



MARKSCHEME

November 1999

HISTORY – AFRICA

Higher Level

Paper 3

Paper 3 mark bands

The method of assessment used by the IBO is criterion-referenced and not norm-referenced. That is to say that candidates are judged by their performance in relation to the identified assessment criteria and not in relation to the rest of the population being assessed.

The mark bands concentrate on positive achievement.

mark band 19-20

It is not expected that an essay in this mark band would be a 'perfect' answer but it should be directly focused and show a depth of historical understanding. There is likely to be evidence of wide reading. In addition, the candidate's answer will demonstrate **one** of the following: a highly developed awareness of historiographical issues, a high level of conceptual ability, or a successful challenge to the assumptions implied in the question.

mark band 17-18

The specific question is answered in a direct and focused manner. There is likely to be evidence of reading which has been effectively used in the answer. There may be an appreciation of historiographical issues. Arguments and concepts will be well developed.

mark band 14-16

The question is effectively and relevantly addressed and the answer is supported by accurate knowledge. The answer demonstrates a consistent level of analytical ability, although not all aspects of the issues have necessarily been addressed.

mark band 11-13

The knowledge shown is generally accurate, relevant and adequate to support a sound answer. The candidate's analysis is not fully developed.

mark band 8-10

The answer is mainly descriptive or in narrative form and has some explicit or implicit relevance, or is made relevant by its conclusion. Alternatively, there is a coherent argument based on barely sufficient material.

mark band 6-7

The question is only partially addressed and there is a limited demonstration of appropriate skills. There is a limited degree of accurate and relevant knowledge.

mark band 4-5

The knowledge shown is limited, often inaccurate and of marginal relevance to the question. The question is not addressed effectively and there is very little evidence of appropriate skills.

mark band 1-3

There is very little relevant knowledge and little or no understanding of the question. The candidate's answer is no more than a collection of isolated facts or generalisations bearing little relation to each other or the question. There is no evidence of appropriate skills.

mark band 0

If a candidate does not achieve the standard described by mark band 1-3 then 0 should be recorded.

Notes on individual questions.

These notes must be read in conjunction with the current marks bands.

1. Why was the transition from the slave trade to legitimate trade accomplished successfully in Dahomey and the Niger Delta states?

The question demands an analytical approach which identifies those factors that helped and those that hindered the transition process. The main emphasis should be on the former which include:

- suitable geographical location – states within, or near to the palm oil belt since palm oil was the most important product for the new legitimate trade;
- availability of easy transport facilities by water. In both these respects the Delta states were better placed than Dahomey;
- Effective leadership and efficient government. In this respect Dahomey under King Gezo and Glele, was in a strong position, as were some, though not all, of the Delta states *e.g.* Opobo and Itsekiriland under the rule of ‘new men’ like Jaja and Nana.

Answer which identify and explain the importance of such factors and illustrate them with supporting detail will deserve *[17+ marks]* depending on the quality of the argument and of supporting material. Answers that are seriously unbalanced and completely or largely ignore one of the two areas will struggle to reach *[8 to 10 marks]*.

2. How successful were Muhammad Ali and Ismail in their efforts to modernise Egypt?

This question does not ask candidates to compare and contrast the two rulers but the better candidates, in assessing the success of each as modernisers of Egypt, are likely to point out differences between the two. Answers should identify those aspects of the two rulers’ policies that made a contribution to the modernisation of Egypt and assess the success of these policies. Muhammad Ali’s policies were the more successful; but none were without some degree of failure. Both men believed that modernising Egypt involved co-operation with, but not complete dependence on, the more technologically advanced West. The great difference between the two was that Muhammad Ali managed to avoid the financial excesses of his grandson which placed Egypt under European domination.

For *[17+ marks]* expect good coverage and assessment of the modernising policies of both men and some reference to the greater success of Muhammad Ali. There will be more on Muhammad Ali than on Ismail but some balanced treatment is needed for *[14 to 16 marks]* and above. If one is largely ignored *[7 to 8 marks]* will probably be a maximum.

3. Compare and contrast the policies of Sultans Seyyid Said and Majid in Zanzibar and their impact on the East African mainland.

Expect a running comparison between the policies of the two rulers and their impact on the mainland rather than two separate accounts followed by a token attempt at comparison and contrast before awarding *[17 marks]* or more. Candidates will know much more about Seyyid Said than about Majid. Seyyid Said was more interested in trade than with exercising any direct power over the mainland. Both were responsible for encouraging trade with the mainland by organising trading caravans into the interior. Unfortunately, under both rulers, the main item of trade was the export of African slaves. The Moresby (1820) and Hamerton Treaties (1845) signed by Seyyid Said with the British to restrict this trade had little effect in practice. The trade continued to grow along with that in other items, principally ivory, and skins. Its continuation did much to disrupt normal economic activities, decimate the population on the mainland and create a state of endemic warfare in many areas. The establishment of clove plantations on Zanzibar and other islands increased the demand for slaves under both Sultans. Amongst the more positive results on the mainland were the spread of Islam and of the Swahili language; the rise of a few new states capable of turning slaving to their own advantage; the use of Zanzibar as a gateway to the mainland by British missionaries and explorers. In his later years Majid took more interest than Seyyid Said had done in tightening his grip on the coast, even beginning the building of a new port at Dar es Salaam in 1866 with the encouragement of Mackinnon. Trade from the mainland and through Zanzibar continued to expand. However, Majid's refusal to interfere with the slave trade strained relations with Britain.

