



Examiners' Report June 2018

GCE History 9HI0 2F

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June 2018

Publications Code 9HI0_2F_1806_ER

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Introduction

It was pleasing to see candidates able to engage effectively across the ability range with A Level paper 2F which deals with India, c 1914-48: the road to independence (2F.1) and South Africa, 1948-94: from apartheid state to 'rainbow nation' (2F.2).

The paper is divided into two sections. Section A contains a compulsory question which is based on two linked sources. It assesses source analysis and evaluation skills (AO2). Section B comprises a choice of essays that assess understanding of the period in depth by targeting five second order concepts - cause, consequence, change and continuity, similarity and difference, and significance (AO1). Candidates appeared to organise their time effectively and there was little evidence of candidates being unable to attempt both answers within the time allocated. Examiners continue to note this year that a number of scripts posed some problems with the legibility of handwriting. Examiners can only give credit for what they can read.

In Section A, the strongest answers were able to develop reasoned and supported inferences based on the sources and to evaluate the sources thoroughly in relation to the demands of the enquiry on the basis of both the contextual knowledge displayed and an awareness of the nature, origin and purpose of the source. It is important, as was stated last summer, that candidates should be clear that weight is not likely to be established by a discussion of what is missing from a source. If the author of the source has omitted something intentionally in order to modify meaning or distort the message of the source, then it will be relevant to discuss that omission in reaching a conclusion regarding the use that a historian might make of the sources. However, comments on all the things that the sources might have contained, but failed to do so, is unlikely to contribute to establishing weight. This approach was still evident this summer, although less so than last summer. The question requires candidates to use the sources 'together' and it was pleasing to see that the majority of candidates continue to be aware of this requirement. It can be achieved using a variety of different approaches.

In section B it was clear that most candidates had a secure knowledge base, but this was not always effectively used to address the specific focus of the questions posed. Stronger answers clearly understood the importance of identifying the appropriate second order concept that was being targeted by the question, although weaker candidates continued this summer to often engage in a main factor/other factors approach, even where this did not necessarily address the demands of the conceptual focus. Last summer candidates were advised to ensure that there was both an argument and a counter-argument in their responses; it is pleasing to note that there was less evidence this summer of a lack of counter-arguments. Candidates need to be aware of the chronological parameters of questions and to ensure that they write across the chronology, not merely using the start and end dates as bookends with little consideration of the events between. Not all candidates have a secure understanding of what is meant by 'criteria' in terms of bullet point 3 of the mark scheme. Some candidates explicitly state in the introduction to the essay that they are naming the criteria that they plan to use, when in actual fact they are referring to the issues or the factors that will be discussed in the response. 'Criteria' in bullet point 3 of the mark scheme refers to the basis on which candidates reach their judgement, not the issues that are discussed in the process of reaching that judgement.

The candidates' performance on individual questions is considered in the next section.

Question 1

The source material was generally well-understood. Candidates were able to approach the sources in a range of different ways to arrive at well-argued and considered responses. In the stronger responses candidates had developed reasoned inferences with confidence and were able to develop and support these whilst commenting on the provenance of the source. Weaker responses often tended not to see that the focus of the question was the problems faced by the Second Round Table Conference. Candidates do need to consider the provenance of the sources carefully as they give useful prompts. Whilst most candidates were able to use the provenance of both sources, a minority wrote as if Attlee were the Prime Minister at the time of his speech. A number of responses contained introductions that dealt with contextual knowledge that was not related to the material in the source, e.g. a discussion of other Round Table Conferences. Bullet point 2 of the mark scheme makes clear the ways in which contextual knowledge should be used in this response.

Chosen question number: Question 1 Question 2

The historian could make use of Source 1 and 2 together to a great extent in an investigation of the problems facing the problems facing the Round Table Conference, because both demonstrate that these the main challenges to successful negotiations were Hindu-Muslim mistrust and the issue of how to deal with minorities in any new constitution for India. Source 1 shows ~~these~~ ^{these} two factors and moreover shows, unlike source 2, that there ~~were~~ ^{was} also disagreements over the 'constitutional difficulty' during the conferences, implying differences between Britain and Indians. However, source 2 can demonstrate the failure of the conferences versus the optimism of source 1, and so evidently both sources need to be used together to provide a ^{well-}holistic investigation into the problems surrounding the Second Round Table Conference.

