

# **MARKSCHEME**

**May 2006**

**HISTORY – AFRICA**

**Higher Level**

**Paper 3**

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**1. “Abolition of the slave trade gave West Africa its place in the world economy as a supplier of agricultural produce”. To what extent do you agree with the statement?**

In 1807 the British parliament resolved to abolish the Atlantic slave trade but it took many decades before the Atlantic trade began to decline. As a result of the British campaign, West Africa increasingly exported agricultural products like palm oil especially from the Niger Delta, Dahomey and Yorubaland, groundnuts from Senegambia and coffee and forest products such as ivory, wax and rubber. Small traders benefited more than some kings who resisted the abolition of the slave trade.

There was much continuity in the economic activities of the Niger delta, Yorubaland and the Asante kingdom, which had not relied exclusively on the slave trade. Abolition had some negative effects. As European ships imported vast quantities of cowrie shells, they lost most of their value. Cheap European cloth ousted local textiles from the market in several areas and damaged local areas and industries, for example Igbo iron-smelting.

*[0 to 7 marks]* for answers which irrelevantly discuss the reasons for abolition.

*[8 to 10 marks]* for descriptive answers with some sense of economic impact.

*[11 to 13 marks]* for more explicit analysis of economic change.

*[14 to 16 marks]* for answers focused on the quotation with in-depth analysis.

*[17+ marks]* for well supported understanding of the local variations in economic and trading patterns.

**2. To what extent had economic, social and political modernisation been achieved in Ethiopia by 1913?**

Candidates must focus on economic, social and political modernisation. Discussion of Ethiopia's successful resistance to foreign invasion is irrelevant. Answers may refer back to Tewodros' attempts at political and military reform involving the creation of a well-equipped standing army and a reduction of the wealth and privilege of the churches and the power of the rases. Most of the answers are likely to be devoted to Menelik's efforts to modernise the country. His achievements were most marked in communications including the building of a railway, bridges and a network of modern roads and the establishment of a postal and telegraph system. There were reforms in education and health services, in banking, currency and administration. New schools and a hospital were opened and in 1907 administrative reforms created the beginnings of a modern cabinet system. The new currency greatly helped the growth of retail trade.

Menelik's attempts to modernise Ethiopia were constrained by a lack of capital resources and skilled manpower. The change from a tribute system to one of taxation was by no means complete by the end of his reign and accounting and auditing procedures were hardly developed. There was no social revolution in Ethiopia at the time as Menelik and his nobles intended to preserve their traditional and privileged way of life by adding to it only those aspects of westernisation that would strengthen rather than destroy it.

*[0 to 7 marks]* maximum for unfocused narrative answers.

*[8 to 10 marks]* for descriptive answers with implicit reference to modernization.

*[11 to 13 marks]* for more explicit analysis of economic, social and political reforms.

*[14 to 16 marks]* for focused, well-supported analysis.

*[17+ marks]* for in-depth analysis of all aspects and a clear awareness of the limits of modernisation.

**3. Explain the expansion and strength of the kingdom of Buganda up to 1884.**

Buganda developed as a small compact state under the intensive control of a centralised government. By 1840 it had reached the limit of its pre-colonial expansion and was the strongest state in the East African interior. Buganda's strength, stability and supremacy were due to a number of political, military and economic factors.

The Kabaka was chosen by only two men and there were relatively few succession disputes and civil wars. In the nineteenth century, Kabakas Suna and Mutesa provided stable and effective government. They appointed chiefs and gave them land in return for their loyalty and service. The subject provinces controlled their internal affairs to a varying degree but paid regular tribute to the Kabaka's government. Buganda had a standing army, a flourishing import trade in iron spears, war canoes on Lake Victoria, and after 1884 was able to buy large quantities of firearms from Swahili-Arab traders. Buganda's economic strength was based on its agriculture. It had a rich, fertile soil and plentiful rain, and bananas and other food crops could grow easily and with minimal labour. Women tended the crops, leaving the men free for war and road building. Bananas, bark cloth, coffee, ivory and slaves brought enough revenue for the government to organise a strong army. Mutesa I (1856-84) did not attempt to expand Buganda territorially but to increase the wealth of Uganda through the expansion of trade. He encouraged Christian missionaries to gain British diplomatic support in his efforts to counter Egyptian designs on the country.

*[0 to 7 marks]* for unfocused narrative answers.

*[8 to 10 marks]* for narrative/descriptive answers, perhaps centred on Kabaka Mutesa, with implicit analysis.

*[11 to 13 marks]* for more explicit analysis.

*[14 to 16 marks]* for well focused and supported analysis of both the expansion and strength of the kingdom.

*[17+ marks]* for answers with in-depth understanding of the relative importance of political, military and economic factors.

**4. What conditions produced the outbreak and success of *two* nineteenth century jihad movements in the Western Sudan?**

The question is open-ended but answers are likely to concentrate on the jihads of Usman-dan and Fodio and al-Hajj Umar. The factors favouring the outbreak of jihads include the weakness and failures of existing states, specific grievances of particular communities and the success of previous jihads especially those in Futa Jalon and Futa Toro. The success can be attributed to the skills and charismatic appeal of the jihad leaders and their ability to attract support and create and organise new states.

Usman dan Fodio's jihad was primarily a religious movement. He was an educated Muslim scholar who sought to convert Fulani pastoralists. He 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 out of resentment of Hausa taxation of their cattle. The Hausa rulers failed to unite against the Islamic risings begun by Usman. Centuries of interstate rivalry proved their undoing and Usman's son and brother were able to create a huge new Sokoto caliphate, which showed greater respect for Islamic law and ensured greater justice for the general Hausa population.

Al Hajj Umar was inspired by the success of Usman's jihad. On his return to Mecca he spent several years at the court of Usman's son Muhammad Bello in Sokoto. He joined the Tijaniyya brotherhood and his jihad aimed to eliminate the political power of the rival Qadiriyya brotherhood. His brotherhood attracted men of action, businessmen, the young and members of inferior social groups excluded from Qadiriyya membership. He built up a standing army of 30,000, conquered Bambara states and created the Tukolor empire.

Maximum **[12 marks]** if only one jihad is dealt with.

