly and with little regard for the usual legal procedures. Göring told the Cabinet that van der Lubbe had been seen in the Reichstag building. The decree suspended several sections of the Weimar constitution, particularly those governing freedom of expression and allowed the police to detain people indefinitely in protective custody and without a court order.

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

By June 1934, Hitler was caught between powerful forces and matters came to a head in the early summer of 1934. Hitler allowed rumours to spread of a conspiracy that the SA leadership were staging a coup and gave the SS the responsibility of dealing with this threat and protecting his authority over Germany. On 30 June 1934, during what became known as the 'Night of the Long Knives' matters were settled. On that night, as well as Röhm, potential threats to Hitler's position from opponents, such as former Chancellor Kurt von Schleicher and his supporters, were also arrested and executed. The SS killings of Röhm and others were clearly illegal on any reading of the law. However, the army High Command expressed its support for the actions against the SA and agreed to the merging of the offices of President and Chancellor when Hindenburg died in August 1934, allowing Hitler to become 'Führer' of Germany.

Source D from *The Hitler Youth* by H. W. Koch (2000)

Hitler's ideas on the purpose of the education of Germany's young people were summarised in *Mein Kampf*. The basic aim of the German state after 1933 was that a healthy Aryan of good character was always more valuable to the national community than a weakling, no matter how high their intelligence may be. Regardless of where he spoke, or the audience to whom he spoke, Hitler's views remained unchanged throughout his career. After 1933, the regime carried out a purge of the entire teaching profession, and teachers were sacked or forced into early retirement who had political views that the Nazis disagreed with or who were Jewish. What applied to primary and secondary schools applied equally to universities. The teachers and lecturers who replaced those who were sacked were good at being Nazis, but they were generally poor teachers and exam results began to suffer. However, for the Nazis, this was a logical step to shape Germany's young people.

Attempt ALL of the following questions.

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| 46. Evaluate the usefulness of Source A as evidence of the reasons for Hitler's appointment as Chancellor in January 1933. | 12 |
| 47. How much do Sources B and C reveal about differing interpretations of the nature of the Nazi consolidation of power between 1933 and the end of 1934? | 16 |
| 48. How fully does Source D explain the aims of Volksgemeinschaft between 1933 and 1939? | 12 |

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SECTION 7 — South Africa: race and power, 1902–1984Attempt **BOTH** Parts**Part A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks**Attempt **TWO** questions.

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| 49. | To what extent was Afrikaner resentment towards the British the main obstacle to the 1910 Union of South Africa? | 25 |
| 50. | ‘Government policies between 1910 and 1924 were determined by attitudes to race.’
How valid is this view? | 25 |
| 51. | ‘Growing white disunity was the most significant impact of South Africa’s participation in World War II.’
How valid is this view? | 25 |
| 52. | How far was the resurgence in the resistance movement in the 1970s a result of the Soweto Uprising? | 25 |
| 53. | How significant was pressure from the worldwide Anti-Apartheid Movement in shaping South Africa’s relationships with the international community between 1960 and 1984? | 25 |

[Turn over

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

Part B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the following three questions.

Source A from *The Bitter Legacy of the Boer War* by Albert Grundlingh (1999)

Politically, economically, and socially, Afrikaner society was shattered by the Anglo-Boer War. Constructing Afrikaner nationalism was a slow process, and further impeded by a fragile Afrikaans literacy culture which had yet to develop to convey the wishes of the *volk*. It was only with the vigorous promotion of Afrikaans, as a standard written acceptable language, distinct from Dutch, and its official recognition in 1925, that it became increasingly possible to reach the masses in writing in the same language as that which they spoke. Once the language was established after the war, accounts of the trials and tribulations of the conflict started to appear in Afrikaans in popular magazines, as Gustav Preller established himself as a prolific populariser of history. Through his skilful use of Afrikaans as a trusted language of the home, as opposed to English, which was considered the foreign and unyielding commercial language of the world, his renditions of the past spoke forcefully and emotionally to Afrikaners.

