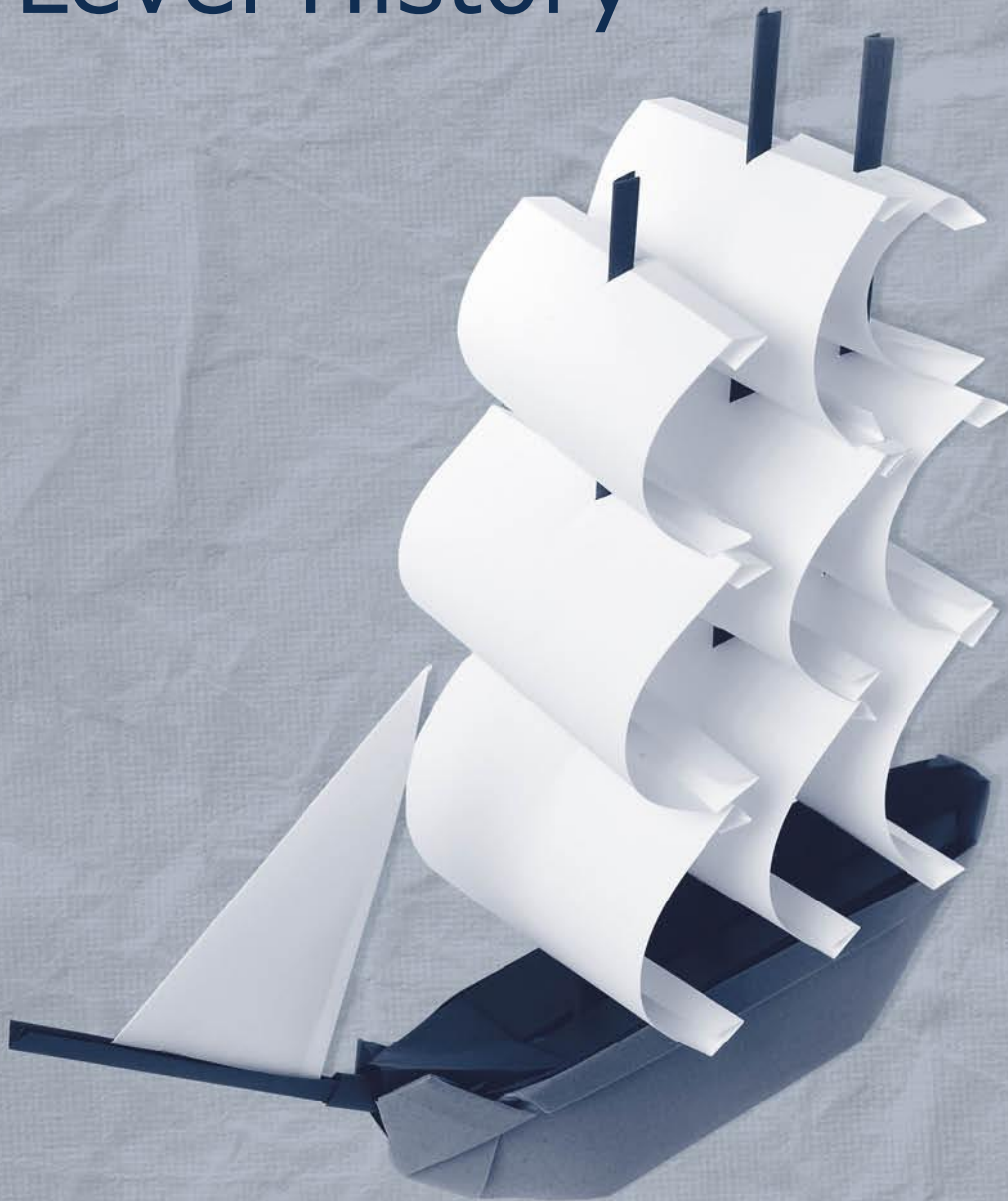


Pearson Edexcel

A Level History



Summer 2017 examination series
STUDENT ANSWERS PAPER 9HI0_02

Exemplar Pack 3 – Option 2F

GCE History 2015

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About this exemplars pack

This pack has been produced to support History teachers delivering the new A Level History specification (first teaching 2015). Existing exemplar packs for both AS and A Level can be found on the Edexcel website and further packs will be published as centres progress through the course.

The pack contains exemplar student responses to A Level History Paper 2:

- Option 2F.1: India, c1914–48: the road to Independence.
- Option 2F.2: South Africa, 1948–94: from apartheid state to 'rainbow nation'.

It shows real student responses to questions from the Summer 2017 examination series. The questions covered in this pack address Assessment Objectives 1 and 2.

Students must:		% in GCE
AO1	Demonstrate, organise and communicate knowledge and understanding to analyse and evaluate the key features related to the periods studied, making substantiated judgements and exploring concepts, as relevant, of cause, consequence, change, continuity, similarity, difference and significance	55
AO2	Analyse and evaluate appropriate source material, primary and/or contemporary to the period, within its historical context	20
AO3	Analyse and evaluate, in relation to the historical context, different ways in which aspects of the past have been interpreted	25
Total		100%

Following each question, you will find the mark scheme for the band that the student has achieved.

Paper 9H10_2F

Section A

Question 1 and Question 2

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

Study Sources 1 and 2 in the Sources Booklet before you answer this question.

- 1 How far could the historian make use of Sources 1 and 2 together to investigate the impact of the First World War on the progress of India towards self-government?

Explain your answer, using both sources, the information given about them and your own knowledge of the historical context.

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

Study Sources 3 and 4 in the Sources Booklet before you answer this question.

- 2 How far could the historian make use of Sources 3 and 4 together to investigate the problems facing South Africa in the transition of its system of government in the early 1990s?