Source 1 and 2 can be of great use to the historian for providing an insight into the problems facing the Second Round Table Conference because they demonstrate that a very obstacle to finding a solution was ethnic differences between Muslims and Hindus. Source 1 lists the problems, calling ~~it~~ this difficulty "the Hindu-Muslim difficulty", implying ^{that} ~~it~~ is not new but has been known about for a long time. Similarly, source 2 ~~also~~ indicates that this 'sectionalism' had been developing for a long time before the conferences, ~~because~~ and Hindus were wary of Muslims playing

to British 'divide and rule' tactics. The fact that both sources ~~conclude~~ corroborate these problems being the RTC demonstrate their usefulness, and indeed they are correct, because both Hindus and Muslims had drifted apart since the imprisonment of Gandhi in 1922 and Jinnah's resignation (the leader of the Muslim League) resignation from Congress in 1920. Source 2 continues by saying that this therefore led to an 'uncompromising position' taken by the Indian National Congress, ^{which} ~~was~~ ^{origin} ~~is~~ ^{is} alluded to in Source when Attlee mentions the "difficulty of the minorities." Again both sources are correct, as Gandhi did indeed take a firm line on minority representation at the conferences, as he was the sole representative of Congress there, symbolising his regular representation of the Indian people. He rejected any provision for minorities such as Untouchables - as source 2 mentions - because he thought them equal to other Hindus and as such did not want to ~~allow~~ the decision to allow for separate electorates. Therefore, both source 1 and 2 are useful for an investigation into the problems facing the 2nd RTC, because both demonstrate that the ethnic/religious tensions and Gandhi's unwavering absolutism both ~~contributed~~ ^{contributed} to problems coming to an agreement.

However, source 1 ^{demonstrates} ~~is~~ ^{perhaps}, unlike source 2, that there were not just Hindu-Muslim problems but problems with Britain too. Whilst source 2 seems to exclusively focus on the problems between Indians themselves, ~~but~~ possibly because Bains is writing about what she observed in India at the time, and so

is more likely to focus on Indians, since I acknowledges the "constitutional difficulty". This difficulty is a disagreement between Britain and the Indians over what kind of power should be delegated to Indians in a new constitution, because the INC wanted 'purna swraj' - complete independence - whereas the British Government only desired to give India Dominion status. Since I can therefore demonstrate that another problem facing the RTC was differences in British and Indian, specifically the Indian National Congress, aims. Since I's explanation of this is ~~perhaps~~ due to the fact Attlee was a British politician, and, as ~~the~~ ^{deputy} leader of the Labor Party, would be acquainted with the policy of the British government towards India, making it even more useful. However, Attlee's optimism in Source I could again arise from his position as a ^{deputy} leader of the opposition party in Westminster at the time - perhaps he is optimistic because he desires to ~~confront~~ ^{confront} with the incumbent National Government, ~~which was~~ ^{which was} ~~perhaps~~ ^{perhaps} ~~too~~ ^{too} wary of giving more than just Dominion status to Indians, and as such ~~gave~~ ^{put} little effort behind coming to an ~~agreement~~ ^{agreement} at the conferences. In this light, since 2's pessimism is ~~more~~ ^{more} ~~just~~ ^{more realistic} as opposed to Attlee's political manoeuvrings. The notion that more negotiations would have led to solutions in source 1 is readily rejected in source 2, stating that the INC ~~was~~ ^{ignored} ~~happy~~ to the consequences of no agreement which ultimately led to an imposed settlement - the 1935 Government of India Act. Taking into account the fact that the conference did not achieve any lasting deal, and an imposed settlement had

to be implemented in 1935 + (this Content of the Act). source 2 is perhaps necessary to counterbalance the optimism of Attlee to demonstrate that, in reality, the problems facing the 2nd RT were so great that no agreement was reached at all and an imposed settlement had to be crafted.* In this way, both sources are useful to demonstrate the problems facing the Round Table Conference, as source 2 demonstrates the constitutional problems, but they must be used together as source 2 can ^{with hindsight} illustrate the practical ~~issues~~ inevitable ~~issues~~ of the Conference due to these problems in opposition to Attlee's optimism.

In conclusion, both source 1 and 2 are useful for an investigation into the problems facing the 2nd Round Table Conference, because they both demonstrate the underlying Hindu-Muslim tensions and the difficulties about provision for minorities. However, they must be used together to be useful, because whilst source 1 can demonstrate the difficulty between Britain and India which source 2 neglects, source 2 is necessary to offset the optimism of source 1 with the demonstration that these problems were ultimately inevitable.