**[0 to 7 marks]** for vague generalisations.

**[8 to 10 marks]** for narratives of two jihads with implicit analysis.

**[11 to 13 mark]** for more explicit analysis of causes and success of the jihads.

**[14 to 16 marks]** for focused and balanced answers with in-depth analysis of the factors leading to, and facilitating the success of, two jihads.

**[17+ marks]** for answers with perceptive, well supported analysis of the distinctive nature of each jihad.

**5. Assess the impact of French activity on *either* Dahomey *or* the Mandinka empire in the nineteenth century.**

The Mandinka empire is likely to be a more popular choice than Dahomey. In 1881, Samori Toure had his first clash with the French, who were expanding their colonial control westwards from the upper Senegal. He was France's single most formidable military opponent in western Africa. As a temporary tactic, the French concluded treaties with Samori in 1886 and 1887. He then made the serious military error of attempting to capture Sikasso. The French supplied his enemies and incited some of his people to revolt.

He avoided direct confrontation with the French and was able to resist them for over a decade, but had no real answer to the vastly superior weaponry of the French. They were as ruthless in their atrocities against civilians as he was in his scorched earth policy. The French invaded from the north in 1881 and overran his empire in 1894. He escaped, conquered and founded an entirely new empire on the northern borders of modern Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana. But Samori was now a foreign conqueror facing the internal opposition of a subject people. He surrendered to the French in 1898.

King Glele of Dahomey (1858-89) had no intention of placing himself under French influence. He was ready to grant small concessions to the French trader Regis but sought recognition of his sovereignty and diplomatic equality with France. Dahomey was later conquered by a French Senegalese army in 1892-4 and the old central province was divided into several cantons. The French found a brother of the displaced king to occupy his throne. General Dodds handed power in 1894 to a French civilian government, which gradually set about building administrative posts and collecting taxes.

**[0 to 7 marks]** for narratives with little or no reference to impact.

**[8 to 10 marks]** for narratives with only implicit sense of impact.

**[11 to 13 marks]** for more explicit analysis of the French impact on either country.

**[14 to 16 marks]** for well focused and supported analysis of the French impact on either Dahomey or the Mandinka Empire.

**[17+ marks]** for answers with depth of knowledge and critical analysis of impact.

**6. What were the causes and results of conflict between the Xhosa and both the Boers and the British in the Eastern Cape before 1840?**

Conflict had already arisen by the beginning of the nineteenth century between the Boers and the Xhosa. By 1803, they had fought three frontier wars over the Zuurveld, west of the Great Fish River, where they competed for cattle, pasture and water. They were still in conflict when the British supplanted the Dutch regime at the Cape in 1806. The British drove the Xhosa back across the Fish River in 1812 and introduced some 5 000 British settlers into the Eastern Cape in 1820 as a buffer force. The pattern of earlier wars had been one of raid and counter-raid between two fairly evenly matched opponents. In their first conflict with the Xhosa, the British, backed by their garrison in Cape Town and, if necessary, reinforcements from overseas, introduced the concept of total warfare, more like that of Shaka's methods but totally alien to the Xhosa.

In the overcrowded conditions, which resulted from British eviction, civil war soon erupted among the Xhosa. In 1819, the British eventually pushed them back even further, beyond the Keiskama. The British then unsuccessfully attempted to create a barrier of empty land between the Fish and the Kheiskama but both Boers and Xhosa ignored the restrictions. The result of the next war (1834-5) was that the rest of Xhosa territory east of the river Kei was annexed and the Xhosa were pushed even further east. As a result of this annexation, Boers of the Eastern Cape looked forward to expanding their settlement. But the British government decided that the security of the new province would be too expensive to maintain, and the territory was handed back to the Xhosa. This convinced many Boers to join the Great Trek northwards away from Cape Colony.

Maximum **[12 marks]** if only causes or results are discussed.

**[0 to 7 marks]** for narratives of conflict.

**[8 to 10 marks]** for narratives with some implicit comment.

**[11 to 13 marks]** for more explicit focus on analysis of the causes and results of conflict.

**[14 to 16 marks]** for well supported and balanced analysis of the causes and results of conflict in the Eastern Cape.

**[17+ marks]** for answers with in-depth analysis of the causes and results of conflict in the Eastern Cape.



**7. In what ways, and with what results, did the activities of Leopold II of Belgium in the Congo and the British occupation of Egypt, increase European interest and aggression in Africa between 1876 and 1900?**

Leopold hosted an international conference on Africa in Brussels in 1876. It became apparent that he aimed to make massive trading profits for himself and establish a political empire in the Congo region. His agent Stanley began to set up trading settlements in the Congo in 1879. Stanley's activities stimulated French activity in the Congo region and indirectly led to the De Brazza-Makoko treaty. Leopold and Stanley stepped up their activities in the Congo and the Congo Free State was established in 1884. Rivalry over the Congo was an important reason for calling the Berlin West Africa Conference, which met at the end of 1884.

In 1882, Gladstone sent the British fleet to bomb Alexandria and defeat the nationalist revolution led by Urabi and then appointed Lord Cromer to administer Egypt until Egyptian debts to Europe had been paid. This occupation contributed to the speeding up of European imperial activities all over Africa. The French, who had joint supervision with the British over Egyptian finances since 1878, resented British control of Egypt, and looked for compensation elsewhere which provoked Anglo-French rivalry in West Africa and contributed to a spread of British influence in the interior in Uganda and the Sudan.

Candidates can argue either that Leopold's activities or the British occupation of Egypt was more important. Those who link rivalry over the Congo to the Berlin West Africa Conference and its impact on partition, for example, could attribute greater importance to Leopold.

**[0 to 7 marks]** maximum for generalisations about the causes of the scramble.

**[8 to 10 marks]** for a narrative of Leopold's activities in the Congo and of the events leading to the occupation of Egypt, with implicit reference to how they contributed to the scramble.

**[11 to 13 marks]** for a more explicit analysis of how far the two factors hastened the partition.

**[14 to 16 marks]** for candidates who give a focused and balanced relative assessment.

**[17+ marks]** may be merited by those familiar with the historiographical debate over the significance of the British occupation of Egypt triggered by Robinson and Gallagher's argument in "Africa and the Victorians".

