Pearson Edexcel Level 3 GCE

Wednesday 5 June 2019

Afternoon (Time: 1 hour 30 minutes) | Paper Reference **9HI0/2F**

History

Advanced
Paper 2: Depth study
Option 2F.1: India, c1914–48: the road to independence
Option 2F.2: South Africa, 1948–94: from apartheid state to 'rainbow nation'

Source Booklet

Do not return this booklet with the question paper.

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Sources for use with Section A.

Answer the question in Section A on the option for which you have been prepared.

Option 2F.1: India, c1914-48: the road to independence

Sources for use with Question 1.

Source 1: From the *Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms*, published 1918. This report was also known as the Montagu-Chelmsford Report and was the basis of the 1919 Government of India Act.

Let us now consider the principles on which our proposals are based and the goal to which we wish to move. The steps are to be gradual and progress should be tested at each stage. From the start, we must give some measure of responsibility to representatives chosen by an electorate. There should be, as far as possible, complete popular control in local bodies and the largest possible independence for these local bodies from outside control.

The Secretary of State's relaxation of control over the Government of India will be limited by the vital need for securing Imperial interests. The Government of India has the fundamental duty of maintaining India's defence. The basic obligation of provincial governments is to secure law and order.

We cannot immediately hand over complete responsibility. We must proceed therefore by transferring responsibility for certain functions of government, while keeping control over others. From this starting point, we look for a steady approach to the transfer of complete responsibility.

The Government of India must remain wholly responsible to Parliament. The authority of Parliament in essential matters must remain indisputable, until the effect of the changes now to be introduced in the provinces has been seen. In the meantime, the Indian Legislative Council should be enlarged and made more representative and its opportunities for influencing government increased.

Source 2: From a letter written by Gandhi to Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy, 1 August 1920. Here he is discussing the British response to events at Amritsar.

The attitude of the Imperial and Your Excellency's governments on the Punjab question has given me a sense of grave dissatisfaction. It is my absolute conviction that Sir Michael O'Dwyer was totally unfit to hold the office of Governor of the Punjab and that his policy was primarily responsible for infuriating the mob at Amritsar. No doubt the mob excesses were unpardonable, but the punitive measures taken by General Dyer and other officers were out of all proportion to the crime of the people. These measures amounted to a wanton cruelty and inhumanity, almost unparalleled in modern times.

Your Excellency has treated this official crime casually. You have excused Sir Michael O'Dwyer's actions. Above all you have shown a shameful ignorance about the Punjab events and callously disregarded the feelings of the Indians who have been betrayed by the House of Lords. This has all filled me with the gravest misgivings regarding the future of the Empire. These actions have estranged me completely from the present government and prevent me from giving my loyal cooperation.

In my humble opinion, the ordinary method of agitating by way of petitions, deputations and the like will not change a Government of India so hopelessly indifferent to the welfare of its people.

Option 2F.2: South Africa, 1948-94: from apartheid state to 'rainbow nation'

Sources for use with Question 2.

Source 3: From a speech made by John Carlisle to the British Parliament, 10 July 1985. Carlisle was a Conservative MP and was speaking against a Ten Minute Rule Bill that proposed introducing economic sanctions against South Africa. Ten Minute Rule Bills are used to get issues that are not on the government's agenda debated in the House of Commons.

I will concede that apartheid is a violation of human rights. However, the House has to ask whether the introduction of the Bill will benefit those whom it is intended to benefit - that is, blacks in South Africa. The House must also ask what effect those sanctions would have upon blacks and many other people in South Africa.

What those who advocate sanctions do not understand is that sanctions will create an enormous loss of jobs in South Africa. A 20% disinvestment* by the West would see a loss of 90,000 jobs for whites and 350,000 jobs for blacks.

One of the saddest facts about this Bill is that it would halt those reforms that have recently taken place in South Africa. Whilst those reforms are inadequate in terms of Western ideals, we must recognise that there has been reform. By South African standards, the advancement of blacks in South Africa has been considerable over the past five to ten years.

This Bill and disinvestment would undoubtedly increase violence in South African society. The violence in that country is perpetrated by the ANC and others who would, of course, welcome disinvestment.

Even Bishop Tutu** has questioned whether disinvestment would have any effect.

* disinvestment – a reduction in investment

**Bishop Tutu – an internationally famous anti-apartheid activist

Source 4: From a press statement made by Bishop Desmond Tutu in Johannesburg, 2 April 1986. Tutu was a leading black South African clergyman who had been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his anti-apartheid activities in 1984.

Nothing in South Africa, or very little, has changed without pressure from international communities. The sports policy changed only as a result of the sports boycott. I have called upon the international community to exert political, diplomatic, but above all, economic pressure on the South African government in order to persuade it to go to the negotiating table with the authentic representatives of all sections of our society. I have said, for blacks, that this would mean those representatives who are in jail or in exile.

Most Western countries have rejected economic sanctions because we are told that they would hurt blacks most of all. I hope that those who use this argument will just drop it quietly and stop being so hypocritical. Over 1,200 blacks have died since August 1984. Blacks are killed mainly by the security forces, almost as if they were flies. I have heard hardly a squeak from the whites who claim they are concerned for black suffering.

I have no hope of real change from the government unless they are forced. We face a catastrophe and only the action of the international community, by applying pressure, can save us. Our children are dying. Our land is burning and bleeding and so I call upon the international community to apply punitive economic sanctions against this government.

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