



ANSWER BOOKLET

READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS

Write your Centre Number, Candidate Number, Name, Syllabus / Component as written on your statement of entry, at the top of this page.

Write in dark blue or black pen.

DO **NOT** WRITE IN ANY BARCODES.

Use both sides of the paper.

Write the question number in the left-hand column provided on each page.

Use a ruler to draw a line across the page after each answer.

Write the numbers of the questions you answer in the order attempted in the left-hand column of the boxes on the right of this page.

Do all your rough work in this answer booklet and cross it through without making it illegible. Do not tear out any part of this booklet. All work must be handed in.

Check that you have written the information required on each additional booklet used and have attached them to this booklet.

Write here how many booklets you have used, including this one.

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Question number	Mark
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39	12
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Total	

This document consists of 16 printed pages.



37

Clement Attlee's Labour government of 1945-50 was brought into power ^{with} a campaign for a 'New Jerusalem' and the promise of great social reform. Although the Government did introduce the National Health Service, Insurance Act and the New Towns Act, as John Maynard Keynes said, Britain was facing an 'economic dunkirk'. Britain's economic situation and the result of contingent factors led to the administration not achieving as much as it had promised. Thus, it deserves its reputation as a 'great reforming ~~to~~ administration' only ~~for the extent~~ of its creation of the National Health Service and the start of the post-war consensus.

In ~~many~~ of scholarly debate, whether Attlee's administration at this time really was that reforming is hotly debated. Correlli Barnett believed that rather than focusing upon the creation of the Welfare State, Attlee should have focused upon the build up of industry, furthermore, he should have joined the European Steel & Iron Community when he had a chance in 1950. ~~Pete Hennessy agreed that, in reality, Attlee caused much economic strife for many years to come.~~ Finally, Kenneth O. Morgan believed that Pete Hennessy said that it was an administration of 'Unparalleled Success', benefiting the country largely.

The Labour government of ~~the~~ 1945-50 deserves its reputation as 'a great reforming administration' because it listened and responded to the needs of the people through the adoption of the very popular Beveridge Report, that highlighted

Unstable?

view

under-developed

criticism

Point

5 giant evils for Government to tackle. Socially, economically and politically, the administration rejected the country majority.

In terms of nationalisation, the Historian Kenneth O. Morgan sees it as a great success. Atlee nationalised coal, gas, civil aviation, electricity, transport, Bank of England and iron and steel in 1950. However, as Correlli Barnett said, Nationalisation was only 'a prolonging of the ancien regime through bureaucratic means'. Nationalisation was not a great reform as it did ^{not} really change much of the industry, effectively, it had the ~~same~~ ^{same} bases as when it was private except there was now a sign saying 'State Owned'. Furthermore, Labour only nationalised the Bank of England, there were many other banks that remained private. In terms of legacy, what often defines a 'great reform', the steel and iron were quickly privatised by the Conservatives under Churchill and then later on, Thatcher privatised the lot. Therefore, although it was radical on the outset, nationalisation did little to change the fortunes of these services and it was hardly ever a reform because almost everything was nationalised during the war.

Point

attempt
an argument

As the late Prime Minister, Harold Wilson said, 'Events, dear boy... Events'. Labour had inherited a huge economic deficit after the war, owing much of its debt to USA. Labour was faced with contingent events that limited their ability to reform Britain. As a result of accepting Marshall Aid, Atlee had to both get involved in the Korean War and increase spending on the Defence budget. Britain did not have the

Sufficient funds have a large defence budget as well as a National Health Service, costing £340 million by 1950. Therefore, when prescription charges were introduced in 1949, the crossbenchers and Wilson and Aneurin Bevan quit the Cabinet. ~~By 1950~~ Furthermore, their housing programme incorporated in the New Towns Act of 1946 succeeded and 'Pre-fabs' remained for longer than anticipated. Therefore, by the inheritance of a poor economy and the requirements of a nuclear programme and heavy defence spending, ~~the administration can't defend its reputation as 'a great reforming administration'.~~

argues
against

However, such reforms as the National Health Service Act 1946 and the National Insurance Act 1946 were great reforms at the time. The NHS Act, as historian Peter Calvercross described it, was 'perhaps the most beneficial reform ever enacted'. Furthermore, the fact that Butler and the Conservatives inherited the NHS in their Industrial Charter of 1947 does show such a great reform gets inherited by another party of different ideology and belief. Furthermore, rather than just like David Lloyd George did in 1922 with his 'homes fit for heroes', led by Paul Addison, Bevan's reforms are seen as a great success. In light of over 700,000 houses being destroyed in World War II, Bevan set about creating brand new towns to accommodate people. Milton Keynes, Crawley and Stevenage were all towns built after the war. Therefore, Labour does deserve its reputation to the extent that the NHS was not reformed until 1989 and many of the new towns created remain, therefore, proving to be 'great reforms' due to the legacy.