Look for running comparison / contrast; awareness of the mixed impact on the mainland under both rulers; and a reasonable knowledge of Majid's policies for *[14 to 16 marks]* or above.

4. Assess the achievements of either Usman dan Fodio in the Sokoto Caliphate or Al Hajj Umar in the Tokolor Empire.

Achievements should include reference to the skill and success of the chosen 'jihad' leader in building support for his movement in the particular circumstances of each; the success of each in reviving and spreading Islam and in extending his territorial power and influence and establishing a large Islamic empire. Reference should also be expected to the legacy left by each to his successors. In this respect Usman's achievement was much greater than that of Umar and the Sokoto Caliphate lasted much longer than the Tukolor Empire. Even in the latter, however, which soon came under French control, a revived Islam continued to survive and flourish. Answers which cover these points with supporting detail will deserve *[14 to 16 marks]* or above.

5. Explain the causes of the Mfecane and analyse its result in Africa south of the Zambesi.

Causes

These undoubtedly included the pressures of population growth and soil exhaustion, leading to competition for land. Recent research, however, insists that there were other causes. In particular rivalry and competition over the growing opportunities for trade with foreign merchants at the coast. The introduction by Dingiswayo of military reforms which were continued and perfected by Shaka made the whole movement more intense and widespread.

Results

(Note that these are limited to Africa south of the Zambesi).

Points that could be included in good answers are: prolonged and widespread warfare and migration of peoples over a large part of southeast Africa; the emergence and consolidation of new states (the creation of a Zulu Empire; of Sotho, Swazi and Ndebele Kingdoms); the temporary creation of largely uninhabited areas which encouraged and facilitated the Great Trek; a revolution in military organisation which was often accompanied by parallel political reforms.

For a mark in the two top bands candidates should show an awareness of the most recent views on **causes**, coverage of the main **results** and a balance between the two parts of the answer. If these requirements are not met *[8 to 10 marks]* will probably be appropriate.

6. How and why did Africa become 'the victim of European powers locked in their own rivalries' between 1875 and 1900'?

This question on the reasons for the partition of Africa between 1875 and 1900 requires an appropriately structured answer. A listing of the well memorised motives – economic, strategic, humanitarian, religious *etc.* – will be worth very little here – no more than *[6 to 7 marks]*. More relevant would be references to the fact that, by the mid 1870s the development of trade policies based on protective tariffs was making it difficult or impossible for 'informal empire' to ensure profitable trade links with Africa. Leopold II's thinly disguised attempts to monopolise the control of commerce in the Congo Basin and Britain's occupation of Egypt in 1882 alarmed other powers with economic interests in Africa. Bismarck, fearing that France would fight a war of revenge against Germany, manipulated Anglo-French rivalry in Africa to drive a wedge between the two countries, before finally joining the race for colonies in Africa himself in 1884-5. ('My map of Africa is drawn in Europe.') Once the seeds of European rivalry and suspicion had been sown by these developments only direct political control of territory would protect European interests. Candidates will need to clinch these arguments by giving examples of colonial acquisitions in Africa between 1884-5 and 1900 after the Berlin West Africa Conference had been held. Adequately supported arguments on these lines will deserve a *[17 marks]*.

7. **With reference to *three* examples identify and explain the different reactions of African peoples to European attempts at annexation of their territory.**

Candidates' choice of examples will be crucial here. The choices made must satisfy the question's requirements and represent different African reactions. The commonest reaction was 'initial primary resistance' and choice is wide open. At the other extreme is 'collaboration' or perhaps a deliberate request by an African ruler for 'protection' e.g. Mosheshwe in Lesotho; Lewanika in Barotseland. A third type of reaction would be represented by negotiation over concessions made to forestall attempts at annexation e.g. the strategy of Lobengula before 1893. Note that the question does not require candidates to describe or explain the outcome of the reaction. The three examples chosen must represent different types of reaction, and candidates must explain the reaction adequately. Answers that meet these requirements will deserve [14 to 16 marks] or above. If one or more examples are inappropriate reduce the mark by consulting the general grade descriptions.

8. **Why was Ethiopia under Johannes IV and Menelik II successful in resisting European attempts at conquest?**

Note that the question is about resisting **European** attempts at conquest and not those from inside Africa. Relevant points that could be mentioned would include: the possession by Ethiopia of a large, well equipped standing army; the successful acquisition by both rulers of up-to-date modern weapons; the skill of the great General Ras Alula, who served both rulers and won victories over the Italians at Dogali (1887) and Adowa (1896); good understanding between Menelik and Johannes established in the 1878 agreement; the diplomatic skills of Menelik in and after the Treaty of Wichale (1889); the geographical features of Ethiopia which caused problems to invaders; the mistakes and incompetence of Italian military leadership in the campaign leading up to Adowa; the superior numbers of the Ethiopians at Adowa; the spirit of national unity shown by the Ethiopians. A full analysis of these factors explaining the success will merit [14 to 16 marks] or, if supported by sound detailed knowledge to illustrate general points, [17+ marks].

