



MARKSCHEME

May 2001

HISTORY – AFRICA

Higher Level

Paper 3

1. Why, and to what extent, were there changes in the pattern of trade before 1880 *either* in East and Central *or* West Africa?

Candidates can choose either East and Central or West Africa, but must make specific reference to the pattern of trade in the region chosen. They can be expected to discuss factors which led to the ending of the Atlantic slave trade and contributed to the expansion of legitimate trade, especially in palm oil in West Africa, or to the later ending of the slave trade in East Africa and the growth in the long distance trade in commodities such as ivory.

[8 to 10 marks] may be awarded for narrative or descriptive answers on the slave trade with some implicit explanation of the factors which led to the abolition of the slave trade in either region.

[11 to 13 marks] could be scored by a more explicit analysis.

[14+ marks] will be awarded to candidates who analyse the changes in trade and explain, with reference to specific commodities, the growth in legitimate trade.

2. To what extent did African traditional religions survive before 1914 despite the spread of Christianity and Islam?

The spread of Christianity and Islam dealt a very big blow to the religious bases of African societies. Christian missionaries and Islamic jihadists condemned and sought to eradicate traditional religious beliefs. The survival of traditional religion is less well documented than the spread of Christianity and Islam. It is nevertheless evident that traditional religions remained the religions of the vast majority of Africans before 1914. They not only survived but played a prominent part in resistance to colonial rule.

Vague generalisations, not supported by reference to particular religions, might not reach *[8 marks]*. Reward answers which make specific references e.g. to the role of the Kulelo cult in the Maji Maji rising, or the Mwari cult in the Ndebele-Shona rising, to illustrate the continuing vitality of traditional religious beliefs and their role in resistance to colonial rule.

Mark according to the variety and depth of illustration.

[up to 13 marks] could be obtained for answers which show knowledge of traditional religion.

[14 to 16 marks] essays should discuss the extent of its survival.

[17+ marks] answers will provide clear evidence of the survival and adaptation of traditional African religious practices despite the onslaught from Christian and Islamic leaders and colonial administrators which weakened the influence of traditional religious leaders such as priests, rainmakers, prophets and divine monarchs.

3. What problems were faced by Khedive Ismail of Egypt and how did he deal with them?

This is a very straightforward question and should prove popular. Candidates can be expected to discuss the problems Ismail faced in seeking to increase Egyptian autonomy and to gain international recognition through expansion in Africa, as well as to modernise the country's agriculture, industry and communications. His policies to deal with these problems led to an increased penetration of the Egyptian economy by foreign capital and an enormous increase in Egypt's debt, and to the eventual loss of Egypt's independence.

Answers to this question should score well.

[8 to 10 marks] should be awarded for narrative answers which contain implicit reference to problems and solutions.

[11 to 13 marks] would be obtained with more explicit reference.

[14 to 16 marks] answers may include a critical analysis of Ismail's policies, to show how his drive for modernisation and greater autonomy ended up destroying that autonomy by paving the way for European intervention. It would be relevant, but not obligatory, to discuss Turco-Egyptian rule in the Sudan.

[17+ marks] could be awarded for direct, focused answers with a depth of analysis.

4. **‘The most successful African ruler of his time.’ How far do you agree with this assessment of Menelik II of Ethiopia?**

This question is likely to be popular and candidates may show extensive knowledge of Menelik’s policies. Most will agree with the quotation, but a candidate bold enough to challenge it and who makes out a convincing case for questioning Menelik’s success or puts forward an alternative ruler as more successful with supporting evidence, might score **[17 marks]** and above. Candidates can be expected to discuss Menelik’s success in resisting Italian attempts to conquer Ethiopia, the victory at Adowa and subsequent recognition by European powers of the sovereignty and independence of Ethiopia. Since Ethiopia was, together with Liberia, the only country in Africa not to be conquered and partitioned among European powers, Menelik’s success in this area is beyond question.

Menelik embarked on a number of wars of expansion in southern and eastern Ethiopia. This is an aspect of his rule with which candidates may be less familiar, but it could provide very good candidates with the opportunity to discuss in what ways such expansion deserves to be called successful. While Menelik’s expansion ended some local wars and may have established law and order where little peace had existed, it also caused an increase in crime and social dislocation and brought little benefit to many of the occupied peoples.

Candidates are likely to refer to Menelik’s communications and his reforms in education, health, administration, banking and currency.

[8 marks] may be reached by answers which merely relate events leading up to and including the battle of Adowa.

[10 marks] could be scored for answers which list Menelik’s achievements with an implicit sense of success.

[11 to 13 marks] should be awarded for answers with more explicit reference to success.

[14 to 16 marks] answers are likely to give due weight both to Menelik’s preservation of Ethiopian independence and his modernisation policies.

