Instructions

• Use black ink or ball-point pen.
• Fill in the boxes at the top of this page with your name, centre number and candidate number.
• Answer question part (a) and part (b) of the topic for which you have been prepared. There is a choice of questions in part (b).
• Answer the questions in the spaces provided – there may be more space than you need.

Information

• The total mark for this paper is 60.
• The marks for each question are shown in brackets – use this as a guide as to how much time to spend on each question.
• Questions labelled with an asterisk (*) are ones where the quality of your written communication will be assessed – you should take particular care on these questions with your spelling, punctuation and grammar, as well as the clarity of expression.

Advice

• Read each question carefully before you start to answer it.
• Keep an eye on the time.
• Check your answers if you have time at the end.
D1 – Britain and Ireland, 1867–1922

Study the relevant sources in the Sources Insert.
Answer Question 1, parts (a) and (b). There is a choice of questions in part (b).

You should start the answer to part (a) on page 4.
You should start the answer to part (b) (i) OR part (b) (ii) on page 9.

Question 1

Answer part (a) and then answer EITHER part (b) (i) OR part (b) (ii).

(a) Study Sources 1, 2 and 3.

How far do the sources suggest that the British authorities responded to the 1916 Easter Rising with excessive force?

Explain your answer, using the evidence of Sources 1, 2 and 3.

(20)

EITHER

*(b)(i) Use Sources 4, 5 and 6 and your own knowledge.

Do you agree with the view that Parnell made his most significant contribution to the cause of Irish nationalism in the period after 1882?

Explain your answer, using Sources 4, 5 and 6 and your own knowledge.

(40)

OR

*(b)(ii) Use Sources 7, 8 and 9 and your own knowledge.

Do you agree with the view that the cultural revival of the late 19th century had a ‘significant political impact’ (Source 7, line 39)?

Explain your answer, using Sources 7, 8 and 9 and your own knowledge.

(40)

(Total for Question 1 = 60 marks)
Choose EITHER D1 (Question 1) OR D2 (Question 2) for which you have been prepared.

D2 – Britain and the Nationalist Challenge in India, 1900–47

Study the relevant sources in the Sources Insert.
Answer Question 2, parts (a) and (b). There is a choice of questions in part (b).

You should start the answer to part (a) on page 4.
You should start the answer to part (b) (i) OR part (b) (ii) on page 9.

Question 2

Answer part (a) and then answer EITHER part (b) (i) OR part (b) (ii).

(a) Study Sources 10, 11 and 12.

How far do the sources suggest that the main reason for the failure of the Second Round Table Conference was Gandhi’s poor political skills?

Explain your answer, using the evidence of Sources 10, 11 and 12.

(20)

EITHER

*(b)(i) Use Sources 13, 14 and 15 and your own knowledge.

Do you agree with the view that British repression was responsible for the growth of Indian nationalism 1900–19?

Explain your answer, using Sources 13, 14 and 15 and your own knowledge.

(40)

OR

*(b)(ii) Use Sources 16, 17 and 18 and your own knowledge.

Do you agree with the view that Muhammad Ali Jinnah was responsible for the partition of India?

Explain your answer, using Sources 16, 17 and 18 and your own knowledge.

(40)

(Total for Question 2 = 60 marks)
Indicate which question you are answering by marking a cross in the box ☑. If you change your mind, put a line through the box ☒ and then indicate your new question with a cross ☑.

Chosen Question Number:

- Question 1  ☐  Question 2  ☐

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Answer EITHER part (b) (i) OR part (b) (ii) of your chosen question.

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Choose EITHER D1 (Question 1) OR D2 (Question 2) for which you have been prepared.

D1 – Britain and Ireland, 1867–1922

Sources for use with Question 1 (a)

SOURCE 1
(From a letter sent by George Bernard Shaw to the Daily News newspaper, 10 May 1916. Shaw was a famous playwright who was born in Dublin and was interested in Irish affairs.)

You say in your report that ‘so far as the leaders of the Rising are concerned, no voice has been raised in Britain against the punishment which has so rapidly overtaken them’. As the Government shot the prisoners first and told the public about it afterwards, there was no opportunity for effective protest. My view is that the men who were shot in cold blood were prisoners of war, and therefore it was entirely incorrect to slaughter them.