9. **How far do you accept the view that Samori Toure was 'a great African ruler who came to power at the wrong time'?**

'At the wrong time' can be explained simply by referring to the fact that Samori's great achievement in establishing his Mandinka Empire coincided with the period of French expansion into the same area. He had to face the threat of French colonial conquest from the outset. The question also requires candidates to analyse Samori's many skills and abilities – commercial, military, administrative – which made him 'a great African ruler'. Some candidates may identify a few weaknesses and have some reservations about the judgement in the quotation of the title. This would be acceptable in view of the introductory words: 'How far do you accept...?' Candidates who fail to analyse the reasons for their own judgement on Samori and allow their answers to become narratives describing his achievements will deserve little more than [8 to 10 marks]. Answers following the analytical approach suggested followed by a conclusion compatible with the evidence and also responding briefly to the last phrase in the question will deserve [17+ marks].

10. Explain the significance of the Chilembwe Rising for Nyasaland and for Africa as a whole.

Answers here must be focused on explaining the significance (or importance) of the Chilembwe Rising both for Nyasaland and for Africa as a whole. Initially, however, there must be a brief summary of the nature, purpose and outcome of the rising as a basis for analysing its significance.

Introduction: The Rising was Chilembwe's response to his growing awareness of the grievances of Africans in Nyasaland against squatters on European plantations: low wages; flogging; aggressive tax collection; effects of 1913 famine. The last straw was the recruitment of Africans at the beginning of the First World War. The Rising took place on Chilembwe's Mission station. It was not organised, attracted little support and was quickly crushed.

Chilembwe himself was shot whilst trying to escape.

Significance could include:

- it was the first example in black Africa of secondary resistance led by the western educated elite. It was an early form of modern nationalism, aiming not at self-government but at reforms in the colonial system, giving greater racial equality.
- it was not a good model and failed because it came too early to attract mass educated support. The lessons were learned by later nationalists after the Second World War.
- it had some forward looking features (*e.g.* it was inter-ethnic and used help from those Europeans prepared to accept African leadership; it had a millenarian element in the sense that it looked forward to the coming of a new and better world.)
- as a martyr he became an inspiration for later nationalists.

Answers on these lines giving a brief description and a selection of points identifying significance will deserve *[17+ marks]*. Description of the rising with little or no attempt to analyse significance will not get beyond *[8 to 10 marks]*.

11. Why, and with what results for the Zulu nation, did Cetshwayo attempt to resist both the Boers and the British?

Cetshwayo became King in 1872 when Zulu military strength was at its height. Initially he did not want to fight either the Boers, (in spite of a territorial dispute with them over land on his northern border,) or the British. At the time of his accession, Cetshwayo favoured an anti-Boer alliance with the British. The British, however, did not want a strong Zulu nation on their Natal border. They also wanted to persuade the Boer authorities in the Transvaal to join them in a White Confederation of South Africa partly to guard against a possible African victory over a white state. In 1876 the Bapedi defeated the Transvaal. Britain annexed the Transvaal hoping that the Transvaal Boers would accept annexation, in gratitude for British protection and would also be more likely to join a Confederation. Britain's occupation of the Transvaal faced Cetshwayo with a dilemma. After the Bapedi victory over the Boers the Zulu army wanted war with the Transvaal. Cetshwayo refused to make war unless the Boers attacked. Unknown to him, Frere, the British High Commissioner at the Cape, had decided that the Zulus must be crushed to remove the continuing threat on Natal's borders. He sent an ultimatum to Cetshwayo who accepted all but the demand for the disbandment of the Zulu army. The British invaded Zululand early in 1879 and were unexpectedly defeated at Isandhlwana. British victories at Rorke's Drift and Ulundi reversed the British defeat partly because the Zulus disobeyed Cetshwayo's sensible orders to retreat and fight a guerilla war. Thus, Cetshwayo who opposed Boer claims to his land ended up by being forced, against his wishes, to fight the British.

Results of Anglo-Zulu War

- Cetshwayo was captured and exiled
- Zululand was destroyed as a united state when the British divided it into 13 small 'kingdoms' which fought each other.
- In 1883 Cetshwayo was allowed to return to restore law and order but was forced to flee during civil war and died in 1884. Britain was left with no alternative but to declare Zululand a British Protectorate.
- Britain's initial defeat at Isandhlwana inspired the Transvaal Boers to refuse to join a Confederation and fight for independence from Britain 1880-81.

The details required to answer this question well are very complex. Candidates who are aware that Cetshwayo did not want to fight either the Boers or the British, but that he resisted Boer claims to some Zulu land and ended up resisting British aggression will deserve much credit for their answer to the first part of the question. If, in addition, they cover the main results of the Anglo-Zulu War they will deserve *[17+ marks]*. Those who see Cetshwayo as a second aggressive Shaka and fail to give the main results of his war against the British will fare very badly. Use general mark band descriptions.

12. Compare and contrast the South African Government's policy of Separate Development before 1948 and that of Apartheid between 1948 and 1960.