[17+ marks] could be given to candidates who provide a perceptive analysis of Menelik’s policies, well focused on the extent to which he may deserve to be considered the most successful ruler of his time.

5. Assess the impact on East Africa of Omani rule in Zanzibar before 1856.

The question covers the reign of Seyyid Said. Answers should consider the impact of his rule on Zanzibar, after he made it the capital of his sultanate, and the impact of his rule on the East African mainland. He made Zanzibar the most important trading centre on the East African coast and made commercial agreements with America, Britain and France. He introduced clove growing in Zanzibar which became a major exporter of cloves. The cultivation of cloves also contributed to the growth of the slave trade. Seyyid Said encouraged Indian enterprise and settlement in Zanzibar. His policies led to increased European interest in East Africa. The British saw him as the key to the abolition of the slave trade in East Africa and sought political influence in Zanzibar.

Seyyid Said's establishment of a plantation economy facilitated the expansion of the slave trade into the interior. The slave trade and the long-distance trade in commodities like ivory had some socially, economically and politically destructive consequences. It damaged local industries and crafts, and increased political rivalry. Some states gained in power and extent through their contacts with Arab traders. The long-distance trade also had a considerable cultural impact as Islam and the Swahili language spread into the interior.

[8 to 10 marks] could be reached by narrative answers with implicit reference to the impact of Omani rule.

[11 to 13 marks] could be obtained by answers with some explicit reference to the impact of Omani rule.

[14 to 16 marks] should contain an analysis of the impact, both positive and negative, of Seyyid Said's policies on Zanzibar and on the mainland with reference to economic, political and social aspects.

6. Why, and with what results, were Jihads conducted *either* by Usman dan Fodio *or* Al Hajj Umar?

This is a straightforward two-part question. Usman dan Fodio's jihad was primarily a religious movement. Usman attacked the Hausa rulers for combining Islam with traditional African religious practices. His jihad appealed to those opposed to the luxury, corruption and heavy taxation of the Gobir Kingdom. The pastoral Fulani supported the jihad partly because of the cattle tax. Politically, the jihad resulted in the creation of a huge new caliphate and many new unitary states. Islam was strengthened and Sharia courts became more important. Usman's jihad inspired many later jihads. Extensive slave raiding in areas where the caliphate bordered on non-Muslim peoples led to social disintegration.

Al-Hajj Umar joined the Tijaniyya Brotherhood, a rival to the Qadiriyya Brotherhood. His preaching aroused opposition to the Qadiriyya rulers and he was expelled from Futa Jalon. He organised a jihad and conquered Bambuk and Kaarta. He was inspired by the example of Usman dan Fodio. Usman's Tijaniyya attracted men of action, businessmen, the young and members of inferior social groups excluded from Qadiriyya membership.

Umar died in 1864, his work incomplete. His attempts to spread Islam by force were not always successful, but the jihad did encourage the spread of Islam, the growth of Islamic education, Sharia courts and the expansion of Islamic Brotherhoods. His jihad was more violent as it involved the use of firearms. It led him into conflict with the French. It led to the creation of a new state, but one much troubled by internal divisions after his death.

The quality of the answers will largely depend on their depth. An answer which dealt only with causes or results could not score above **[12 marks]**.

[8 to 10 marks] could be reached by narratives of the jihad with implicit reference to causes and results.

[11 to 13 marks] should be awarded to those answers with more explicit reference.

[14 to 16 marks] answers should be comprehensive in analysis of both causes and results.

7. With reference to *two* examples, analyse the causes of conflict between peoples in southern Africa in the first half of the nineteenth century.

There are many examples to choose from. The more popular choices are likely to include the many conflicts which were related to the Mfecane, the conflict between the Boers and the British, which led to the Great Trek, and the conflict between the Boers and the Zulu. Some answers might explore the background to the Xhosa wars or focus on major personalities involved in conflict such as Shaka, Mosheshwe or Mzilikazi. The essay gives an opportunity for candidates familiar with the historiography of the Mfecane, the standard view of Omer Cooper, Cobbing's revisionist critique and the responses to that critique.

While the choice is wide, the requirements of the question are clear. If only one example is discussed, mark out of **[12 marks]**.

[8 marks] would be the maximum for narratives of the Great Trek or the Xhosa Wars, which would be largely irrelevant.

Answers must focus on causes of conflict, and their quality will depend on the depth of analysis. An answer, for example, which examined different interpretations of the Mfecane, and explored the Boer reactions to British policies at the Cape before 1835 as well as the reasons for these policies, could be worth the top mark band. Other answers may treat the issues more superficially but still be worth up to **[13 marks]**.