*This is only possible due to the fact source 2 is an account in hindsight, looking back at the outcome of the Conference, whereas Attlee is in context talking just before the close of the conference in 18 December 1931.



This is an example of a level 5 response. The candidate has a secure focus throughout on problems and has interrogated the sources to reach well developed inferences which are supported and then tested by reference to contextual knowledge. There is clear evidence of the sources being used together.

Question 2

Most responses to this question had a secure understanding of the sources and their content, although Source 3 tended often to be better handled than Source 4, despite the fact that a significant minority of candidates appeared to believe that the *Rand Daily Mail* was a British newspaper. This demonstrates the importance of a careful reading of the provenance by candidates in order to ensure that the prompts they provide are fully utilised. Whilst the best responses developed reasoned inferences with confidence, weaker responses would have benefited from a greater level of development when considering the inferences that they raised. A number of responses contained introductions that dealt with contextual knowledge that was not directly related to the material in the source, e.g. detailed biographies of the life of Steve Biko, on occasion linked to detail from the film *Cry Freedom*. Bullet point 2 of the mark scheme makes clear the ways in which contextual knowledge should be used in this response.

When investigating the responses to the death of Steve Biko, both sources 3 and 4 offer differing perspectives towards the response it evoked. While source 3 focuses on the international condemnation of his death in support of anti-apartheid movements, source 4 offers the National Party's response to the outcry that followed his death. However both sources lack detail in regards to the responses to the death of Steve Biko nationally and internationally.

Source 3 ~~considers~~ conveys the idea that the National Party were in fact not publishing the truth in regards to Steve Biko's death using the rhetorical question, "how could a hunger strike of only six days by a person in good health and normal weight so speedily have resulted in death?" the use of language ~~&~~ implicitly conveying that a hunger strike was not the cause of his death. By using "so speedily" it also implies that his death was caused by someone else due to the unrealistic evidence and facts surrounding his death. This shows that the message of source

3 was to provoke international outcry for the circumstances of his death showing how the response to Steve Biko's death from anti-apartheid movements such as the ANC was that of disbelief and suspicion of the National Party. This is greater emphasised by "the Minister was trying to prevent any anticipated outcry about Steve Biko's death" showing how the National Party's response to Steve Biko's death was to suppress it in the hope it would be looked over and forgotten about. In comparison, Source 4 also highlights how the response to Steve Biko's death was one of large media attention stating "The death of Mr Steve Biko while in detention appears to be receiving wide publicity" conveying how news spread internationally which was the opposite reaction to what the National Party had hoped for. The message of Source 4 is clearly to suppress the responses by anti-apartheid movements to Steve Biko's death stating "a court of law has never established that the police have been responsible for torturing or 'single detainee'" showing how responses to Steve Biko's death were suspicions that the police had brutally killed Steve Biko and the National Party desperately tried to stop this from spreading.

Source 4 clearly outlines how the National Party's response to Steve Biko's death was an attempt to portray him as a communist stating that suicide was common for "numerous detainees who have been detained following communist brainwashing and indoctrination." This conveys that the National Party attempted to get rid of the international outcry that surrounded his death by claiming he had communist links during a time period where fear of communist takeover surrounded western countries in an attempt to prevent punishment from countries such as the UK.

Overall both sources 3 and 4 can be used to investigate the responses to Steve Biko's death as they provide insight into the reaction from anti-apartheid movements and the National Party.

Source 3 may be considered valuable when investigating the responses to Steve Biko's death as it was from "a liberal anti-apartheid newspaper" which was "published in English" showing how the audience of the source was aimed internationally during the time when anti-apartheid movements were prominent abroad such as in London. This shows how the response to Steve Biko's death was one of large media

attention and international interest. This may be supported by the fact that Steve Biko's funeral was attended by thousands with support from other countries condemning the National Party.

Source 4 also highlights how Steve Biko's death resulted in wide media coverage worldwide as the "broadcast was intended for overseas audiences" portraying how the National Party attempted to cover up his death and blame it on suicide due to being affiliated with communism.

Overall both sources 3 and 4 present differing responses to Steve Biko's death.

Source 3 may be considered more valuable for a historian investigating Steve Biko's death as it clearly suggests the National Party's attempts to cover it up while also showing how it received international media attention and condemnation from anti-apartheid movements.



