Pearson Edexcel Level 3 GCE

History

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'

Wednesday 13 June 2018 - Afternoon

Paper Reference

Sources Booklet

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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 a speech made to the House of Commons by Clement Attlee, 2 December 1931, as part of a debate about India shortly before the Second Round Table Conference ended. Attlee was a member of the Simon Commission that had visited India in 1928-29. At the time of this speech, he was the deputy leader of the Labour Party.

I am not for a moment going to suggest that nothing has been accomplished by the Second Round Table Conference simply because not everything has been accomplished. We know that an immense amount of work has been done on this extraordinarily complex subject. There exist stubborn facts which cannot be altered - facts of geography, facts of climate, and facts of history. They have to be taken into account.

The Indian problem is not a static problem. It is constantly changing. Events are moving with extreme rapidity in India today. You cannot say that, because you knew all the factors three years ago, you know all the factors now.

I believe that the only possible way of getting a successful outcome is by negotiation. There are enemies to India's peace amongst extremists of all sides. I think that they are short-sighted, and I believe that the mass of intelligent opinion in this country and in India can, given good will, obtain a solution that will deal with these enormous difficulties. I fully recognise what these difficulties are. There is the Hindu-Muslim difficulty. There is also the constitutional difficulty. You have the difficulty of the minorities. All these difficulties exist, and they exist to be overcome. They can only be overcome by continued negotiations.

Source 2: From Margarita Barns, *India Today and Tomorrow*, published 1936. Barns was an English journalist who ran the Free Press of India news agency in Bombay from 1925-35. In this book, she reflected on what she had observed during this period.

Describing the background of the Second Round Table Conference in my newspaper, I wrote: 'The sectionalism which developed amongst the delegates last year shows little sign of diminishing'. The problem was still unsolved when the Conference began. The Hindus were convinced that the Muslims were receiving the support of the British Government on the 'divide and rule' principle. While no one could deny that there was a certain basis for the Hindu belief regarding the attitude of the Government, it was largely a justification of their own uncompromising attitude.

Mr Gandhi lost the biggest opportunity of his life when he did not take his courage into his hands and, in open defiance of the Hindu leaders, take responsibility for a settlement with the Muslims. Congress was plagued with the obsession that, if it made any concession, then the Muslims would only ask for more later. Thus Congress ignored the consequences of an imposed settlement - that the British Government was bound in any solution devised by them to take into account the wishes of the minority.

After Mr Gandhi's fast at Yeravda Gaol ended, the public began to recall his firm attitude at the Second Round Table Conference in his discussions with Dr Ambedkar*.

*Dr Ambedkar – leader of the Untouchables

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

Sources for use with Question 2.

Source 3: From a report in the *Rand Daily Mail* newspaper, 14 September 1977. The *Rand Daily Mail* was a liberal, anti–apartheid newspaper published in English.

Mr Biko is the twentieth person to die in Security Police custody in eighteen months. Mr James Kruger, the Minister for Justice, issued a statement yesterday. It is not customary for the Minister to comment on the death of a detainee, nor is it usual for details to be given concerning a detainee's illness and doctors' visits. It seemed as though the Minister was trying to prevent any anticipated outcry about Biko's death.

The statement raised more questions than it answered. The notion of a hunger strike, so out of keeping with Biko's response to persecution, was itself bizarre, and inevitably recalled other unlikely police explanations, as when Solomon Modipane* died after having 'slipped on a bar of soap'.

Taking the story at its face value, how could a hunger strike of only six days by a person in good health and normal weight so speedily have resulted in death? That was quite incredible. And why, if nothing could be found physically wrong with him, was Biko examined by so many doctors, and removed to a hospital? The public could only suspect that the police version of a hunger strike was an attempt to shift the blame for the death onto the detainee himself.

^{*}Solomon Modipane – a political activist who died in police custody in 1969

Source 4: From a radio broadcast by the South African Broadcasting Corporation, 16 September 1977. This broadcast was intended for overseas audiences. The South African Broadcasting Corporation reported the official line on apartheid taken by the National Party.

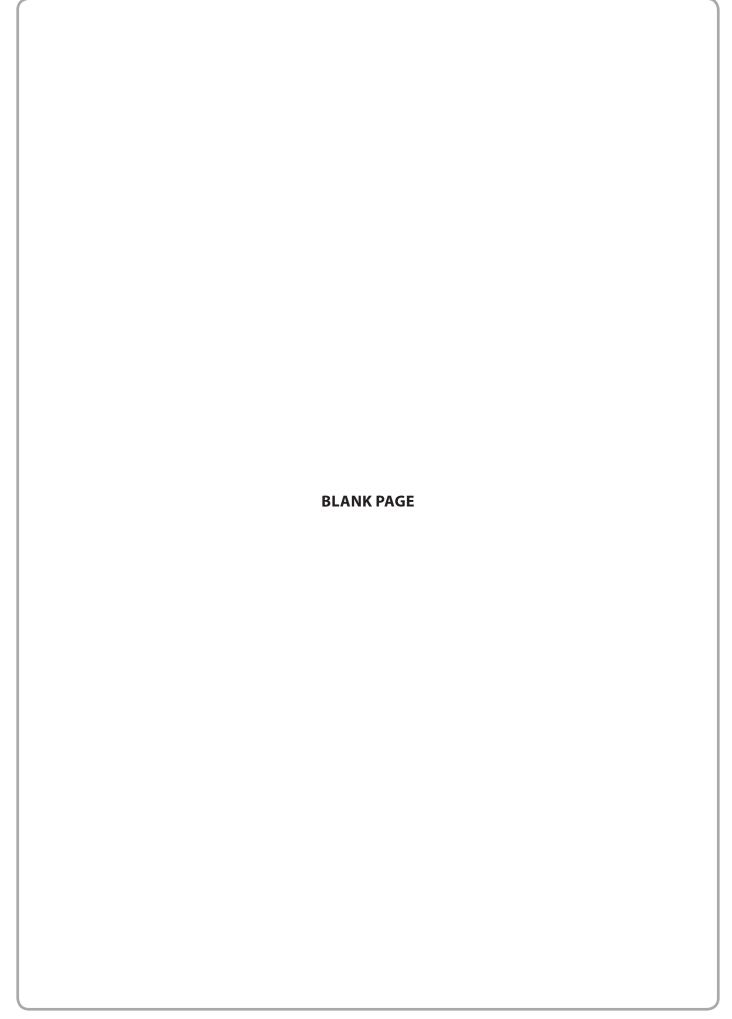
The death of Mr Steve Biko while in detention appears to be receiving wide publicity but before people begin to condemn the police, it is necessary to consider the facts of the situation and not all of these have been disclosed as yet. Mr Biko, who can be regarded as a leader among certain radical black elements in the country, was arrested in mid-August. From 5 September he refused meals and threatened a hunger strike. A number of doctors visited Biko in the following days.

Should Mr Biko's death be the result of suicide, it would fit into a pattern that has become common among detainees in South Africa. Numerous detainees who have been detained following communist training and indoctrination, have testified that they receive specific instructions to commit suicide rather than divulge information to the police. The result is that in the past eighteen months seven detainees have died as a result of hanging and three others have jumped from the windows of high buildings. Police say it is virtually impossible to stop a man determined to commit suicide from doing so and, in any event, the suicides are sometimes totally unexpected.

To their critics, the police point out that so far a court of law has never established that the police have been responsible for torturing or killing a single detainee, although all cases are thoroughly investigated.

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