History
Advanced Subsidiary
Unit 2
Option D: The British Empire Challenged

Wednesday 20 May 2015 – Afternoon
Time: 1 hour 20 minutes

You must have:
Sources Insert (enclosed)

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.
• Check your answers if you have time at the end.
Choose EITHER D1 (Question 1) OR D2 (Question 2) for which you have been prepared.

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 (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, in the years 1912–13, violence in Ireland was unlikely?

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 Gladstone’s policy in Ireland during his first ministry was ‘doomed to fail’ (Source 5, line 26)?

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 signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty in 1921 demonstrated that Sinn Féin had achieved its aims in the period to 1922?

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

(40)

(Total for Question 1 = 60 marks)
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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 (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 Morley-Minto reforms were acceptable to Indians?

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 Gandhi’s methods in the period 1919–30 were an effective way of challenging British rule in India?

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 the impact of the Second World War was responsible for the decision to grant independence to the Indian sub-continent?

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 | ☐ |

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

(b) ..........................................................................................................................
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((b) continued)
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Sources Insert

Do not return the insert with the question paper.
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 speech given in Ulster by Lord Willoughby de Broke, September 1912. He was a Conservative peer who founded the British League for the Support of Ulster and the Union in 1913.)

The Unionists of England will help Unionists over here, not only by making speeches. Peaceable methods will be tried first. However, if Unionists are forced into resorting to violence by the actions of the British government, not only will the government have Orangemen against them, but they will find that every white man in the British Empire will be giving support, either moral or active.

SOURCE 2
(From a letter sent by John Redmond, leader of the Irish Nationalist Parliamentary Party, to H.H. Asquith, November 1913)

Writing with a full knowledge of my country and its conditions, I do not think that anything like a widespread rebellious movement can ever take place. All our nationalist friends in Ulster, who would be the first victims of any rebellious movement, have never ceased to inform me that all such fears are without any real foundation.

SOURCE 3
(From Patrick Pearse, The Coming Revolution, published November 1913. Pearse was a member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood and the Irish Volunteers. He was later executed for his role as a leading member of the Easter Rising.)

I am glad that the Orangemen have armed, for it is a goodly thing to see arms in Irish hands. I should like to see any and every body of Irish citizens armed. We must accustom ourselves to the use of arms. We may make mistakes in the beginning and shoot the wrong people; but bloodshed is a cleansing and sanctifying thing, and the nation which regards it as the final horror has lost its manhood. There are many things more horrible than bloodshed; and slavery is one of them.
Sources for use with Question 1 (b) (i)

SOURCE 4
(From an election speech made in Wigan by W.E. Gladstone and reported in The Times newspaper, 24 October 1868)

The Church of Ireland is but one of a group of questions. There is the Church of Ireland, there is the land of Ireland, there is the education of Ireland; there are many subjects, all of which depend on one greater than them; they are all so many branches from one trunk, and that trunk is the tree of what is called the Protestant Ascendancy. We therefore aim at the destruction of that system of ascendancy.

SOURCE 5
(From Howard Martin, Britain in the 19th Century, published 1996)

Gladstone aimed to preserve the Union by making it more acceptable to the Irish. Unfortunately his understanding of the Question came from books. Many Irish were exasperated by his implicit assumption that only an Englishman could solve the Question and understand how Irish grievances could be redressed. Gladstone's policy was fatally flawed and doomed to fail in its primary purpose, despite his obvious mastery of the details of the proposals. There was no appreciation of the deeper problems, and no recognition of the existence of a genuine sense of Irish nationality.

SOURCE 6
(From B.H. Abbott, Gladstone and Disraeli, published 1972)

Gladstone was convinced that the redress of agrarian grievances, and the abolition of the privileges of the Anglican Church in Ireland, would help to bring about a long-delayed reconciliation. Once launched on his crusade, Gladstone became more involved as his understanding of the Irish problem increased. His Disestablishment Act of 1869 emerges as an important milestone as the first breach in the Union. For three months after the Act was passed, Gladstone immersed himself in the problems of Irish agriculture, for he realised that real improvement in Ireland would depend on success in that sphere.
Sources for use with Question 1 (b) (ii)

**SOURCE 7**
(From *The Manifesto of Sinn Féin as prepared for circulation for the General Election of December 1918*)

Sinn Féin gives Ireland the opportunity of vindicating her honour and pursuing with renewed confidence the path of national salvation. Sinn Féin aims at securing the establishment of a Republic. It stands by the Proclamation of the Provisional Government of Easter, 1916. It reasserts the right of the Irish Nation to sovereign independence and guaranteeing within the independent Nation equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens.

**SOURCE 8**

To Ireland, the Anglo-Irish Treaty brought common sense and physical emancipation. The hand of the British legislator, administrator and judge would no more lie heavy on Ireland; the British military and British police would patrol her paths no more. David Lloyd George could salute an island ‘free to marshal her own resources, direct her own forces and guide her own destinies’. Arthur Griffith could, with equal justice, claim they had brought back Ireland to a status of equality with England. They had secured the evacuation of Ireland after seven hundred years.