Explain your answer, using both sources, the information given about them and your own knowledge of the historical context.

Exemplar response A

Chosen question number: **Question 1** ☒ **Question 2** ☒

Source 1 states Plan:	
U	NU
• SI states conditions were as they were before the war	• Written before Amritsar Massacre due to Rowlatt acts.
• SI states despite promise of self governance no proclamation made	• No mention of Simla conference
• SI states war did not hasten demand for self gov	• Rowlatt commission and Act missing - Indians put back into war time conditions.

Source 1 states that because of India's effort towards the war they should have "all distinctions between the Indian and European fellow-subjects of His Majesty should once and for all be removed." but further states that conditions of India were the same as they were before the war with no official proclamation of self government. Source 2 states that India put the largest effort into the war and played a very large part with self government being "the logical, unevitable outcome of over 100 years of British rule of India" rather than self government coming as a result of WWI.

Source 1 is useful as it was written by Malaviya who was the president of Congress in 1918. The source states that they entered the war "in defence of the cause of justice and liberty" but states that self government is a "matter ~~is~~ of simple justice" but it's Malaviya's "regret" that the consideration has been so prolonged meaning that despite the war effort Britain kept procrastinating on making any progress that would give India a form of self government. This shows that the war did not have a great impact on the progress towards self government as despite promises made there was no official royal proclamation announcing its aim of self government for India.

However through my own knowledge I know that the source isn't useful as it fails to mention what happened directly after the war. The source fails to mention the Simla conference which was a promise of self government at the right pace which could be argued to mean Indians were ~~disappointed~~ annoyed by the length of time it would require to gain self government. The source ~~4~~ by Malaviya also states that the consideration had been prolonged but what it doesn't mention is that Britain had no desire to let go of India so quickly which henceforth led to the

Rowlatt Acts in 1918 which placed Indians in war time conditions allowing ~~to~~ to arrest anyone without trial and further led to the Amritsar Massacre in 1919 in which 259 people were declared dead by the British which further increased India's desire to get rid of the British.

Source 2 is useful for using the sources together as ~~it~~ whilst source 1 states that consideration had been prolonged, source 2 written by the Secretary of State, states that "They have made an irresistible appeal to the government of India for some further steps in the development of self-government" meaning that Britain knew it had to give some power to India. The source is useful for understanding the impact of WWI on the progression of self government as it states "The statements of our own ideals, the hatred of ^{the German} ~~government~~ ideal, the share of India in this war on ~~liberty~~ ^{liberty} have all added their impulse to this development" showing that fighting for justice and liberty in another country in which through my own knowledge they sent in over 80,000 troops and £150 million in supplies, it made them want to fight for it themselves.

However the source fails to mention the ways in which development had been made. The source fails to

mention the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms which ^{and self government would come} created a dyarchy ~~with~~ which meant there would be two levels of power which was influenced by the great effort put in by the Indians during the war and was seen as a payback. The dyarchy meant Indians would control local matters such as education and Britain would control matters such as ~~le~~ foreign policy. However after the ~~first~~ amritsar massacre this was unacceptable which led to Gandhi's non-cooperation campaign.

In conclusion Source 1 shows that Congress believed the war had done nothing to achieve progress self government and had in fact if anything prolonged whereas Source 2 shows the British perspective that they believed self government was now a natural process.

This response received 6 marks.

2	4-7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Demonstrates some understanding and attempts analysis of the source material by selecting and summarising information and making undeveloped inferences relevant to the question. • Contextual knowledge is added to information from the source material to expand, confirm or challenge matters of detail. • Evaluation of the source material is related to the specified enquiry but with limited support for judgement. Concepts of reliability or utility are addressed mainly by noting aspects of source provenance and judgements may be based on questionable assumptions.
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Exemplar response B

Chosen question number: Question 1 ☒Question 2 ☒

Both Source 1 and 2 echo the same sentiment about the vast contribution Indian soldiers ~~made~~ made, and their overwhelming loyalty underpinning this. Both also talk about the sure steps ^{coming} towards self-government, although both differ particularly in their origin nature and purpose - as self-government was something the Raj had been delaying since their official takeover of India in the 1800s Government of India Act. The EIC trading company had unofficially ruled there since the 1600s, ~~the~~ claiming expenses of land. Therefore, one source shows ~~the~~ ~~as a~~ ~~representative~~ India trying to gain self-government, the other's purpose represents widely, appeasement.

Both sources accurately depict the contribution Indians made to World War One. As one source is trying to ~~celebrate~~ speak out about ~~self-govern~~ their rightful deserving of self-government (a representative of Congress) it would

surely highlight the contribution made, whilst Montagu, Secretary of State in Source 2 has been made to acknowledge it due to the scale of sacrifice. ~~Furthermore~~, Malaniya in Source 1 talks of the depth of loyalty, 'loyally responded to ... what is right and for the Empire', whilst Montagu states ^{simply that} 'Indians have played their part'. This may sum up that Montagu is speaking for appeasement purposes.

Source 1 more ~~convincingly~~ ^{deeply} delves in to Indians reason for fighting. The use of the words 'His Majesty' and 'Empire' ~~proves~~ ^{proves} that Indians were in fact loyal to their sovereign and respected their Empire. ~~The~~

~~For~~ After all, Indians did owe their careers and livelihood of the Raj, and were recruited in India. To prove this

loyalty ~~is~~ ^{existed}, 827,000 soldiers of India alone enlisted, and 64,500 sacrificed their lives. In letter homes, Indian soldiers wrote that they were ~~looking~~ fighting for the Empire. Sikhs especially were fighting for the

monarch, as ^{it was} poignant in their religion to honour
ones' Emperors - 'It may, God grant long-life
to the sovereign master' who rules their
'humble' soldiers. Thus, the depth of the
subservience and loyalty was staggering.