ResultsPlus
Examiner Comments

Overall this response is on the level 4/5 margins. The candidate has identified a number of inferences that have been supported and developed and linked to contextual knowledge at times. It is slightly less secure in its evaluation of the sources.

Question 3

This was slightly the more popular question in Section B for 2F.1. Many responses covered a range of relevant material to analyse the differing methods of control employed by the British in India. Even where responses were less strong, range was still often a feature, and this implies that candidates had a wide range of material from which to draw. Candidates at the higher end linked the methods used by the British and discussed the relative importance of different methods. Weaker responses often struggled to define repression, which consequently impacted on their ability to reach clearly reasoned conclusions. Such answers also had a tendency to describe the actions of Gandhi without necessarily thinking about their relevance to the question focus. A number of responses failed to consider the full chronological range of the question.

Through the years 1914 to 1939, the British exerted full control over India with little power being delegated during this time. 1914-18 especially saw British control as wartime restrictions were placed on India. They were able to maintain their control through a number of ways: the first principle ~~and~~ method was that of repression, which occurred throughout the 16 year period. However, the British were also able to maintain control by making small concessions and by allowing the divisions between minority groups to grow without British intervention.

Repression by the British on India was by far the principle method used. British control in this period can be seen to have been mostly accomplished through force, the first example of this being the wartime ~~on~~ restrictions of World War One. These were initially done through the Defence of India Act, however wartime restrictions

were extended under the Rowlatt Acts which imposed such repression as Curfews and a banning of meetings and parades. In Amritsar in 1919, between 10,000 - 20,000 Punjabois ignored this and, without warning, General Dyer ordered his troops to shoot 1,650 rounds of ammunition into the crowd, killing 400 and injuring 1,500. Martial law was imposed after this in Amritsar, further repressing its people. Secondly repression was accomplished through imprisonment of Indians, especially those in Congress and those who took part in Satyagraha campaigns. For example, in 1922, Gandhi was arrested alongside hundreds of Congress leaders, including Nehru, and thousands of peasants who took part in the campaign. Thirdly, the repression of the 1930 Salt Satyagraha allowed the British to maintain their control as, again, Gandhi was imprisoned, and so was his working committee. Repression allowed the British to stamp out those who were deviant, however, the limitation of this method was that it repeatedly led to more opposition and

made it harder for the British to maintain control.

To a lesser extent, the ~~British~~ concessions made by the British also allowed a maintenance of control. This was still significant as it made ~~Ind~~ encouraged Indians to think that the British were moving towards granting them more independence. One example of this was the 1917 Montagu ~~Declar~~ Declaration.

Montagu was a ~~it~~ passionate liberal and he convinced Chelmsford to make concessions, such as adding two Indians to the ~~micro~~ Secretary of State for India's ~~West~~ ~~minister~~ Westminster Office.

Thus, while Montagu was liberal, Chelmsford had little intent to truly loosen Britain's grip, however Indians were excited to see concessions. Secondly, the 1919 Government of India Act created a system of dyarchy, which many Indians were hoping for. However, dyarchy was unequal and the real power remained with the British, allowing them to keep their control. Thirdly, the Irwin

Declaration in 1929 worked to give false hope to Indians and therefore allow the British to maintain control. The Declaration ~~promised~~ stated that Indians should aim for dominion, something which many of them, including minorities and princes, were pleased with. However, this never came to occur and therefore be seen as another method of the British maintaining their control. Overall, the concessions made by the British were large enough to show progression in their attitudes, but small enough to prevent them losing any significant control.

Finally, in the years 1914-30, the British were able to maintain their control by doing little to prevent divisions between Hindus and Muslims. The tension between these groups can be seen to be one of the most significant factors why the British were able to keep control, for as long as they did. Firstly, when the 1920-22 non-cooperation campaign struggled to maintain its purpose of

satyagraha and by 1922 it had completely devolved into violence and rioting. There was Hindu on Muslim crime and vice versa. For example, in Bombay many Hindus tried to purify Muslims by full immersion in water, this led to many drownings. In Punjab, a jihad broke out, resulting in Muslims killing Hindus. This violence led to huge tensions between the groups and this benefited the British as it prevented the two groups conducting an organised, united rebellion. Furthermore, it enabled the British to justify their presence, arguing the Indians were unable to govern themselves. Secondly, the 1927 Simon Commission allowed the British to perpetuate their control. While they did face massive opposition from Congress, and some of Muslim League, in areas where there was a Muslim majority, or Sikh, Anglo-Indian, or Indian Christian presence, these groups often did participate. The show of some groups working with the British divided minorities further. Overall, the division of groups in India meant that they were unable to agree on a constitution or layout of

government. This benefited the British as they were therefore able to maintain their control under 1947. ~~Had the minority groups~~ For these reasons, the method of ~~allowing~~ allowing divisions to continue and tensions to grow greatly benefited the British as it meant there was ~~little~~ not a united force opposing them.