In a general and basic way the main features of South Africa's racial policy were present in the system which operated before 1948: Africans had virtually no political rights; there was general exploitation of, and discrimination against, black workers; there was residential segregation of the races. These features were established by a few laws like the Natives Land Act of 1913; the Native Urban Areas Act 1923; the Mines and Works Act 1926; Hertzog's Segregation Laws 1936.

After 1948, however, there were fundamental differences which distinguished apartheid from what had existed before:

- apartheid was presented by the National Party as a new, positive ideology, developed and designed to meet new and changing circumstances (*e.g.* a new style of mass opposition);
- it was formalised and underpinned with massive new legislation which showed that the old system had not been worked out in detail.

For **[17+ marks]**, candidates will need to identify these general, ideological and legalistic differences and illustrate them with specific examples of the old and new legislation. Candidates who fail to identify and analyse the basic differences and illustrate them adequately with reference to legislation will struggle to reach **[8 to 10 marks]**. Answers on the lines suggested will deserve **[14 to 16 marks]** or above, depending on the amount of evidence given to identify differences.

13. Explain the differences between the main features of any two systems of European colonial administration between 1900 and 1939.

Though the choice of colonial powers is open, Britain and France are likely to be the choice of most candidates. Note the starting and terminal dates for the question. By 1900 the system of **assimilation**, initially used by both Britain and France, was beginning to be replaced respectively by **indirect rule** and **association**. Candidates who claim that these two policies were the same will not deserve high marks. They were the same only in so far as Africans were used in both. There were more differences than similarities between the two and these must be identified. For **[14 to 16 marks]** and above, candidates will also need to point out that neither system was the same in all British and French territories. The actual application of the two systems depended on the African system in existence when the territory was colonised. If the main differences are not identified candidates are unlikely to deserve more than **[7 to 8 marks]**. Mark answers based on other colonial powers on merit.

14. Analyse the impact of the two World Wars on the growth of nationalism in Africa.

Answers to this question are bound to be dominated by an analysis of the impact of the Second World War on the growth of African nationalism since it was so much greater than that of the First World War. For *[17+ marks]*, however, answers must contain some points on the **First World War**. These could include:

- an increased sense of responsibility felt by the colonial powers to world public opinion which led to a slow increase in the involvement of Africans in colonial government.
- it also led to the use of the Mandate system for the administration of ex-German colonies. These had to be ruled ‘as a sacred trust of Civilisation’ with the interests of the native peoples in mind, ‘until they were able to stand on their own feet.’ This system again required the Mandatory powers to exercise greater responsibility, and Africans to seek increased involvement and rights.
- the use of African troops in colonial armies brought more Africans than ever before in touch for the first time with ordinary white people and began the process of breaking down the myth of white superiority.

Second World War impact included:

- the completion of the process of killing the myth of white superiority. This was partly the result of the much greater contact between African and white soldiers, but even more of the sweeping successes of the Japanese, a non-white race, in south and south-east Asia and the Pacific. Colonial control in this area could not be restored and African nationalists understood this.
- an increasing number of educated Africans had spent time in other parts of the world and learned lessons about the working of European and American democracy. They returned after the war to establish new, mass political parties to fight for independence.
- the war sapped the strength of the main European colonial powers and diminished their ability to control large empires.
- the two super powers, the USA and the Soviet Union, for different reasons condemned colonialism.
- the Mandatory system of the League of Nations continued as the Trusteeship system under UN supervision and helped to stimulate the aspirations of African nationalists.

This kind of analytical approach and coverage of the impact of the two wars would earn *[17+ marks]*. A descriptive approach to the course of post World War Two movements will not be appropriate and would deserve no more than *[7 to 8 marks]*.

15. Why was Tanganyika the first colony in British East Africa to gain independence?

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 Uganda and Kenya.

Positive factors in Tanganyika

- the existence of a single, dominant nationalist party, TANU;
- the peaceful, non-confrontational leadership of Nyerere;
- the relative absence of inter-tribal rivalry and the unifying influence of the widely spoken Swahili language;
- the impact of the UN Trusteeship status of the territory;
- the good working relationship between Nyerere and Governor Turnbull from 1958.

Negative factors

(a) in Uganda:

- the intransigence of the Kabaka / Buganda problem, compounded by the deportation of the Kabaka in 1953;
- the emergence of several rival political parties by 1961, each with different interests;
- Britain's fear of outbreak of violence delayed independence

(b) in Kenya:

- the violent MauMau emergency. Britain refused to negotiate until this ended;
- rivalry and suspicion between the two large tribes, the Kikuyu and the Luo, represented by KANU, and the many smaller ones represented by KADU; again fear of violence caused Britain to delay independence until the end of 1963;
- the existence of leadership rivalry until Kenyatta's release from prison.

A full response requires analysis of positive and negative factors for *[17+ marks]*. Positive factors only would deserve *[8 to 10 marks]*.

16. How important was the contribution of Kwame Nkrumah to (a) the achievement of independence in his country and (b) the promotion of pan-Africanism?

The importance of Nkrumah's contribution was paramount in the case of the achievement of independence for Ghana. He returned to the Gold Coast to become secretary of the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) in 1947 and, with his talent for organisation, quickly turned it into Africa's first mass political party. In 1949 he formed his own party, the Convention People's Party (CPP) which led Ghana to independence by 1957. He demanded 'full self-government now' and used the slogan 'seek ye first the political kingdom'.