**8. In what ways, and with what success, did *two* peoples in East Africa resist European expansion before 1914?**

Candidates are most likely to choose the Maji Maji Rising and may also discuss Mkwawa and the Hehe resistance or the resistance to the British of either Kabaka Mwanga or the Nandi in Kenya. In the end all the attempts failed but the Nandi resistance was the most prolonged. Maji Maji and the Hehe were defeated by superior military technology but served as an inspiration to later nationalists. Both showed the importance of unity if freedom were to be attained and the futility of resorting to armed resistance against a colonial power with vast military capacity. The Maji Maji Rising, unlike the Hehe rising, jolted the new German governor into making reforms and encouraging African cash-crop farming. In general, German rule improved from fear of another Maji Maji.

The Nandi put up the strongest and longest resistance to European encroachment of all the peoples of East Africa before 1914. Their terrain was ideal for guerrilla warfare and the climate a hazard for invading forces. They were more mobile than the British and the traditional tactics, involving night fighting and ambushes, of their experienced and disciplined soldiers, worked well against the British. Resistance against the British came at a time when the Nandi had in Koitalel an orkoiyot who acted as a major unifying force and significant aid to resistance. He was a strong nationalist opposed to any accommodation with foreigners. Nandi resistance collapsed when he was murdered by the British commanders in 1905, at a meeting which had been treacherously arranged.

Mwanga's rising attracted thousands of supporters but was resolutely opposed by the leading Christian chiefs such as the Katikiro, Apolo Kagwa, who had consistently supported the British protectorate. A combined army of British forces and those of senior Ganda leaders defeated Mwanga, Maxim guns again carrying the day. Mwanga was deposed in 1897, captured in 1889 and deported to the Seychelles.

Candidates must be specific in their analysis. Mark out of **[12]** if only one example is discussed.

**[0 to 7 marks]** for vague generalisations about military and political weakness.

**[8-10 marks]** for narratives of two risings with implicit analysis.

**[11 to 13 marks]** for some explicit analysis of reasons for success or failure.

**[14 to 16 marks]** for balanced, focused, well supported analysis.

**[17+ marks]** for answers which evaluate lessons learnt and relative success in long-term impact.

**9. Assess the changing fortunes of the Lozi kingdom between 1800 and 1885.**

The Lozi kingdom in the upper Zambezi valley adapted their society to benefit from the flood plain and continued to expand under its litunga, Mulambwa, to about 1830. In the middle decades of the nineteenth century, the Lozi kingdom experienced a major political crisis after an invasion in about 1840 by the Kololo and Sotho-speaking people uprooted by the Mfecane. The Kololo, under the able leadership of Sebetwane, supplanted the Lozi as the ruling aristocracy but his generous policy to the defeated earned him their loyalty. But his work was undone by his son and successor Sekeletu, who treated the majority Lozi as little more than agricultural slaves and taxed them heavily.

A year after Sekeletu's death, the Kololo were overthrown by a Lozi revolution led by survivors of the Lozi royal family. The Kololo had extended the boundaries of the kingdom to the south and east. The new ruler, Sipopa, kept the Sotho language, the Kololo external trading system and their military organization. The new Lozi army was involved in cattle raids and exchanged ivory for guns.

In 1878, Lubosi, later called Lewanika, came to power and greatly expanded the kingdom eastwards. He was briefly overthrown but regained the throne in 1885 with the help of Angolan traders. He revived a concept of divine kingship and centralized his government by ending the power of the indunas over the army and putting all soldiers under his command. The Protestant missionary Coillard became a trusted adviser and Lewanika welcomed European traders. Ultimately he was to prove himself to be a skilful diplomat in adapting himself to the European partition of Africa, but that is outside the scope of this question.

*[0 to 7 marks]* for generalised narratives.

*[8 to 10 marks]* for adequate narratives not confined to the reign of Lewanika.

*[11 to 13 marks]* for more explicit analysis of the kingdom's changing fortunes.

*[14 to 16 marks]* for answers explaining changing fortunes in depth over the whole period.

*[17+ marks]* for answers which analyse Lewanika's policies in depth, but provide well supported evidence for changes in the status of the Lozi kingdom in the early nineteenth century.

**10. Compare and contrast the response, before 1914, of the people of Namibia and Bechuanaland (Botswana) to European annexation.**

The Nama and Herero resisted the Germans from 1884 to 1894, then signed an armistice and cooperated with the Germans against other South West African tribes until 1904. By then the Hereros were experiencing the full negative effects of more direct German rule and their spontaneous revolt in January 1904 was a reaction to cumulative German colonial oppression. They lost land to the increasing number of white settlers and to the railway companies, and cattle to a rinderpest epidemic and to German traders who seized them as repayment of debts. The Herero resistance led to a genocide which less than a quarter of the Herero survived. The Nama did not join the Herero rising but rose against the Germans in October 1904. They shared the same grievances as the Herero over loss of land and cattle but their resort to armed resistance was a response to the German plan to disarm and disperse their community. Nama resistance lasted much longer, until 1909, because they were more skilled at guerrilla tactics in the desert.

The Tswana response to the British invasion was comparable to the earlier Herero response of co-operation but in sharp contrast to the later Herero and Nama resistance. Khama, ruler of the Bamangwato from 1875 to 1923, and two other Tswana rulers chose to ask for British protection in 1885, after their territory had been declared a British sphere of influence at the Berlin West Africa Conference. This wise choice was taken in the knowledge that the British were anxious to pre-empt a Boer or a German move to take over the territory. Britain declared a protectorate in 1890. Khama travelled to London to persuade the Colonial Secretary to confirm the protectorate rather than come under the rule of the British South African Company. His cooperation with the British went as far as fighting with the BSA company in 1893 against the Ndebele and he helped to defeat the later Shona-Ndebele rising.

*[0 to 7 marks]* for narrative answers with little or no comparison.

*[8 to 10 marks]* for narrative answers with only implicit comparison.

*[11 to 13 marks]* for more explicit comparison or sequential accounts with good linkage.

*[14 to 16 marks]* for a clear comparative structure and well supported analysis of the different responses.

*[17+ marks]* for answers which place the responses in their historical context and clearly explain the motives behind the different responses.

**11. Analyse the economic and political consequences for South Africa of the discovery of diamonds and gold.**

The discovery of large quantities of diamonds in 1871 began a transformation of the South Africa economy with profound consequences. By the late 1870s the diamond mines needed expensive machinery and individual claimholders gave way to companies which could raise the necessary capital. By 1889 the De Beers company owned by Cecil Rhodes had a complete monopoly of diamond mining at Kimberley.