Compares
with
post 1945

Significance?

In terms of reform of parliament, in 1949, the Labour administration managed to pass the second parliament Act, reducing the House of Lords' revising power to down to only one year. The fact that this still remains ^{linked} pass for the testimony and reason for why the Labour government deserves its reputation. Although it could be argued that it was only furthering an already great reform that was the first parliament Act, passed by Asquith in 1908, Attlee's reform remains to be a great reform in parliamentary process due to the more effective and quick passage of legislation.

Economically, Britain perhaps ended up worse off than when Attlee's administration first came into power. Peter Hennessey believed that it was predominantly a result of the economy that such bad economic strife followed for the next 40 years. Devaluation in 1949 to \$2.08 was seen as almost the nail in the coffin for Attlee's administration. However, it could be argued that as a result of such contingent ^{stuff} factors as the great winter of 1947 and foreign events in regards to the Cold War, Britain had to reform its economy. It was beginning to stagnate as a result of over investment in staple industries during the war. Attlee was faced with the change of an industrial to post-industrial economy. Therefore, devaluation was only a result of contingent factors that perhaps undermined how far ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~ the reforms of Labour really did go, but to devalue the pound for the benefit of the nation rather than the party showed a great change and reform in politics.

39 In 1947, Butler and the Conservatives introduced the industrial charter. This is seen as the start of the post-war consensus as it was ^{the} acceptance of the NHS and other reforms made by Labour. In the years of 1951-70, a term coined by the Economist, 'Butskeltism' was the order of the day, with both parties following Keynesian economics. This almost rubbed off on both parties' domestic policies, however, the relationship with government and the Trade Unions often differentiated between the two parties.

/ Sum

/ Sum

diff

Intern of social reforms, Labour were more Liberal than the Conservatives. In Harold Wilson's first term, 1964-70, although historians Pearce and Stewart argued that he failed to address the fundamental problems with the economy, Wilson achieved domestic success through the abilities of his Home Secretary, Roy Jenkins. The Murder Act, Race Relations Act, Abortion Act and the Trades Disputes Act were all examples of Labour addressing what is known as the 'Swinging Sixties' or the end of the Thatcherism. Furthermore, at the beginning of the Sixties, Harold MacMillan was deemed out of touch with the masses and was deemed to not have achieved enough domestically, although achieving economic success. Therefore, Labour had different policies to the Conservatives in domestic policy in regards to their social agenda.

linked expl.

Intern of housing, the Conservatives met a cross party consent of their policy. At the beginning of the 1950s, MacMillan's ~~seen~~ achievements at building many houses, including council housing, was seen as a continuation of

What Aneurin Bevan achieved in the 1940s with Prefabs. However, when Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan put many houses on the market, rather than council housing, Labour were in disagreement of this, believing that equality of housing and better chances of domesticating people lay in council estates. Therefore, although early 50s saw broadly similar domestic policies intended of housing, in the early 1960s, this all changed under Macmillan. ?

Although the common agreement that the Trade Unions were out of control was stronger in the 1970s under Heath and Callaghan, both parties still shared certain beliefs of how powerful Trade Unions really should be. Harold Wilson's 'In Place of Strife', led by Barbara Castle in 1969 was a White Paper aiming to introduce pre-strike ballots and minor controls on wages. Although it was hotly opposed by Tony Benn, it was the start of the battle against the Unions. The Conservatives' Industrial Relations Act was very similar to In Place of Strife and was seen as a continuation of it. / assertion

Furthermore, as a result of 'Butskellism' and the sharing of economic policy, government budgets both highly prioritised the maintaining of the National Health Service. It is not a surprise therefore that the NHS did not get attacked until 1989, under Thatcher. / not explained

As Vernon Bogdanor said, Heath's government of 1970 was 'the end of the post-war settlement', 'Selsdon Man'

as Harold Wilson referred to him as, was the return of the Conservatives to a laissez faire economy. Before this, such Prime Ministers as Eden, MacMillan and Douglas Home had all interfered with government spending in the economy. Therefore, the Conservatives followed similar budget allocations as Labour did in this time but only due to its political viability, the public wanted it.

for
explained

Nationalisation remained a domestic policy that differed between the two parties. It was a constant allocation of the steel and iron works between each Labour and Conservative administration. Conservatives would privatise it, Labour would nationalise it. Therefore, domestic policies in regards to nationalisation were similar but not in the example of iron and steel.

diff.