8. Compare and contrast the extent to which missionaries and traders contributed to the European partition of Africa.

Missionaries usually encouraged the establishment of European rule in Africa, believing that it would facilitate evangelisation and end the slave trade and fighting between African states. Their views were influential, e.g. in Malawi, Uganda and Nigeria.

There has been much debate about the importance of traders and economic factors, and how far the partition was related to the need to find new outlets for European capitalist investment, markets for European goods and a source of raw materials.

Answers which deal only with missionaries or traders should be marked out of *[12 marks]*.

[8 to 10 marks] could be reached by answers which narrate the activities of missionaries and traders, in end on sections with implicit comparison and contrast.

[11 to 13 marks] answers need an explicit comparison of the contribution of missionaries and traders to the partition of Africa.

[14+ marks] could be scored for well supported comparisons which clearly link missionary and trading activities with the partition.

A very good candidate might argue that it is futile to weigh up the importance of any single factor and that only an extensive multi-causal explanation would do justice to the complexity of issues involved in the European partition of Africa.

9. How far do African leaders who co-operated with colonial rulers before 1914 deserve to be labelled traitors? Answer with reference to any *two* African leaders.

This is an open-ended question which provides candidates with the opportunity to choose any two African leaders before 1914, and to explore the reasons for and the nature of their co-operation with the colonial authorities. Armed resistance was only one type of African response to the imposition of colonial rule. A number of leaders chose to ally with European invaders against powerful local enemies within the same ethnic group or a neighbouring one in order to safeguard their positions or provide them with a degree of autonomy. Some like Mosheshwe in Lesotho, or Khama in Botswana, actively sought British protection as the lesser of two evils. Apolo Kaggwa and the Protestant chiefs in Buganda were able to negotiate the Uganda Agreement which strengthened their position and that of Buganda within the Uganda protectorate. Most of those who co-operated can be shown to have been acting in what they reasonably judged to be the best interests of their people. Convincing arguments with supporting evidence need to be advanced to justify the label “traitor” and to show whose interests were being betrayed.

The question provides the opportunity for interesting discussion, and may only be tackled by the more adventurous candidates who are confident enough to engage in such historical debate.

If only one leader is addressed mark out of **[12 marks]**.

[8 marks] might not be reached by unsupported assertions about treachery.

[14 to 16 marks] could be scored by well supported explanations of the motives of the chosen rulers.

10. Assess the effectiveness of Abdul Kadir’s resistance to colonial rule in Algeria.

It is rare for candidates to study nineteenth century Algeria, so this may not be a popular question. Early resistance to the French invasion of Algeria was led by Abdul Kadir in the Kabylie region. He used the jihad to unite Arab Berber clans and Muslim Brotherhoods of Algeria into a unified state, covering two thirds of the area of present day Algeria. He established administrative districts with heavily fortified headquarters which acted as bases for raids on the French. At first, his resistance against the French was very successful because of French inability to handle guerilla tactics. But the French captured Constantine and committed more troops against Abdul Kadir and his followers. They had an army of occupation of over 100,000 by the end of the 1840s. Abdul Kadir fled to Morocco in 1843 but the French forced the Moroccans to withdraw their support for him. He was captured and exiled in 1847. The prolonged resistance for 10 years after his capture is an indication of how he had inspired his people with a will to resist.

[8 to 10 marks] may be scored by narrative answers.

[11 to 13 marks] could be scored by answers with comment, implicit or explicit, on effectiveness.

[14 to 16 marks] will be obtained by answers which assess the effectiveness of the resistance with supporting evidence of the disruptive impact of the resistance on the colonial power.

[17+ marks] should be awarded for well focused answers, with a sense of how and why the resistance was more effective in the earlier than the later phases.

11. Explain the changing relationship between the Asante and the British between 1870 and 1900.

In the early 1870s, Britain acquired a trading monopoly along the Gold Coast, and in 1874, proclaimed a colony over the coastal Fante States. The Asante wanted to prevent foreign domination of the coastal trade. The British sought to assert their authority in the area by invading Asante in 1874. They defeated the Asante army and destroyed the capital Kumasi. Asante had to renounce all rights on the Gold Coast. The British withdrew from a severely weakened Asante to avoid the expense of colonial administration. The Asante Kingdom revived after 1888 under a new asantehene, Prempeh I, who defeated rebel Asante states and reunited the Asante Confederacy. The British feared an Asante revival, and were upset by Prempeh's refusal to accept British rule and his insistence on being treated as a sovereign ruler. The British authorities refused to recognise Asante independence and occupied Asante in 1896, partly to pre-empt French advances in the region. A British protectorate was proclaimed and the asantehene was exiled. But the Asante army was intact and rose against the British in a full-scale rebellion in 1900.