- he believed that imprisonment by the colonial power would enhance the reputation of a nationalist leader by making him a 'martyr' and spent two periods in prison.
- he was summoned from prison in 1951 after the CPP won the General Election to become 'Leader of Government Business' and from then until independence had a good working relationship with Governor Arden-Clarke

Promotion of Pan-Africanism

Nkrumah's contribution here was much less important and as more African states became independent he found his own plans for African unity were not acceptable to most other leaders. He had attended the fifth Pan African Congress whilst in London in 1945 and when he convened the first conference of Independent African States in Accra in 1958 he received wide support. At the second conference in Addis Ababa in 1960, however, he was criticised by the Nigerian delegate for posing as 'a Messiah who has a mission to lead Africa.' Nkrumah's dream of bringing about a 'United States of Africa' never materialised and when the OAU was finally established in 1963 in Addis Ababa it was on the basis of an association of sovereign African states. Therefore, Nkrumah's contribution to the promotion of Pan-Africanism was strictly limited as his concept of unity was rejected by most other African leaders.

Both parts of the question must be answered and evidence produced should show that the importance of Nkrumah's contribution was different in the two cases. Candidates who reach this conclusion and produce the evidence to justify it will deserve *[17+ marks]*. Other conclusions will deserve less credit. Use general band descriptions to decide the most appropriate mark.

17. Explain the changing nature of African resistance to Apartheid.

Since the term 'apartheid' was used only from 1948 a narrative approach, outlining **and explaining** the nature of resistance to the system beginning in that year and ending with Mandela's release from prison in 1990 should provide a satisfactory approach.

The main changes with explanations were:

- the transformation of the ANC by Luthuli after 1952 from a small elitist party to one with a mass appeal;
- the adoption of the tactic of passive resistance initially against the pass laws in the hope that the government would not be able to handle the large numbers who broke the law;
- in 1955 the ANC welcomed the support of non-Africans to broaden the base of resistance: the Congress of the People and Freedom Charter;
- government response was to pass more oppressive laws and the younger members of the ANC like Nelson Mandela decided that the commitment to non-violence should be dropped. A militant branch broke away from the main party – the Spear of the Nation – and openly embraced the use of violence and sabotage of key installations;
- in the meantime the Pan Africanist Congress led by Sobukwe had been formed (1958) and rejected non-African participation in the fight against apartheid. In 1960 the government banned both the ANC and the PAC and African opposition went underground or into exile from where the leaders proclaimed the 'armed struggle'. At the same time every effort was made to influence international opinion against the South African Government.
- in 1972 the Black Consciousness Movement emerged amongst students led by Steve Biko. Its aim was to restore confidence amongst Africans by peaceful means.
- in the middle and late 1980s, the ANC made every effort to make African townships ungovernable;
- by the end of the 1980s there were signs that these new tactics were succeeding and the release of Nelson Mandela in February 1990 was the proof of this.

This question covers a lot of ground and candidates should be expected to note and explain only the main changes like those given above. Answers which do this should be awarded **[17+ marks]**. Changes alone without explanation **[8 to 10 marks]** maximum.

18. How and why was independence achieved in Mozambique and Zimbabwe only after an armed struggle?

The 'why' part of the answer is rather different in the two cases. The ex-patriate settler element of the population who had exercised political power and dominated the economy was unwilling to surrender its privileged position. In Mozambique the Portuguese government, however, was also unwilling to grant independence to what they regarded as a permanent overseas province of Portugal. Portugal, one of the poorest countries in Europe, was also unwilling to grant independence because it believed that the possession of its overseas territories was essential to the health of its economy.

In **Zimbabwe** the position was different. After the collapse of the Central African Federation in 1963 Britain was anxious to grant Southern Rhodesia its independence on conditions which would guarantee to Africans their basic rights. The white minority were unwilling to accept these conditions and made a unilateral declaration of independence in 1965.

In **Mozambique**, an armed struggle, conducted by FRELIMO under the leadership of Edward Mondlane was, therefore, necessary to force the Portuguese settlers and the Portuguese government to grant independence; and in Zimbabwe an armed struggle under Robert Mugabe of ZANU and Joshua Nkomo of ZAPU who together formed the Patriotic Front was necessary to bring the illegal Smith regime to surrender independence to the African majority.

The main part of the answer should focus on the reasons why armed struggle was necessary. Only the briefest summary of 'How' is required. This kind of answer will deserve *[17+ marks]*. Absence of an adequate explanation of why the armed struggle was needed will reduce the mark. Use general band descriptions to decide the mark of best fit.

19. In what ways has the role of women in African societies changed since independence?

This question is one that cannot be answered from the usual textbooks. Any candidates attempting it might well start by pointing out that most changes in the role of women began with the many western influences which began to affect traditional African life styles long before independence though the process may have speeded up after independence. The main influences came through the spread of Christianity, western education and western technology. Changes in women's roles varied from one area to another; from rural to urban environments; from one social class to another (as for example, peasant farmers to educated elite.) It is difficult to generalise about any type of change but some qualified valid points can be made.

