Pearson Edexcel Level 3 GCE

History

Advanced
Paper 3: Themes in breadth with aspects in depth
Option 39.1: Civil rights and race relations in the USA, 1850–2009
Option 39.2: Mass media and social change in Britain, 1882–2004

Tuesday 19 June 2018 – Morning
Sources Booklet

Paper Reference
9HI0/39

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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 39.1: Civil rights and race relations in the USA, 1850–2009

Source for use with Question 1.

Source 1: From Todd Spivak, *Barack Obama and Me*, an article in the *Houston Press* newspaper, published February 2008. Spivak was an investigative reporter and a distinguished lawyer. He won national awards for his journalism. Here he is recalling Obama's rise to political prominence.

In 1999, Obama first ran for the US Congress against a highly experienced member of the Illinois Black Panther Party, the existing senator. He painted Obama, the largely unknown lawyer, as an out-of-touch elitist, and won the primary by more than 30 points. Five years later, Obama bid for the US Senate, where he eased to victory thanks to the self-destruction of his top opponents. The Democrats had just taken over the Illinois Legislature because the Republican governor got caught selling drivers' licenses to truckers with bad driving records. A disastrous truck accident splashed the whole story across the newspapers and the Democrats won the next election. As a result, the white, race-baiting, hard-right Republican Illinois Senate Majority Leader was replaced by Emil Jones Jr, a Democrat. He was a dark-skinned African-American who had served in the Illinois Legislature for three decades. Jones now became Obama's kingmaker* for the US Senate election. Several months before Obama announced his US Senate bid, Jones had declared 'I'm gonna make me a US Senator, Barack Obama.'

One criticism of Obama is that his portfolio was mighty thin as an Illinois legislator. Well, that's not quite true. He expanded children's health insurance; introduced a state benefit for low-income families; required public bodies to tape meetings to make government more transparent and required police to videotape interrogations of homicide suspects. And the list goes on. Pretty interesting. It's a lengthy record filled with core liberal issues. But what's interesting, and almost never discussed, is that he built his entire legislative record in a single year. He sponsored a whopping 26 bills passed into law – including many he now cites in his presidential campaign when attacked as inexperienced. And how did that happen? Jones appointed Obama sponsor of virtually every high-profile piece of legislation, angering many rank-and-file state legislators who had more seniority than Obama and had spent years championing the bills. State Senator Hendon, the original sponsor of landmark civil rights legislation, taken away by Jones and given to Obama, complained to me at the time: 'I took all the insults and endured all the racist comments over the years from nasty Republican committee chairmen. Barack didn't have to endure any of it, yet, in the end, he got all the credit.'

*kingmaker – one who brings potential leaders to power through political influence

Option 39.2: Mass media and social change in Britain, 1882–2004

Source for use with Question 2.

Source 2: From an article in *WSWS*, the World Socialist online newspaper, published July 2003. *WSWS* was owned by a radical left-wing international organisation. Here the author reports on Alastair Campbell's evidence to the Foreign Affairs Select Committee, 25 June 2003.

Alastair Campbell's vicious attack on the BBC and its journalist, Andrew Gilligan, is seen by most observers as a transparent attempt to divert attention from the embarrassing disclosures made during the Foreign Affairs Select Committee investigation into whether the government distorted intelligence to justify war against Iraq.

The government was being asked to answer for the truthfulness of two intelligence dossiers, one produced in September last year and one in February this year, under Campbell's direct supervision as head of government communications.

Foreign Secretary Jack Straw had acknowledged that the second 'dodgy dossier' – largely plagiarised from a doctoral student's thesis – was a political embarrassment for which Campbell must take responsibility. On top of this, Campbell had been accused by an intelligence source cited by Gilligan, the defence correspondent for Radio 4's *Today* programme, of having 'sexed-up' the first intelligence dossier by claiming that Saddam Hussein could launch weapons of mass destruction at 45 minutes' notice.

Campbell claimed: 'The allegation against me is that we helped the Prime Minister persuade Parliament and the country to go into conflict on the basis of a lie. I think that is a pretty serious allegation. It has been denied by the Prime Minister, it has been denied by the heads of the intelligence agencies involved, and yet the BBC continue to stand by that story. I think something has gone very wrong with the way that these issues are covered.'

Campbell used his sustained offensive to throw as much dirt at the BBC as possible in order to shift attention away from the government's dishonesty. As well as provoking a direct fight with the BBC, the government has also alienated many of its usual supporters in the press. The *Independent*, *Guardian*, *Observer* and the *Mirror* have all criticised Campbell for attacking the BBC and opinion pieces have been published supporting Gilligan's central contention that the security services were unhappy with the government's use of intelligence.

The strategy is immensely risky. To seek to destroy the reputation of the BBC – the leading domestic and international voice of the British ruling class – is not the best political strategy ever chosen. Previous governments, particularly the Conservatives under Margaret Thatcher, have accused the BBC of bias, ironically in favour of Labour, but they never backed it into a corner in the way Campbell has done.

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