A narrative of events between 1870 and 1900 is appropriate for this question and such narrative answers are likely to provide some explanation and sense of changing relationship.

[8 to 10 marks] answers will be basic.

[11 to 13 marks] could be scored depending on the quality of the reference to change and how explicit the analysis is.

[14 to 16 marks] answers are likely to focus on the changing relationship in key phases, up to 1874, from 1874 to 1888, from 1888 to 1896 and from 1896 to 1900 with explanation of the changes.

[17+ marks] candidates will write well focused answers, which provide clear explanations of the changed relationship in the four phases.

12. Analyse the factors which led to the failure of the Shona Ndebele rising and the John Chilembwe rising.

The Shona Ndebele rising or the Chi Murenga failed to overcome problems of scale, co-ordination and disunity. Perhaps only a third of the Shona resisted and some collaborated with the British who were also helped by Khama and Lewanika. The resistance was gradually defeated by machine-guns and howitzers.

Chilembwe's rising was disorganised and limited in scope. He does not even seem to have been expecting it to succeed and seems to have wished to be martyred. Only 800 took part in the rising and he did not defend the mission station, spending his time on a hilltop, awaiting the Second Coming. He was shot trying to escape.

If only one rising is discussed, mark out of *[12 marks]*; and mark *[12 marks/8 marks]* if one rising is discussed in greater depth than the other.

[8 marks] may not be reached by answers which simply narrate the risings and include irrelevant reference to their causes.

[8 to 10 marks] answers will be more specific.

[14 to 16+ marks] answers will analyse the causes of failure of both risings.

13. Evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of Khama as ruler of Botswana.

Khama was ruler of the Bamangwato from 1875 to 1923. He and two other Tswana rulers used Britain to their advantage to protect them from the Boers and the Ndebele, and Britain declared a protectorate over Botswana, then Bechuanaland, in 1891, having declared it a British sphere of influence in 1885. Khama's soldiers fought with the British South Africa Company against the Ndebele in 1893. Khama travelled to London in 1895 and, with missionary support, persuaded the Colonial Secretary to confirm the protectorate rather than come under Company rule. He compromised by giving up some unoccupied land to company administration.

The British appointed a Resident Commissioner and, technically, Khama was a colonial chief under indirect rule. In practice, however, he was allowed to operate as an independent ruler, partly because British administrators approved his policies of promoting Christianity and education and developing agriculture and trade. He managed to increase the power of the Ngwato monarchy in the community by using British officials against internal rivals.

The merit of the essay will depend on the extent and quality of the comments on strengths and weaknesses. Khama's strengths as a ruler are far more evident than his weaknesses. His diplomatic skills impressed all who met him on his visit to London in 1895. He was exceptional in being able to wield so much power up to his death in 1923. He was an effective moderniser. He preserved his kingdom and people at a time of considerable external threat, and his achievement is comparable to that of Mosheshwe. He can be criticised as a collaborator and an autocrat, however, and his role in the defeat of the Shona-Ndebele rising may be questioned.

[8 to 10 marks] or *[11 to 13 marks]* could be scored by narrative answers, with implicit reference to strengths and weaknesses.

[14 to 16 marks] essays must focus on strengths and weaknesses.

[17+ marks] could be scored by answers which tackle these issues and examine the pros and cons of his relationship with the British.

14. Analyse the part played in the politics of South Africa by the African National Congress after 1948.

After the victory of the National Party in 1948, the ANC retained its objectives but became somewhat more militant in its demands and demonstrations, organising a defiance campaign in 1952 and adopting a Freedom Charter in 1955. It formed a Congress Alliance with other groups, 156 of whose leaders faced a Treason Trial in 1956. A split in the ANC led to the establishment of Sobukwe's Pan-Africanist Congress. The ANC was banned after the Sharpeville massacre in 1960. Mandela and others formed an underground armed wing of the party, Umkhonto we Sizwe. After the Rivonia trial, Mandela was sentenced to life imprisonment. The ANC was driven underground and into exile but resistance continued, especially after the Soweto uprising of 1976. After De Klerk took over as president of South Africa in 1989, the situation changed dramatically. The ANC was unbanned, and Mandela was released from prison in 1990. The ANC triumphed in South Africa's first non-racial elections in 1994 and Mandela became president.

There is a great deal of ground to cover in this question. Do not expect all the points mentioned above to be covered, but there should be some reference to the various phases of ANC's struggle against discrimination and white minority rule in South Africa. The word "analyse" suggests that candidates should not merely narrate the history of the ANC. Their account should bring out the changing nature of its role in South African politics after 1948. Answers will not necessarily give the same weight to all the phases. Some may consider events up to 1990 and this would be acceptable since no end date is specified in the question.

[8 to 10 marks] may be scored by narrative answers with implicit reference to the ANC's role.