It was overall an ancestral tradition in
India to fight ^{or defend} for one's ~~Empire~~ Emperor *

Source 2 ~~partly~~ however, reinforces
~~some~~ particular sacrifice of Indians - in
Mesopotamia and Palestine, and a large
part in France! Indians ^{soldiers} had travelled
to save prisoners of war in deserts in the
Middle East, killing thousands, and had
often in battalions be made up much
or more of the allied forces, e.g. Battle
of the Ypres in France. ~~But~~ ^{both} ~~the~~ ^{showing}
the historian the extent of sacrifice, both
sources together show most of the loyalty
that underpinned such selfless contribution.

The sources do not, however, speak
of the forces of the home front of India
making up the overall ^{of} people ~~involved~~ involved.

* The fact that India did not rebel
when there was not ^{British} battalion ⁱⁿ India
proves loyalty also

Furthermore, this contribution gives good insight into why the war made Indians expectant of self-government. The readiness of loyalty and sacrifice deserved a reward. Also, the Indian revenue went up 16% as the British had to ~~repeal~~ ^{repeal} the shameful tariffs ^{repeal} on their goods (due to war) in 1917. This gave Indians the taste of economic flourishing without the economic exploitation of the Raj (regardless of that tax had to go up, negatively impacting the Indian people).

Therefore, Source 2 can only give a hint of this expectancy, as it acknowledges the contribution but the statement it was designed to ~~test~~ only appease the Indians. The Montagu states that 'self-government was a meritable outcome of over 400 years of British rule', and the principles for reform had been existing already. This disingenuously represents the Raj - the British had kept their iron grip on India for centuries. It was only due to war that Montagu has had to issue concessions.

The assurance of principles may also be due to the fact that Montagu was a liberal man himself ^{and} ~~so~~ truly thought India should have reform - but overall, the source does not show accurately that the following Montagu Declaration was only concessions made by Britain because they had to. Source 1 however, more accurately implies that concessions towards self-government are always 'prolonged'.

That 'Montagu's steps towards self-government was only concessions' is backed up by the Montagu Declaration. Separate electorates were given to Muslims, a Viceroy Executive Council was created for Muslims to have their say - but the central power still lay with the British. Source 2 is ~~more~~ accurate about this too that self-government ~~was~~ ^{was} not fully ~~to be achieved~~ ^{as Montagu states} planned to be ~~achieved~~ fully achieved, as ~~he~~ ^{Montagu} states that ^{there} would be 'some' steps to develop self-government.

To conclude, source 1 and 2 together give insight into self-government being on Indian and British politicians' minds after the contribution of World War One. But, source 2 in particular

does not acknowledge that these were merely concessions by the Reg to appease the Indians

This response received 14 marks.

4	13-16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Analyses the source material, interrogating the evidence to make reasoned inferences and to show a range of ways the material can be used, for example by distinguishing between information and claim or opinion, although treatment of the two sources may be uneven. Deploys knowledge of the historical context to illuminate and/or discuss the limitations of what can be gained from the content of the source material, displaying some understanding of the need to interpret source material in the context of the values and concerns of the society from which it is drawn. Evaluation of the source material uses valid criteria which are justified and applied, although some of the evaluation may be weakly substantiated. Evaluation takes into account the weight the evidence will bear as part of coming to a judgement.
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Exemplar response C

Chosen question number: **Question 1** ☒ **Question 2** ☒

Sources 3 and 4 are both useful to a significant extent as they show that violence undermined the transition of its system of government. The violence in townships and especially in "Natal" undermined the transition of government by causing tension between Mandela and De Klerk. De Klerk blamed the "township deaths" largely on the ANC. He also accused them of "failing to prevent the civil war that cost thousands of lives". This deeply angered Mandela who publicly denounced the National party for using 'third force' to destabilise black South Africans and the liberation movement. Source 4 supports this accusation as it condemns the National party ^{and Police} for having "direct involvement" in the "Inkatha Freedom Party attacks" on ANC supporters. This destabilisation had been going on since the ~~late~~ ^{mid} 1980s and ~~the~~ De Klerk accused Mandela of also undermining negotiations due to his reluctance to abandon the armed struggle. Sources 3 and 4 are useful together because they show how violence undermined talks by creating divisions ~~between~~ between the negotiating parties which lead to a "deadlock".

Source 4 however is more valuable than source 3 arguably because it ~~was~~ was written in 1994, the year of the non-racial democratic elections. Therefore it shows the problem of transitioning through governments even after CODESA negotiations. It is also more valuable because it ~~shows~~ provides a more detailed account of how the government were oppressive ~~by~~ through the use of police, rather than only focusing on ~~black~~ on black violence in the townships. The "death squads" and killing of "political leaders" and "trade unionists" meant that the government had to take "responsibility for this through its control of the security forces." Perhaps because the source is from an organisation ~~which~~ that "supports human rights", this may explain its focus on state repression that is not detailed in source 3. "arbitrary detention and torture" go against human rights ~~and~~ and the ~~the~~ international sympathy for the death of Steve Biko in 1977 is an example of antipathy to state repression and violence. Therefore, although this source is useful in detailing the oppressive atrocities that were committed by the government and exposed in the Truth and Reconciliation Committee, the pro ~~the~~ human rights outlook of Amnesty International could make this source slightly biased in showing ~~more~~ the problems faced by South Africa during the transition of its government.

To conclude,
Although source 3 and 4 are reliable, they could be improved by ~~one~~ if they detailed other problems faced during the transition of the government system. For example the way groups were divided on how to construct this new government. The liberals in government favoured a system of federalism to avoid centralised power, this was supported by figures such as Chief Buthelezi, who hoped to keep some regional authority. However the ANC stressed the need for one united nation. Ideological differences therefore were a major problem faced in South Africa's transition of government, and this would be information that could improve source 3 and 4. Ultimately source 3 and 4 together are valuable in recognising how the violence undermined consensus between Mandela and De Klerk, but source 4 is more valuable in outlining some forms of police repression.