Amongst the commonest aspects of traditional culture which changed under western influences included those like polygamy and the extended family which affected personal relationships. Both of these declined under the influence of Christian teaching and wider spread of western education. They declined more in urban than in rural environments, and more amongst the educated and the wealthier members of society. In rural areas fewer girls were educated to even a basic standard. Traditions died harder in rural areas where women's roles remained dominated by agricultural work, marketing and providing fuel and water. Provision of clean piped water left more women freer to perform other jobs and to change their roles in the family and in society. The opportunities for women to obtain paid work in towns was more limited than for men and women were still often left at home with the children. Eventually more educated women accompanied their husbands to towns and some of these obtained work and made careers as teachers and office workers. Monogamy was more common in towns though it increased also in rural areas largely as a result of women's influence and choice. Candidates who make these and similar points should be awarded in the range of *[14 to 16 marks]* or above.

20. How acceptable is the view that most of the problems of Africa's independent countries were the result of the colonial legacy?

This is an open question in the sense that candidates are allowed to choose their illustrative material from any African countries. The wider the choice of examples, the better the answer is likely to be, though three examples should be regarded as adequate, preferably from the ex-colonies of more than one European power. The **main problems** should be identified and should include: political problems (suitability of European models like multiparty systems in African conditions) economic problems (economies dependent on only one or a very few crops; widespread underdevelopment); social problems (the appropriateness of European educational systems in Africa). This list is not exhaustive. Good candidates should be expected to argue that the legacy of colonial rule alone is not a sufficient explanation. The political inadequacies of many African leaders and governments; widespread corruption and/or inefficiency in many countries as an explanation of economic problems; tribal rivalries are also causes of the problems or of the failure to solve them.

Answers that argue that the view is realistic will probably get no higher than *[8 to 10 marks]*. Those that argue that there were other 'home grown' causes will deserve at least *[14 to 16 marks]*, depending on the amount of evidence produced.

21. **Assess the contribution of *either* Jomo Kenyatta *or* Gamal Abdel Nasser to the development of his country since independence.**

Jomo Kenyatta: Became Prime Minister of Kenya at independence in December 1963. He pursued policies that were generally conservative and pragmatic. In June 1963, when Kenya became a Republic, he became President and remained so until his death in 1978. He became increasingly autocratic and intolerant of opposition. In 1964 Kenya became a de facto one party state when KADU merged with KANU. Parliament became increasingly sidelined and was frequently prorogued without reason in the 1970s. Opposition parties (e.g. the KPU of Oginga Odinga) were banned and criticism was confined to members of KANU (e.g. J M Kariuki) who spoke out against growing social inequality, corruption and foreign domination of the economy. Discontent was expressed mainly in public rejection of ex-MPs and Ministers at General Elections (e.g. in December 1969 and October 1974). Kariuku's assassination in March 1975 caused a political crisis during which Kenyatta's critics were detained. The year before Kenyatta's death saw another prorogation of Parliament and the postponement of party elections. These events showed the widespread discontent with Kenyatta's domestic policies. In foreign affairs Kenyatta, in spite of his treatment by Britain during the MauMau emergency, sought good relations with Britain and the West. The Kenyan economy did reasonably well but at the expense of the mass of the population. It remained predominantly dependent on the agricultural sector which favoured production of cash crops at the expense of subsistence crops.

An assessment of Kenyatta's contribution to Kenya's development must be critical in view of the political and economic aspects of his policies. Narrative blended with assessment would be an acceptable approach but the assessment must be critical for a mark above *[11 to 13 marks]*.

Gamal Abdel Nasser: a founder member of the Free Officers Group which overthrew the monarchy and seized power in 1952. He became President in 1954. He made a massive positive contribution to Egypt's development between 1954 and his death in 1970 both at home or abroad.

Domestic policy: His domestic reforms had a greater impact than any reforms since those of Muhammad Ali and Ismail:

- his land reforms and industrial reforms initiated a social and economic revolution;
- nationalisation of banks, insurance companies and major industries;
- nationalisation of the Suez Canal;
- the construction of the Aswan Dam led to an extension of the country's productive arable land.

In **foreign policy** he negotiated the withdrawal of British forces in 1954, sought help from the Communist bloc in 1955 (construction of Aswan Dam) and nationalised the Suez Canal in 1956. The resulting Anglo-French-Israeli invasion was a fiasco and enhanced Nasser's and his country's reputation at home and abroad. His African policies made him a prominent figure on the continent. He offered support and refuge to nationalist and 'terrorist' groups from Algeria and elsewhere. He made a successful bid for dominance of the Arab world and the Middle East but success was short lived. In spite of his anti-Western triumphs he officially followed a non-aligned foreign policy and was already a leading figure in the movement at the Bandung Conference 1955. His one failure was in the Six Day War with Israel (1967) in which Egypt was humiliated. It is a mark of his general success that, having resigned, he was recalled as Head of a Government of National Reconstruction until his death in 1970.

Answers which cover most of the above aspects of his work, accompanied by assessment, will deserve a mark in one of the two top mark bands, depending on the extent of coverage/assessment.

22. Explain the rise to power of *either* Sese Seko Mobutu in Zaire *or* Hastings Banda in Malawi and evaluate your chosen ruler's work.