In conclusion, the British were able to maintain their control over India throughout the years 1914-30 through a number of methods. Repression was the principle method and enabled the British to put down major ~~rebellions~~ uprisings and scare civilians into obedience, as seen in Amritsar. However, the methods of making small concessions to Indians to present the picture that they were moving towards independence also allowed the maintaining of control. The enabling of divisions and tensions to continue was arguably more significant than small concessions as it enabled the British to justify their ~~decision~~ presence and, thus, maintain their control.



This response achieves level 5. The candidate ranges across the period, identifying a range of relevant issues that are discussed. Judgements are made through the answer in order to reach reasoned conclusions.

Question 4

This was slightly the less popular question in Section B for 2F.1. There were some very impressive answers seen in response to this question that dealt in a fully analytical way with the focus of partition and supported the analysis with detailed and specific contextual knowledge. Weaker candidates often found it difficult to distinguish between partition and independence and thus did not always securely address the focus of the question as set. However, even in such responses there was generally some material and argument that did have some relevance to the question. Some candidates did not have a secure understanding of what communal violence was which limited their ability to develop the analysis fully.

Partition was never ~~was~~ ^{the} a possibility, that the British always, arguably, always tried to avoid but ~~an~~ ^{or} simultaneously became a growing reality, ~~and~~, particularly ~~the~~ after the second world War. This was in part driven by ~~was~~ the communal violence that ~~emerged~~ ^{erupted} ~~emerged~~ after the war as well as the ~~the~~ Lahore Declaration ~~or~~ earlier in 1940. However another significant factor in Britain's decision to ~~partition~~ ^{opt} for partition was the role of Mountbatten.

Firstly, the communal violence ~~that~~ following the Second World War was the most significant factor in the reason for partition. For instance, ~~in~~ 1946 was a year ~~where~~ in particular characterised by widespread violence initially sparked by Jinnah's calling for Direct Action. ~~which~~ ^{which} ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~held~~ ^{held} on the 16th August 1946. Within 72 hours, 5,000 lay dead, 100,000 residents were made homeless and a ~~prayer~~ ^{prayer} ~~were~~ ^{were} injured. Muslims and Hindus slaughtered each other in a ~~combination~~ ^{combination} of killings, looting arson. Indeed, India was engulfed by

violence. In particular, the Punjab under ~~the~~ ~~British~~ ~~rule~~ was a centre of carnage as the shaky alliance ~~was~~ administered ~~there~~ between the Sikhs and non-Muslim League Muslims was under ^{the} threat ^{of} ~~collapse~~ ^{collapsing}. Militant Sikhs began slaughtering Muslims in the ~~provinces~~ ~~of~~ Punjab. The situation was ~~exacerbated~~ exacerbated by the leaders as they were seen to somewhat ~~encourage~~ encourage violence. For instance, Wavell's appeals to Gandhi and Jinnah to call a halt to the violence fell upon deaf ears. This indicates that ~~this~~ this violence was what they wanted. At ~~the~~ ~~same~~ ~~time~~ ~~as~~ ~~Gandhi~~ ~~in~~ ~~particular~~ ~~this~~ Jinnah's ~~own~~ remarks that ~~the~~ Pakistan is ~~the~~ was worth the sacrifice of 10 million Muslims further reinforced ~~that~~ how those in authority were welcoming violence ~~with~~ by saying such remarks which permeated society, encouraging even more violence. Ultimately, the situation in India after WW2 was dire as everyone, ranging from the ordinary ~~Sikh~~ ^{Muslim} and Hindu to those in power like Gandhi and Jinnah were ~~involved~~ involved in the continuation of violence. Therefore, this created a hostile environment, in which only partition had the ^{power} ~~power~~ to ~~stop~~ ~~it~~ heal. As a result, this emphasises the ~~of~~ directly and indirectly

Significance of communal violence in causing partition as the British now valued their safety more than clinging onto India, despite all its benefits. Effectively, violence drove the British out, and caused partition.