Source B from *The Growth of Afrikaner Identity* by Hermann Giliomee (1995)

During the first two centuries of white settlement in South Africa the white Dutch/Afrikaans-speakers developed as a separate group. The origins of Afrikaner nationalism in the 19th century must be sought within a much wider generational context. This development as a group was more than a struggle for material rewards, but the outcome of the Afrikaner's struggle in the economic field would be decisive in determining whether they would see themselves primarily as an ethnic group or as a class. Viewed from a Nationalist perspective, the dominant feature of the South African economy was the vast gap between the Afrikaner and English wealth. The development of Afrikaner nationalism was a complex and diffuse process. However, more important than abstract racism was the existence of a split labour market in which White Africans, who were expected to maintain a distinctive standard of living, had to compete with Black Africans, who did not meet with such expectations.

Source C from a statement by Hendrik Verwoerd to the Parliament of South Africa, June 1954

From now on, the Bantu teacher must be carefully integrated with a degree of urgency as an active agent in the process of development of the Bantu community. He must not learn to feel above his community, with a consequent desire to become integrated into the life of the Europeans living here and their community and he becomes frustrated when this does not take place, and he tries to make his community dissatisfied because of such misdirected ambitions. My department's policy is therefore that education should stand with both feet in the reserves. There is no place for the Bantu in the European [white] community above the level of certain forms of labour. Within their own community, however, all doors are open to them. For that very reason, there is no purpose for them to receive training which has as its aim absorption into the European community, where they cannot be absorbed; therefore, the school must equip them (the Bantu pupils) to meet the demands which the economic life of South Africa will impose upon them.

Source D from *The African National Congress* by Saul Dubow (2000)

The Africanist tendency was concentrated in Johannesburg, and this is where its challenge to the African National Congress was initially expressed. Dissent became clear in 1954 when one Africanist leader, Potlako Leballo, was expelled from the Orlando branch of the Congress Youth League. This expulsion was after he insisted that the ANC return to its more nationalist fundamentals. During a particularly fractious meeting of the Transvaal Congress in 1958 (which nearly took a violent turn), long-standing tensions came to a head and a group of Africanists, excluded from the proceedings, broke away from the ANC and its multi-racial Alliance, and this trend of breaking away soon followed in other ANC branches. In April 1959, the Pan-African Congress (PAC) was formally constituted under the leadership of Robert Sobukwe, who was already highly respected. Sobukwe had been born to a poor but educationally ambitious family and he went on to attend Healdtown School and the University of Fort Hare.

Attempt ALL of the following questions.

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| 54. | How much do Sources A and B reveal about differing interpretations of the reasons for developments in Afrikaner nationalism between 1924 and 1939? | 16 |
| 55. | Evaluate the usefulness of Source C as evidence of the aims of Apartheid before 1959. | 12 |
| 56. | How fully does Source D explain the reasons for the growth of African nationalism in the 1950s? | 12 |

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SECTION 8 — Russia: from Tsarism to Stalinism, 1914–1945Attempt **BOTH** Parts**Part A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks**Attempt **TWO** questions.

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| 57. How far can it be argued that working-class discontent was the main cause of the February Revolution? | 25 |
| 58. How important was the Kornilov Affair of September 1917 in undermining support for the Provisional Government? | 25 |
| 59. How valid is the view that Bolshevik foreign policy between 1917 and 1924 succeeded in its objectives? | 25 |
| 60. ‘Lenin’s domestic policies betrayed Bolshevik ideals by the time of his death in January 1924.’
How valid is this view? | 25 |
| 61. To what extent can it be argued that the Great Terror was caused by fear of internal enemies? | 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 Address of Leon Trotsky to the Fifth Congress of Soviets, 10 July 1918

The old Tsarist army suffered a terrible defeat in the imperialist slaughtering of the people. In order to create a centralised, trained and equipped army we need to make use of the experience and knowledge of many 'Military Specialists' from among the officers of the former army who must be registered and obliged to take up posts assigned to them by the soviet power. Only dedicated revolutionaries, staunch champions of the cause of the proletariat, must be appointed to the posts of Military Commissars to whom the fate of the army and fleet is entrusted, as they work to ensure loyalty and co-operation of former bourgeois officers. The international proletariat are watching us in Russia as we fight to establish the republic of workers and peasants to overthrow capitalism and bring freedom to the world's oppressed. With a view to beginning compulsory military training and service, the Council of Peoples Commissars has set up military administration at local and regional levels where peasants and workers will be conscripted into service for the Red Army and Fleet.