This response received 10 marks.

3	8-12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Demonstrates understanding of the source material and shows some analysis by selecting key points relevant to the question, explaining their meaning and selecting material to support valid inferences. • Deploys knowledge of the historical context to explain or support inferences as well as to expand, confirm or challenge matters of detail. • Evaluation of the source material is related to the specified enquiry and explanation of utility takes into account relevant considerations such as nature or purpose of the source material or the position of the author. Judgements are based on valid criteria but with limited justification.
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Exemplar response D

Chosen question number: Question 1 ☒ Question 2 ☒

Both source 3 and source 4 together give relevant detail as to the problems facing South Africa in the transition of government. Source 3 focus' on De Klerk's opinion in a personal letter to Nelson Mandela following CODESA whereas source 4 is a statement made by the Amnesty International, a group with liberal views on Apartheid in general.

Source 3 highlights the "government's guilt" in aiding the IFP to carry out the Boipatong Massacre which the ANC believed to be the "deadlock" of negotiations. However, De Klerk denies knowing about the 'third force' involvements, despite being at 90% of National Party security ~~conferences~~ meetings. Source 3 demonstrates De Klerk's opinion that the deaths and violence in the townships should be "blamed" on the ANC. ~~However~~ It is argued that much of the growing violence in the 1990's was due to angry youths advocating brutality. For example, leaders such as Oliver Tambo spreading violence to "make the townships ungovernable" and Winnie Mandela advocating arson. However, source 3 fails to shed light on the National Party's involvement to the growing problems. For

example, another "third force" involvement at Bisho where the government aided the Ciskei independent homeland with weapons, causing 14 deaths. Source 3 also accuses Mandela for "favouring radicals determined to overthrow white rule" when in fact, Mandela did not persuade violence but recognised the need to push further for negotiations due to the 4000 deaths from violence.

Source 4 highlights the problems of negotiation and transition of government as the prospects for a "free and fair election" look limited. This is mainly as a result of the conflict between the ANC and IFP but source 4 recognises the brutal role of the security forces. Political leaders on a "local level" were "targeted for assassination," such as Buthe's black councillors who, by 1990, were collecting increasing rent and known as "puppets" of the National Party. However, one of the most controversial assassinations came from the Conservative Party on Chris Hani. This event was a turning point in the problems of negotiation and South Africa was on the brink of a civil war. This was not helped by the police "death squad killing," mentioned in source 4 by Kervoet. One limitation to source 4 is the mention of the "arbitrary detention" and "torture." Since the source was made in 1994, De Klerk had reduced police power and ended the state of emergency.

during the Pretoria Minute. Source 4 perhaps gives a more liberal and therefore exaggerated analysis of police power in South Africa.

Overall, a historian using source 3 and source 4 together would find them useful in investigating the problems since the focus on a wide range of problems. Both rightly talk about violence being the main cause of conflict with source 3, giving De Klerk's personal opinion and source 4 giving a liberal view who "did not regard Nelson Mandela" as a political prisoner. They are more useful together than as independent sources since they are easily cross-examined to find the root of the problem, shown in this essay.

This response received 9 marks.

3	8-12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Demonstrates understanding of the source material and shows some analysis by selecting key points relevant to the question, explaining their meaning and selecting material to support valid inferences. • Deploys knowledge of the historical context to explain or support inferences as well as to expand, confirm or challenge matters of detail. • Evaluation of the source material is related to the specified enquiry and explanation of utility takes into account relevant considerations such as nature or purpose of the source material or the position of the author. Judgements are based on valid criteria but with limited justification.
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Exemplar response E

Chosen question number: Question 1 ☒Question 2 ☒

Both The New York Times newspaper (source 3) and the Amnesty International statement (source 4) address the rise in violent tensions as a salient problem for South Africa in transitioning to a fully democratic state in the early 1990s. However, it is the approaches to identifying primary sources of such conflict that differ, and when combined provide a comprehensive account of the role of Africans and the role of the government and security forces. Whilst individually the home purposes that colour them, this only adds to their usefulness as the two extremes work together - they may not explicitly help a historian in understanding the extent of political issues, however by 'problem' it must mean more the willingness of South Africans to support democratic negotiations, otherwise they would be for nothing. This is where the sources are particularly useful as they investigate this significant area of worry, and source 4 helps to legitimise source 3 by revealing the bias of the information provided by de Klerk is in fact accurate, if a historian utilises the angry rhetoric to demonstrate attitudes, not facts.

It is clear to a historian when analysing sources ^{three} ~~one~~

and four that ground tensions seem to be the largest hindrance to the formation or fulfilment of a ~~den~~ fully democratic South Africa. Both address the conflict between the African National Congress ^(ANC) and the Inkatha Freedom Party as being a large fuel of turbulence which would mean that even if elections were carried out, the participation of ~~the~~ ^{all} people would be unlikely because of intimidation or fear or spite.