On the contrary, the Lahore Declaration of March 1940 can be seen as a very relatively important factor causing the partition that occurred 7 years later. For ~~example~~, this set the basic principles that Muslims believed to be essential in any new constitution.

For instance, ^{it was declared that} groups of states ~~who did not~~ want to join ~~an~~ an independent ~~and~~ could

rather opt out of a independent India if they wished and the rights of minorities should be protected. This was the first time separate states had been said and the word "separate" had been driven home relentlessly.

Thus, with the Lahore Declaration, we can see the cementing of ordinary Muslims' views of on partition which was now seen as at least a possibility for the future.

Also, the August offer which followed maintained to Muslim needs and wishes would have to be listened to if in any new constitution.

this highlights how Muslims were now in a position to see demand and more importantly receive per their wishes of partition if they ~~wished~~ wanted, thus strengthening their hand politically. ~~Ultimately, however~~ Overall, this factor is 'nt as significant as communal violence because it is by no means certain that Jinnah envisaged the ~~creation~~ creation of two new states of East and West Pakistan at the time. ~~As a result,~~ He may just have been using the ~~idea~~ notion of separate states as a political ~~manoeuvre~~ manoeuvre to gain greater concessions. Therefore, ~~this~~ this wasn't the central reason for partition, though it ~~created~~ ~~the~~ made partition a more ~~clear~~ ~~clearly~~ possibility, planting the seeds in ~~people's~~ Muslim minds.

Finally, ~~Lord~~ Mountbatten had an important role to play ~~in~~ in India's partition and ~~his~~ his actions as ~~vicar~~ vicar ~~can~~ can account for partition.

For example, he ~~was~~ made an effort to cultivate the friendships ~~of~~ with men ~~top~~ like Gandhi, Nehru and other Congress members ~~and~~ ~~he~~ Indeed, he and his wife had a warm relationship with Nehru. However, Mountbatten's

first meeting with Jinnah was decidedly frosty and he was later referred to him in pejorative terms. This was because Jinnah was in no way seduced by his charms and Mountbatten's 'charm offensive' failed to work on him. The pejorative terms that Mountbatten used were relayed to Jinnah which further made Jinnah feel as if he had strong pro-Congress sympathies. As a result, despite Lord Mountbatten's initial brief that alternatively stated that partition should be avoided at all costs, his ~~perceived~~ perceived impartiality ~~caused~~ indirectly made Jinnah as well as and more broadly, Muslims, that 'partition was necessary'. It was only after the ~~act~~ of spreading violence that Lord Mountbatten abandoned his trying to avoid partition and just hastily allowed it in order to get the British out before the subcontinent went up in flames. Ultimately, Mountbatten's preference of Congress over the League was which was widely reported, made Muslims had the effect of alienating Muslims and perhaps if he had worked harder to gain their trust, partition could have been avoided.

In conclusion, ~~the~~ the communal violence which was perpetrated by the likes of Jinnah and Gandhi and was widespread was the most significant factor in causing partition. The British valued leaving the subcontinent instead of staying ~~in~~ the fact that partition was not ~~the~~ main ~~it~~ was avoided at the beginning but accepted later highlight ~~the~~ or how the violence ~~happened~~ ~~it~~ happened it.



ResultsPlus
Examiner Comments

This is a level 5 response that demonstrates a secure understanding of a range of issues that are relevant in reaching a reasoned judgement that relates clearly to the focus of the question.

Question 5

This was the more popular question in Section B for 2F.2. Most candidates had a secure understanding of the demands of the question and stronger answers developed an analytical approach that was well supported with specific and detailed contextual knowledge. The more successful candidates were able to identify the splits and lack of consistency amongst anti-apartheid groups and their approach in opposing apartheid laws and linked this to the question focus. Some candidates perceived opposition to mean specifically party political opposition rather than anti-apartheid groups. This was relevant and was credited. Some candidates failed to consider the counter-arguments which limited the analysis.