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 Congo Republic. The sudden grant of independence by Belgium (June 1960) caused a series of crises in the country between 1960 and 1965 and these gave Mobutu 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 overthrew the radical PM, Lumumba, whilst retaining President Kasavubu. The situation remained confused until Mobutu, in November 1965, took over the Presidency of the country in a bloodless coup. For a few years he introduced economic and financial reforms (nationalisation of Union Miniere and massive devaluation) that temporarily stabilised the economy and led to 6% growth. He also sought to acquire absolute political power through the Mouvement Populaire de la Revolution and a single party state. In 1973 he made a bid for popularity with a policy of 'Zaireanisation' - renaming the country, its major river and currency, and bringing foreign owned businesses under local control. Rapidly the economy collapsed for a variety of reasons and Zaire was the first African country to default on its debt. Further rebellions in Shaba (formerly Katanga) in 1978 were crushed with foreign armed assistance. His regime was propped up for some time by support from the West during the Cold war period; but the economy never really recovered and the railway transport system, except for the route south via Zambia, Zimbabwe and South Africa, was in ruins. The Zairean treasury was synonymous with Mobutu's bank account. By the mid 1990s his army was disintegrating in the face of the advance of Laurent Kabila's Alliance of Democratic Forces advancing from the east. Mobutu's regime fell in 1997.

The explanation of Mobutu's rise to power is complex and too much detail should not be expected. The evaluation of his work can be none other than damning. The basic material required for both parts of the answer as set out above would earn [17+ marks].

Hastings Banda: After a higher education in the USA and Edinburgh he qualified as a doctor of medicine and served as a GP in London for 17 years. He returned to his native Nyasaland in 1958 when African nationalism was growing in protest against the white dominated Central African Federation in both Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland and took over the leadership of the Malawi National Congress. He was arrested in 1959 but released in 1960 and resumed the struggle for secession from the Federation. In February 1963 Britain granted self-government to Malawi and Banda became Prime Minister in July 1964. At independence in July, 1966 Banda was elected first President of the Malawi Republic. The MCP's brand of nationalism was unusually conservative. Two months after independence Banda crushed opposition from the more youthful, liberal members of the educated elite. Six cabinet ministers, who were in favour of rapid Africanisation of the civil service and a non-aligned foreign policy, were forced to resign. Two attempted risings in February 1965 and October 1967 were put down. The way was open for Banda to establish a personal dictatorship. Malawi became an 'outcast' in black Africa by establishing full diplomatic relations with South Africa after a visit from Mr Vorster, the South African Prime Minister, in 1970. With investment from South Africa he built a new capital at Lilongwe, a new rail link with the Indian Ocean at Nacala and expanded the manufacturing industry. In 1971 he was made Life President. Ordinary Malawians saw little benefit from these developments which made vast fortunes for Banda and his faithful party whilst the agricultural workers who sustained the key tea and tobacco growing sectors were paid some of the lowest wages in Africa. By the 1970s Malawi was a

cruel, ruthless police state. In 1977 two leading officials, the Secretary-General of the MCP and the head of the Special Branch were arrested. Soon after this large numbers of detainees were released and Malawi's relations with her two neighbours, Zambia and Tanzania improved. In Banda's favour was the fact that Malawi remained stable in contrast to Zambia, Tanzania and Mozambique. From the latter Malawi accepted 500,000 refugees in 1988. However, in 1993 pressure from the West and donor countries led to a referendum which voted in favour of free elections and a Multiparty Democracy by 1994. Bakili Muluzi and his United Democratic Party won the election with Banda and the MPC a poor second.

Again an evaluation must be mainly critical for a regime under which 250,000 people had been killed or disappeared and the interests of the mass of the people ignored. Explanation of Banda's rise followed by a critical assessment based on evidence of his work should earn *[14 to 16 marks]* or above.

23. Why has Nigeria, since independence, suffered a civil war and many changes of regime?

The outbreak of civil war in Nigeria in 1967 resulted from the same tribal tensions that had earlier delayed the achievement of independence. Nigeria was basically divided into three regions: the Muslim North, the largest and most populous region; the mainly Yoruba south west, and the mainly Ibo south east. The north, for historical reasons was more backward than the south. The Ibos had become the best educated, most advanced and ambitious section of the population and had exported their skills. The people of the north had become increasingly suspicious of Ibo intentions. Three main political parties had come to represent the interests of the three regions: the NCNC (National Council for Nigeria and the Cameroons, renamed in 1962 the National Convention of Nigerian Citizens) represented those of the Ibo of the south east; the Action Group, those of the Yoruba of the south west; and the NPC (Northern People's Congress) those of the Muslims in the north.