[11 to 13 marks] will be awarded for some analysis, though it will not be fully developed.

[14 to 16+ marks] answers are likely to show the transition from a peaceful movement to one forced into violent tactics and going underground and in exile to one which re-emerged to negotiate a transition to majority rule and campaigned to achieve electoral victory.

15. How far did colonial economic systems exploit or assist in the development of African peoples? Answer with reference to *two* countries.

There are too many different types of colonial economy to discuss here. The colonial economies of Ghana, Nigeria, Senegal, the Congo, Mozambique, Tanganyika, Uganda, Kenya, South Africa, Egypt or Algeria all had different features and would all provide suitable examples for this question.

Essays should not be vague diatribes against colonial exploitation. Arguments must be supported by specific reference to two named countries.

The best answers are likely to select contrasting examples to bring out the diversity of the economies and the complexity of the issues. Development could go hand in hand with exploitation. Railways facilitated the export of minerals and cash crops and reduced transport costs, but they allowed European cotton goods and iron tools to be sold much more cheaply in the interior to the detriment of African craftsmen and manufacturers. Colonial rule in Eastern Nigeria ruined the middlemen of the Niger delta, but opened up new economic opportunities to other Nigerians. Many people were untouched by the colonial economies.

If only one country is discussed, mark out of **[12 marks]**.

[8 marks] may not be reached by vague generalisations without reference to a country.

[8 to 10 marks] could be scored for unfocused descriptions of two economies.

[11 to 13 marks] answers will contain explicit reference to exploitation and development in two countries.

[14 to 16+ marks] will contain a focused and balanced analysis of economies in the context of development and exploitation. Well argued and supported answers, with a clear grasp of the concepts, could reach the top mark band.

- 16. To what extent did the status of African women change in the colonial period. Answer with reference to at least *two* countries.**

This may not prove to be a popular topic as it is not well documented and most textbooks have only thin and scattered references to the role of women.

Many women suffered from economic change in the colonial period. Men usually took most of the income from cash-crop farming while women did some of the extra work. Many women profited from expanding food markets but few gained independent property. Labour migration left women to grow food and care for children. West African women retained their place in trade but most new economic opportunities went to men. Women found few political roles in the colonial order.

Women could benefit from religious and educational change. There were improvements in female status among emancipated women in Egypt and Tunisia but in Northern Nigeria women were completely secluded. Christian schools helped raise marriage ages and gain access to employment. Most women in the colonial period, however, continued to marry soon after they could bear children.

[8 marks] may not be reached by vague generalisations about the status of women.

[11 to 13 marks] should be awarded for implicit reference to status and supporting evidence from two countries.

[14 to 16 marks] will be obtained for answers focused on the question.

17. With reference to *two* nationalist movements in Africa, explain how and why one adopted peaceful tactics while the other resorted to violence.

This is a very open-ended question and there are far too many possible examples to discuss here. Nationalist parties throughout East and West Africa would provide appropriate examples of movements adopting peaceful tactics. Frelimo in Mozambique, MPLA in Angola, the FLN in Algeria, ZANU and ZAPU in Zimbabwe and SWAPO in Namibia are all examples of movements that resorted to violence. ANC could be used as an example either of peaceful or violent tactics, depending on the period.

Answers should explain why peaceful tactics were possible and effective in some countries, e.g. for Tanu in Tanzania, while they could not succeed in achieving the aims of nationalist movements in other countries, e.g. Algeria or in those under Portuguese rule before 1975. Good answers need to analyse in depth the political situation in the countries concerned, and the reasons why some colonial powers or white minority governments were prepared to accept a process of decolonization or majority rule while others resisted it. The question provides the candidate with the opportunity to show detailed knowledge of the political situation, for example, in South Africa to 1990 or in Ghana before 1957. It could be well answered by those who study Topic Two in the world history paper.

[8 to 10 marks] might be reached by answers which narrate the history of two nationalist movements, with implicit explanation for ‘peaceful’ and ‘violence’.

[11 to 13 marks] could be obtained for some implicit or explicit reference to the factors which determined the tactics of nationalist movements.

[14 to 16+ marks] answers should bring out a clear contrast between the situation in which colonial or minority governments forcefully resisted nationalist movements, and those in which peaceful tactics could prove effective.

18. Compare and contrast the policies and appeal before independence of *either* KANU and KADU in Kenya *or* Kabaka Yekka and the Uganda People's Congress [UPC] in Uganda.

This may prove a difficult and unpopular question as candidates tend to have some knowledge of KANU and the UPC, but KADU and the Kabaka Yekka rarely feature in exam questions.