SOURCE 2
(From The Times newspaper, 13 May 1916)

Thirteen rebels have been shot and sentence is to be executed on two others. It is wrong to represent this punishment as excessive. Everybody will learn with relief that the necessity for further executions of this kind is now over. However, a certain number of these executions was absolutely necessary to teach the traitors who take German money that they cannot cover Dublin with blood and ashes without forfeiting their lives. However, the Government has been foolish in not stating plainly the reasons why those men were shot.

SOURCE 3
(From a letter sent by T. M. Healy to his brother, 23 May 1916. Healy was an Irish Nationalist MP.)

The action in Ireland of the military has aroused bitterness. Asquith went to Dublin to stop further executions of Sinn Féin prisoners. All the Commandants of the Rising, except one, had then been shot under decrees of courts-martial. Asquith’s intervention, however, saved many lives, and I felt grateful to him for putting an end to the bloodshed. When he returned to the House of Commons, I went to thank him.
Sources for use with Question 1 (b) (i)

SOURCE 4
(From Paul Adelman and Robert Pearce, Great Britain and the Irish Question, published 2005)

Parnell was associated with the Land League, and, at the height of his power, was regarded as the embodiment of Irish nationalism. He was pre-eminently a practical politician rather than an agrarian reformer or an agitator or a romantic nationalist. After the Kilmainham Treaty of 1882, his achievement in the political field was two-fold. Firstly, he turned the question of Home Rule from a vague ideal into practical politics. Secondly, he created a united, disciplined Irish Parliamentary Party, backed up by an efficient electoral machine.

SOURCE 5
(From Piers Brandon, The Decline and Fall of the British Empire, published 2007)

As agrarian distress worsened during the late 1870s, evictions multiplied. Parnell exploited the vital issue of land and urged resistance to high rents and evictions. He drew on the support of Fenians such as Michael Davitt, who campaigned to restore the land to the people as a means of giving Ireland to the Irish. Gladstone responded by passing a Land Bill which gave tenants much of what they had long craved: the famous ‘three Fs’.

SOURCE 6
(From Michael Davitt, The Fall of Feudalism in Ireland, published 1904. Davitt was a leading member of the Land League.)

In 1881–82 English rule in Ireland was shaken and demoralised. The country was absolutely ungovernable while an organisation stood behind Mr Parnell’s lead, with abundant friends and ample power to keep the struggle going. Looked at from the point of view of the policy and purpose of the Land League, to destroy landlordism and to force a settlement of the agrarian and national problems, the Kilmainham Treaty was a political defeat for the forces led by Mr Parnell.
Sources for use with Question 1 (b) (ii)

SOURCE 7
(From Jeremy Smith, Britain and Ireland: From Home Rule to Independence, published 2000)

Whether consciously or not, the interest in the cultural revival of the late 19th century had a significant political impact. The Gaelic League fortified nationalism with a strong claim to hold sole authority over the land and people of Ireland. On a much larger scale, the Gaelic Athletic Association transmitted new ideas and values to an Irish audience. It also attracted the attention of the Fenians, quick to recognise its military and political potential. Extending Gaelic sports would foster, they imagined, a strong manhood conscious of its own Irishness and eager for battle with the English.

SOURCE 8
(From Alvin Jackson, Ireland 1798–1998: Politics and War, published 1999)

It is Douglas Hyde who is credited with inspiring the most successful of the language organisations, the Gaelic League. He envisaged a cultural revival which would be above politics, and which would be of as great interest to Unionists as to Nationalists. This, broadly, was the position from which the Gaelic League began. It aimed to be a non-sectarian and non-political organisation, which would provide an inclusive forum for those committed to the language.

SOURCE 9
(From Douglas Hyde, The Necessity for De-Anglicising Ireland, published 1892)

I would earnestly appeal to everyone, whether Unionist or Nationalist, who wishes to see the Irish nation produce its best – surely whatever our politics are, we all wish that – to set his face against this constant running to England for our books, literature, music, games, fashions, and ideas. I appeal to everyone, whatever his politics – for this is no political matter – to do his best to help the Irish race to develop in future upon Irish lines, even at the risk of encouraging Irish nationalism.
Choose EITHER D1 (Question 1) OR D2 (Question 2) for which you have been prepared.