Source B from *Stalin: Paradoxes of Power, 1878–1928* by Stephen Kotkin (2014)

Lenin placed Stalin in charge of the Secretariat of the party in 1922 and Stalin's consequent impact on the party machine was immediate — in the spring and summer of 1922 he brought energetic people from the provinces to Moscow and obliged local party organisations to send bi-monthly reports in the form of two-page letters — thereby tightening central control over provincial party organisations. The Communist Party was very little represented in the countryside and was weak among the workers too. After Politburo or Central Committee meetings, Stalin was able to decide, no matter what was decided there, because he went back to his office and chose which decisions to implement or not, and he had this crucial power before Lenin died, which would develop even further in the later 1920s. Stalin also began to co-opt members of the military into his orbit of power through the appointment of Voroshilov to replace Frunze as Commissar of War in 1925.

Source C from *The Dictators: Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Russia* by Richard Overy (2005)

The Bolshevik Party, after Lenin's death in January 1924, was intended to be a political party run by its Central Committee. 'We are against questions of Party leadership being decided by one person', wrote Nikolai Bukharin, one of the contenders for the leadership. The five years between 1924–1929 were decisive in Stalin's career. His first weapon was to appropriate the legacy of the dead Lenin, when he gave a series of lectures on Lenin's contribution to Marxist theory at the Sverdlov University in Moscow, which were subsequently published as 'Foundations of Leninism' and gave shape to Lenin's thought, thereby showing Stalin as the one party leader who claimed to understand it fully. Stalin made the attack on factions a central plank in securing his dominance in the party. Above all, Stalin identified with the party rank-and-file members, which meant that Stalin had the advantage of a genuinely working-class background, as he could appeal to them as one of their own.

Source D from *The Great Retreat: The Growth and Decline of Communism in Russia* by Nicholas S. Timasheff (1946)

Early in 1935, a campaign against abortion began. Following articles that began to appear in soviet newspapers written by medical authorities explaining the harm which terminations, especially repeated ones, inflicted upon the woman, the law of 27 June 1936 formally abolished freedom of abortion. Children had to recognise the authority of their parents once more, as reflected in the spring of 1935, when the Komsomol newspaper stated, 'Young people should respect their parents; one must respect and love his parents even if they are old-fashioned and do not like the Komsomol.' The Komsomol had been formed in 1918 as the youth division of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union. Divorce became more difficult to obtain because, according to the law of September 1935, the fees for divorce were increased from 3 roubles, and now the first divorce was 50 roubles, the second divorce was 150 roubles and the third was 300 roubles.

Attempt ALL of the following questions.

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| 62. Evaluate the usefulness of Source A as evidence of the reasons for the outcome of the Russian Civil War. | 12 |
| 63. How much do Sources B and C reveal about differing interpretations of the reasons for Stalin's victory in the leadership struggle? | 16 |
| 64. How fully does Source D explain the impact of the Cultural Revolution in Soviet society in the 1930s? | 12 |

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

Attempt BOTH Parts

Part A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks

Attempt TWO questions.

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| 65. | To what extent did the <i>dictadura</i> of Miguel Primo de Rivera address the economic problems of Spain in the 1920s? | 25 |
| 66. | To what extent was the collaboration shown in the Pact of San Sebastián the main reason for the downfall of the monarchy in 1931? | 25 |
| 67. | How important was the backing of Germany and Italy in Franco's rise to power among the Nationalists? | 25 |
| 68. | To what extent did divisions within the Republican side hinder their war effort? | 25 |
| 69. | 'Franco was still at war in Spain between 1939 and 1945.'
How valid is this view? | 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 *Modern Spain, 1875–1980* by Raymond Carr (1980)

However much the legalism of the Provisional Government persuaded it to postpone fundamental reforms until the meeting of the Constituent Cortes, urgent problems demanded action. Azaña was committed to a democratic reform of the army. These military reforms were intended to produce an efficient, modern army to replace an army overloaded with officers. Nearly half of the generals and 40% of the officers accepted his offer of retirement on full pensions. Nevertheless, the army remained lopsided. Alcalá-Zamora, whose main attributes were an astonishing memory and a talent for the florid [elaborate and flamboyant] political oratory of the *ancien régime*, was President. Azaña's 'Black Cabinet' of military advisers fell into the error of politicising promotions and thus disrupted 'the harmony of the military family.' In August 1932, Sanjurjo, sacked as chief of the Civil Guard, hoped, vainly, that these discontents would provide recruits for a successful *pronunciamiento*. The task of modernising Spain in earnest began with the Constituent Cortes elected in June 1931.