The mines lacked communication with the coast and soon there was a massive expansion of railways and improvements in roads, bridges, telephone, telegraph and ocean communications as well as improved banking facilities. The sudden rise of a city of 50 000 created a large market for food which stimulated the development of cash crop farming. The discovery of gold in the 1880s accelerated these trends and led to a change in the relative economic strength of Transvaal from a people struggling for survival to a thriving industrial economy.

The mines created a great demand for migrant labour. Over 100 000 Africans were employed in the mines. There was also a huge influx of foreign white workers. Their presence created tension with the Boers in the Transvaal. There was greater competition for agricultural land and many Africans lost their land. Their subsistence economy began to fall apart and many Africans began to work on white farms. The competition for land led to the rise of a class of landless “poor whites”. That in turn eventually led to racially discriminatory employment laws reserving certain jobs for whites to protect them from having to compete with African labour.

The discovery of diamonds and gold also set the stage for the bitter and violent struggle between the Boers and the British. Transvaal’s economy was transformed by Rand gold-mining. The British feared a new wave of Afrikaaner expansion. The white mining population in Transvaal, the mainly British uitlanders, were denied political rights. The Jameson Raid, backed by Rhodes, was an utter failure but it left the British determined to avenge the failure. Chamberlain, the Colonial secretary and Milner, the High Commissioner to the Cape, were determined to establish a British confederation, by force if necessary.

The mineral revolution was thus a long term cause of the South Africa War as it was also of the destruction of the Zulu kingdom.

Maximum **[12 marks]** for answers which cover only economic political consequences.

**[0 to 7 marks]** for narrative accounts of the discovery and exploitation of diamonds and gold.

**[8 to 10 marks]** for answers with implicit reference to economic and political consequences.

**[11 to 13 marks]** for more explicit analysis of the economic and political consequences of the mineral revolution.

**[14 to 16 marks]** for well balanced answers with in-depth, well supported analysis of the consequences of both events.

**[17+ marks]** for in-depth analysis of the different consequences for Africans, Boers and British.

**12. “Colonial change was less liberating for women than men.” To what extent do you agree with this judgment?**

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.

In some ways the status of women changed little in the period. Most women continued to marry soon after they could bear children, and bride wealth was still insisted on by brides and parents. In most parts of Africa polygamy declined.

Many women did not benefit economically from 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 in land or cattle. Labour migration gave men cash and wider experience while leaving women to grow food and care for children, themselves a growing burden where populations increased. Where the migrant husband was ill-paid, the wife might have to undertake casual wage labour. West African women retained their place in trade, but most new economic opportunities went to men, while women were “tertiarised”, supplying quasi-domestic services or being reduced to prostitution in towns dominated by wifeless young men. Women also 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.

*[0 to 7 marks]* for vague generalisations about the status of women.

*[8 to 10 marks]* for descriptive answers with implicit reference to status.

*[11 to 13 marks]* for more explicit analysis of the status of women.

*[14 to 16 marks]* for answers which focus on the question and provide adequate supporting evidence of the relative status of women and men.

*[17+ marks]* for well developed answers which analyse the status of women in the historical context of specific countries.

**13. Assess the impact of improvements in transport on the economies of African countries in the colonial period.**

Railway building in the early colonial period was a crucial means of escape from Africa's vicious circle of under population and inadequate transport. Railway networks in North African and from the Cape to Bulawayo were soon followed by routes from Mombasa to Lake Victoria and later Kampala, from Senegal to the Niger, Lagos to Kano and Dar es Salaam to Lake Tanganyika.

Governments built these new lines chiefly for strategic reasons, but their economic impact was even more profound, for they frequently cut transport costs by 90 to 95 per cent, restructured trading systems, released labour, and provided outlets for inland commodity production, thereby creating distinctively colonial economies. Many ancient trading systems collapsed when faced with railway competition. The trans-Saharan trade from Hausaland to Tripoli, which had flourished throughout the nineteenth century, declined as the railhead approached Kano from the south. Dar es Salaam, Mombasa, Dakar, and Conakry flourished while ports bypassed by railways sank into insignificance. Railway towns like Bouake and Bamako supplanted Timbuktu, although other old centres like Kano and Kumasi drew new life from steam. In western and central Africa railway transport first enabled European trading firms and their agents to penetrate deeply into the continent, establishing the exchange of imported manufactures for locally grown commodities as the dominant economic pattern.

Railways first made possible the large-scale exploitation of Africa's chief economic asset, its minerals. The arrival of railways at the turn of the century made possible large-scale gold mining in southern Rhodesia and Asante. Railway development enabled central Nigeria to become a significant tin producer during the First World War. But the main development was the beginning of copper production in Shaba in 1911, following the arrival of a railway from the south the year before. Railway transport was also vital to the establishment of white agriculture in the highlands of eastern and southern Africa, which proved as suitable for Europeans as for cows.

Reference should also be made to the building of modern roads and from the 1920s to the lorries which greatly reduced the cost of transporting cash crops and gave some Africans the chance to move from farming and local trade into large-scale enterprises. The chief beneficiaries, however, were the large European firms. Motor transport enabled African cultivators to use more land for cash crops and to enjoy unprecedented prosperity.

**[0 to 7 marks]** for answers with vague generalisations about roads and railways.

**[8 to 10 marks]** for descriptive answers with implicit sense of impact.

**[11 to 13 marks]** for more explicit reference to economic impact.

**[14 to 16 marks]** for answers focused on the economic impact of improvements in transport with specific supporting evidence.

**[17+ marks]** for well developed answers which refer to negative as well as positive aspects. The use of different gauges discouraged regional economic integration and the railways facilitated the import of European goods to the detriment of African craftsmen and manufacturers.