KANU and KADU had quite similar programmes and no significant ideological differences, which partly explains the ease with which KADU dissolved into KANU less than a year after independence. The difference lies in the ethnic appeal. KANU was dominated by the Kikuyu, Embu, Meru and Luo, and KADU was an alliance of smaller ethnic groups such as the Kalenjin, the Luyia, the coastal people and the Maasai who feared Kikuyu-Luo domination. They advocated a regional system of government popularly known as Majimboism. Voting was on strictly ethnic lines.

The UPC was a successor to the UNC which disintegrated in the 1950s. The Uganda Peoples Congress, which came to be led by Milton Obote, tried to unite nationalist forces around Uganda. It was Protestant-dominated and faced strong competition from the more conservative Catholic-dominated Democratic party. The Kabaka Yekka (The King Alone) had no ideology or programme beyond securing a privileged place for the Kingdom of Buganda within Uganda. In order to win power, the UPC entered into a marriage of convenience with the KY, and Uganda became independent in 1962, with an uneasy coalition of a Royalist Buganda party and a nationalist party. Both were largely Protestant but had little else in common. The Kabaka became president, and Obote Prime Minister. The rich farmers in Buganda were attracted to the KY; Protestant leaders and traders in the rest of the country to the UPC, but neither of these attracted the Catholic civil servants, other educated elite and trade unionists who rallied to the DP.

The political situation in Uganda before independence was more complex than in Kenya, and some candidates may oversimplify it.

[8 to 10 marks] might be reached by answers which simply narrate the electoral fortunes of the parties.

[11 to 13 marks] candidates need to identify the groups to which each party appealed with some indication of their policies.

[14 to 16+ marks] answers will be clearly focused on policies and appeal.

19. How far did regional rivalry affect the struggle for independence in Nigeria?

Regional rivalry was a major factor in the struggle for independence in Nigeria, a vast, very diverse country which contained almost a quarter of Africa's population. The British had solved their administrative problems in two ways. In the South, they encouraged the spread of Christian education, and created a network of educated Yorubas in the west and Igbo in the east, who acted as intermediaries between the local people and foreign economic interests. In the North Islam remained supreme and the Hausa emirs ruled their kingdoms on behalf of Britain. Britain had three sets of officials in the east, west and north, directly or indirectly responsible for order, revenue, communications and the free flow of trade.

It was very difficult to find a post-colonial structure that would satisfy the ambitions of rival politicians in Nigeria. Controversy raged over how many seats to give each of the three regions in a central parliament where no one had been able to conduct a generally acceptable census. A compromise was eventually reached that gave considerable powers to the prime ministers of the three regions and somewhat limited power to the federal government. The first federal government was a coalition of north and east with an eastern president and a northern federal prime minister, which caused political disruption in the west where politicians rightly felt that they had lost access to patronage and the award of contracts. The decolonization of Nigeria involved a lengthy process of trial and error beset by regional rivalry which still bedevils Nigerian politics.

[8 to 10 marks] might be reached by a narrative account of Nigeria's path to independence, with implicit reference to regional rivalry.

[11 to 13 marks] would require more explicit comment.

[14 to 16+ marks] answers will be focused on the issue of regional rivalry with a clear explanation of the differences between north, south and east.

20. Account for the rise and fall of the Central African Federation.

In the late 1940s, the white settlers of Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland proposed that the three territories be amalgamated into a Central African Federation. It was a deliberate attempt to pre-empt the emergence of an African independence movement, and to enable the whites of Southern Rhodesia to benefit from the enormous tax revenues from the copper in Northern Rhodesia. Nyasaland would provide the farms and industries of the other two territories with a ready supply of cheap labour. The enlarged state would be strong enough to resist majority rule. Despite vigorous African protest, especially from Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the Central African Federation was pushed through in 1953.

As demands for independence gathered momentum, Harold Macmillan's government in Britain responded to "the winds of change", and saw it would be futile to continue supporting white minority rule in a Central African Federation. After three years of constitutional negotiation with African nationalist leaders in the two northern protectorates, the federation broke up at the end of 1963, and Zambia and Malawi became independent in 1964.

[8 to 10 marks] answers which "give an account of" instead of "account for" are still likely to contain implicit reference especially to the reasons for the fall of the Central African Federation.

[11 to 13 marks] should be awarded for answers with more explicit reference to the reasons for the rise and fall of the federation.

[14 to 16 marks] answers should be clearly focused on the reasons for the rise and fall of the federation.

[17+ marks] will be obtained by a direct, well focused answer which analyses these reasons in depth, especially the reasons for the rise which are not always understood.

