Edexcel GCE
History
Advanced Subsidiary
Unit 2
Option E: Britain in the Later 20th Century: Responding to Change
Thursday 20 January 2011 – Morning
Sources Insert

Do not return the insert with the question paper.
Choose EITHER E1 (Question 1) OR E2 (Question 2) for which you have been prepared.

E1 – British Political History, 1945–90: Consensus and Conflict

Sources for use with Question 1 (a)

SOURCE 1
(A remark by Jim Callaghan, to one of his advisers, during the series of strikes known as the ‘Winter of Discontent’ in January 1979. Callaghan, who had been abroad, was responding to the adviser’s briefing on the serious nature of the problems facing Britain.)

1 I have let the country down.

SOURCE 2
(An extract from the Conservative party manifesto 1979)

Some of the reasons for our difficulties today are complex and go back many years. Others are more simple and more recent. We do not lay all the blame on the Labour party: but Labour have been in power for most of the last fifteen years and cannot escape the major responsibility. They have made things worse in three ways. First, by actively discouraging the creation of wealth. Second, by enlarging the role of the state and diminishing the role of the individual. Third, by heaping privilege without responsibility on the trade unions. Labour are bound inescapably to a single powerful interest group by ties of history, political dogma and financial dependence. Labour have demonstrated they cannot speak and dare not act for the nation as a whole. They have governed Britain badly.

SOURCE 3
(From Jim Callaghan’s memoirs, Time and Change, published 1988)

Our vote in the election of 1979 was, in fact, higher than it had been nearly five years earlier. This demonstrated how much steady understanding and support existed for what we had tried to do. It was a miracle that we had governed as long and effectively as we had, and carried out as much of our programme. The Labour government of 1974–79 had no reason to feel ashamed and much to feel proud of.
Sources for use with Question 1 (b) (i)

SOURCE 4
(From Chris Rowe, *Britain 1929–98*, published 2004)

As a result of the Suez crisis there was a sharp economic crisis, with petrol rationing and a dip in the balance of payments. Politically, Eden was finished. He had ruined his own reputation and the Conservative party seemed badly, even fatally, damaged. The opinion polls swung sharply against the Conservatives.

SOURCE 5

The Suez crisis did not destroy the political balance at home. There was no internal split in the Conservative party. No real chance for a Labour onslaught. Eden was not removed as a result of the crisis itself, which would have let in a Labour wedge, but rather as a result of ill-health.

SOURCE 6
(From the memoirs of Lord Kilmuir, published in 1964. Lord Kilmuir was serving as Lord Chancellor in the Conservative government at the time of the crisis.)

Suez did us no harm politically, either in the short or in the long view. Even the most hostile of our critics in the Conservative ranks were sickened by the spectacle of the shrill glee of the Opposition as it heard the news about the withdrawal of British troops. The press gave the episode considerable publicity, and this strengthened the widespread disgust with the Opposition which was so apparent in those months. Our most loyal party workers, although dismayed by our handling of the situation, were consumed with hatred of the Labour party, which didn't fade until after the 1959 election.
Sources for use with Question 1 (b) (ii)

SOURCE 7
(From the *Sunday Express*, a right-of-centre newspaper, 16 September 1984. The figure in the doorway depicts Norman Willis, the General-Secretary of the TUC and the image on the poster represents Arthur Scargill, the president of the National Union of Mineworkers.)

![Image of Norman Willis and Arthur Scargill]

SOURCE 8
(From P. Hirst, *Miracle or Mirage? The Thatcher Years*, published 1997)

The miners’ strike was a mess. Scargill’s manner made it certain that the NUM would lose. The miners in the key Midlands coalfields split away to form the Union of Democratic Miners. Scargill also forced the strike at a time when the Coal Board, with government support, had built up huge coal reserves. Even though many people supported the miners and gave them money and food, it was the wrong strike at the wrong time.

SOURCE 9
(From D. Kavanagh, *The Thatcher Effect*, published 1989)

40 There were many faint hearts who believed that Thatcher had gone too far in her unflinching support for the police, who played a crucial role in preventing mass violence from triumphing. At times, during the course of the strike, defeat for the government seemed perilously close. But Scargill was never able to cut off the supply of coal to the main power stations, either from the mines which continued to work, or from imports of coal transported from docks by unionised drivers who did not support the NUM.
Choose EITHER E1 (Question 1) OR E2 (Question 2) for which you have been prepared.