**14. “Ethiopian history after 1941 was characterised by opposition and repression, resulting in the revolution of 1974.” How valid is this judgment?**

This period marks the culmination of efforts at imperial absolutism and the achievement of a seacoast with the federation and then union of Eritrea with Ethiopia. Extensive land grants to state officials and supporters reduced a substantial portion of the peasantry from tenancy to eviction and from impoverishment to famine, and peasant rebellion became endemic. A pre-war policy of manoeuvring among a number of foreign powers gave way to increasing dependence on the USA, after a period of tension between Britain and Ethiopia after the end of the Italian occupation. In spite of the growth and expansion of a number of towns and the establishment of a few industries in the post-1941 period, Ethiopia remained a predominantly rural society in which trade and industry played a relatively insignificant part. The power of the state reached in this period a degree unprecedented in Ethiopian history. The power was exercised by a ruling class, headed by the emperor and based on landed property and with interests in trade and industry and manifested in provincial administration, military organisation and fiscal control. The emperor himself was surrounded by such a cult of personality that he was oblivious to growing discontent.

Before the attempted coup of 1960, political opposition tended to be conspiratorial and elitist. After it, opposition was more open and mass-based. Enlightened members of the ruling class conspired to dethrone the emperor and avert the catastrophe that they saw coming. Peasants rose in rebellion against the growing pressures on their land and the fruits of their labour. Students waged a sustained struggle for radical reform. Finally, its own soldiers rose against the regime, abortively in 1960, successfully fourteen years later. In the face of widespread opposition, the regime still saw no need of reform. Instead, it continued its policy of repression. Despite the growing intensity of the opposition in 1974, both the regime and the students were caught unawares by the revolution.

*[0 to 7 marks]* for narratives with little reference to opposition and/or repression.

*[8 to 10 marks]* for narratives with implicit sense of oppression and opposition.

*[11 to 13 marks]* for more explicit analysis and understanding of the factors leading to revolution.

*[14 to 16 marks]* for a more balanced, well supported analysis of the oppressive nature of the imperial system and the changing nature of opposition it provoked.

*[17+ marks]* for answers which link repression and opposition but distinguish between the nature of opposition before and after 1960.



**15. Compare and contrast the influence of Britain and Egypt on the history of the Sudan in the first half of the twentieth century.**

In 1899, after a successful invasion of Sudan, the British government was unwilling to hand the country back to Egypt even though the conquest had been achieved largely by Egyptian troops and at Egyptian expense. Instead the British established an Anglo-Egyptian condominium in the Sudan. This implied that Egypt and Britain had joint sovereignty but in practice the British were in control. Throughout the history of the condominium, all the governors general were British. There were British district commissioners and Egyptian district officers below them.

Egyptians exercised after the First World War a different but significant influence on Sudan. They influenced their Sudanese colleagues in the lower ranks of the army and civil service. There thus grew up a group of Sudanese nationalists dedicated to achieving union with Egypt as a way of destroying British rule. Attempts by Britain to reduce Egyptian influence in the Sudan after Egypt became independent in 1924 led to a crisis and the evacuation of Egyptian military units from the Sudan. But the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936 enabled the Egyptians to return to the Sudan in large numbers as soldiers and, after the Second World War, as teachers and civil servants. Meanwhile, a Sudanese nationalist movement, the Graduates' General Congress, was initiated by Al-Azhari in 1938. In 1942 it put forward demands which were rejected by the British administration. In 1943, Al-Azhari formed the first genuine political party in the Sudan, the Ashiqa, which was dedicated to union with Egypt. The rival Umma Party, formed soon after and backed by Mahdists, wanted independence from Britain and Egypt.

The relative rights of Egypt and Britain over the Sudan were debated in the Security Council in 1947 but the issue was complicated by the presence of two Sudanese delegations, one supporting the British and the other the Egyptian viewpoint and the Council adjourned without resolving the issue. After the coup in 1952, the new Egyptian government of Neguib was prepared to accept Sudanese independence. But when Al-Azhari's pro-Egyptian party won a landslide election victory in 1954, it changed its stance in the face of evident hostility to union with Egypt. British and Egyptian forces were withdrawn and Sudan became independent in 1956. Though Britain effectively ruled the Sudan throughout the period, Egypt had a very considerable effect on the nationalist movement.

*[0 to 7 marks]* for vague generalised narratives.

*[8 to 10 marks]* for narrative of events leading to independence.

*[11 to 13 marks]* for more explicit comparison of the British and Egyptian roles.

*[14 to 16 marks]* for an in-depth and balanced comparison of the two roles.

*[17+ marks]* for answers which analyse, with supporting evidence, the distinctive nature of the influence exerted on the political process in the Sudan by Britain and Egypt.

**16. Why did Tanganyika achieve independence earlier than Kenya?**

The explanation lies in the positive factors that helped Tanganyika to a relatively smooth and speedy progress to independence and the negative factors that delayed its achievement in Kenya.

Tanganyika had a single overwhelmingly dominant nationalist party, TANU. A crucial factor in TANU success was the leadership provided by the charismatic Nyerere respectfully known as Mwalimu, the teacher. He helped build up TANU into a party that won the trust of all ethnic and racial groups and had such mass appeal that it won the most overwhelming victory of any African political party before independence. The absence of serious tribal rivalry and of a large settler population and the unifying influence of the widely spoken Swahili language all helped TANU to emerge as the dominant nationalist party. Nyerere was helped by the UN trusteeship status of Tanganyika. He pursued a peaceful, non-confrontational campaign for independence in cooperation with Governor Turnbull from 1958.

In Kenya, the negative factors which delayed the achievement of independence included the presence of a larger settler community, the Mau Mau revolt and British reaction to it, and inter-ethnic rivalry. KANU was not really effective till Kenyatta's release from detention. He had become a symbol of freedom and tried in 1961 to bring Kenya's conflicting political interests together. He failed to do so and his party was dominated by Kikuyus and related tribes and by the Luo, while KADU represented the smaller tribes.

*[0 to 7 marks]* for narratives with little or no sense of factors facilitating Tanzania's earlier achievement of independence.

*[8 to 10 marks]* for narratives with implicit sense of factors facilitating Tanzania's earlier achievement of independence.

*[11 to 13 marks]* for more explicit analysis of the political situation in the two countries.

*[14 to 16 marks]* for a focused and balanced in-depth analysis of the factors which hastened the achievement of independence in Tanganyika and delayed it in Kenya.

*[17+ marks]* for answers which clearly contrast the political situation in the two countries before independence.

