Pearson Edexcel Level 3 GCE

Wednesday 3 June 2020

Morning (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'

Sources 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 political autobiography of Frank Moraes, *Witness to an Era: India 1920 to the Present Day*, published 1973. Moraes was an Indian journalist who had known many of the leading Congress politicians from the 1930s onwards.

The Quit India campaign threatened to use the full force of Congress' non-violent strength against the government if it refused to abdicate. Gandhi's attitude was different from that on previous occasions. He had previously left the door open for negotiation. Now he was determined to go through with mass civil disobedience whatever the consequences.

'I do not want rioting as a direct result,' Gandhi said. 'But if, in spite of precautions, rioting does take place, it cannot be helped.' To issue ultimatums of this sort, with the Japanese menacing India, was naturally seen as provocative by the British, and Gandhi's language confirmed the impression.

The fateful meeting of the Congress Working Committee that passed the Quit India resolution took place in August 1942. I attended the greater part of its session. Shortly before the meeting Gandhi had said to a British journalist, 'It will be my biggest movement.' It proved to be his biggest mistake.

Gandhi was arrested the next morning along with all the members of the Congress Working Committee. Oddly enough, he had not expected the arrests so soon. Their leaders imprisoned, the rank and file of Congress were left to act on their own initiative and resources.

Source 2: From a letter written by the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, to Gandhi, 25 January 1943. This was part of a correspondence between the two men that began in August 1942 about the 'Quit India Campaign'. It was agreed that the correspondence would not be kept confidential.

I must regard the Congress movement, and you as its authorised and fully empowered spokesman at the time of the resolution of last August, as responsible for the sad campaign of violence, crime and revolutionary activity. This has done so much harm and so much injury since last August.

I am very glad to read your absolute condemnation of violence. I am well aware of the importance which you have given to that belief in the past. But the events of these last months, and even the events that are happening today, show that it has not met with the full support of certain of your followers. The fact that your followers may have fallen short of an ideal, which you have advocated, is no answer to the relatives of those who have lost their lives. It is also no answer to those who have lost their property or suffered severe injury as a result of violent activities on the part of Congress and its supporters.

I cannot accept your suggestion that 'the whole blame' should be laid at the door of the Government of India. We are dealing with facts in this matter, and they have to be faced. I am very anxious to have from you anything that you may have to say or any specific proposition that you may have to make. However, the position remains that it is not the Government of India, but Congress and yourself that need to justify yourselves in this matter.

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

Sources for use with Question 2.

Source 3: From Yusuf Dadoo, *Message from London to the South African People*, published March 1961. Dadoo was a leading member of the South African Communist Party. He had gone into exile in London in 1960 to act as an international spokesman for the anti-apartheid campaign.

The enforced withdrawal of South Africa from the Commonwealth is a resounding victory for our people. It marks an historic step forward in our struggle against apartheid and for democratic rights.

This is a stunning defeat for Verwoerd. The determined stand by the Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth countries is a tribute to their steadfast opposition to racial discrimination. It is also a tribute to the solidarity of the peoples in all their countries with the struggle of the South African masses against apartheid and for freedom.

The world is solidly against Verwoerd's racial policies.

We are now engaged in a campaign – to urge economic sanctions through the United Nations; to call upon workers not to handle South African goods; to press upon the British Government to honour the spirit of the Commonwealth Conference decision and not have back-door trade and other deals with the Verwoerd Government; and to work for world-wide isolation of South Africa in the international field.

This enforced withdrawal opens up vast possibilities for us to make further inroads into the stronghold of racialism and white supremacy built by the supporters of Dr Verwoerd and his Nationalist Party. The people at home in South Africa must redouble their efforts and work with renewed energy in opposing every aspect of Dr Verwoerd's Government. Verwoerd's end is near. The warm rays of Africa's dawn of freedom will soon be felt in our beloved land.

Source 4: From a speech made by Robin Turton MP to the British House of Commons during a debate on South Africa's withdrawal from the Commonwealth, 22 March 1961.

The event that we are discussing today is a matter of great historical importance and a turning point in Commonwealth history.

South Africa's departure from the Commonwealth is an act of tragedy. My reason for saying this is based on the concept of the Commonwealth. I regard it as a tragedy because a number of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers have misunderstood the nature of the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth is not, and never has been, an association of Governments. It is an association of peoples. That is why what we are discussing today sets a very dangerous precedent.

The Commonwealth has driven South Africa out of the Commonwealth because the Commonwealth has criticised South Africa's Government. That is the reason why South Africa has left. I realise the difficulties of the situation. Not one of the Prime Ministers present at the Conference could agree with the methods of apartheid that have been used by the South African Government. I am sure that there is not a single Member of this House who is not equally revolted by the system and methods of apartheid.

However, by this decision, we have abandoned the men and women who have looked to the Commonwealth and to this country for their one hope for the future, for the easing of the hardships of apartheid.

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