D2 – Britain and the Nationalist Challenge in India, 1900–47

Sources for use with Question 2 (a)

SOURCE 10
(From a statement made to the British press by Gandhi, 14 October 1931)

In spite of the Prime Minister’s energetic disclaimer, I believe that the causes of the failure of the Second Round Table Conference were inherent in its composition. I am convinced that the framing of a constitution should not depend on the previous settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question. In judging events here, the Indian public will do well to bear in mind these defects in Government procedure. As a delegate, I tried to act as a mediator, up to now without success.

SOURCE 11
(From Margarita Barns, India Today and Tomorrow, published 1936. Barns was an English journalist who established a foreign news agency in India.)

The Hindus were convinced that the Muslims were receiving help from the British Government on the divide and rule principle. While no one could deny that there were grounds for this belief, it was largely a rationalisation of their own uncompromising attitude. Mr Gandhi lost the biggest opportunity of his life when he did not take his courage into his hands and, in open defiance of the Hindu leaders, take responsibility for a settlement with the Muslims.

SOURCE 12
(From Frank Moraes, Witness to an Era, an autobiography published 1973. Moraes was a politically-active Indian student and journalist living in England at the time of the Round Table Conference.)

Gandhi was a poor political negotiator and soon found himself out of his depth at St. James’s Palace. The Congress decided that its sole representative should be Gandhi, but this proved a disastrous misjudgement. Gandhi made the fatal error of claiming to speak for the Muslims and the so-called depressed classes. The spokesmen of both communities rejected him, so it was difficult for him to sustain his claim that he represented ninety-five per cent of India.
Sources for use with Question 2 (b) (i)

SOURCE 13
(From James Keir Hardie, *India, Impressions and Suggestions*, published 1909. He was leader of the Labour Party when he visited India in the winter of 1907–8.)

For the moment, the gulf between British officials and the Indian people is widening. There had formerly been a universal belief in the impartiality of British justice and the fairness of British administration. This belief has been shaken by the partition of Bengal, the suppression of public meetings, the support given to corrupt and inefficient police officials, the growing oppression of the peasants and the patronising way in which their claims are treated. Repression will only intensify the determination to secure self-government.

SOURCE 14

The repressive side of British policy manifested itself in the Rowlatt Acts, the Amritsar massacre, and even more in the reaction to the massacre in Britain. The man responsible, General Dyer, was mildly censured by the army and strongly defended by his superiors, the House of Lords, much of the press, most Conservative MPs and a large number of ordinary people. The effect of all this on Indian nationalist opinion was disastrous. Repression only undid the gains made by the policy of concession.

SOURCE 15
(From Dane Kennedy, *Britain and Empire 1880–1945*, published 2002)

The Indian army grew from 160,000 to 800,000 by the end of the First World War: the total number of Indians to serve in uniform during the conflict came close to one and a half million. Though it remained a volunteer army to the end, there is little doubt that the scale of the wartime mobilisation strained Indian society and strengthened the Indian nationalist movement. The Indian National Congress and the Muslim League were drawn into a common nationalist cause.
Sources for use with Question 2 (b) (ii)

SOURCE 16
(From the Lahore Resolution, March 1940)

No constitutional plan would be workable or acceptable to the Muslims unless such territorial readjustments as may be necessary are made. The areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, such as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute independent states in which the units within them shall be autonomous and sovereign. Adequate, effective and compulsory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities.

SOURCE 17
(From Tim Leadbeater, Britain and India, 1845–1947, published 2008)

In 1940, Jinnah sensed that the tide was finally turning in favour of the Muslim League with him in control. The Lahore Resolution was powerfully unclear. The fact that Jinnah did not clarify this publicly until six years later has raised questions about his true objectives. He was clearly a secular Muslim, and he did not truly regard a state based on a religious definition as a wise solution. It follows that he was, like many a politician, arguing tactically for far more than he really thought possible or desirable in order to achieve more than a realistic demand would.

SOURCE 18
(From Ian Talbot, Jinnah and the Making of Pakistan, published 1984)

Jinnah’s success was greatly assisted by the continued blunders of the Congress leaders. Their greatest mistake occurred in June 1946, when they rejected the Cabinet Mission’s proposals for a federal solution to India’s communal problem, after Jinnah and the Muslim League had reluctantly accepted it. Jinnah seemed prepared to agree to less than a fully sovereign Pakistan, provided Muslim interests were safeguarded. The Congress leadership appeared intent on hastening the emergence of a sovereign Pakistan through its own errors. Once the Cabinet Mission had failed, the partition of India became virtually inevitable.

Acknowledgments

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