**17. Assess the contribution made by a political party to the achievement of independence in one West Africa state.**

There is a wide choice of parties though the CPP in Ghana may prove the most popular. Whichever party is chosen, candidates are expected to show the contribution to the achievement of independence made by its leadership, organisation, political programme and by the degree of support it was able to command among different interest groups.

Nkrumah had returned to the Gold Coast to become secretary of the UGCC in 1947, but soon became critical of its elitist membership and moderate policies. In 1949 he formed his own party, the Convention People's Party. His charisma and energy as a brilliant speaker, tireless campaigner and party organiser, and his radical agenda demanding freedom now and justice with equality for all, increased the national appeal of the CCP which attracted market women, wage-workers, war-pensioners and ambitious young school leavers. It won the election of 1951 and Nkrumah left prison to become leader of government business and in 1952 prime minister. Further elections were held in 1954 and 1956, which confirmed his party's position. Ghana became independent in 1957.

Reference could be made to other factors which contributed to the success of the CPP including a variety of factors which stimulated the growth of nationalism and political consciousness in this period: the willingness of the British, and in particular of the Governor Arden-Clarke, to implement a policy of decolonisation, and the disunity of opposition parties which played on the ethnic fears of the Asante and Ewe in trying to promote devolution.

Candidates may choose Nigeria where the situation was complicated by regional and ethnic rivalries. The three political parties which became rivals for a dominant position within an independent Nigeria represented the main regional divisions, the mainly Hausa North, Yoruba South-West and Igbo South-East. Despite the efforts of some of their leaders, neither the NCNC, Action group or NPC succeeded in attracting nationwide support and independence was only achieved through a compromise that gave considerable powers to the prime ministers of the three regions and somewhat limited power to the federal government.

Few if any candidates will select the RDA and discuss its role as the first mass political party in French West Africa under the leadership of Houphouet-Boigny.

**[0 to 7 marks]** for unfocused narratives of events leading to independence.

**[8 to 10 marks]** for narratives of events leading to independence with incidental reference to a political party.

**[11 to 13 marks]** for more explicit analysis of the contribution of a political party.

**[14 to 16 marks]** for answers which link, with well-supported analysis, the achievement of independence to the organisation, leadership, programme and appeal of the party.

**[17+ marks]** for well developed answers which show an understanding of a complex variety of factors which contributed to the success or to the difficulties of a political party in the achievement of independence.

**18. Analyse the struggle for independence in Rhodesia/Zimbabwe between 1965 and 1980.**

Answers should begin with an explanation of the illegal and unilateral declaration of independence by Ian Smith, leader of the Rhodesian Front Party, made in November 1965 after he rightly concluded that Britain would not use military force against its own “kith and kin”.

African nationalist movements launched guerrilla warfare against the Smith government. The UN applied sanctions but these were not well supported and were evaded with the help of South Africa and Portuguese-ruled Mozambique. It was difficult for Britain to negotiate with African leaders until legality was restored. A new constitution in 1970 dealt a blow to the prospects of this and the British government broke off all diplomatic relations with Rhodesia. The situation was also complicated by the existence of rival nationalist movements under different leaders.

Portuguese decolonisation and the independence of Mozambique in 1975 transformed the situation. ZANU and ZAPU united in the Patriotic Front in 1976 and could now operate from bases in Zambia and Mozambique, though they remained under separate command. Smith came under increasing pressure from South Africa and the USA to reach an accommodation with the African nationalist leaders and move towards majority rule. As guerrilla war intensified, Smith tried to reach an internal settlement and made a deal with Bishop Muzorewa’s new party, the United African National Congress. His efforts were rebuffed by the Commonwealth and the 1979 elections were boycotted by the Patriotic Front. He could never defeat the Patriotic Front through military means. When even the Thatcher government began to insist on-all party elections, Smith gave in. Britain organised a conference at Lancaster House and sent a governor to Rhodesia. A ceasefire was signed and elections held in February 1980 and monitored by the Commonwealth led to a decisive victory for ZANU-PF. Mugabe became the first Prime Minister of independent Zimbabwe.

*[0 to 7 marks]* for generalised narratives.

*[8 to 10 marks]* for adequate narratives with implicit analysis.

*[11 to 13 marks]* for answers with more explicit reference to the factors which delayed the achievement of independence.

*[14 to 16 marks]* for a focused, well supported analysis of the factors.

*[17+ marks]* for answers which analyse in depth both the internal and external factors which complicated and delayed the achievement of independence.

**19. Analyse the changing nature of African resistance to apartheid from 1960 to 1990.**

The Sharpeville massacre in 1960 marked a new phase in the struggle for freedom in South Africa. Fearing revolution, the government banned the ANC and the PAC, which had broken away from it in 1958. The ANC was driven underground and formed a military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, which carried out several sabotage attacks. In 1963 its high command was arrested and at the end of the Rivonia trial, Nelson Mandela and eight others were sentenced to life imprisonment. Oliver Tambo went into exile, proclaimed the armed struggle, and sought to influence international opinion against the South African government. In the 1960s and early 1970s, the South African government brutally suppressed all opposition and pressed ahead with apartheid policies.

Resistance re-emerged in the early 1970s in the form of widespread, spontaneous strikes and the Black Consciousness movement led by Steve Biko, which aimed to restore confidence among Africans by peaceful means. After the Soweto uprising of 1976 and murder of Steve Biko, the government began a limited process of reform. But there was growing conflict in the townships and the international news organisations relayed to the world television coverage of security forces firing live ammunition into crowds of unarmed demonstrators. By the middle 1980s, the ANC had revived as a political force and made every effort to make African townships ungovernable. By the end of the 1980s there were signs that these new tactics were succeeding. President de Klerk reassessed the situation, lifted the state of emergency, unbanned the ANC and other political parties, repealed some apartheid laws and released Nelson Mandela after 27 years in prison. Reference to events after 1990 is not relevant to the question.

*[0 to 7 marks]* for generalised narratives.

*[8 to 10 marks]* for narratives with implicit sense of change.

*[11 to 13 marks]* for more explicit analysis of the different phases of resistance.

*[14 to 16 marks]* for clearly focused and supported analysis of resistance to apartheid.

*[17+ marks]* for answers which analyse in depth the changing nature of African resistance in the period and give evidence of when, how and why it changed over the whole period.