21. With reference to any *two* countries assess the impact of the Cold War on Africa.

The question is open-ended and a number of countries may be chosen. The nationalist government in South Africa was almost paranoid about communism and the Soviet Union, and presented itself as a bastion of “Christian civilisation” against it. Angola became a focus for active Cold War confrontation between the superpowers. The Soviet Union sold military equipment and Cuba provided soldiers to the MPLA in the Angolan civil war, while South Africa supplied weapons to Unita which was also backed by American business interests. America and the Soviet Union were fighting a destructive proxy war in Angola. Siad Barre of Somalia played off America against the Soviet Union, switching sides as it suited him. Mobutu also presented himself as a faithful ally of the west, and gained support from America and South Africa, which helped maintain him in supreme power until the end of the Cold War.

Egypt was a focus of Cold War tension, especially in the early years of Nasser’s presidency. America withdrew offers of aid when it realised that Nasser was doing business with America’s Cold War rival in the Soviet Union. The events which led to the Suez Crisis in 1956 can be linked to the impact of the Cold War.

Namibia only achieved independence after the end of the Cold War and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. The Cold War helped to prolong South African rule in the country. Tanzania might be discussed in the context of Chinese assistance and the building of the TAZARA railway, and/or East German influence in Zanzibar. Ethiopia under Mengistu was supported by the Soviet Union. Cold War rivalry was partly responsible for the outbreak of the Ogaden war in 1977. The massive military aid given by Warsaw Pact and Nato countries encouraged Ethiopia and Somalia to settle their differences on the battlefield.

If only one country is chosen, mark out of **[12 marks]**. Answers should show clearly how the Cold War impacted on the politics or economies of the countries concerned. Answers are unlikely to be narrative but may be thin on details.

[8 to 10 marks] will be awarded for narrative accounts or coherent answers based on barely sufficient material.

[11 to 13 marks] would be merited by an adequate knowledge of the Cold War’s impact.

[14 to 16+ marks] answers would use well supported analysis to demonstrate the impact of the Cold War on two countries in Africa. Go up from **[14 marks]** according to the level of conceptual ability and depth of historical understanding.

22. Evaluate the domestic and foreign policies of *either* Gaddafi in Libya *or* Sadat in Egypt.

King Idris of Libya was overthrown in a military coup in 1969 by Colonel Gaddafi who wished to cleanse Libya of its legacy of colonial corruption and adopt a pure form of patriotic and puritanical socialism, guided by the Koran and Gaddafi's own 'green book' of revolutionary principles. Gaddafi sought to rid the country of western influences and exploitation of mineral resources, to redistribute wealth more widely and establish Libya as a major unifying force in the Arab world. He was helped by the discovery of oil that made Libya the richest country in Africa.

Sadat was president of Egypt after the death of Nasser in 1970 till his assassination in 1981. He de-emphasised Nasser's socialist policies, and this move to the right was also reflected in foreign policy where there was a cooling off in relations with the Soviet Union. Sadat changed his attitude to Israel after the Yom Kippur War of 1973. He made a dramatic visit to Jerusalem, and signed a peace treaty with Israel which led to his political isolation in the Arab world and expulsion from the Arab League, and to his eventual assassination.

The material available on the domestic policies of Gaddafi and Sadat is much thinner than on their foreign policies, so allow a division of up to **[14 marks/6 marks]** where the answer is much fuller on foreign policy. This is unlikely to be a popular question.

[14+ marks] answers must include some discussion of domestic policies.

23. Assess the importance in the history of his country of *either* Mobutu *or* Kaunda.

Mobutu had become army chief of staff soon after independence in 1960. He colluded with the dismissal of Lumumba, if not his murder. Mobutu emerged as leader of the Congo, which he renamed Zaire, in 1965 after the dismissal of Tshombe as Prime Minister. He was successful as a business negotiator as much as a military leader, and licensed the great mining companies to dig copper and gold as before. He also manipulated small Greek, Indian and Portuguese businesses in his own interests, or replaced them with a new African business class closely associated with the army. He was a skilled operator on the world stage, winning himself over 35 years of supreme power and periodic support from America, France, South Africa and even China.

Kaunda led a campaign of non-violent protest against the Central African Federation. He was imprisoned (1959-60) and on his release became President of the newly formed United National Independence Party (UNIP). He became the first president of independent Zambia in 1964. He promoted education and tried to diversify the economy and reduce Zambia's dependence on copper. He introduced one-party rule in 1973. He supported the nationalist movement in Zimbabwe. In 1990 he agreed to a multiparty political system and lost the first multiparty election in 1991 to Frederick Chiluba.

There may be rather narrative answers, which could score **[8 to 10 marks]**.

[11 to 13 marks] could be reached if such answers have an implicit sense of importance, depending on the adequacy and accuracy of knowledge.

[14 to 16+ marks] answers should show some depth of understanding of the importance of the leader chosen to his country.