Source three focuses more on the actual negotiations, meaning it will differ from source four's question of practicality of the results of the negotiations, therefore allowing a historian to view a rough timeline of exactly what progressed in the early 1990s in terms of ground problems, not just politics. Source three, however, implies that the blame for such tensions lay with the ANC (and thus Nelson Mandela by default), with President de Klerk reportedly saying that the 'mounting toll of township deaths should be blamed in large part on the ANC.' This shows that from a presidential, and official standpoint that the obstacles to negotiations lay with the 'radicals determined to overthrow white rule by force.' This means that the National Party sees itself as being threatened by Africans as they gain momentum in this ~~new~~ 'struggle' newfound recognition for the right of equality. The tone of source three when recounting de Klerk ^{implies} implies

that because de Klerk was ready to accept 'an assembly elected by South Africans of all races', the fault of stalled negotiations was ~~not~~ the fault of overambitious and jealous Africans, not as Mandela viewed (which is omitted from this article) ~~as~~ as the National Party dragging its heels and trying to preserve a mild mimicry of apartheid. Source three demonstrates that the restless and violent dispositions (likely believed by many Africans to be inherent due to the decades of protests and violence, as recent as Alexandria) of Africans manifested in a sense of black supremacy, meaning de Klerk almost victimises himself and sees himself as an innocent helper being taken ~~ungratefully~~ ^{ungratefully} ungratefully for granted.

Source four, however, finds a scapegoat elsewhere, and whilst it is not addressing the tensions during negotiations that source three speaks of, it does look at the after-effect and analyse whether source three is true in its allocation of blame. This, in source four, is confirmed by the acknowledged of the 4364 deaths in 1993 due to political violence or terrorism, which is succeeded by a focus on the conflict of the ANC and Inkatha. This means a historian is able to identify that the civil unrest depicted in source three ~~is~~ was so severe as de Klerk implied to international news that it remained two years later. How-

ever, source four critiques the security forces and thus the government and their acts of violence ~~some~~ which are missing from source three. From the beginning, the tone of source four lists the prospects of 'illegal executions, deliberate killings, torture or arbitrary detention'. This allows source four to tell the reader that South Africa is in fact like a dictatorship, and that the 'prospects for a free and fair election' are in fact illusory, meaning that it seems South Africa ultimately wishes to remain a one-party state (the National Party). This critique is supported throughout with 'violence', 'fear' and 'death squads'; lexis that rings true and deep with everybody around the world due to the turbulent nature of the 20th century with the 1st world and Cold Wars and revolutions, all fighting against the image Amnesty International then painted South Africa. This means that South Africa's problems in transition come from its militaristic state and the ~~if~~ duty of de Klerk to control security forces to first promote democracy.

Both source three and source four are useful in understanding first the issues of fair negotiations and then the implementation of democracy. Source four, however, is more useful as it exposes a problem source

three hides because of de Klerk's need for international support and thus careful selection of what news was to go to ~~international~~ foreign media outlets. ^{such as the New York Times} ~~honesty~~ International does not have political motives, but instead focuses on human rights meaning that source four is a tool for a historian to utilise to validate source three; source four may utilise language to influence a negative image, however, the objectivity of its need to help the practical fulfilment of democracy and identity to foreign countries. The issues that may hinder it simply infer the fact it recognises the real problem is the inability of the state to make democracy work on the ground. Because both look at the ground it makes them both useful as they focus on legitimate problems for the governmental transition ^{because} (people make a democracy); source four has no agenda for support or preventing a marred reputation meaning it should be used as a signpost in conjunction with source three to find the extent of civil and government violence, and thus the one that is overall, across the period, the true hindrance.

This response received 20 marks.

5	17-20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Interrogates the evidence of both sources with confidence and discrimination, making reasoned inferences and showing a range of ways the material can be used, for example by distinguishing between information and claim or opinion. Deploys knowledge of the historical context to illuminate and/ or discuss the limitations of what can be gained from the content of the source material, displaying secure understanding of the need to interpret source material in the context of the values and concerns of the society from which it is drawn. Evaluation of the source material uses valid criteria which are justified and fully applied. Evaluation takes into account the weight the evidence will bear as part of coming to a judgement and, where appropriate, distinguishes between the degree of certainty with which aspects of it can be used as the basis for claims.
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Section B

Question 3, Question 4, Question 5 and Question 6

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

EITHER

- 3 'In the years 1922–32, the position of Congress was strengthened.'
How far do you agree with this statement?

OR

- 4 How accurate is it to say that the most significant obstacle to Indian independence, in the years 1935–42, was divisions within India?

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

EITHER

- 5 'The increasing use of violence by anti-apartheid groups in South Africa, in the years 1960–68, was a reaction to the use of repression by the government.'
How far do you agree with this statement?

OR

- 6 How significant was the role played by leading individuals in challenging the apartheid policies of the National Party in the years 1968–83?

Exemplar response F

Chosen question number: Question 3 ☒Question 4 ☒Question 5 ☒Question 6 ☒Strong CongressAgree

- Gandhi leader
↳ able to connect + unite communities.
- Gandhi arrested
↳ Congress left with no leader.
- change of tactics
↳ non-cooperation to Salt March.
↳ strengthened leadership + gained followers.

disagree

- Round Table conferences
↳ 1st didn't come.
↳ 2nd - tried to represent everyone
↳ failed because of poor congress leadership.
↳ 3rd - didn't attend again.
- divisions within the party showed lack of strength.

It is arguable that the position of Congress had been strengthened between the years 1922-1932 to some extent. Gandhi was a good leader for Congress because he knew how to connect to different communities and therefore strengthened Congress' support network. However, there is evidence that the Congress party was not strengthened by 1932, including the Round Table ~~Congress~~ conferences between 1931-1932.

After Gandhi became the President of Congress in 1920, the party turned from a small, regional community to a nation wide party and eventually became the largest party in India. As a leader, Gandhi was also able to lead his party and supporters further towards Indian Independence. He was able to strengthen the party through his tactics of non-cooperation and non-violent public demonstrations. ~~Congress was also able~~ We are

able to see Congress' strength increase between the years 1922-1932 through these campaigns. For example, in 1922, Congress' campaigns of non-violence were a disaster. They resulted in riots and murders throughout the Indian community. However, by 1930 the Congress party had grown so much and become so strong that Gandhi's 240 mile long Salt March went from 30 members of Congress and close friends to over 60,000 supporters marching with him. This therefore shows the Congress' position had been strengthened because their support network had grown ~~so~~ so much and Britain became somewhat fearful of the support Congress was receiving.