Chosen question number: **Question 3** **Question 4**
Question 5 **Question 6**

PLAN

Weakness of opposition

ANC - founded in 1912 but re-emerged when National Party won

Youth League founded in 1944 - victory prompted a Programme of Action

Defiance Campaign 52-53 - inspired by civil

rights / Gandhi - boycotts, sit-ins

against petty apartheid DIDN'T ACHIEVE

Laws made opposition weak ANYTHING

- treason trial added to weakness

OTHER FACTORS

GROWTH IN NATIONALISM - WW2, job creation for whites
swart gevaar (black fear)

The National Party came into power in 1948 following only a narrow victory over Smuts' United Party. The promise of apartheid ensured white farmers voted for them, and resulted in the National Party's majority owing to the numbers of rural constituencies it won. The opposition to apartheid included political groups such as the African National Congress (ANC), the Youth League which the organisation created and the Pan Africanist Congress which came about in 1959. Whether the National Party was able to implement apartheid legislation due to the opposition's ~~at~~ weakness ~~depends~~ can only be judged if it really was the opposition's weakness or if apartheid legislation was so extensive that no amount of opposition could stop it. These factors that helped the apartheid regime could include the legislation itself, the growth in support for the regime and the opposition.

The main opposition to the apartheid regime during the time it was enforced was the ANC. Established in 1912, the political organisation re-emerged with the victory of the National Party in 1948. The Youth League was set up as part of the organisation and implemented a Programme of Action in 1948. This plan was set out to take action

towards the oppressive regime. ~~as~~ This was ~~the~~ encompassed during the 1952-53 Defiance Campaign. The campaign encouraged Africans to stand up to 'petty' apartheid by through boycotts, sit-ins - mainly inspired by those in the US. This campaign did not achieve much, as the National Party simply arrested 153 people, including the main leaders, and put them on trial for treason. This helped weaken the opposition as most of its most influential leaders were tied up in court proceedings to help achieve anything. This allowed the National Party to continue implementing laws which entrenched apartheid into everyday life even more.

However, one of the influential reasons in why the apartheid legislation could be implemented was the growth in Afrikaner nationalism. ^{as} WW2 had already stimulated a growth in support for the National Party, whilst swaart gevaar (fear of blacks) only grew momentum in the 50s due to the Africans protesting. Votes for the National Party had increased by 200,000 from 1948 to 1956, showing how more and more Afrikaners were supporting the notion of separateness, adding to the strength of the National Party in implementing its regime. This shows how the growth in nationalism was ~~very~~ important.

The extensiveness of apartheid legislation was most definitely one of, if not the, most influential reasons into why they could be implemented.

Every aspect of life for Africans was effected by the apartheid regime. The Natives Abolition of Pass Laws ensured that every African had to present their identification wherever they asked.

The constant harassment angered Africans, as they could be pestered constantly in the streets or even at home. The Urban Areas Act also helped control the influx of blacks into cities, resulting in no option but to live in the bantustans which the government had provided through the Bantu Authorities Act. Every act oppressed black Africans in different ways, so much so that it was difficult to form any sort of opposition. Even when opposition was formed, the extensive apartheid legislation made it extremely difficult to get anything done, denoting how in reality it did not matter how strong opposition was, it was always going to be stopped by the National Party.

To conclude, the apartheid regime set out to enforce separateness. and It succeeded. During the years 1948 to 59, every aspect of African life had been separated from those of the Afrikaners. Although

the ANC would were still finding its feet after re-emerging, and therefore significantly weak, the real reason as to why opposition was so weak was due to the extensive measures the National Party was willing to take in order to achieve their political agenda. The weakness of the opposition was made ~~more~~ exacerbated by legislation, which in turn made it easier for Verwoerd to implement even more.



This is a level 4 response. The candidate clearly understands the focus of the question and discusses both the stated factor and other factors within the answer, although there could be greater range in what has been discussed.

Question 6

This was the less popular question in Section B for 2F.2. Better responses had a secure understanding of the question focus and were able to develop their analysis of the extent of the failure of Botha's reforms of the apartheid system appropriately with detailed and specific supporting evidence. Whilst most candidates had some understanding of Botha's reforms, in weaker answers this tended at times to be rather generalised and lacking in specific supporting detail.

Chosen question number: Question 3

Question 4

Question 5

Question 6

were: ^{lack of support} ~~lack of participation~~

→ Conservative Party

88 free Mandela

were not: ^{support.} ~~international~~

→ Passlaws 1986 ✓

→ international ✓
Conservatives Buthe's

were: Township revolt.

→ Alexandra six day war

were not:

In the years 1983-89, P. W. Botha attempted to reform the system of Apartheid, which to a large extent can be considered a failure. In terms of support gained, it was thin and in some many cases less support, however the support of conservative Africans and internationally should not be ignored. ~~As well as this it must~~ In terms of internal relations, ~~they~~ Botha's reforms should be considered a failure, as violence spiralled as a result of them.