**20. Assess the relative importance of internal and external pressures in the transition to a multi-party system of government in Kenya by 1992.**

The corruption, repression, ethnic discrimination and utter disregard for the rule of law by the Moi government in the 1980s caused lasting damage to national institutions and to the economy. Urban professional classes, small-scale commercial farmers and business interests began to rise in protest. The initial protest came from left-wing intellectuals and later from clergy, lawyers and the independent press. By the time it caught up with the business class, principled political leaders and the world media, it had spread to the urban underclasses, working people and rural smallholders, who attended opposition rallies in huge numbers. On 7 July 1990, about 28 pro-democracy demonstrators were shot dead in Nairobi. The assassination of Kenya's popular foreign minister, Robert Ouko, earlier in the year and the attempted government cover-up of the affair fuelled opposition to Moi. In November 1991, Kenyan police arrested opposition leaders and tear-gassed their supporters.

External aid donors and their ambassadors in Kenya, international human right groups, and the global news media played an important role in discrediting the Moi regime. The events of July 1990 and November 1991, among others, provoked vocal protests from western governments - led by the United States, Germany and the Scandinavian countries - and thinly veiled threats that external development aid to Kenya might be withheld. In late November, a meeting of the Consultative Group, comprising the World Bank and almost all the donor countries, told a Kenyan delegation in Paris that no further aid would be given until the Kenya government became more transparent, accountable and tolerant of opposition. Just ten days later, the KANU Governing Council met and made a dramatic about-face in policy and decided to amend the national constitution to allow the formation of the opposition parties it had sworn never to legalise. Multi-party elections were held in 1992.

*[0 to 7 marks]* for unfocused, general narratives.

*[8 to 10 marks]* for narrative of events leading to the establishment of a multi-party system in 1992.

*[11 to 13 marks]* for more explicit assessment of internal and external pressures.

*[14 to 16 marks]* for a balanced in-depth assessment with focus on the relative importance of internal and external pressures.

*[17+ marks]* for in-depth assessment leading to a clear conclusion as to the relative importance compatible with the evidence.

**21. Analyse the reasons for the rise to power and downfall of Mobutu in Zaire (Congo).**

Mobutu took advantage in his rise to power of the political instability of the country, largely the result of the colonial legacy. Belgium's deliberate restriction of education to primary level and the exclusion of Africans from any share in administration left the country ill-prepared to undertake the responsibility for administering a vast country. This situation was exacerbated by the deep divisions between the politicians who emerged at independence, Kasavubu, Tshombe and Lumumba.

Mobutu had served as an NCO in the Belgian colonial army and rose to become colonel and Chief of Staff in the Force Publique, the embryonic army of the newly independent country. A series of crises between 1960 and 1965 gave him his chance to rise to power. A UN force sent to restore order after the secession of Katanga failed to prevent the slide into further unrest. Mobutu, now a general, put down mutinies in the army and by September 1960, overthrew the radical Prime Minister, Lumumba, while retaining President Kasavubu. Lumumba was murdered in 1961. The situation remained confused until Mobutu, in November 1965, took over the presidency in a bloodless coup.

For a few years Mobutu introduced economic and financial reforms that led to some economic growth. He won himself decades of supreme power as the absolute ruler of a single-party state. The economy collapsed in the 1970s. Further rebellions in Shaba (formerly Katanga) in 1978 were crushed with foreign armed assistance. During the Cold War period, Mobutu's regime was propped up by western support. The economy, however, never really recovered and most of the transport system was in ruins. The Zairean treasury was synonymous with Mobutu's bank account. After the end of the Cold War, Mobutu could no longer rely on external support. By the mid 1990s his army was disintegrating in the face of Laurent Kabila's Alliance of Democratic Forces advancing from the east with support from Uganda and Rwanda. Mobutu's regime fell in 1997.

Mark out of **[12 marks]** if only rise or fall is discussed.

**[0 to 7 marks]** for generalised narratives.

**[8 to 10 marks]** could be reached by narratives of rise and fall with sufficient knowledge.

**[11 to 13 marks]** for answers with explicit analysis of rise and fall.

**[14 to 16 marks]** for focused, balanced, well supported analysis of rise and fall.

**[17+ marks]** for answers which place the rise and fall in their historical context and show understanding of both internal and external factors affecting both the rise and fall of Mobutu.

**22. Compare and contrast political developments in Cote d'Ivoire and Nigeria in the two decades after independence.**

Cote d'Ivoire had, at independence in 1960, a highly respected and charismatic leader who was sensitive to the need to maintain political stability by promoting economic development and striving to reduce ethnic tensions. A veteran politician, he had served in French ministries and kept close links with France, which helped to boost an already thriving economy. Cote d'Ivoire emerged into independence with a single nationalist party, the PDCI, which combated ethnicism and ensured national unity around the regime's free enterprise ideology. A limited expression of difference of opinion was allowed as long as government policy was not seriously challenged. The government dealt ruthlessly with left-wing challenges in the early 1960s with hundreds of arrests and detentions and some executions. The 6 000-militia easily contained the violent student protests of 1968 and a revolt in Bere region in 1973.

More positively, Houphouet-Boigny maintained political stability by consistently maintaining an ethnic balance in government and administration, thus reducing the ethnic tension that had before independence, and has since threatened to destroy Cote d'Ivoire. Abidjan flourished though it was slowly relieved of its function as a capital city as the centre of government was gradually transferred to Houphouet-Boigny's hometown, Yamoussoukro. The founding president was still in office in 1980 but, over a decade later, there was a smooth transition to a chosen successor.

The stability of Cote d'Ivoire is in sharp contrast to the situation in Nigeria. The political instability in Nigeria was related to the ethnic and regional tensions between the Muslim north, the Yoruba west and mainly Ibo south east and the parties that represented these regional interests, the NPC, Action Group and NCNC. For numerical reasons the NPC dominated federal policies after independence. Fears of a change in the balance of power led to corruption and violence at elections. An army coup in January 1966 raised suspicions that the Ibos were plotting to seize power. In May Ibos were slaughtered in the north and General Gowon led a counter-coup in July. Further violence against Ibos led Colonel Ojukwu to proclaim an independent Biafra. The civil war which followed ended with the defeat of the Ibos in 1970. General Gowon was ousted in 1975 and replaced by General Mohammed and, after his assassination, by General Obasanjo, who returned the country to civilian rule in 1979.