Congress was also able to make deals with the British which is something they hadn't been able to achieve previously. For example, in 1928 Gandhi signed the Gandhi-Irwin pact which again helped

Strengthen ~~support~~ the position of Congress in ~~B~~^both Britain and India. Congress had become a serious political party campaigning for self-government on behalf of the Hindu community.

However, one may also argue that the Congress Party had not strengthened their position between the years 1922 and 1932.

Firstly, Gandhi found himself being arrested after many of his non-cooperation campaigns. He was arrested in 1922 until 1924 and again after the Salt March in 1930. ~~Then~~

As a result of this, Congress was weakened ~~by~~ because they were left without a strong leader and while ~~a~~ the party leader was in prison, Congress failed to move forward as a party and therefore, ~~there~~ their position could not be strengthened.

~~After~~ Also, the three Round

Table Conferences that took place between 1931 and 1932 show little progression of the Congress party from 1922. Firstly, Gandhi did not attend the first Round Table Conference in 1931 and therefore Congress did not receive any representation. Furthermore, because of this there had to be a Second Conference which again failed because as the leader of Congress Gandhi ~~was~~ attempted to represent everyone in the community and the Sikhs and ~~there~~ Untouchables were outraged. Therefore conflict within the Congress party itself meant that no significant decisions could be made during the conference. At the third conference Congress were again not represented because ~~because~~ ^{they} called for a boycott of the conference after Muslims were given the majority in Hindu states.

As a result of Congress' lack of unity and ~~straight~~ strength as a party, no decisions could be

made at the conferences and therefore, Congress was not strengthened in position by 1932.

To conclude, it is clear that the Congress party did make advancements and improve their position as a party but it is questionable as to what extent their position had been improved by 1932 because the failure of the Round Table Conferences hindered the progress they had began to make between the years 1922 and 1932.

This response received 13 marks.

4	13-16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Key issues relevant to the question are explored by an analysis of the relationships between key features of the period, although treatment of issues may be uneven. • Sufficient knowledge is deployed to demonstrate understanding of the demands and conceptual focus of the question and to meet most of its demands. • Valid criteria by which the question can be judged are established and applied in the process of coming to a judgement. Although some of the evaluations may be only partly substantiated, the overall judgement is supported. • The answer is generally well organised. The argument is logical and is communicated with clarity, although in a few places it may lack coherence and precision.
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Exemplar response G

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

Between 1935 and 1942 India moved closer to independence but did not achieve this for five more years. A significant obstacle to independence was divisions within India, both between the INC and the Muslim League and inside Congress, which made a united push for independence impossible. Other significant factors include the remaining strength of the Raj such as the ability to put down Quit India and nationalist preoccupation with the results of the 1937 election. Overall, however, it isn't accurate to say divisions in India were the most significant obstacle since independence was achieved even while those splits remained.

Between 1935 & 1942 the nationalist movement in India was riven by divisions that made it less effective. The major division was between the mainly Hindu INC and the Muslim League. These divisions had existed since the failure of the United Movement but worsened in this period. The parties fought the election of 1937 fiercely with the Congress landslide victory alienating the League further. Then as the INC ministries began to adopt chauvinist Hindu policies, such as curbs on religious freedom for Muslims, the divisions within India between the religions worsened. This division was an obstacle to independence because

it meant the two most important nationalist parties couldn't work together to pressure the British. After the declaration of war in 1939 Congress walked out of its 8 provincial ministries, putting pressure on the British, but due to these divisions the League remained supportive of the Raj and Jinnah called a Muslim day of deliverance on the 22nd of December 1939 which weakened any nationalist push for independence. Another sign of the obstacle the divisions caused was the Quit India campaign where the INC and most Hindu vigorously campaigned for independence but the League and most Muslims backed the Raj lessening pressure for independence.

Another division within India was between the moderates and radicals within Congress. This too hampered the effectiveness of the INC in demanding independence. These tensions came to a head in the INC's presidential election where radical Bose narrowly defeated Gandhi's moderate candidate. The election of the violent extremist was beyond the pale for Gandhi & Bose was forced out to found his new extremist movement the Forward Bloc. This split made Congress preoccupied with internal divisions and less able to challenge the British for independence with a united front. Therefore all these divisions weakened the nationalist movement and provided a significant obstacle to independence.

Another significant obstacle to independence in this period was the strength of the Raj. Throughout this period the British remained strong enough to combat the nationalist threat and with this the case made independence all but impossible to achieve. One way the Raj showed its strength was in the 1935 Government of India Act. Although the Act was a concession to nationalism it showed the continuing strength of the Raj by reserving responsibility for defence and foreign affairs with the British. These were the most important powers and that the British kept them shows they still had strength. The strength of the Raj was also shown by Viceroy Linlithgow's declaration of war without consulting the nationalists. This act shows that the Viceroy thought the Raj was still strong enough to make unilateral decisions and that the nationalist movement was not powerful enough to bring down the Raj over it, which it was not. British strength was also shown with the repression of the Quit India movement. Brutal repression was used to stop the campaign, ~~the~~ INC leaders were thrown in prison and the party was declared illegal and shut down. Additionally the army remained loyal to the Raj showing that even in the face of a concerted nationalist campaign the Raj maintained military dominance over India in 1942. Thus British military and political strength, combined with the desire to maintain the Raj, provided a significant obstacle to independence as it made the nationalists unable to force independence.