In conclusion, the Conservative and Labour governments in the years 1951-70 followed broadly similar domestic policies to the extent that the NHS was retained and government intervention in the economy in the forms of nationalisation were shared by both parties. Although the historian Dominic Sandbrook ^{Sandbrook} argued that this period was a time of 'economic failure, social indirection and political paralysis', Wilson's domestic ~~achievements~~ achievements were popular in both parties.

Conclude

Some attempt
to argue but
support not strong
enough to convince

4
(12)

Question
number

42 Blair's premiership lasted from 1997 to 2007. Tony Blair - was a groundbreaking Prime Minister, altering the ~~role~~ ^{power} his position had and predominantly ruling the country from Number 10, Downing Street. His premiership has both strengths and weaknesses, however, determined by the performance of the economy ~~and~~ the relative peace in parliament and his great electoral successes, Tony Blair could be seen as a more beneficial Prime Minister than a detrimental one for the country.

Whether the war in Iraq has been good or bad for Britain is hotly debated. Although there are critics such as George Galloway who referred to Blair as a 'war criminal', Britain's entry into Iraq in 2003 could be seen as a fundamental sweetener of the 'Special relationship' between USA and Britain. By keeping relations with the richest country in the world sweet, effectively, trade & the economy prospered for Britain. However, Iraq was very unpopular in the public's opinion, as shown by Labour's drop in their seat majority from 167 in 2001 to 66 in 2005. Blair's weakness to effectively listen to the public proved his unpopularity in the opinion polls, leading to Gordon Brown taking the reins in 2007. Although it could be argued that involvement in Iraq is protection of Britain, the 77 bombings fundamentally flawed that argument. ~~The fact that although it could be argued that~~ as As Harold MacMillan once said, 'Events, dear boy... Events', although contingent factors such as 9/11 may have played a part in the intervention in Iraq, Blair's proved his weakness by using Royal Prerogative powers to

enter Britain into war rather than hold a referendum for the public to decide. Furthermore, the Hutton Report confirmed the wrongdoing that Blair had committed.

Elected in 1997 with a 176 seat majority, Blair proved to be ruthless in passing legislation in his first term. The House of Lords Reform, devolution acts and the introduction of the Human Rights Act in 1998 all were great successes for Blair, with every single one of the devolution referendums having the desired verdict for Blair.

Furthermore, what allowed Tony Blair to be ^{so strong} ~~so~~ was not only his large majority, which Lord Butler claimed made Blair an 'Elective Dictatorship', ~~it was~~ but his use of Special Advisers, undermining the Civil Service and having a strong 'Whip' in Parliament. Alistair Campbell and Powell were some of his closest advisers, above being accountable to the public. Therefore, by his use of Special Advisers ('SPADs') and the avoidance of the ~~the~~ 'small (c) Conservative' Civil Service, Blair could implement quick policy, such as the anti-terror Acts post 9/11, 2001.

Blair's move towards New Labour and the removal of Clause 4 out of Labour's Constitution allowed Blair to kick start the economy, opting for a laissez faire economy. Brown did extremely well as Chancellor of Exchequer, and due to Blair's large majority and strength of the whip as a result of

the Fusion of Powers, Blair could easily pass budget. Therefore, Blair's premiership saw great growth in the economy, a strength of his. ⊕

However, by ²⁰⁰⁷~~2007~~, Blair's disrespect for Parliament and the lack of collective responsibility in Cabinet led to his defeat. As Clare Short resigned from Cabinet in 2003, she said 'There is no collective responsibility because there is no collective discussion'. Blair's use of bilateral meetings and his 'Soft government' similar to that of Lloyd George's informal 'Garden Cabinet' proved his downfall as his cabinet and backbenchers grew more and more resentful of him and his lack of respect for them.

* In conclusion, Blair's greatest strength could be seen as his greatest weakness. As a result of his large majority in Parliament he only got defeated once, however by getting so comfortable with this majority he relied too heavily upon his special advisers. Therefore, by not using his cabinet or backbenchers, Blair isolated himself and left in 2007 with the knowledge that he would not win the next election, leaving the Labour party to become divided.

* In comparison to other administrations, Blair was able to keep rivals within his ranks, representing different ideologies in his cabinet such as left wing Prescott. Furthermore, he managed to avoid the party splitting question of EU membership, a problem that had faced Wilson, Callaghan and Major. Therefore, as Roy Jenkins had said about Harold

Wilson, 'Labour Party Unity was his Stock in Trade', Blair's ability to represent a united Labour party proved to be one of his greatest strengths.

④ Although when Blair was elected in 1997 and made his speech on 'Education, Education and Education', fundamentally, his comprehensive Schools programme failed, being overtaken by academies post 2009 by Brown.

Explains some strengths,
weaknesses - some
analysis

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