**[0 to 7 marks]** for unbalanced narratives with little or no comparison.

**[8 to 10 marks]** for narratives of the two countries with limited comparison.

**[11 to 13 marks]** for sequential accounts with good linkage or for a more comparative approach.

**[14 to 16 marks]** may be awarded to focused, balanced answers which, in a clear structure, analyse comparatively the factors which account for the different political situations in the two countries.

**[17+ marks]** for very well supported analysis, in a clear comparative structure, which clearly identifies the common potential for ethnic tension and the changing situation from 1960 to 1980.



**23. Evaluate the achievements of *two* regional organisations in Africa in the second half of the twentieth century.**

This is unlikely to be a popular topic as it is given limited coverage in most histories of Africa. The syllabus makes specific reference to three of these organisations, the East African Community (EAC), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the South African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC).

The early success of the EAC after 1967 was short-lived. Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania worked together for a few years but attempts at greater economic integration were hampered by Tanzania's fear of economic domination by Kenya and ideological differences especially after the Arusha declaration. After President Obote of Uganda was overthrown by Amin in 1971, the community's highest body, the East African Authority consisting of the three presidents, did not meet again as Nyerere refused to sit with Amin. External trade, fiscal and monetary policy, transport and communication infrastructures which had all been regional were dismantled after 1977 and the East African Community, which had been a model for African regional co-operation, collapsed.

SADCC, founded in 1980, brought together the independent states of southern Africa and began coordinating long-term development planning and presenting a united front when negotiating for foreign aid and development loans but had very limited success in reducing the economic dependence of member states on external forces. SADCC was also involved in the struggle to end apartheid and achieve majority rule in South Africa.

ECOWAS, founded in Lagos in 1975, was significant as a regional organisation in that its membership of 16 states cut across the artificial barriers of Anglophone and Francophone West Africa. It did not try to embark upon political union but concentrated on gradually increasing regional economic cooperation, starting with transport and telecommunications and moving on to greater financial and commercial interchange. In 1990 ECOWAS took the bold political initiative of assembling a peacekeeping force, ECOMOG, in war torn Liberia. Though it had mixed results there and later in Sierra Leone and Cote d'Ivoire, as any international organisation may have in a situation of civil war, it showed what could be done by African leaders taking collective responsibility for affairs beyond their own immediate national borders.

Maximum **[12 marks]** for coverage of only one organisation.

**[0 to 7 marks]** for a general description of the activities of two organisations.

**[8 to 10 marks]** for a general description of the activities of two organisations with only implicit reference to success or failure.

**[11 to 13 marks]** for a more explicit evaluation of achievements.

**[14 to 16 marks]** for answers with a clear evaluation based on adequate supporting evidence of the extent to which the two organisations succeeded in their objectives.

**[17+ marks]** for a very well supported analysis of the achievements of two organizations clearly related to their aims and the context of their work.

**24. Analyse the problems faced by African governments in the provision of education since independence. To what extent have these problems been overcome?**

Ever since independence, African states have made concerted efforts to extend the European model of education which was dominant in the colonial period to as large a number of people as resources permitted. They have not, however, succeeded to the same extent in modifying much of its alien character.

Although progress has been made in educating a significant number of people, not only for political and social consciousness but to build and operate the political, cultural, economic and industrial institutions, the efforts have not accomplished the desired goals relative to the quality and number of graduates. Millions of young people and adults have received no education. Education is not equally accessible to all segments and classes of society. Females are under-represented at all levels. Rural areas fare worse than urban areas. For a variety of reasons some ethnic or linguistic groups are inadequately served. The curricula and methods of instruction have often remained bookish and lack relevance to the local realities and problems confronting Africa. School facilities, libraries and equipment are often inadequate. The list of problems is long and compounded by the fact that the material and human resources in most African nations are limited and already over-extended. The provision of education, especially at university level, is very expensive. Most of the costs are borne by national treasuries.

*[0 to 7 marks]* for vague generalisations about the cost and extent of educational provision.

*[8 to 10 marks]* for descriptive answers with implicit sense of problems.

*[11 to 13 marks]* for more explicit analysis of problems and policies to overcome them.

*[14 to 16 marks]* for clear identification of problems and well supported analysis of the extent to which they have been overcome.

*[17+ marks]* for answers with clear evidence of how and why the problems and policies varied in specific countries *e.g.* in Kenya and neighbouring Tanzania.

**25. With reference to at least *two* post-independence states analyse factors which a) promoted and b) hindered national unity.**

This is an open-ended question and many different countries may be chosen and factors identified. Relative ethnic homogeneity could be cited as a factor helping national unity in Botswana or Lesotho or Tanzania though it has not helped in Somalia. Another factor likely to be discussed is the charismatic leadership of many of the first generation of post-independence leaders in Africa, notably Kaunda in Zambia, Seretse Khama in Botswana, Senghor in Senegal, Houphouet-Boigny in Cote d'Ivoire or Kenyatta in Kenya. The absence of ideological differences and party rivalry in one-party states concentrating on development goals would also be relevant.

The factor most likely to be discussed as hindering national unity is the ethnic rivalry which has led to civil war in many countries in Africa, for example Sudan, Rwanda, Ethiopia, Chad, the Congo, Liberia and Nigeria. Related to the ethnic factor was the relative absence of a sense of national identity in countries with boundaries artificially created by the European colonial powers at the time of the partition of Africa.

The leadership of Mugabe in Zimbabwe, Obote and Amin in Uganda and Habyarimana in Rwanda has created obstacles to national unity by fuelling ethnic tension. Reference could also be made to sharp religious differences in a few countries, to the racial divide in South Africa and Zimbabwe and to the sheer size of countries like Nigeria, Sudan and the Congo which, quite apart from other factors, has made it difficult to foster national unity.

**[0 to 7 marks]** for vague generalisations about two countries or both factors.

**[8 to 10 marks]** for descriptive answers with implicit sense of factors in specific countries.

**[11 to 13 marks]** for explicit analysis of the impact of factors, both negative and one positive, on national unity.

**[14 to 16 marks]** for balanced, focused analysis of factors promoting and factors hindering national unity, with well-supported reference to specific countries.

**[17+ marks]** for very well developed answers which provide evidence of the complexity of the problem of developing national unity in the historical context of events in specific countries.

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