In terms of ^{gaining} support ^{and appeasing criticism}, it is clear that Botha's reforms were a failure. Through Botha's reforms, he aimed to appease both international criticism and gain support from Indians and coloureds, thus dividing opposition. Firstly, Botha failed to gain support from within the NP. As a result of his reforms, a conservative party was formed for ~~verkrampte~~-kanning members of the NP who disagreed with the direction in which the reforms took the NP (National Party). Secondly, Botha's reforms failed to gain ~~so~~ significant support from within the Indian and Coloured populations. Of those eligible to vote, ~~only~~ over 80% boycotted, as encouraged by the UDF. Finally, the reforms failed to appease international criticism. ~~and~~ For example, ~~the~~ Mandela's 70th birthday concert in 1988 was watched by 600 million. Therefore it is clear that the reforms failed to achieve their aim of gaining support ~~at all~~ ~~and~~ and appeasing criticism. ~~However~~ However, it must be considered that the reforms found some support from within conservative

groups and individuals.

In terms of support amongst conservatives, it should be considered that Botha's reforms were not entirely a "complete failure". Internationally, the reforms saw some limited support. For example, some MPs within the UK Conservative Party ~~used~~ used his reforms as a way of defending their policies of "constructive engagement".

Moreover amongst the growing black middle class there was some support, which to some extent was significant as by 1975, there were 420,000 blacks in white collar jobs, showing that the group had become well established. Some were keen to join the councils, and many saw the ~~abolition~~ abolition of pass laws as particularly positive. However it must be noted that the reforms did little to gain support, so much as it did please its supporters. For example, it is ~~an~~ significant that ^{the reforms} it only increased support within groups that were already likely to support Botha, such as the black middle class who did not suffer

as much from Apartheid as the poor, and the UK Conservative party, which had always supported economic engagement with South Africa.

In terms of internal protest and backlash it is clear that Botha's reforms were a complete failure. Those who ~~took part~~ engaged with the reforms, such as black councillors, were viewed as sell outs and were often targeted by opposition groups. For example during the Alexandra Six Day War, councillors were forced to flee due to the level of violence against them. Moreover groups such as the UDF, rather than view the reforms as a step towards liberation, directly protested against them. For example, they encouraged Indians and Coloureds to boycott the Tricameral elections. Moreover the legitimisation of Trade Unions, proved to allow for significant protest, for such as the 1986 miner's strike or the last that 6 million days worth of work were lost in 1987. However, it could be argued that it was not

directly Botha's reforms which caused protest, and therefore they were not a complete failure, as ~~protest~~ large scale protest was already present in South Africa prior to Botha's reforms to the system of Apartheid.

To conclude, it is clear that Botha's reforms were by large a "complete failure." While it can be argued that they saw some support in some areas, it is clear that these areas were areas in which the NP already had some support. Overall, the reforms were a complete failure in gaining support amongst the ~~the~~ international AAMI, the Coloured and Indian population, and within the NP. Moreover the protest and backlash seen as after the reforms show that it is clear that they were a "complete failure."



This response achieved level 4/5 margins. The answer tries to establish some basis against which Botha's reforms can be judged to be either a success or a failure. There is some well-developed argument within the response, although on occasions there is some repetition.

Paper Summary

Based on their performance on this paper, candidates are offered the following advice:

Section A

- Candidates should go beyond paraphrasing the content of the sources to draw out reasoned and developed inferences
- Candidates should move beyond stereotypical approaches to the nature/purpose and authorship of the source by, e.g., looking at and explaining the specific stance and/or purpose of the writer
- Contextual knowledge should not be used to list all the information that is missing from the sources, unless omission was the aim of the author
- Contextual knowledge should be linked to the material provided in the source
- Candidates should make use of the sources together at some point in the answer.

Section B

- Spending a few minutes planning helps to ensure the second order concept is correctly identified; candidates need to be aware that not all questions demand a factor/other factors approach
- Candidates must provide more precise contextual knowledge as evidence. Weaker responses lacked depth and sometimes range
- Candidates should avoid a narrative/descriptive approach; this undermines the analysis that is required for the higher levels
- Candidates need to be aware of key dates as identified in the specification so that they can address the questions with chronological precision
- Candidates should try to explore the links between issues rather than merely present a list of factors.

Grade Boundaries

Grade boundaries for this, and all other papers, can be found on the website on this link:

<http://www.edexcel.com/iwantto/Pages/grade-boundaries.aspx>