**SOURCE 9**

Under the Anglo-Irish Treaty signed in December 1921, there was to be an Irish Free State, not a republic, which was to be a dominion in the British Empire. Northern Ireland was to be given a month in which to decide whether or not to contract out of the Free State. The radical nationalists disowned the work of the delegates in London. De Valera who wanted a republic in free association with the Commonwealth, rather than dominion status, resigned from the presidency of the Dáil. Deep disagreements over the Treaty gradually grew into civil war.
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 the Indian National Congress Resolution at its Lahore session, 1909)

This Congress gratefully appreciates the endeavours of Lord Morley and Lord Minto. The British have granted a fairly liberal measure of constitutional reforms, as now embodied in the Indian Councils Act. However, we deem it our duty to place on record our strong sense of disapproval of the creation of separate electorates on the basis of religion. We regret that the Act has not been framed in the same liberal spirit in which Lord Morley’s despatch of last year was conceived.

**SOURCE 11**
(From a letter sent by Motilal Nehru to his son Jawaharlal, 30 August 1909. Motilal was an early leader of the Indian National Congress.)

Morley’s long promised reforms have at last been published. They are just the opposite of reforms. His advisory Council of Noodles (I beg your pardon I mean Notables) will be a huge farce, and the enlarged Legislative Council will be no more than a collection of yes-men. The aim of the so-called reforms is to destroy the influence of the educated classes.

**SOURCE 12**
(From *The Memoirs of the Aga Khan*, published 1954. The Aga Khan was a founding member and first President of the All-Muslim League.)

Lord Minto listened with sympathy to the statement of our case. He assured us that the political rights and interests of the Muslim community would be safeguarded. Most of our demands were conceded, though not all. It would, in my view, have been better had there been provision for two Indian members of the Viceroy’s Executive Council – one Muslim and one Hindu – instead of the one finally provided for. But it was John Morley himself who said to me “You mustn’t get too much power, you know”. Nevertheless, within their own time, the Morley-Minto reforms were a genuine step forward.
Sources for use with Question 2 (b) (i)

SOURCE 13
(From Tim Leadbeater, *Britain and India 1845–1947*, published 2008)

Gandhi’s methods were a powerful combination of spiritual strength, political skill and sheer theatricality. His various campaigns drew international attention because of the complex problems they caused the British. They were often unsuccessful in their precise objectives. However, there is agreement that, overall, Gandhi’s genius was to recognise that the British Empire could be defeated by mass peaceful passive confrontation. His campaigns exposed the fact that the Empire survived because of Indian support and if that was withdrawn, it could not continue.

SOURCE 14
(From Alan Farmer, *Britain: Foreign and Imperial Affairs, 1919–39*, published 1992)

Gandhi never wavered in his devotion to the cause of Indian independence. He was equally committed to non-violent protest, devising and introducing new methods of civil disobedience to disrupt British rule. There was sometimes a strong element of coercion in his tactics and they could, and often did, spill over into violence. In consequence, Gandhi was seen as a hypocrite by many British officials. Gandhi’s influence on events has probably been exaggerated; his influence, even in Congress, was far from supreme.

SOURCE 15
(From Jawaharlal Nehru, *An Autobiography*, published 1936)

For us, the non-violent approach could only be a policy and a method promising certain results, and by those results it would have to be finally judged. Individuals might make of it a religion, but no political organisation, so long as it remained political, could do so. The murder of the policemen at Chauri Chaura, and its consequences made us examine the implications of non-violence as a method. We felt that if Gandhi’s arguments for the suspension of civil resistance were correct, our opponents would always have the power to create circumstances that would result in our abandoning the struggle.
The Acts of 1919 and 1935 were intended to prolong, not end, empire. In general, the British introduced political liberalisation in response to nationalist pressures. It aimed to weaken nationalism, and to put off independence indefinitely. Would the Labour government have offered independence to India if Britain had not been weakened by war? Or would it have followed the example of its predecessors and crushed nationalist unrest?

The Labour government had little choice in withdrawing from India, since the sub-continent had made considerable progress towards self-government before the war. The 1935 Government of India Act conceded that India would eventually attain dominion status. Moreover, under the new constitution introduced in 1937, the main nationalist party, the Indian National Congress, controlled the governments in a majority of the Indian provinces. The war disrupted and complicated any smooth transfer of power.

I do not think that we can hold India down by force. Indians are a docile people, and a comparatively small amount of force, ruthlessly used, might be sufficient; but it seems to me clear that the British people will not consent to be associated with a policy of repression. World opinion will not approve of it. British soldiers will not wish to stay here in large numbers after the war to hold the country down. We cannot move without taking serious risks, but the most serious risk of all is that India, after the war, will become a running sore which will sap the strength of the British Empire.

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