Source B from *Spain's Civil War* by Harry Browne (1983)

In the conservative interpretation of her history, Spain's greatness had depended on the maintenance of unity. This was not the Liberal interpretation of the 1930s. The Republic was in the Catalans' debt for their help in forcing Alfonso XIII into exile. To honour this obligation necessitated a change in the constitution to fulfil the promise of Catalan autonomy made in the Pact of San Sebastián. To balance the needs of Catalans and Spain was not easy. The compromise, which emerged as the Catalan Statute, bitterly offended those who saw it as 'the dismemberment of the country.' The Statute gave Catalans security in the continuance of their language when it granted equality to Castilian and Catalan as 'national' languages. This was done by a new government in a new political arrangement in Spain with which no one was yet familiar. The devolved government had no sovereignty assigned to it but was given certain powers and functions, of which perhaps the most important was local control of public order.

Source C from *A People Betrayed* by Paul Preston (2020)

Gil Robles' role in the preparation of the coup was considerable as he made an incalculable contribution to the creation of mass right-wing militancy. Gil Robles had begun 1936 in a confident mood, as the leader of the largest party in the Cortes before the election, he thought he would be made Prime Minister and when Zamora thwarted this by calling an election, he thought he would win it. Gil Robles had been left bitterly disappointed by the result of the election and realised that CEDA were now a spent force. The assistance Robles gave, which he later tried to deny, consisted of 500,000 pesetas given to General Mola. Nothing more starkly demonstrated the change in atmosphere than the rise of the Falange, cashing in on middle-class disillusionment with the CEDA's legalism, the Falange now sought to exert an influence that their dismal showing in the election hardly merited. The Falangist terror squads worked hard to accelerate the spiral of mindless violence which rendered impossible rational discussion.

Source D from the recollections of Bill Alexander in *Memorials of the Spanish Civil War* published in 1996

In its support for the Non-Intervention Agreement, the Conservative Government threatened to use the Foreign Enlistment Act of 1870 which they declared made volunteering for the International Brigades illegal. Keeping records and lists of names was dangerous and difficult. Nonetheless, around 2400 volunteered from the British Isles and the then British Empire, so while numerically only a small part of the International Brigades, many already knew how to lead in the trade unions, demonstrations and people's organisations, and understood the need to set an example and lead from the front if necessary. They went because of their growing alienation from a society that had failed miserably to meet the needs of so many people and because of their deep repugnance at the burning of books in Nazi Germany, the persecution of individuals, the glorification of war and the whole philosophy of fascism. The International Brigades provided a shock force while the Republic trained and organised an army from a group of individuals who had never met before. The Spanish people were profoundly boosted by the knowledge that they were not fighting alone.

Attempt ALL of the following questions.

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| 70. | How much do Sources A and B reveal about differing interpretations of the effectiveness of Azaña's reforms between 1931 and 1933? | 16 |
| 71. | How fully does Source C explain the planning for a military rising in 1936? | 12 |
| 72. | Evaluate the usefulness of Source D as evidence of the impact of the contribution of the International Brigades to the Republican war effort. | 12 |

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SECTION 10 — Britain: at war and peace, 1938–1951Attempt **BOTH** Parts**Part A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks**Attempt **TWO** questions.