Another significant obstacle to independence in this period was nationalist preoccupation with the results of the 1937 elections. The INC scored a massive victory, winning more than 200 out of 1500 seats (and more than 900 were reserved for minorities) which enabled them to form provincial ministries in 8 of the 11 provinces. This victory preoccupied them as they had to now run these provinces. The INC had never governed before and the transition from protest movement to alternative government for the ZINC took much of their energy and resources. The Pro to the Government of India Act the provinces had responsibility for all domestic issues such as irrigation or education which made the job of running the provinces even more difficult and time-consuming. This preoccupation was a significant obstacle to independence since it precluded the INC from running any major campaigns in the pre-war years and then when the INC left these ministries in 1939 they were shut out from power entirely.

The Muslim League was also preoccupied the results of the 1937 election. They suffered a humiliating defeat winning only 22% of the Muslim vote (less than the INC) and losing even the Muslim-majority North-West Frontier Province to the Hindu-dominated Congress. This defeat forced the League to rebuild which diverted energy from campaigning for independence. The party had to expand its support

• Up to 2 million by (1942), oppose the Congress ministries when they, for example, appointed friends and families of the leaders to top jobs, and they had to 'differentiate themselves from Congress for Muslim voters. They did this by endorsing independent Muslim states in the 1940 Lahore declaration. Therefore due to the results of the 1937 election the League had to retreat from pressuring the British (as demonstrated by their continued support after the declaration of war) and divert their energies inward. The elections, then, proved a major obstacle for independence since they diverted the energies of both major nationalist parties from campaigning for independence and they widened the splits within the movement.

If overall it is not accurate to say divisions in India were the most significant obstacle. Although the splits made the nationalists less effective the results of the 1937 election also contributed to the weakness of the challenges for independence in this period. Moreover independence was later achieved while the splits, especially between Muslims & Hindus, still existed. It is therefore more accurate to say that the strength of the Raj was the most significant obstacle since when this strength lapsed at the end of the war and the British determination to hold onto India vanished independence was finally achieved.

This response received 20 marks.

5	17-20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Key issues relevant to the question are explored by a sustained analysis of the relationships between key features of the period. • Sufficient knowledge is deployed to demonstrate understanding of the demands and conceptual focus of the question, and to respond fully to its demands. • Valid criteria by which the question can be judged are established and applied and their relative significance evaluated in the process of reaching and substantiating the overall judgement. • The answer is well organised. The argument is logical and coherent throughout and is communicated with clarity and precision.
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Exemplar response H

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

Following the 69 deaths of the 1960 Sharpsville massacre by the South African police, violence increased in South Africa. This was primarily due to the ~~repression~~ repression by the government such as increased police powers and the 1967 180 day detention Act but could also be attributed to the failings of previous anti-apartheid protests such as the Defiance Campaign in 1952 and the Freedom Charter in 1955.

After Sharpsville, the National Party imposed stricter punishment for political crimes under the Criminal Amendment Act and also banned the ANC and PAC. This forced an underground movement for both groups which included more militant members and therefore, increasing violence. The ANC militant armed wing, MK, began working underground with aims to overthrow the government. This included "Operation Mayibuye" run through Luthuli Farm where young, militant members plotted acts of sabotage to government buildings. Although the campaign proved to be a failure in 1964, where 9 members were arrested, ~~and~~ ~~changed~~ it demonstrates the new violence these break off groups were prepared to involve themselves in as a

result of government repression.

However, the increased violence could also be as a result of the failings of previous resistance. For example, the Defiance Campaign in 1952 and the Freedom Charter in 1955-56 proved a huge failure in the struggle of Apartheid. Peaceful protest was clearly not enough to compromise the National Party and aims such as the Risting arrest, with over 14,000 arrests in Port Elizabeth and East London alone, were not in any way successful. Similarly, the Freedom Charter and Treason Trial were also an example to the Congress Alliance that peaceful protest is not enough to end the struggle. ~~Treason~~ Act of Treason then became more under more repressive laws introduced by the National Party, such as the 90 day detention act, increased to 180 days in 1967. Therefore, not only did non-violent campaigns prove to be a huge failure, they also increased government repression which can be directly linked to the need to increase violence due to the reaction to the National Party government; agreeing with the statement.

Another ~~more~~ less significant reason for anti-apartheid movements to increase violence could be to attract an international response. Up until 1960, the international condemnation of the National Party was limited, with only recognition from the United Nations but no direct action. The National Party also received some ~~gim~~ western

sympathy by comparing Treason traitors ~~with~~ and
 Revision traitors with "terrorism" and "communism,"
 both an imminent threat to western culture and
 therefore, sympathised with the National Party. However,
 with an increase of international media in the 1960's,
 some anti-apartheid movements may have used violence
 as a way to spread concern within South Africa
 and globally; evident in later ~~par~~ events such as the
 Hector Peterson images after the 1976 Soweto Uprising.
 Having said this, increased international response
 would only be a ~~supplement~~ secondary factor for the
 reason for more violence.

It must be argued that the increase in violence
 from ~~within~~ 1960-1968 ~~was~~ used by anti-apartheid movements
 was primarily due to their reaction to increased
 government repression, therefore agreeing with the
 proposition statement.

This response received 12 marks.

3	8-12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is some analysis of, and attempt to explain links between, the relevant key features of the period and the question, although descriptive passages may be included. • Mostly accurate and relevant knowledge is included to demonstrate some understanding of the demands and conceptual focus of the question, but material lacks range or depth. • Attempts are made to establish criteria for judgement and to relate the overall judgement to them, although with weak substantiation. • The answer shows some organisation. The general trend of the argument is clear, but parts of it lack logic, coherence and precision.
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Exemplar response 1

Chosen question number: Question 3 ☒Question 4 ☐Question 5 ☒Question 6 ☐

The policies of Apartheid were still the forefront of the National Party between the years 1968 - 83. There was still a growing Anti-Apartheid movement across the nation and even in internationally and throughout this period there were a few very individuals that was a driver of these campaigns.