At independence the numerical superiority of the north allowed the NPC to dominate Federal politics. In 1963 the northerners feared that a section of the Action Group might join the NCNC to form a 'Southern Front' which would upset the original balance of power, and corruption and violence made their appearance at elections. In 1966-67 a series of events led to the outbreak of civil war. In January 1966, an army coup raised suspicions that the Ibo were plotting to seize power. The main victims were the Federal Prime Minister, a northerner, and the Prime Ministers of the north and west regions. No Ibos were killed and General Ironsi, an Ibo emerged as Head of State. In May 1966 Ibos were massacred in the north by the Hausa and in July General Ironsi was killed along with other Ibo officers. The new Head of the Federal military government was Colonel Gowon, from a small northern group and formerly Ironsi's Chief of Staff. Ibos talked of secession. There was further violence between Hausa and Ibos and the Federation began to disintegrate. In May 1967 General Gowon proposed a new looser Federation of twelve states but the Ibos led by Colonel Ojukwu rejected the proposal and proclaimed an independent Biafra. The civil war ended with the defeat of the Ibos in January 1970 and the Federation was saved.

The old suspicions and tensions persisted, however, and since then there have been several changes of regime, each one brought on by an army coup, followed by a period of military rule and the restoration of civilian government. The basic ingredients for this vicious cycle have never been completely removed and the return of civilian rule under a multiparty system has exacerbated the problem. The religious split between the Muslim north and largely Christian south is a further cause of friction as is the endemic corruption which has affected all regimes. Candidates should give examples of the further changes of regime with explanations. For example General Gowon was ousted when attending a meeting of the OAU in Kampala and succeeded by Brigadier Murtala Mohammad. He was killed in an abortive coup in February 1978 in spite of gaining widespread popularity by introducing a new constitution which increased the number of states to 19 and taking steps to tackle corruption. General Obasanjo who took over fulfilled Murtala Muhammad's promise to hold free elections and restore civilian rule by October 1979. Shehu Shagari, the new civilian President faced massive problems. In spite of a worsening situation he was re-elected in 1983 only to be overthrown by another military coup led by General Muhammad Buhari because of alleged electoral fraud. Buhari was in turn ousted in 1985 by General Babangida who survived until 1993.

Answers to this question will inevitably contain a significant element of narrative describing events leading to civil war and to later changes of regime. The narrative must, however, be interspersed with explanations of the civil war in 1966-67 and the continuing changes of regime which have plagued the country since independence. Four changes of regime might be considered sufficient to earn *[17+ marks]*.

24. How successful has the Organisation of African Unity been in achieving its aims?

The obvious introduction would be a statement of the main **AIMS**:

- to maintain solidarity amongst Africa's independent states;
- to overthrow the remaining colonial regimes in Africa;
- to mediate in conflicts between member states;
- to avoid interference from outside the continent.

The machinery/structure of the Organisation might be outlined.

How successful

Success has been, at best, limited in:

- maintaining solidarity amongst member states;
- settling conflicts between and within, member states *e.g.* Ethiopia / Somalia disputes; Ethiopia / Kenyan disputes; civil wars in Nigeria, Sudan, Somalia, Belgian Congo / Zaire, Angola. An exception was the Morocco / Algerian border dispute.
- the promotion of economic and social progress in the continent. The continent's general poverty has prevented any significant success in these fields and failure here cannot be explained solely in terms of the colonial legacy and world economic conditions. Some responsibility must rest with such problems as incompetent leadership; widespread corruption.
- preventing outside powers from interfering in the continent's affairs. During the Cold War, the rival power blocs carried their rivalry into the continent in a number of areas *e.g.* Angola; Belgian Congo / Zaire.
- the main exception to the general lack of success has been the OAU's contribution to freeing the continent of colonial rule. Here there has been general agreement on the aim which has enabled the Organisation to bring pressure on colonial powers and give support and shelter to nationalist organisations in exile, with Egypt and Tanzania playing major roles in this respect.

Candidates who begin with a statement of aims and follow this with an adequately supported assessment of success in their achievement will deserve **[17+ marks]**. Inadequate / inaccurate supporting evidence in the second part of the answer will lower the mark. Use general band descriptions.

25. **With reference to *three* situations in which it has been involved, evaluate the success of the peace-keeping efforts of the United Nations Organisation in Africa.**

Many of the UN's peacekeeping activities in the post 1960 era were in areas that had recently been de-colonised. In these operations the UN was hampered by the failure of member states to put forces at the disposal of the UN and also by the lack of finance to implement some operations effectively.

Three UN missions that will be acceptable were those to the Congo from 1960-64; to the Israeli-Gaza Strip border after the Anglo-French-Israeli attack on Egypt following Nasser's nationalisation of the Suez Canal; and to Somalia in the early 1990s. The last two of these ended in humiliating withdrawals of UN troops. The mission to Somalia was particularly damaging to the image and prestige of the UN since UN troops were accused of brutality and violating their commitment to impartiality. In addition around 140 of the troops in the UN Force were killed. In Egypt the force separating the Israelis and Egyptians after the Suez War was ordered to leave by Nasser so that he could attack Israel.

The UN Force sent into the old Belgian Congo in 1960 had an almost impossible task to restore order after the secession of the mineral rich province of Katanga from the newly independent state and to protect lives in a dangerous and unstable situation. Lumumba, the Prime Minister was murdered by Tshombe's mercenary troops. The UN force became involved in fighting the Katangese force, losing troops in the process. At least they played a part in restoring Katanga to the control of the Leopoldville government before leaving in 1964, but the situation remained confused and unstable. The Congo Mission was, at best, only a limited success.

For *[14 to 16 marks]* or above candidates are required to outline or give three acceptable missions followed by appropriate assessments.