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| 73. ‘A completely unprepared Britain declared war in September 1939.’
How valid is this view? | 25 |
| 74. How important was the political diplomacy of the Grand Alliance in achieving Britain’s war aims by 1945? | 25 |
| 75. How successful was the Allied bombing campaign against Germany during the Second World War? | 25 |
| 76. To what extent was there significant social change in Britain between 1939 and 1945? | 25 |
| 77. ‘Britain had lost its status as a world power by 1951.’
How valid is this view? | 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 *'Guilty Men': The Case of Neville Chamberlain* by Sidney Astor (1989)

Neville Chamberlain's private correspondence reveals that he chose to continue in office after the outbreak of war. However, his abhorrence of the deadly results of wartime decision-making led to his admission to an 'agony of mind to give directions that would bring death and mutilation and misery to so many' which undermined his leadership. This related to his conception of war strategy summed up in his two phrases: 'a waiting war' and 'a war of wills'. This led to a loss of support due to Chamberlain's obsession with the chances of negotiating a peaceful settlement. In May 1940, Chamberlain noted in his diary that if France collapsed, Britain's only chance of survival would be if the United States appealed to Germany for an armistice. However, on 10 May, faced with the backlash as a result of Germany's offensive on the Western Front, he resigned. Chamberlain did however continue to be leader of the Conservative Party.

Source B from *The Churchill Coalition and Wartime Politics, 1940–1945* by Kevin Jefferys (1995)

Britain's major wartime political crisis was determined by a wide variety of factors. The Labour Party played a critical role in Chamberlain's downfall as the party forced a division [vote] on 8 May, only after it became clear that a change of mood had taken place on the Conservative benches. There was no reason why he could not have survived in May 1940, just as other political leaders had survived wartime crises in the past. While 8 May marked a major political breakthrough for the Labour Party itself, this was not absolutely clear to them at the time. As for Chamberlain, he had never taken the trouble to consult party opinion and under the pressure of war he became increasingly remote from constructive criticism of respected Conservative loyalists led by Lord Salisbury. In May 1940, the abstentionists, an anonymous group totalling more than thirty, helped to make the difference between a comfortable victory and the halving of the Prime Minister's majority.

Source C from *The Battle of the Atlantic* by Bernard Ireland (2003)

As far as German U-boat men were concerned the most hazardous area was the Bay of Biscay. Following the loss, in late July 1943, of 17 U-boats and 6 invaluable U-tankers leaving French bases, Admiral Dönitz was obliged to reduce submarine operations in distant waters. Paradoxically, the British themselves were experiencing considerable problems. Bletchley Park was having difficulty coping with the four-rotor Enigma, and the withdrawal of U-boats from the North Atlantic reduced radio traffic, making code-breaking more difficult. However, by autumn the Allies regained the upper hand in intelligence as enemy operators had failed to exploit the full potential of the four-rotor machine. During the four months to the end of 1943, the enemy lost 109 U-boats, 25 of them to Coastal Command's saturation coverage of the Bay of Biscay. Although the winter weather repeatedly reminded Allied groups that U-boats were not the sole enemy, it was clear that the course of the war was turning in favour of the Allies.

Source D from a speech by Clement Attlee in the House of Commons Debate, 10 February 1947

My Right Honourable Friend, the Minister of Fuel and Power, on Friday explained to the House current circumstances. The essential factors in the situation are these. Although there has been a steady increase in coal production, demand has increased beyond all expectations; in particular, the consumption of coal to meet the increased demand for electricity greatly exceeded the estimate of the Central Electricity Board. The present critical situation is due to the spell of hard weather which we are experiencing; loading coal at docks has been difficult and slow, with ships from the North-East Coast delayed by gales and fog, and railway traffic disorganised by the blocking of tunnels and lines with snow. I would like to pay a tribute, especially to the seamen, and also to the dockers, the railwaymen, and all other transport workers, for the splendid response they have made. However, if we are to maintain essential services, there must be a drastic restriction of consumption of electricity by the general public. I propose this evening to broadcast to the nation, in the 9 o'clock news.

Attempt ALL of the following questions.

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| 78. | How much do Sources A and B reveal about differing interpretations of the reasons for Chamberlain's resignation in May 1940? | 16 |
| 79. | How fully does Source C explain the reasons for Allied victory in the Battle of the Atlantic? | 12 |
| 80. | Evaluate the usefulness of Source D as evidence of the challenges that the Labour government faced in the management of the economy between 1945 and 1951. | 12 |

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