E2 – Mass Media, Popular Culture and Social Change in Britain since 1945

Sources for use with Question 2 (a)

SOURCE 10
(From a speech by Mary Whitehouse, the president of the National Viewers’ and Listeners’ Association, made during a televised debate in 1967. The NVALA was a pressure group formed to monitor broadcasts for offensive content.)

1 If you were to ask me to name the one man who, more than anybody else, had been responsible for the moral collapse in this country, I would name Sir Hugh Carleton-Greene, the director-general of the BBC.

SOURCE 11
(Part of the BBC’s response to a complaint about the broadcasting of a Dennis Potter play which contained scenes of a sexual nature. The complainant was a member of the National Viewers’ and Listeners’ Association. The play was broadcast in November 1970.)

Some of the unease which you and some others feel may arise from the fact that sex is a subject on which there has been such a marked change in public attitudes in recent years. Whether we like it or not, subjects which were once regarded as taboo are now discussed openly in the presence of members of both sexes and the range of topics thought private has shrunk dramatically. It is inevitable that this shift in acceptability should be reflected in our programmes.

SOURCE 12
(Part of Mary Whitehouse’s obituary from the Guardian, a left-of-centre newspaper, 24 November 2001. Whitehouse established the ‘Clean up TV campaign’ in 1964.)

10 Mary Whitehouse was the self-appointed and much derided guardian of British morals. In 1964 she determined to clean up the BBC which she felt was responsible for a decline in public decency. It was possible for many middle-of-the-roaders to think she was just possibly right. However, her attacks on the comedian Benny Hill and her failure to see that the foul-mouthed Alf Garnett was being sent up rather than praised made it easy for Mrs Whitehouse to be viewed as an outdated, narrow-minded, battleaxe.
It is repeatedly claimed, most often by those who consume the stuff compulsively, that modern royalty is the victim of the mass media (tabloids). It is quite hard to see how this can be true, given the simpering nature of most royal reporting. For the most part, the mass media dance slavishly to the palace’s tune. It is true that they can’t fight back when untruths are told about royalty. But that has always been the case.

On the basis of the way the Royal Family have been treated by the media, I’m surprised the family don’t chuck it in. Because it is absolutely extraordinary what has happened in the last thirty years. I mean before that we were accepted as normal people. But now, I mean now, I reckon to have done something right if I don’t appear in the media. Because I know that any appearance in it will be one of criticism.

Diana was a wily manipulator of the media. She was simultaneously a huntress in the media jungle, pursuing stories that flattered her, and the hunted. Her 1995 revelatory interview with Panorama, in which she freely discussed the break-up of her marriage, broke every taboo left in royal circles.
Sources for use with Question 2 (b) (ii)

SOURCE 16
(From an interview with John Lennon, 1980)

My music dabbled with politics in the late 1960s and 1970s. But it was more out of guilt than anything else. Guilt for being rich and guilt for thinking that perhaps love and peace wasn’t enough. I was doing it against my instincts. You’ve always got to have good tunes if you’re marching. But the tunes don’t make the march. Basically, rock’n’roll isn’t protest. And never was. It’s not political.

SOURCE 17
(From an article by John Hoyland which appeared in the Guardian, March 2008. Hoyland had been an editor on the revolutionary newspaper, the Black Dwarf, during the 1960s.)

Mick Jagger’s song Street Fighting Man reflected the 1968 mood of rebellion. However, although John Lennon’s song, Revolution, was superb, the lyrics were a bitter disappointment. Instead of identifying with the rebellious mood among the young, he was hostile to it. He complained about ‘minds that hate’. He sang: ‘You tell me it’s the institution/You better free your mind instead.’ Those sentiments might have fitted the previous year and the dreamy mind expansions of the ‘summer of love’, but things had moved on and they now seemed entirely off the mark.

SOURCE 18
(From David Christopher, British Culture: an Introduction, published 1999)

In the early 1980s, reggae music grew in popularity. Like earlier punk, it expressed a symbolic challenge to the politics of the Conservative government and a rejection of the right-wing racism of the National Front. Mixed race bands such as the Specials and UB40 expressed a defiant, anti-Thatcher manifesto. In a demonstration of left-wing populism, they gave their support to the Rock Against Racism movement, appearing in numerous free public carnivals.

Every effort has been made to contact the copyright holders where possible. In some cases, every effort to contact copyright holders has been unsuccessful and Edexcel will be happy to rectify any omissions of acknowledgement at the first opportunity.