One man that was able to spark an anti-apartheid feeling - especially amongst the youth was a young man called Steve Biko. Biko set up an organisation in his university to promote black rights and to show that the whites were not superior. Steve Biko was able to politicise many young Africans. Despite Biko ever being banned at giving public speeches, he still found ways to bring together Africans. Even up until his death, Biko was a worldwide image and his open-casket funeral which showed the horrors of apartheid from police brutality, was a disturbing. This shows that in fact Biko was significant

as he was able to radicalise a young generation, unlike his parents that were simply opposed to the white man.

Another key individual was Nelson Mandela. Mandela was (at one point) the leader of the ANC. He, like Biko, inspired a nation and showed people that they should not be treated the way they were being. Mandela organised many protests and marches to spread his word. When Mandela was excited on accounts of terrorism, he was still able to radicalise the youth, and so when they were released they had a much stronger voice.

This response received 4 marks.

2	4-7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is limited analysis of some key features of the period relevant to the question, but descriptive passages are included that are not clearly shown to relate to the focus of the question. • Mostly accurate and relevant knowledge is included, but lacks range or depth and has only implicit links to the demands and conceptual focus of the question. • An overall judgement is given but with limited substantiation and the criteria for judgement are left implicit. • The answer shows some attempts at organisation, but most of the answer is lacking in coherence, clarity and precision.
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Exemplar response J

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

The role played by leading individuals in challenging the apartheid policies of the National Party in the years 1968-83 was pivotal. Anti-apartheid iconoclasts like Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo and Steve Biko managed to inspire change both internally in South Africa and externally on an international scale.

^{the years 83}
In 1968, Mandela was on Robben Island with numerous other anti-apartheid activists. He was not directly able to affect/challenge apartheid policies in these years ~~but~~ but his work in the ANC prior to this point and everything he represented in terms of not bowing down to the will of the government and remaining defiant ~~was~~ ^{was} still very relevant. Within SA (South Africa) the ANC had been banned ^{since 1960} but individuals were still identifying with this political party and MK (Umkhonto we Sizwe), which was the ANC's militant branch, was still operating on sabotage missions in attempt to challenge the apartheid policies of the National Party. Outside of the continent of Africa and the operations of MK, Mandela's name was being heralded by the AAM (Anti-apartheid movement) based in London from 1960. In 1974, SATU (South Africa, ~~The~~ Impriomed Society) took up the name of Mandela because they felt it was better to focus on a

human rights ~~campaign~~ ^{campaign} that one that centred around political violence and revolutionary behaviour that could be misinterpreted as terrorism. In 1978, ~~the~~ birthdays cards were sent to Nelson Mandela for his 60th birthday, in an international show of support for Mandela and subsequently a display of denunciation of the National Party and their ~~apart~~ ^{repressive} apartheid policies. In 1983, though Mandela was still in prison, a concert was held at Alexandra palace in England to celebrate Mandela's 65th birthday. Events like these signified that despite the restrictions placed on leading individuals by the apartheid system, they were still able to make a huge impact in terms of challenging apartheid and putting pressure on the National Party.

Furthermore, Steve Biko was fundamental to the challenging of apartheid policies, arguably more so than Mandela between the years 1968-1983. In 1968, the Black Consciousness Movement was established by Biko; this liberation theology encouraged black South Africans to take pride in themselves and no longer see themselves as subservient to the white man. He described the way he saw black people as feeling as though the ~~black~~ ^{white} man had a monopoly on the thought of the black man. By addressing this issue and allowing themselves to see that there was something racist and intrinsically wrong with apartheid, only then could black South Africans themselves challenge the apartheid policies to obtain social reform. In 1969, SASO

(South African Students Organisation) was founded and this encompassed an all black student group that strived for educational change and a redress of the asymmetrical nature of education. The Black Consciousness Movement, alongside the motives of SASO helped foster in a new generation of black South African children that apartheid policies should be challenged. The Afrikaans Medium Decree in 1974 that proposed that all black South African children should be taught the majority of their lessons in Afrikaans added to an already ~~disfranchisement~~ disparate black South African curriculum. The Bantu Education Act of 1953 had ensured that black South Africans were taught in their respective tribal languages and the content they were taught was inherently basic. This legislation was promulgated during J.P. Malan's presidency but ultimately came from the Department of Bantu Native Affairs chaired by H.F. Verwoerd; the aim was to ensure that black South Africans were not able to meet the demand of skilled work and thereby remained subjugated to the white minority.

In 1976, the children of Soweto, inspired by the teachings of Steve Biko challenged the school-related apartheid policies and revolted. On the 16th June Thetsi Mashinini led a march of around 2,000 students to Orlando Stadium. Though the march was peaceful, two protestors were shot dead by police - these killings of school children led to a mass uprising where government buildings, property and officials were directly targeted. In the wake of the first

few days of protest 138 lay dead and after the riots came to a conclusion, government statistics reported 575 people dead. The outcome of the 1976 Soweto Uprisings drew huge condemnation on the National Party and apartheid policies in the years ~~late~~ 1968-83, as the media has picked up images of the fatalities for the whole world to see. ~~the played a~~

This response received 11 marks.

3	8-12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is some analysis of, and attempt to explain links between, the relevant key features of the period and the question, although descriptive passages may be included. • Mostly accurate and relevant knowledge is included to demonstrate some understanding of the demands and conceptual focus of the question, but material lacks range or depth. • Attempts are made to establish criteria for judgement and to relate the overall judgement to them, although with weak substantiation. • The answer shows some organisation. The general trend of the argument is clear, but parts of it lack logic, coherence and precision.
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