24. **‘Political discontent and economic difficulties were largely responsible for changes in government in Ghana between 1957 and 1981.’ To what extent do you agree with this assertion?**

Corruption, lavish spending and dictatorial intolerance of criticism led to the overthrow of Nkrumah in 1966. Ghanaians felt Nkrumah was seeking to be an international statesman but ignoring his country’s worsening economic situation. There were also specific military grievances related to proposed cuts in defence spending, pay and political interference in army affairs. The military regime purged the civil service of Nkrumah supporters then returned the country to civilian rule in 1969. Dr Busia failed to tackle Ghana’s economic problems in the face of falling cocoa prices, and he was overthrown by Colonel Acheampong. Again, there were specific military grievances. Inflation continued to rise, and the blatant wealth of the ruling military elite prompted Flight-Lieutenant Rawlings to undertake a brief “cleansing exercise” in 1979. Three former military heads of state were executed for corruption. There was a brief return to civilian rule which could not stop the country’s decline. Rawlings seized power again in 1981, proclaiming a “people’s revolution”, and spent the next two decades providing the leadership and harsh economic restructuring that was needed, but at a heavy cost in terms of individual rights and democratic freedoms.

Answers may not cover all the changes in government but should be aware of the political discontent and the economic difficulties which contributed to changes in government.

[8 marks] might not be reached by an essay which amounted to little more than a list of rulers.

[8 to 10 marks] could be scored by narrative with an implicit sense of the reasons for coups or the return to civilian rule.

[11 to 13 marks] would require more explicit reference.

[14 to 16+ marks] answers should be quite comprehensive in coverage and show some depth of understanding of the situations that led to changes in government.

25. Compare and contrast the impact of United Nations' involvement in the Congo (Zaire) and Namibia.

The United Nations was involved in the Congo from 1960 to 1964 but with Namibia, at least through the Trusteeship Council, from 1945 to 1990. ONUC, the UN force in the Congo, was the largest and most complex civilian and military operation ever mounted by the UN, conducted throughout by the Secretary General and his staff unlike Korea, a UN-authorized operation controlled by the US. The Congo was the forerunner of later UN involvement in civil wars. In an atmosphere of bitter criticism, the UN operation maintained the integrity of the Congo, helped to restore law and order which had begun to collapse in 1960 within a week of independence, mediated by a mixture of diplomacy and force the end of the civil war and the secession of Katanga, brought about the removal of disruptive elements including European mercenaries and helped to reconstruct the ruined state. Had it not been for the UN operation, the Congo would most probably have disintegrated into a multiplicity of states each backed by the United States or the Soviet Union and their allies, which would have led to many Angolan-type civil wars.

The UN sought to have an impact on Namibia, then South-West Africa, when the mandated territory, ruled by South Africa since 1919, became the responsibility of the UN Trusteeship Council. After 1948, the South African government withdrew co-operation with the UN but stopped short of annexation. The Namibian issue was twice referred to the International Court of Justice which in 1971 gave an advisory opinion that South Africa was in illegal occupation and should withdraw. The General Assembly established an eleven-nation Council to administer South West Africa until independence. From 1966, the General Assembly and the Security Council passed a series of resolutions which had little impact on the situation in Namibia. By the mid-1980s, South Africa was prepared to give up Namibia, but only on condition that Cuban troops were withdrawn from Angola. The end of the Cold War transformed the situation. The Security Council established a small mission, UNAVEM, to verify Cuban withdrawal from Angola, and in 1989 established the UN Transitional Group in Namibia, UNTAG, eight thousand peace keepers and civilians, deployed to organise and supervise elections and to monitor South African withdrawal. The whole operation was remarkably quick and free of incident. UNTAG organised the elections in November 1989 and Sam Nujoma, leader of the majority Swapo, became president of independent Namibia in March 1990.

continued...

Question 25 continued...

The question calls for a comparison and contrast of the impact of UN involvement in the two countries. This is not the same as a comparison of the nature of the UN involvement.

If only the Congo or Namibia is addressed **[8 marks]** cannot be reached.

[8 to 10 marks] could be scored by answers which simply narrate UN involvement if they make implicit reference to impact.

[11 to 13 marks] would require more explicit reference, depending also on whether they attempt to compare and contrast rather than to give separate accounts of the UN's role in the two countries without comparison.

[14 to 16 marks] answers should clearly compare and contrast the impact. The involvement of the UN in both countries was ultimately effective, but it took far longer- over 30 years- for the UN to make a real impact on Namibia despite its best efforts compared to the Congo where the impact was immediate. In both cases, the UN supervised troop withdrawals and assisted in reconstruction. In one case it ended secession, in the other it organised elections, giving legitimacy to the new government.

[17+ marks] will be obtained by a sophisticated analysis of the impact.
